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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REVOLUTION
IN
SOUTH-CAROLINA.
VOL. II.

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E V O L U T I O N
O F
S O U T H - C A R O L I N A,
F R O M A B R I T I S H P R O V I N C E
T O A N I N D E P E N D E N T S T A T E.

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MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

V O L. I I.

T R E N T O N:
P R I N T E D B Y I S A A C C O L L I N S.

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SECOND VOLUME.

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S O U T H - C A R O L I N A .

C H A P T E R E I G H T H .

Of the reduction of Savannah, the subsequent incursions into South-Carolina from Georgia, and the attack on Savannah by the French and Americans.

THE campaign of seventeen hundred and seventy-eight having passed away without any remarkable military enterprize in the northern states, and the attempts of the British commissioners to induce the Congress to relinquish independence, and their alliance with France, having proved abortive, the commander in chief of the royal army, in New-York, thought proper to turn his arms more im-

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mediately against the southern states. To this end a plan of operation was concerted with major-general Prevost, who commanded in East-Florida; and it was intended that Georgia should be invaded both on the north and south side at the same time.

WHILE preparations were making for this conjunct expedition, two bodies of armed men, composed of regulars and refugees, made a very sudden and rapid incursion into the state of Georgia, from the province of East-Florida. One of these parties came in boats through the inland navigation, and the other marched over land by the way of the river Alatamaha. The first demanded the surrender of Sunbury; but, on receiving a spirited refusal, expressed by lieutenant-colonel Mackintosh in these laconick words—‘Come and take it,’ they left the place, and retired to a neighbouring island. The latter pursued their march towards Savannah. General Screven, with about a hundred militia, repeatedly skirmished with this party in their advance through the country. In one of these engagements he received a wound from a musket ball, in consequence of which he fell from his horse. After he fell several of the British came up, and, upbraiding him with the manner in which captain Moore of Brown’s rangers had been killed, discharged their pieces at him. Few men were more esteemed or beloved for their virtues in private life; few officers had done more for their country

country than this gallant citizen, who lost his life in consequence of the wounds received on this occasion.

THE invaders pursued their march till they were within three miles of Ogeechee ferry, at which place Mr. Savage, with his own slaves, had erected a breastwork to prevent their passing. Colonel Elbert, with about two hundred continentals, took post in the works erected by Mr. Savage, and prepared to dispute the passage of the river. These obstacles, together with information that the other party had failed in their expectations of reducing Sunbury, determined them to retreat without attempting to cross. On their return, they laid waste the country for many miles, burnt St. John's church, a considerable number of dwellinghouses, and all the rice and other grain within their reach, and also carried off with them all the negroes, horses, cattle, and plate, that could be removed either by land or water.

It is impossible to tell whether this burning, plundering incursion, introductory to a serious plan of operations, advanced or impeded the British designs. It certainly alarmed the fears of some, and made them more averse from persevering in the war. But on others it produced quite contrary effects. Their revenge and indignation was roused, and they were stimulated to do and suffer every thing rather than submit to such conquerors.

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THE citizens of Georgia were soon obliged to encounter a much more formidable force. On the twenty-seventh of November, seventeen hundred and seventy-eight, lieutenant-colonel Campbell, a brave and able officer, with the seventy-first regiment, two battalions of Hessians, four of provincials, and a detachment of the royal artillery, embarked from Sandy-Hook for Georgia, escorted by a small squadron of ships, under the command of commodore Hyde Parker. The fleet arrived on the twenty-third of December at the island of Tybee, near the mouth of the river Savannah, and in a few days after the troops effected a landing. From the landing-place a narrow causeway of six hundred yards in length, with a ditch on each side, led through a swamp. Captain Smith, with a small party, was posted at this causeway, to impede the passage of the British; but his force was too inconsiderable to check their progress. They pushed on with such vigour that the American party was almost instantly dispersed. The continental army, on which the defence of Georgia rested, had lately returned from a summer expedition against East-Florida, in which their numbers had suffered so great a diminution, that the whole did not exceed six hundred effective men. General Howe, who commanded the Americans, had taken his station on the main road between the landing-place and the town of Savannah, with the river on his left, and a morass in front, which extended beyond his right flank. The British advanced till they

they were within a few hundred yards of the American army, when lieutenant-colonel Campbell manœuvred so as to cherish an opinion, that he meant to attack on the left. For that purpose he ordered the first battalion of the seventy-first to form on the right of the road, thereby to impress a full idea that he meant to extend his front in that quarter. At the same time a considerable part of the royal army was detached to cross the swamp above, so as to get in the rear of the Americans. Fortune had thrown a negro into the hands of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, who knew a private path through the swamp, by which he promised to lead the troops without observation or difficulty. At length lieutenant-colonel Campbell, presuming that the detachment had got effectually round upon the rear of the Americans, suddenly advanced, and general Howe ordered an immediate retreat. A few minutes delay would have made a retreat impossible, and it was then only practicable in the face of that part of the British army which had effected their passage through the swamp. A small body of about one hundred militia, of the state of Georgia, had been previously posted in the rear of the barracks near the town of Savannah. This detachment made some opposition to the British, as they were issuing from the swamp, but they were soon compelled to retreat, and their commander, colonel Walton, was wounded and taken prisoner.

THE Americans retreated with precipitation, and in disorder. The British pursued with spirit and rapidity. No victory was ever more complete. Thirty-eight officers, and four hundred and fifteen privates, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all in the space of a few hours in possession of the conquerors. The British pursued the Americans through the town of Savannah. In the impetuosity of the pursuit, some of the inhabitants of that capital, who had not been in the action, were bayoneted in the streets, several were killed or wounded in their flight, and a large number, finding their escape impracticable without swimming a deep swamp, were obliged to sue for quarters. The Americans saved three field-pieces out of four ; but, in the difficult passage of the swamp, many lost their arms. That part of the army which escaped retreated up the river Savannah to Zubly's ferry, and crossed over into South-Carolina.

THE private soldiers who were taken on this occasion, having resolutely refused to enlist in the British service, were crowded on board prison-ships. This confinement, and the heat of the weather in the summer of seventeen hundred and seventy-nine, proved fatal to such numbers, that, for a considerable time, four or five died every day. The continental officers were sent to Sunbury on parole, except the reverend Moses Allen, chaplain
of

of the Georgia brigade, who was denied that privilege. His warm exhortations in the pulpit, and his animated exertions in the field, exposed him to the particular resentment of the British. They sent him with the private soldiers on board the prison-ships. Wearied with a confinement of several months in that loathsome place, and seeing no prospect of relief, he determined to attempt the recovery of his liberty by throwing himself into the river, and swimming towards an adjacent island; but he was drowned in the perilous attempt. Notwithstanding his clerical function, he appeared among the foremost in the day of battle, and on all occasions sought the post of danger as the post of honour. The friends of independence admired him for his popular talents—his courage and his many virtues.—The enemies of it could accuse him of nothing more than a vigorous exertion of all his powers in defending what he conscientiously believed to be the rights of his injured country.

AGREEABLY to instructions general Prevost had marched from East-Florida into the southern parts of Georgia about the same time that the embarkation took place from New-York. The King's troops, in traversing the desert that separates East-Florida from Georgia, were obliged to live for several days on oysters. After encountering many difficulties, they heard the welcome news of the arrival and success of lieutenant-colonel Campbell. Savannah having fallen, the
fort

fort at Sunbury soon followed its example. General Prevost marched to Savannah, and took the command of the combined forces from New-York and St. Augustine. Previous to his arrival, a proclamation had been issued to encourage the inhabitants to come in, and submit to the conquerors, with promises of protection on condition, that, ‘with their arms, they would support royal government.’ Great numbers submitted; but the determined republicans fled up into the western parts of the country, or into the state of South-Carolina. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell acted with great policy in securing the submission of the inhabitants. Civil government was after some time re-established, and the lower parts of the state were in peace.

IN proportion as the British gained footing in Georgia, the neighbouring states of South and North-Carolina became anxious for their safety. The continental regiments of North-Carolina were with the grand army under general Washington. That state, on the first intelligence of an intended embarkation from New-York for the southward, generously raised a body of militia about two thousand in number to serve for five months—put them under the command of the generals Ash and Rutherford, and sent them without delay to the relief of their southern neighbours. These reinforcements came forward with so much dispatch, that, had it not been for a delay of ten days near Charleston before they were furnished with

with arms, they would have been in time to have joined general Howe prior to the reduction of Savannah. North-Carolina was, at this late period, unable to arm her own militia; but nevertheless sent them on, expecting that they would be supplied by their neighbours. South-Carolina, though better provided, was not able to furnish arms for the militia of both states. While the British were in the offing, it was uncertain whether South-Carolina or Georgia was their object. This induced president Lowndes and his council to delay the distribution of their scanty stock of publick arms till the designs of the British became evident. The rapid movements of lieutenant-colonel Campbell put him so soon in possession of the capital of Georgia; that the North-Carolina militia made their first junction with the American army after their retreat over the river Savannah.

AT the request of the delegates from South-Carolina, Congress appointed major-general Lincoln, a native of Massachusetts, to take the command of all their forces to the southward. This officer was greatly respected for his many amiable qualities, and was acknowledged to be one of the first military characters in America. He was second in command in the expedition of seventeen hundred and seventy-seven, when general Burgoyne and his army surrendered to general Gates. A considerable share of the success of that campaign was justly ascribed to his

perseverance and abilities. He brought to the southward great reputation, and there, though under many disadvantages, he acquired the farther honour of checking the British conquests, and preserving the state for upwards of fifteen months against a superior enemy. His plans were well formed ; but his little army, mostly consisting of militia, was not able to contend with superior numbers, and the discipline of British regular troops. The continentals under his command did not exceed six hundred men, and all the rest of his force was made up of draughts from the inhabitants of the country, changed every second or third month.

UPON advice received of the intentions of the British to invade the southern states, president Lowndes, in order to keep as great a force as possible in the country, laid on a general embargo, and prohibited the sailing of vessels from any port of the state. This was repeated for two successive periods of thirty days each. By proclamation, dated December 28, 1778, he also ordered ‘ the proprietors of neat cattle, sheep and hogs, on the sea-islands and other parts, immediately exposed to the incursions of the enemy, to remove them off the said islands or exposed places, that the British might be prevented from obtaining a supply of provisions.’ He also addressed the legislature in an animated speech, of which the following is a part : ‘ Our inveterate and obdurate enemy, being foiled in the north-
‘ ern

' ern states, and, by the valour and good con-
 ' duct of the inhabitants, compelled to abandon
 ' their hopes of conquest there, have turned their
 ' arms more immediately against these southern
 ' states, in hopes of better success. They are
 ' now in possession of Savannah, the capital of
 ' Georgia, from whence, if not prevented, an
 ' easy transition may be made into this country.
 ' This situation of danger, gentlemen, calls for
 ' your most serious consideration. Our whole
 ' force and strength should be exerted to stop the
 ' progress of the enemy. Government ought to
 ' be trusted with ample powers to enable it to act
 ' vigorously and decisively in the present con-
 ' juncture. The militia-law requires an immedi-
 ' ate revival and amendment, to accommodate it
 ' to our present circumstances, and every measure
 ' that has a tendency to counteract and defeat the
 ' views and designs of the enemy, should be em-
 ' braced and adopted with alacrity and dispatch.'
 These spirited sentiments were re-echoed by the
 house of representatives, in an address of which
 the following is a part: ' That our cruel and am-
 ' bitious enemies should turn their arms against
 ' these southern states is a circumstance not un-
 ' expected. But this last nefarious struggle of
 ' our desponding foes will, we trust, under the
 ' assistance of Divine Providence, in the end tend
 ' more to shew their impotent malice than the
 ' wisdom of their councils or the valour of their
 ' arms; for that same spirit which once animated
 ' our countrymen to drive them disgraced from
 ' our

‘ our coasts, will again be exerted to effect the
 ‘ like happy consequences. We conceive our-
 ‘ selves bound by all the difference there is be-
 ‘ tween the horrors of slavery, and the blessings
 ‘ of liberty, to use every means in our power, to
 ‘ expel them from our country, and for this pur-
 ‘ pose to strengthen the hands of government,
 ‘ and to revise the militia-law, so as to facilitate
 ‘ our operations against them.’

GENERAL Lincoln established his first post at Purysburgh, a small village on the northern banks of the river Savannah. A large proportion of the militia of the state of South-Carolina was draughted, put under the command of colonel Richardson, and marched for the American headquarters. Their numbers were considerable, but they had not yet learned the implicit obedience necessary for military operations. Accustomed to activity on their farms, they could not bear the languors of an encampment. Having grown up in habits of freedom and independence on their freeholds, they reluctantly submitted to martial discipline. When ordered on command, they would some times enquire ‘ whither they
 ‘ were going?’ and ‘ how long they must stay?’

THE royal army at Savannah, being reinforced by the junction of the troops from St. Augustine, the British commanders formed a scheme of extending a part of their forces into South-Carolina. To this end major Gardiner, with two
 hundred

hundred men, was detached to take possession of Port-Royal island. Soon after he landed, general Moultrie, at the head of an equal number of men, in which there were only nine regular foldiers, attacked and drove him off the island. This advantage was principally gained by two field-pieces which were well served by a party of the Charleston militia artillery, under the command of the captains Heyward and Rutledge. The British lost almost all their officers, and several prisoners were taken by a small party of Port-Royal militia, commanded by captain Barnwell. The Americans had eight men killed, and twenty-two wounded.^a Among the former lieutenant Benjamin Wilkins was the theme of universal lamentation. His country regretted the fall of a worthy man, and an excellent officer. A numerous young family sustained a loss which to them was irreparable.

THIS success of the Americans checked the British, and for the present prevented their attempting any enterprize against South-Carolina; but they extended themselves over a great part of Georgia, and established two posts, one at Ebenezer, and the other at Augusta. This last place, being high up in the country, was a good position for aiding the western inhabitants, and a convenient place of rendezvous for the friends of royal government. The British having established themselves in the upper country of Georgia, their

next

^a See note 1.

next object was to strengthen themselves by the addition of the tories. To this end emissaries were employed to encourage them to a general insurrection. They were assured that if they would cross the Savannah river, and add their force to that of the King's army in Augusta, they would have such a decided superiority as would effectually crush the rebellion, and make a speedy return to their homes practicable on their own terms. Several hundreds of them accordingly embodied, and marched along the western frontiers of South-Carolina. Among those men, thus collected, under the specious denomination of loyalists, were great numbers of the most infamous characters. Their general complexion was that of a plundering banditti, more solicitous for booty than for the honour and interest of their royal master. As they marched through the settlements, they appropriated to their own use every kind of property that they could carry off. Colonel Pickins, on receiving intelligence of their progress and rapine, collected the whig militia of the district of Ninety-Six, and placed captain Anderson at the Cherokee Ford, on Savannah river, to impede their crossing, whilst he went to attack a fort in Georgia, in which were collected some tories and British. Unable to succeed in this enterprize without setting fire to the fort, which his humanity would not permit him to do, he retreated and marched with all speed to the crossing-place on the river. Here, to his great mortification, he found that captain Anderson had

had been obliged to retreat, and that the tories had made good their passage. Colonel Pickins, with about three hundred men, immediately followed and came up with them near Kettle creek, where an action took place which lasted three quarters of an hour. At length the tories gave way, and were totally routed. Colonel Pickins had nine men killed, and several wounded. The royalists had about forty killed, in which number was their leader colonel Boyd, who had been secretly employed by British authority to collect and head these insurgents. By this action the British were totally disconcerted. The tories were dispersed all over the country. Some ran to North-Carolina, some wandered not knowing whither. Many went to their homes, and cast themselves on the mercy of the new government. Soon after this defeat and dispersion lieutenant-colonel Campbell retreated from Augusta towards Savannah, and, for the remainder of that season, the whole upper country of both South-Carolina and Georgia enjoyed domestick security.

THE insurgents on this occasion were the subjects of the state of South-Carolina, and owed obedience to its laws. They were therefore tried in a regular manner, by a jury, under the direction of the courts of justice, appointed by the republican government. Seventy of them were condemned to die by the laws of the state, enacted since the abolition of royal government; but the sentence of the court was executed only on
five

five of their principals, and all the rest were pardoned.

THIS second unsuccessful insurrection damped the spirit of the tories. Their plans were ill laid, and worse executed. They had no men of ability capable of giving union to their force. They were disappointed in all their expectations of aid from the royal army, and had the mortification to see a few of their ringleaders executed for treason and rebellion against the state.

As the British extended their posts up the river Savannah on the south side, general Lincoln fixed encampments at Black Swamp, and nearly opposite to Augusta on the north side. From these posts he formed a plan of crossing the river at Augusta and at Zubly's ferry in two divisions, with the view of limiting the British to the sea coast of Georgia. In the execution of this design general Ash, with fifteen hundred North-Carolina militia, and the remainder of the Georgia continentals, crossed the Savannah river on the 28th of February 1779, and immediately marched down the country as far as Briar creek. At this place, on the fourth day after his crossing the Savannah, he was surprized at three o'clock in the afternoon by lieutenant-colonel Prevost. This detachment of the royal army, having crossed Briar creek, fifteen miles above general Ash's encampment, came unexpectedly on his rear. The American militia completely surprized, were
thrown

thrown into confusion, and fled at the first fire. Several were killed, and a considerable number taken. None had any chance of escaping but by crossing the river, in attempting which many were drowned; of those who got over safe, a great part returned home, and never more rejoined the American camp. The few continentals, about sixty, under colonel Elbert, fought with the greatest bravery; but the survivors of them, with their gallant leader, were at last compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. Of this division of the army, the whole that remained and rejoined the American camp, did not exceed four hundred and fifty men. This event deprived general Lincoln of one fourth of his numbers, and opened a communication between the British, the Indians, and the Tories of South and North-Carolina. In a few days after, viz. on March 21, 1779, the Congress and Lee, two American galleys, were lost in the river Savannah, in an attempt on a British galley. In going down the river from Purysburgh, on this business, the Congress galley ran ashore within gun-shot of the enemy, and the Lee, after a gallant resistance, unsupported by her comrade, was abandoned.

UNEXPERIENCED in the art of war, the Americans were frequently subject to those reverses of fortune which usually attend young soldiers. Unacquainted with military stratagems, deficient in discipline, and not thoroughly broken to habits of implicit obedience, they were often surprized,

and had to learn, by repeated misfortunes, the necessity of subordination, and the advantages of discipline. Their numbers in the field, to those who are acquainted with European wars, must appear inconsiderable ; but such is the difference of the state of society and of the population in the old and new world, that, in America, a few hundreds decided objects of equal magnitude with those which in European states would have called into the field many thousands. The prize contended for was nothing less than the sovereignty of three millions of people, and five hundred millions of acres of land ; ^b and yet, from the remote situation of the invading power, and the thin population of the invaded states, this momentous question was materially affected by the consequences of battles in which only a few hundreds engaged.

THE series of disasters which had followed the American arms, since the landing of the British in Georgia, occasioned, among the inhabitants of South-Carolina, many well-founded apprehensions for their future safety. The assembly of the state, desirous of making a vigorous opposition to the extension of the British conquests, passed a very severe militia-law. Hitherto the penalties for disobedience of orders were inconsiderable, but as the defence of the country, in a great measure, depended on the exertions of its inhabitants, much heavier fines were imposed on those who
either

^b See note II.

either neglected to turn out, or who misbehaved or disobeyed orders. Every effort was made to strengthen the continental army. Additional bounties, and greater emoluments were promised as inducements to encourage the recruiting-service. The extent and variety of military operations in the open country pointed out the advantages of cavalry; a regiment of dragoons was therefore ordered to be raised, in which the following appointments took place:

Daniel Horry, colonel.	
Hezekiah Maham, major.	
John Canterier,	} captains.
John Hampton,	
Benjamin Screven,	
Richard Gough,	
Thomas Giles,	
Isaac Dubose,	

IN this time of general alarm John Rutledge, esquire, by the almost unanimous voice of his countrymen, was called to the chair of government. To him and his council was delegated, by the legislature, power ‘to do every thing that appeared to him and them necessary for the publick good.’ In execution of this trust he assembled a body of militia. This corps, kept in constant readiness to march whithersoever publick service might require, was stationed near the centre of the state at Orangeburgh. From this militia camp colonel Simmons was detached with a thousand

thousand men to reinforce general Moultrie at Black-Swamp. The original plan of penetrating into Georgia was resumed. With this intention general Lincoln marched with the main army up the Savannah river, that he might give confidence to the country, and lead into Georgia a body of militia encamped in South-Carolina, under the command of general Williamson. A small force was left at Black-Swamp and Puryburgh for the purpose of defending Carolina, while offensive operations were about to be commenced in Georgia. General Prevost availed himself of the critical time when the American army was one hundred and fifty miles up the Savannah river, and crossed over into Carolina from Abercorn to Puryburgh, with two thousand four hundred men. In addition to this number of regular troops, a considerable body of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured, were associated with the royal army on this expedition. Lieutenant-colonel Mackintosh, who commanded a few continentals at Puryburgh, not being able to oppose this force, made a timely retreat. It was part of general Prevost's plan to attack general Moultrie at Black-Swamp, to effect which he made a forced march the first night after he landed on the Carolina side, but he was about three hours too late. General Moultrie had changed his quarters, and being joined by colonel Mackintosh's party, took post at Tulifinny bridge, in order to prevent the incursion of the British into the state,

and

and to keep between them and its defenceless capital. General Lincoln, on receiving information of these movements, detached colonel Harris, with three hundred of his best light troops, for Charleston ; but crossed the river Savannah near Augusta with the main army, and marched for three days down the country towards the capital of Georgia. He was induced to pursue his original intention from an idea, that general Prevost meant nothing more than to divert him from his intended operations in Georgia, by a feint of attempting the capital of South-Carolina, and because his marching down on the south side of the river Savannah, would occasion very little additional delay in repairing to the defence of Charleston. General Prevost proceeded in his march by the main road, near the sea coast, without opposition, as far as Coosawhatchie bridge. Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, with eighteen continentals and a much larger number of militia, was detached from general Moultrie's camp, to dispute this difficult pass. That gallant officer persevered in this hazardous attempt, till he was wounded, and had lost one half of his continentals. The British fired in security under the cover of houses on the opposite bank, and had the advantage of a field-piece. On this, the first time of their being in danger, the American militia could not be persuaded to stand their ground. A retreat took place, and was conducted by captain Shubrick, over a long causeway, in the face of a superior foe.

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As the British army advanced into the country they committed many outrages and depredations. The day before the skirmish just mentioned they burnt all the buildings on major Butler's plantation at the Eutaws. The day after they burned the Episcopal church, in prince William's parish, and general Bull's house at Sheldon.

THE position of general Moultrie at Tulifinny was by no means a safe one, for the British might easily have crossed above him, and got in his rear. A general retreat of his whole force towards Charleston was therefore thought advisable. This was conducted with great propriety, though under many disadvantages. General Moultrie had no cavalry to check the advancing foe, and, instead of receiving reinforcements from the inhabitants as he marched through the country, many of the militia left him, and went home. Their families and property lay directly in the route of the invading army. Several, after providing for their wives and children, rejoined general Moultrie in Charleston; but the greater number sought security by staying on their plantations. The retreating Americans destroyed all the bridges in their rear, but there was scarce any other interruption thrown in the way of the British in their march through the country. The absence of the main army under general Lincoln, the retreat of general Moultrie, the plundering and devastations of the invaders, and above all the dread of the royal auxiliaries, the Indian savages, whose constant

stant practice is to murder women and children, diffused a general panick among the inhabitants, and induced many of them to apply to the British for their protection. New-made converts to the royal standard endeavoured to ingratiate themselves with their protectors by representing the capital as an easy conquest. This flattering prospect induced general Prevost, contrary to his original intention, to pursue his march. Governor Rutledge, with the militia lately encamped at Orangeburgh, had set out to join general Moultrie at Tulifinny bridge ; but, on the second day of their march, advice was received of general Moultrie's retreat, and that general Prevost was pushing towards Charleston. This intelligence determined the governor to march with all the force under his command to the defence of the capital.

WHEN general Prevost crossed the Savannah river, Charleston Neck was almost wholly defenceless. An invasion on the land-side, by an army marching through the country, was an event so unexpected, that no proper provision had been made against it. If the British had continued their march with the same rapidity with which it was begun, and attempted to take the town by a coup-de-main, they would probably have succeeded ; but they halted two or three days when they had advanced more than half the distance. In this short interval lieutenant-governor Bee and the gentlemen of the council made

made the greatest exertions to fortify the town on the land-side. All the houses in the suburbs were burnt. Lines and an abbatiss were in a few days carried from Ashley to Cooper rivers. Cannon were mounted at proper intervals across the whole extent of Charleston Neck. These works were planned with great judgment, and executed with uncommon dispatch by lieutenant-colonel De-Cambray. His exertions procured him the thanks of the assembly. He was also honoured with a medal struck on the occasion, expressive of the high estimation in which his services were held by a grateful country. The militia in the vicinity were summoned to the defence of Charleston. They generally obeyed as far as was practicable on so short notice. Publick affairs now appeared in a very critical situation. General Lincoln was marching unmolested towards the capital of Georgia, apparently evacuated for his reception, while general Prevost was advancing with as little interruption to the capital of South-Carolina. General Moultrie's retreating army, governor Rutledge's militia from Orangeburgh, and colonel Harris's detached light corps, which marched nearly forty miles a day for four days successively, all reached Charleston on the 9th and 10th of May. The arrival of such seasonable reinforcements gave hopes of a successful defence.

On the 11th nine hundred of the British army, their main body and baggage being left on the south side of Ashley river, crossed the ferry, and

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in a few hours they appeared before the town. On the same day that they marched down Charleston Neck, the infantry of an American legionary corps crossed Cooper river, and landed in the town. This was commanded by brigadier-general count Pulaski, a Polander of high birth. This illustrious officer had been concerned in a bold enterprize, in favour of liberty in his native country. He with a few men had carried off king Stanislaus from the middle of his capital, though furrounded by a numerous body of guards and a Russian army. The king, after being a prisoner for some time, found means to escape, and soon afterwards declared Pulaski an out-law. Nothing could be more congenial to the sentiments of this generous friend of the rights of mankind than to employ his arms in support of the American states. Influenced by these sentiments, he offered his service to Congress, and was honoured by that body with the rank of a brigadier-general. At this period of the war he had been detached from the northern American army to the aid of the southern states, and opportunely arrived when his services were most wanted. The men under his command had scarcely arrived two hours, when he led eighty of them out of the lines of Charleston, and stationed them in a valley behind a small breastwork, with the view of drawing the British into an ambuscade. General Pulaski advanced a mile beyond his infantry, and joined a small party of regular horse, and mounted militia volunteers,

and with that force engaged the British cavalry for a short time, and then retreated to his infantry. They, from an eagerness to engage, had quitted their works, and advanced to an eminence in front of their first station. The advantage of the intended ambuscade was by this means lost, and they had to engage a superior number on equal ground. The British foot soon came up, and compelled the Americans to retreat into the town. General Pulaski had several successful personal rencounters with individuals of the British cavalry, and on all occasions discovered the greatest intrepidity. The gallant example of this distinguished partizan, courting danger on every occasion, had a considerable influence in dispelling the general panick, and in introducing military sentiments into the minds of men who had heretofore been peaceable citizens.

MAJOR Benjamin Huger, a distinguished officer, and a gentleman of the most honourable and liberal sentiments, was, while commanding a party without the lines, killed in the night of the 11th, through mistake, by his countrymen.

FORT Johnson, on James island, was blown up with the view of strengthening the garrison in the town, by the addition of the party stationed on the island, and of preventing the British from getting possession of it.

As the royal army was unfurnished for a siege,
and

and had nothing to depend on but the chance of a sudden assault, this was confidently expected. That it might not be done by surprize, tar-barrels were lighted up in front of the works. The defence of the town rested on the exertions of three thousand three hundred men, the greater part of whom were militia wholly unacquainted with military operations. The British at Ashley ferry, and before the lines, were about two thousand four hundred men, but were without cannon or shipping.

It was presumed by the garrison that general Lincoln, with the army under his command, was in close pursuit of general Prevost, but his precise situation was unknown to every person within the lines. To gain time in such circumstances was a matter of great consequence. A whole day was therefore spent in sending or receiving flags. Commissioners from the garrison of Charleston were instructed to propose ‘ a neutrality during the war, between Great-Britain and America, and that the question whether the state shall belong to Great-Britain or remain one of the United States, be determined by the treaty of peace between these powers.’ This proposition, being made to lieutenant-colonel Prevost, acting as a commissioner in behalf of general Prevost, he answered, ‘ that they did not come in a legislative capacity.’ On a second interview lieutenant-colonel Prevost ended the conference by saying, ‘ That, as the garrison was in
‘ arms,

‘ arms, they must surrender prisoners of war.’ This being refused, preparations were made for sustaining an immediate assault.

GENERAL Prevost, disappointed in his expectation of surprizing the town, and fearing the consequences of an assault on the lines, re-crossed Ashley river, and, to avoid general Lincoln’s army, now in his rear, he filed off from the main land to the islands on the sea coast.

WHILE the British were encamped on James island, about seventy or eighty of the Americans were posted nearly opposite to them at the plantation of mr. Mathews, on John’s island. On the 20th of May a party of the troops, commanded by general Prevost, crossed over the narrow river which separates the two islands, surprized the out sentinel of the Americans, and extorted from him the counterfigh. Possessed of this criterion, they advanced in security to the second sentinel and bayoneted him before he could give any alarm. Without being discovered, they then surrounded the house of mr. Mathews, rushed in on the unprepared Americans, and put several of them, though they made no resistance, to the bayonet. Among the rest mr. Robert Barnwell, a young gentleman who adorned a very respectable family by his many virtues, good understanding, and sweetness of manners, received no less than seventeen wounds ; but he had the good fortune to recover from them

them all, and still lives an ornament to his country. The British having completed this business, burned the house of mr. Mathews.

GENERAL Lincoln continued his march for three days in Georgia ; but on receiving certain information of the state of affairs in Carolina, he recrossed the Savannah river, and advanced towards general Prevost. Both armies encamped within thirty miles of Charleston, watching each other's motions, till the 20th of June, when an attack was made on part of the British army, intrenched at Stono ferry. Agreeably to a preconcerted plan, a feint was to have been made from James island, with a body of militia from Charleston, at the same time that general Lincoln began the attack from the main ; but from mismanagement and a delay in providing boats, the militia from Charleston did not reach their place of destination till several hours after the action. The American army consisted of about twelve hundred men. Only one half of which were continentals. The militia of North and South-Carolina were posted on the right, and the continentals on the left. Colonel Malmady led a corps of light-infantry on the right, and lieutenant-colonel Henderson on the left. The Virginia militia and the cavalry formed a corps of reserve. The British force consisted of six or seven hundred men. They had three redoubts, with a line of communication, and field-pieces very advantageously posted in the intervals, and the whole

whole secured with an abatis. That they might be harassed, or lulled into security, for several nights preceding the action, they were alarmed by small parties. When the real attack was made, two companies of the seventy-first regiment sallied out to support the pickets. Lieutenant-colonel Henderson ordered his light-infantry to charge them, on which they instantly retreated. Only nine of their number got safe within their lines. All the men at the British field-pieces, between their redoubts, were either killed or wounded. The attack was continued for an hour and twenty minutes, and the assailants had manifestly the advantage; yet the appearance of a reinforcement, to prevent which the feint from James island was intended, made a retreat necessary. The whole garrison sallied out on the retiring Americans; but the light troops, commanded by colonel Malmedy and lieutenant-colonel Henderson, so effectually retarded the British in their pursuit, that the troops commanded by general Lincoln not only retreated with regularity, but brought off their wounded in safety.

THE loss of the Americans on this occasion in killed and wounded was about one hundred and fifty.* Among the former was the gallant colonel Roberts, whose superior abilities as an artillery-officer, commanded the approbation of his countrymen, and rendered his early fall the subject of universal regret.

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* See note III.

SOON after this attack the American militia, impatient of absence from their plantations, generally returned to their homes. This was productive of no inconvenience to the service; for, about the same time, the British left the islands in the vicinity of Charleston, retreating from one to another, till they arrived at Port-Royal and Savannah. The sea-coast of South-Carolina, to the southward of Charleston, is so chequered with islands, and intersected with creeks and marshes, as to make the movements of an army extremely difficult. The British were much better provided with boats than the Americans, and therefore could retire with expedition and safety. Various projects were attempted to enable general Lincoln to pursue them. Boats on wheel-carriages, constructed so as to suit the variegated face of the country, were proposed; but before any thing of this sort could be completed, the British had retreated to places of security.

THIS incursion into South-Carolina, and subsequent retreat, contributed very little to the advancement of the royal cause, but it added much to the wealth of the officers, soldiers and followers of the British army, and still more to the distresses of the inhabitants. The forces, under the command of general Prevost, marched through the richest settlements of the state, where there are the fewest white inhabitants in proportion to the number of slaves. The hapless Africans, allured with hopes of freedom, forsook
their

their owners, and repaired in great numbers to the royal army. They endeavoured to recommend themselves to their new masters, by discovering where their owners had concealed their property, and were assisting in carrying it off. All subordination being destroyed, they became insolent and rapacious, and in some instances exceeded the British in their plunderings and devastations. Collected in great crowds near the royal army, they were seized with the camp-fever, in such numbers that they could not be accommodated either with proper lodgings or attendance. The British carried out of the state, it is supposed, about three thousand slaves; many of whom were shipped from Georgia and East-Florida, and sold in the West-Indies; but the inhabitants lost upwards of four thousand, each of whom was worth, on an average, about two hundred and fifty Spanish dollars. When the British retreated, they had accumulated so much plunder, that they had not the means of removing the whole of it. The vicinity of the American army made them avoid the main land, and go off in great precipitation from one island to another. Many of the horses which they had collected from the inhabitants were lost in ineffectual attempts to transport them over the rivers and marshes. For want of a sufficient number of boats, a considerable part of the negroes were left behind. They had been so thoroughly impressed by the British with the expectations of the severest treatment, and even of certain death

from

from their owners, in case of their returning home, that, in order to get off with the retreating army, they would sometimes fasten themselves to the sides of the boats. To prevent this dangerous practice the fingers of some of them were chopped off, and soldiers were posted with cutlasses and bayonets to oblige them to keep at proper distances. Many of them, labouring under diseases, afraid to return home, forsaken by their new masters, and destitute of the necessaries of life, perished in the woods. Those who got off with the army were collected on Otter island, where the camp-fever continued to rage. Without medicine, attendance, or the comforts proper for the sick, some hundreds of them expired. Their dead bodies, as they lay exposed in the woods, were devoured by beasts and birds, and to this day the island is strewed with their bones. The British also carried off with them several rice-barrels full of plate, and household furniture in large quantities, which they had taken from the inhabitants. They had spread over a considerable extent of country, and small parties visited almost every house, stripping it of whatever was most valuable, and rifling the inhabitants of their money, rings, jewels, and other personal ornaments. The repositories of the dead were in several places broken open, and the grave itself searched for hidden treasure. What was destroyed by the soldiers was supposed to be of more value than what they carried off. Feather-beds were ripped open for the sake of the

ticking. Windows, china-ware, looking-glasses and pictures, were dashed to pieces. Not only the larger domestick animals were cruelly and wantonly shot down, but the licentiousness of the soldiery extended so far that, in several places, nothing within their reach, however small and insignificant, was suffered to live. For this destruction they could not make the plea of necessity, for what was thus killed was frequently neither used nor carried off. The gardens which had been improved with great care, and ornamented with many foreign productions, were laid waste, and their nicest curiosities destroyed. The houses of the planters were seldom burnt, but in every other way the destructions and depredations committed by the British were so enormous, that, should the whole be particularly related, they who live at a distance would scarcely believe what could be attested by hundreds of eye-witnesses.

SOON after the affair at Stono, on the 20th of June, the continental forces, under the command of general Lincoln, retired to Sheldon. Both armies remained in their respective encampments till the arrival of a French fleet on the coast roused the whole country to immediate activity.

AFTER the conquest of Grenada, in the summer of 1779, count D'Estaing, with the force under his command, retired to Cape-Francois. Letters from governor Rutledge and monsieur Plombard, the consul of France in Charleston, were

were received at that place by the victorious French admiral. In all of which a speedy visit to the coast of the American continent was recommended, and by some of them he was informed that Savannah might be taken by a coup-de-main, and that, on his arrival, he would find every thing ready for an assault. This invitation, coinciding with the instructions he had received from the King his master, to act in concert with the forces of the United States whensoever an occasion should present itself, he sailed for the American continent, and arrived early in September with a fleet consisting of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. As soon as his arrival on the coast was known, general Lincoln, with the army under his command, marched for Savannah; and orders were issued for the militia of South-Carolina and Georgia to rendezvous immediately near the same place. The British were equally diligent in preparing for their defence. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, who had a small command at Sunbury, and lieutenant-colonel Maitland, who was in force at Beaufort, were ordered to repair to Savannah. As the French frigates approached the bar, the Fowey and Rose, of twenty guns each, the Kepel and Germain armed vessels, retired towards the town. The battery on Tybee was destroyed. To prevent the French ships from coming too near the town, the Rose and Savannah armed ships, with four transports, were sunk in the channel. A boom was laid across it, and several
small

small vessels were also sunk above the town. The seamen were appointed to the different batteries. The marines were incorporated with the grenadiers of the sixtieth regiment, and great numbers employed both by day and night in strengthening and extending the lines of defence. Count D'Estaing made repeated declarations, that he could not remain more than ten or fifteen days on shore. Nevertheless the fall of Savannah was considered as infallibly certain. It was generally believed that in a few days the British would be stripped of all their southern possessions. Flushed with these romantick hopes, the militia turned out with a readiness that far surpassed their exertions in the preceding campaign. Every aid was given from Charleston by sending small vessels to assist the French in their landing; but, as the large ships of count D'Estaing could not come near the shore, this was not effected till the 12th of September. On the 16th Savannah was summoned to surrender to the arms of France. This was urged by the loyalists as an argument of the intentions of the French to conquer for themselves. The true reason was, that the American army had not then come up. It would have been therefore absurd for a French officer to demand the surrender of a town to an absent commander. The garrison requested twenty-four hours to consider of an answer. This request was made with a view of gaining time for the detachment at Beaufort, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maitland, to join the royal army in Savannah.

Savannah. An enterprize was undertaken to prevent this junction, but it proved unsuccessful. The pilots would not undertake to conduct to a proper station the frigates destined to intercept the communication. Lieutenant-colonel Maitland availed himself of this circumstance, pushed through by Dawfuskies, dragged his boats through a gut, and joined general Prevost before the time granted for preparing an answer to count D'Estaing's summons had elapsed. The arrival of such a reinforcement, and especially of the brave lieutenant-colonel Maitland, determined the garrison to risk an assault. The French and Americans, who formed a junction the evening after, were therefore reduced to the necessity of storming, or of besieging the garrison. The resolution of proceeding by siege being adopted, the attention of the combined armies was immediately called to the landing of cannon, and the erecting of batteries. The distance of the fleet from the landing-place, together with the want of proper carriages to transport the cannon and stores from Thunderbolt to Savannah, a distance of five miles, consumed a great deal of time. The works of the town were every day perfecting by the labour of several hundred negroes, directed by that able engineer major Moncrieff. On the evening of the 23d the French and Americans broke ground, and on the 24th major Graham, with a small party of the besieged, sallied out on the French troops, but he was soon repulsed. The pursuit was continued so near to
the

the British intrenchments, that the French, on their return, were exposed to a heavy fire, by which many of them fell. On the night of the 27th major M'Arthur, with a party of the British pickets, advanced and fired among the besiegers. This was conducted so artfully as to occasion a firing between the French and American camps. On the 4th of October the besiegers opened with nine mortars, thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land-side, and sixteen from the water. These continued to play with short intervals for four or five days, but without any considerable effect. On the 8th, in the morning, major L'Enfant, with five men, marched through a brisk fire from the British lines, and kindled their abbatis; but the dampness of the air, and the moisture of the green wood, prevented the success of this bold undertaking.

SOON after the commencement of the cannonade, general Prevost solicited for leave to send the women and children out of the town. This humane request was, from motives of policy, refused. The combined army was so confident of success, that it was suspected a desire of secreting the plunder lately taken from the inhabitants of South-Carolina, was a considerable object covered under the specious veil of humanity. It was also presumed that a refusal would expedite a surrender. The period being long since elapsed which the count had assigned for this expedition, and the engineers informing him, that more time
must

must be spent if he expected to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, it was determined to make an assault. This measure was forced on count D'Estaing by his marine-officers, who had remonstrated against his continuing to risk so valuable a fleet, in its present unrepai red condition, on such a dangerous coast in the hurricane season, and at so great a distance from the shore, that it might be surprized by a British fleet. These remonstrances were enforced by the probability of their being attacked by a British fleet completely repaired, and with their full complement of men, soldiers and artillery on board, when the ships of his most christian majesty were weakened by the absence of a considerable part of their crews, artillery and officers. In a few days the lines of the besiegers might have been carried into the works of the besieged; but under these critical circumstances no further delay could be admitted. To assault, or to raise the siege was the only alternative. Prudence would have dictated the latter, but a sense of honour determined to adopt the former. The morning of the 9th of October was fixed upon for the attack. Two feints were made with the country militia; and a real attack on the Spring-Hill battery with three thousand five hundred French troops, six hundred continentals, and three hundred and fifty of the Charleston militia, led by count D'Estaing and general Lincoln. They marched up to the lines with great boldness; but a heavy and well-directed fire from
the

the batteries, and a cross-fire from the galleys did execution such as threw the front of the column into confusion. Two standards were nevertheless planted on the British redoubts. Count Pulaski, at the head of two hundred horsemen, was in full gallop, riding into town between the redoubts, with an intention of charging in the rear, when he received a mortal wound. A general retreat of the assailants took place after they had stood the enemy's fire for fifty-five minutes. Count D'Estaing received two wounds ; six hundred and thirty-seven of his troops, and two hundred and fifty-seven continentals, were killed or wounded ; of the three hundred and fifty Charleston militia, who were in the hottest of the fire, six were wounded, and the intrepid captain Shepherd killed.^d General Prevost, lieutenant-colonel Maitland and major Moncrieff, deservedly acquired great reputation by this successful defence. The last of these gentlemen received also a very generous donation from his royal master. There were not ten guns mounted on the lines on the day of the summons, and in a few days he had upwards of eighty. The force of the garrison was between two and three thousand, of which about one hundred and fifty were militia. Though twelve hundred of the fencible inhabitants of Georgia had submitted and taken oaths to the British government, and though every method was used to bring them within the lines, yet no more than the inconsiderable number just mentioned

^d See note iv.

tioned could be obtained. The damage sustained by the besieged was trifling, as they fired under cover, and few of the assailants fired at all. The garrison lost no other officer than the gallant captain Taws, who defended his post with the greatest bravery. Immediately after this unsuccessful assault, the militia almost universally went to their homes. Count D'Estaing reembarked his troops, artillery and baggage, and left the continent.

SUBSEQUENT events soon justified the apprehensions of those who had expressed a desire that the French troops and marines, employed in the siege, might be reembarked. They were scarcely on board when a violent gale dispersed the whole fleet, and though count D'Estaing had ordered seven ships to repair to Hampton road in the Chesapeake, the marquis De Vaudreuil was the only officer who was able to execute the order.

THIS visit of the fleet of his most christian majesty to the coast of America, though unsuccessful with regard to the main object intended, was not without its utility to the United States. It in the first instance disconcerted the measures already digested by the British commanders; and the arrival of the marquis De Vaudreuil in the Chesapeake kept them so much in suspense, that they could not, for some time, determine on any plan of operations.

THE siege being raised, the continental troops retreated over the river Savannah—a depression of spirits succeeded, much encreased by the preceding elevation. The Georgia exiles, who had arrived from all quarters to repossess themselves of their estates, were a second time obliged to abandon their country, and seek refuge among strangers. The currency depreciated much faster than ever, and the most gloomy apprehensions respecting the southern states generally took possession of the minds of the people.

WHILE the siege of Savannah was pending, a remarkable enterprize was effected by colonel John White, of the Georgia line. Previous to the arrival of count D'Estaing on the coast of Georgia, captain French, with one hundred and eleven British regulars, had taken post near the river Ogeechee, about twenty-five miles from Savannah. There were also at the same place five British vessels, four of which were armed, the largest with fourteen guns, and the smallest with four, and the whole manned with upwards of forty sailors. Captain French, with his regulars, one hundred and thirty stand of arms, the before-mentioned five vessels, with their crews, surrendered on the first of October 1779, to a party of Americans, consisting of colonel White, captain Elholm and three others. By the kindling of a number of fires in different places, the parade of a large encampment, and a variety of other stratagems, captain French was fully im-

pressed

pressed with an opinion that nothing but an instant surrender could save his men from being cut to pieces by a greatly superior force. The deception was carried on with so much address, that the whole of the British prisoners were safely conducted by three of the captors for twenty-five miles through the country to the American post at Sunbury.

THUS ended the campaign of 1779, without any thing decisive on either side. After one year, in which the British had over-run the state of Georgia for one hundred and fifty miles up the country, and had penetrated as far as the lines of Charleston, they were reduced to their original limits in Savannah. All their schemes of co-operation with the tories had failed, and the spirits of that class of the inhabitants, by repeated disappointments, were thoroughly broken. The arrival of the French fleet protracted the execution of a plan formed for turning the force of the war against the southern states. The want of success in the attack on Savannah induced the British commander in New-York, soon after count D'Estaing's departure, to resume it.

IT is the province of an historian to relate what has happened, and not to indulge in fancied conjectures about probable contingencies. Otherwise it might be added, that, if the garrison of Savannah had been assaulted in the first instance, or, if the siege had been continued a fortnight longer,

longer, it is most likely that the town would have fallen, and, in consequence thereof, that the war would have terminated without the reduction of Charleston, the over-running of the southern states, and that loss of honour and property which resulted from the breach of publick faith, pledged for the redemption of the continental and state paper currency at par with gold and silver.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER NINTH.

Of the reduction of Charleston, and the operations in the country during the siege.

NO sooner was the departure of the French fleet from the coast of America known and confirmed at New-York, than sir Henry Clinton set on foot a grand expedition against Charleston. The campaigns of 1778 and 1779 to the northward had produced nothing of importance. But he regaled himself with flattering prospects of more easy conquests among the weaker states. The almost uninterrupted march of general Prevost through the richest parts of South-Carolina to the gates of the capital; the conduct of the planters, who on that occasion were more attentive to secure their property by submission than to defend it by resistance; together with the recent successful defence of Savannah—all invited the British arms to the southward.

UNFORTUNATELY for Carolina, the most formidable attack was made on her capital, at a time when she was least able to defend it. In 1776 a vote of her new government stamped a value on her bills of credit, which in 1780 could not be affixed to twenty times as much of the same nominal currency. At this important juncture, when the publick service needed the largest supplies, the paper bills of credit were of the
least

least value. To a want of money was added a want of men. The militia were exhausted with an uninterrupted continuance of hard duty. The winter, to others a time of repose, had been to them a season for most active exertions. The dread of the small-pox, which, after seventeen years absence, was known to be in Charleston, discouraged many from repairing to the defence of the capital. The six continental regiments, on the South-Carolina establishment, in the year 1777, consisted of two thousand four hundred men, but in the year 1780 they were so much reduced by death, desertion, battles, and the expiration of their terms of service, that they did not exceed eight hundred. Government had neither the policy to forgive, nor the courage to punish the numbers who, in the preceding campaign, deserting their country's cause, had repaired for protection to the royal standard of general Prevost. They who stayed at home and submitted, generally saved some part of their property. They who continued with the American army were plundered of every thing that could be carried away, and deprived of the remainder, as far as was possible, by wanton destruction. After events of this kind, it was no easy matter to call forth the militia from their homes to the defence of Charleston. The repulse at Savannah, on the 9th of the preceding October, impressed the inhabitants with high ideas of the power of Britain. The impossibility of a retreat from an invested town, created in
many

many an aversion from lines and ramparts. The presence of sir Henry Clinton, who, as commander in chief, could order what reinforcements he pleased, and who would naturally wish by something brilliant to efface the remembrance of his defeat in 1776, concurred with the causes already mentioned to dispirit the country. In this low ebb of affairs, Congress recommended to arm the negroes. Had this measure, from which the inhabitants were generally averse, been adopted, arms were not to be had. The North-Carolina and Virginia continentals, amounting to fifteen hundred men, and also two frigates, a twenty-gun ship, and a sloop of war, were ordered from the northward for the defence of Charleston. This was all the aid that could be expected from Congress. The resolution was nevertheless unanimously taken, in a full house of assembly, to defend the town to the last extremity.

THE royal army, destined for the reduction of Charleston, embarked at New-York on the 26th of December 1779. They had a tedious and difficult passage, in which they sustained great damage. This, with their touching at Savannah, made it as late as the 11th of February 1780, before they landed at the distance of thirty miles from Charleston. The assembly, then sitting, immediately broke up, and delegated, ‘till ten days after their next session, to the governor ‘ John Rutledge, esquire, and such of his council

‘ as

‘ as he could conveniently consult, a power to do
 ‘ every thing necessary for the publick good,
 ‘ except the taking away the life of a citizen
 ‘ without a legal trial.’ Invested with this au-
 thority, he immediately ordered the militia to
 rendezvous. Though the necessity was great, few
 obeyed the pressing call. A proclamation was
 soon after issued, ‘ requiring such of the militia
 ‘ as were regularly draughted, and all the inha-
 ‘ bitants, and owners of property in the town,
 ‘ to repair to the American standard, and join
 ‘ the garrison immediately, under pain of con-
 ‘ fiscation.’ This severe, though necessary mea-
 sure, produced very little effect. These efforts,
 for strengthening the operating force of the Ame-
 rican army from domestick resources, were ac-
 companied with solicitations to the governor of
 the Havannah to contribute his assistance in pro-
 moting the same design. Lieutenant-colonel Ter-
 nant was dispatched from Charleston, in the
 month of February, to negotiate this business.
 He was authorized to promise two thousand men
 to co-operate with the Spaniards in the reduction
 of St. Augustine, if they would lend a sufficient
 force of ships and troops for the defence of
 Charleston; but the Spanish governor doubted
 his authority to accede to the proposition. Had
 sir Henry Clinton pushed immediately for the
 town, it is probable that he might have possessed
 himself of it in four days after his landing; but
 that cautious commander adopted the slow me-
 thod of a regular investiture. At Wappoo, on
 James

James island, he formed a depot and erected fortifications both on that island and on the main, opposite to the southern and western extremities of the town. On the 29th of March he passed Ashley river, and the third day after broke ground at the distance of eleven hundred yards, and at successive periods erected five batteries on Charleston Neck. The garrison was equally assiduous in preparing for their defence. The works that had been thrown up in the spring of the year 1779, were strengthened and extended. Lines of defence and redoubts were continued across Charleston Neck from Cooper to Ashley river. In front of the lines was a strong abatis, and a wet ditch picketted on the nearest side. Between the abatis and the lines deep holes were dug at short distances from each other. The lines were made particularly strong on the right and left, and so constructed as to rake the wet ditch, in almost its whole extent. In the centre a strong citadel was erected. Works were thrown up on all sides of the town where a landing was practicable. Colonel De Laumoy and lieutenant-colonel De Cambray, two French engineers of ability in the service of Congress, were indefatigable on this occasion. They were joined a few days before the surrender by brigadier-general Du Portail. The continentals, with the Charleston battalion of artillery, manned the lines in front of the British on the Neck between Ashley and Cooper rivers. The works on South-Bay and other parts of the town, not immedi-

ately exposed to danger, were defended by the militia. The marine force of the state had been increased by converting four schooners into galleys, and by the armed ships *Bricole* and *Truite*, which for that purpose had been lately purchased from the French. The inferior numbers of the garrison forbade any attempts to oppose sir Henry Clinton before his landing on the main. Immediately after which lieutenant-colonel John Laurens, with a corps of light-infantry, briskly attacked his advanced guards. In this skirmish, captain Bowman was killed, major Hyrne and seven privates wounded. Though the lines were no more than field-works, yet sir Henry treated them with the respectful homage of three parallels, and made his advances with the greatest circumspection. From the third to the tenth of April, the first parallel was completed, and immediately after the town was summoned to surrender. On the 12th the batteries were opened, and an almost incessant fire kept up.

A BRITISH fleet, commanded by admiral Arbuthnot, consisting of the *Renown* of fifty guns, the *Romulus* and *Roebuck* each of forty-four, the *Richmond*, *Le Blonde*, *Raleigh*, *Virginia*, each of thirty-two guns, and the *Sandwich* armed ship, crossed the bar in front of Rebellion road on the 20th of March, and anchored in Five Fathom Hole. The force opposed to this was the *Bricole* of forty-four guns, the *Providence* and *Boston*, each of thirty-two, the *Queen of France*

France of twenty-eight, L'Avanture and the Truite, each of twenty-six, the Ranger and brig General Lincoln, each of twenty, and the brig Notre Dame of sixteen guns. The first object of commodore Whipple, who commanded the American naval force, was to prevent admiral Arbuthnot from crossing the bar; but on the near approach of the British fleet he retreated to fort Moultrie, and in a few days after to Charleston. The crews and guns of all his vessels, except the Ranger, were put on shore to reinforce the batteries. On the ninth of April admiral Arbuthnot weighed anchor at Five Fathom Hole, and taking advantage of a strong southerly wind, and flowing tide, passed fort Moultrie without stopping to engage it. Colonel Pinckney, who commanded on Sullivan's island, with three hundred men, kept up a brisk and severe fire on the ships in their passage. Twenty-seven seamen were killed or wounded. The Richmond's fore-topmast was shot away, and the ships in general sustained damage. The Acetus transport ran aground near Haddrell's point. Captain Gadsden, detached with two field-pieces, fired into her with such effect, that the crew set her on fire, and retreated in boats to the other vessels. The royal fleet came to anchor, in about two hours, near the remains of fort Johnston on James island, within long shot of the town batteries. To prevent their running up Cooper river, from which they might have enfiladed the lines, was the next object. With
this

this intention eleven vessels had been sunk in the channel opposite to the Exchange. The Ranger frigate and two galleys were stationed to the northward of it, to co-operate with the batteries on shore, in defending these obstructions, and to attack any armed vessels that might force a passage through Hog-Island channel.

THOUGH the greatest exertions had been made by the gentlemen in power to reinforce the garrison, and to strengthen the lines, yet their endeavours were not seconded by the people. No more country militia could be brought into the town, and very few could be persuaded to embody in the country. Out of a thousand North-Carolina militia, commanded by general Lillington, whose term of service expired while the siege was pending, no more than three hundred could be persuaded to remain within the lines, though the government of South-Carolina offered to those who would continue in the garrison very generous encouragement. Seven hundred continentals, commanded by general Woodford, who had marched five hundred miles in twenty-eight days, arrived in Charleston on the tenth of April. This was the only reinforcement the garrison received during the siege, though the communication between the town and country was open until the middle of April.

THE fire of the besiegers soon discovered itself to be much superior to that of the besieged. The
former



A Sketch of CHARLESTON HARBOUR showing the disposition of the BRITISH FLEET under the Command of Vice Adm. MARLOT ARBUTHNOT upon the Attack on PORT MOULTRIE on SULLIVAN ISLAND in 1780

Abernethy Sculp. Charleston.

former had the advantage of twenty-one mortars and royals; the latter only of two. While the lines of approach advanced with such rapidity, that the second parallel, at the distance of three hundred yards, was completed on the 20th, the lines of the besieged, in many places, sustained great damage. On the 14th the American cavalry, as shall be more particularly hereafter related, was surprized at Monk's Corner, and totally routed. On this event the British immediately extended themselves to the eastward of Cooper river, and took post with two hundred and fifty cavalry and five hundred infantry, in the vicinity of Wappetaw. On the 16th general Lincoln called a council of officers, who were of opinion that the weak state of the garrison made it improper to detach a number sufficient to attack this separate corps. The only practicable route of an evacuation was to the right of the town. To deter general Lincoln from attempting this change of position, the British continued to extend and increase their force in that quarter. On the 20th and 21st a council of officers was again called to deliberate on the important subject of an evacuation. They were of opinion, 'that it was unadvisable, because of the opposition made to it by the civil authority and the inhabitants, and because, even if they should succeed in defeating a large body of the enemy posted in their way, they had not a sufficiency of boats to cross the Santee before they might be overtaken by the whole British army.' The council

cil of war recommended a capitulation with the besiegers as the most eligible mode of effecting the desired evacuation. In this it was proposed that the security of the inhabitants, and a safe unmolested retreat for the garrison, with baggage and field-pieces to the north-east of Charleston, should be granted on the part of sir Henry Clinton, as an equivalent for the quiet possession of the town, its fortifications and dependencies. These terms were instantly rejected, and from that time the dispirited garrison made a languid resistance. The scarcity of provisions being assigned as one reason for the intended evacuation, every house in town was searched, but on enquiry it was found that private dwellings were as nearly exhausted as the publick magazines. Provision had been stored in large quantities to the north-eastward of Charleston, but from the low value of the money, the want of carriages and horses, and the badness of roads, they could not be brought to town before the investiture of it was completed. From the failure of the promised reinforcements which were expected by the commander of the American army, the communication between the town and country could not be maintained without making such detachments as would have endangered the garrison.

THE inferior numbers of the besieged forbade repeated sallies. The only one made during the siege was on the 24th of April, soon after the rejection of the offered terms of capitulation.

This

This was conducted by lieutenant-colonel Henderson who led out two hundred men, and attacked the advanced working-party of the British, killed several, and took eleven prisoners. In this affair captain Moultrie, of the South-Carolina line, was killed. The only plan now left for an evacuation, was to withdraw privately, under cover of the night. A council of war held on the 26th pronounced this measure impracticable with the present numbers of the garrison; but as reinforcements were expected from the country on the rear of the besiegers, a hope was still indulged of some future favourable moment to effect the wished-for retreat. To forward this design, and to preserve the communication between the town and country, a breastwork had been erected some days before at Lempriere's, on the east side of Cooper river, and some heavy cannon mounted on it, but the British having extended their force into its vicinity, this post was soon abandoned. On the night of the same day the British galleys passed under the fire of the southern batteries of Charleston from Wappoo to the Cove, and intercepted all communication between the garrison and fort Moultrie. The investiture was now completed, and the British army communicated with the fleet on both flanks. Sir Henry Clinton had also about the same time received a reinforcement of three thousand men from New-York. Difficulties pressed hard on every side. To surrender the garrison prisoners of war, appeared to many a disaster of such magnitude as to be
nearly

nearly equal to any that could take place in attempting the evacuation. To withdraw the regular army clandestinely from the town, and leave the citizens to the mercy of an enraged enemy, without giving them the offer of joining in the intended retreat, would have been ungenerous. On the other hand, to have given every citizen his option of retreating with the army or of staying and submitting to the conquerors, would have put it in the power of a disaffected individual, by deserting to the enemy, to bring them on the retreating garrison before they were in their boats. Independent of every difficulty that might have been thrown in the way by the disaffected among the citizens, the evacuation of the town was, in the opinion of almost every military man, absolutely impracticable. While general Lincoln was pressed with these difficulties, the British flag was seen flying on fort Moultrie. After the ships had passed Sullivan's island, colonel Pinckney, with one hundred and fifty of the men under his command, was withdrawn from that post, to reinforce the besieged army in Charleston. The feeble remainder of that garrison, mostly militia, on the 6th of May surrendered, without firing a gun, to captain Hudson of the British navy. On the next day sir Henry Clinton began a correspondence, and renewed his former terms. At this time all the flesh-provisions of the garrison were not sufficient to furnish rations for the space of a week. There was no prospect either of reinforcements or of supplies

plies from the country. The engineers gave it as their opinion that the lines could not be defended ten days longer, and that they might at any time be carried by assault in ten minutes. The same obstacles in the way of an evacuation still existed with increased force. General Lincoln was disposed to close with the terms offered, as far as they respected his army; but some demur was made in behalf of the citizens. Sir Henry Clinton insisted on their being all prisoners on parole, and would promise nothing farther,—than that the town-property of those who were within the lines should not be molested by the British troops. He also evaded any determinate answer to the article which requested leave for those who did not choose to submit to the British government, to sell their estates and leave the province. The royalists in the state having had this indulgence at all times since the abolition of regal government, it was hoped that on a proper representation of these matters, in a free conference, the generosity of the besiegers would soften their demands. This conference was asked by general Lincoln, without directly refusing what was offered. Contrary to the expectation of the besieged, an answer was returned that hostilities should recommence at eight o'clock. When that hour arrived the most vigorous onset of the besiegers was immediately expected by the garrison. But instead of this neither army fired a gun for some time. Both seemed to dread the consequences of an assault, and to wish for a

continuance of the truce, and a reconsideration of the proposed articles. At nine P. M. firing commenced from the garrison, and was kept up on both sides for several hours with unusual briskness, and did more execution than had taken place in the same length of time since the commencement of the siege. Shells and carcasses were thrown incessantly into almost all parts of the town. Several houses were burnt, and many more were with difficulty saved. By this time the British had completed their third parallel. Besides the cannon and mortars which played on the garrison at a distance of less than a hundred yards, rifles were fired by the Hessian jagers with such effect, that very few escaped who shewed themselves above the lines. On the 11th the British crossed the wet ditch by sap, and advanced within twenty-five yards of the lines of the besieged. On this day petitions were presented from a great majority of the inhabitants, and of the country militia, praying general Lincoln to accede to the terms offered by sir Henry Clinton. During the siege a few secret friends of royal government fomented and encouraged a mutinous disposition among the citizens, and successfully worked on the fears of the timid. When it was generally known that there was an insufficiency of animal provision in the garrison, and that the town was completely surrounded, these men openly urged the necessity of an immediate surrender. The measure of petitioning received its first and warmest support from the disaffected,



FORTIFICATIONS & OUTWORKS

Under the Command of
MAJ. GENERAL LINCOLN

FORTS

A Wilkes	10	F. Old Magazine	5
B Gilke	9	F. Cummings Point	5
C Ferguson	5	G. P. High Point	4
D. Snout House	0		

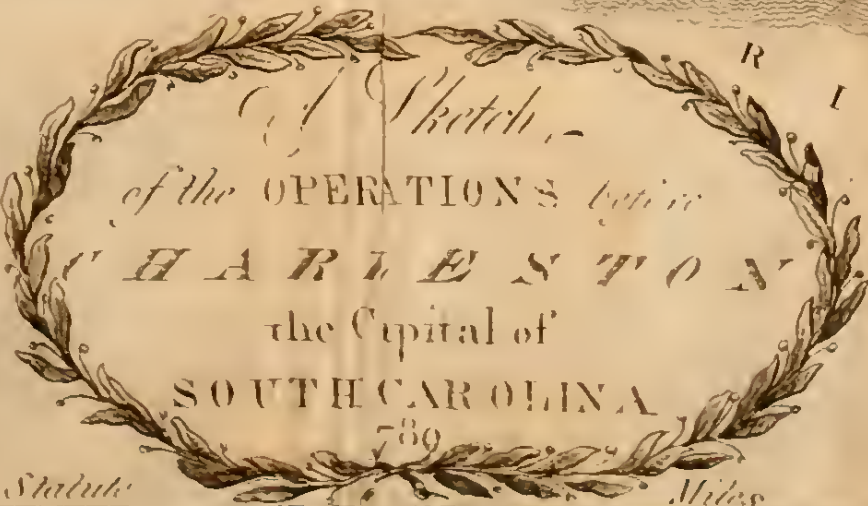
Wherever of Manner & used during the Siege to form
a Citadel with its no lanes and Redoubts picketed and
traversed covered by *Pions de terre double Abatis* a
Canal from Ashles to Cooper River and Batteries
Mounting 66 Guns exclusive of Mortars

	Guns		Guns
K. Gunpowder Wharf	7	X Exchange	7
L. Old Indian	5	O End of the Bay	1
M. Cannon Bridge	3	P Darrells	7

Q. B. & M. in Exchange Port to States Ferry
comprised of 3 Batteries of different Size sunk
across the road with tables Chains & Spikes
lashed and two 6 inch howitzer Mobs

REDOUTS APPROACHES & BATTERIES OF THE
BRITISH ARMY under Cornwallis at Fall CHATELAIN R. B.
Redoubt Numbered 1 2 3 4 5 6 began 1st April for
establishing the First Parallel

C. The Second Parallel Finished 10th April
P. The Third Parallel Completed the 6th of May and
sunk issued to a Ship across to the dam
of our Batteries R. The four Batteries



CHARLESTON
Having been considered by Capitulation the
12th of May the Garrison laid down their Arms
at A between the Abatis in front of the
Hornwork
Abatis the South Charleston

Statute Miles

disaffected, to whom all capitulations were equal, as they meant to become British subjects. These had the address to strengthen themselves by the timid, and even by some of the bravest and best citizens, who believed that farther resistance was vain. Under these circumstances general Lincoln found it necessary to assent to the articles as proposed without any conference or explanation.^e

THIS was the first instance in the American war of an attempt to defend a town, and the unsuccessful event, with its consequences, makes it probable, that, if this method had been generally adopted, the independence of America could not have been so easily supported.

MUCH censure was undeservedly cast on general Lincoln for risking his army within the lines. Though the contrary plan was undoubtedly the best in general, yet he had particular reasons to justify his deviation from the example of the illustrious commander in chief of the American army. The reinforcements promised him were fully sufficient for the security of the town. The Congress and the governments of North and South-Carolina gave him ground to count upon nine thousand nine hundred men. From a variety of causes, some of which have been already stated, this paper army, including the militia of both Carolinas, was very little more than one third of that number. As long as an evacuation

was

^e See note v.

was practicable he had such assurances of support, that he could not attempt it with propriety. The British afterwards took such a position, that in the opinion of good judges, a retreat could not be successfully made. Before the batteries were opened, and for two or three days after, the regular army might have retired from the town; but had the measure been attempted within that period, the most brilliant success would not have prevented the severest censures. After the 16th of April an attempt to withdraw the army would have left the town in the hands of the British at unconditional mercy, and if unsuccessful might have been productive of worse consequences than a surrender by capitulation. Notwithstanding this unfortunate termination of his command in the southern district, great praise is due to general Lincoln for his judicious and spirited conduct in baffling, for three months, the greatly superior force of sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot. Though Charleston and the southern army were lost, yet by their long protracted defence, the British plans were not only retarded, but deranged, and North-Carolina, as will hereafter be made evident, was saved for the remainder of the year 1780.

THE return of prisoners, transmitted by sir Henry Clinton, on the surrender of Charleston, was very large. It comprehended every adult freeman of the town, between two and three thousand sailors, who had been taken from the
shipping,

shipping, and put into the batteries, and the militia of both Carolinas then in garrison. These swelled the number to upwards of five thousand, and afforded ample materials for a splendid account of the importance of the conquest; but the real number of the privates of the continental army was nineteen hundred and seventy-seven, and of these five hundred were in the hospitals. The number of captive officers was also great, and out of proportion to the privates—one major-general, six brigadiers, nine colonels, fourteen lieutenant-colonels, fifteen majors, eighty-four captains and captain-lieutenants, eighty-four lieutenants, thirty-two second-lieutenants and ensigns. The commanders of the militia from the country, who were mostly people of the first rank, influenced by a sense of honour, repaired to the defence of the town, though they could not bring with them a number of privates equal to their respective commands. The continental regiments were completely officered, though the adequate number of privates was greatly deficient. These supernumerary regular officers, though without command, were retained in the garrison from an apprehension that their being ordered out would have dispirited the army, and from an expectation that was confidently indulged in the early parts of the siege, that their services would be wanted to command the expected large reinforcements of militia. During the thirty days of the siege, only twenty American soldiers deserted. The militia and sailors were
stationed

stationed in those batteries, which were not much exposed, and therefore they suffered very little. Of the continentals who manned the lines in front of the besiegers eighty-nine were killed, and one hundred and thirty-eight wounded; among the former were colonel Parker, an officer who had often distinguished himself by his gallantry and good conduct, and captain Peyton, both of the Virginia line, Philip Neyle, aid-de-camp to general Moultrie, captains Mitchel and Templeton, and lieutenant Gilbank. The Charleston militia artillery, who were stationed at the lines, and did equal duty with the continentals, had three men killed, adjutant Warham and seven privates wounded; about twenty of the inhabitants who remained in their houses were killed by random-shot in the town. Upwards of thirty houses were burnt, and many others greatly damaged.

AFTER the British took possession of the town, the arms taken from the army and inhabitants, amounting to five thousand, were lodged in a laboratory, near a large quantity of cartridges, and of loose powder. By the imprudence of the guard, in snapping the guns and pistols, this powder took fire, blew up the house, dispersed the burning fragments of it, which set fire to and destroyed the workhouse, the gaol and the old barracks. The British guard, consisting of fifty men, stationed at this place, was destroyed, and their mangled bodies dashed by the violent explosion

explosion against the neighbouring houses in Archdale-Street. Several persons in the vicinity shared the same fate. Many of the fire-arms were loaded. They, with the cartridges going off, sent the instruments of death in all directions. Upwards of a hundred persons lost their lives on this occasion.

IN the tedious and difficult winter passage of the royal army from New-York to Charleston, the horses destined to mount the British cavalry were lost. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, after he landed, in a little time obtained a fresh supply, and began the career of his victories. Soon after he had procured horses to mount his cavalry, he joined a body of about a thousand men, who had marched through the country from Savannah, under the command of general Patterson. On the 18th of March 1780, a detachment from his corps surprized a party of American militia, about eighty in number, at Saltcatcher bridge, killed and wounded several of them, and dispersed the remainder. Five days after lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with his legion, fell in with another small party of mounted militia, near Ponpon, who immediately retreated. In the pursuit three were killed, one wounded and four taken prisoners. His next rencounter was on the 27th, with lieutenant-colonel Washington, at the head of his regular corps of horse, between the ferry on Ashley river and Rantowle's bridge on Stono. The Americans had the advantage, took
seven

seven prisoners, and drove back the cavalry of the British legion ; but, for want of infantry, durst not pursue them. At the beginning of the siege general Lincoln ordered the regular cavalry, amounting to three hundred men, to keep the field, and the country militia were ordered to act as infantry in their support. The militia, at this period of the contest, were uncommonly averse from doing their duty, and, on various pretences, refused to attach themselves to the cavalry. 'This important body of horse, which was intended to cover the country, and keep open a communication between it and the town, was surprized on the 14th of April at Monk's Corner, by a strong party of British, led by lieutenant-colonels Tarleton and Webster. A negro-slave, for a sum of money, conducted the British from Goose creek, in the night, through unfrequented paths. Although the commanding officer of the American cavalry had taken the precaution of having his horses saddled and bridled, and the alarm was given by his videttes, posted at the distance of a mile in front ; yet, being entirely unsupported by infantry, the British advanced so rapidly, notwithstanding the opposition of the advanced-guard, that they began their attack on the main body before they could put themselves in a posture of defence. About twenty-five of the Americans were killed or taken. They who escaped were obliged for several days to conceal themselves in the swamps. Upwards of thirty horses were lost, and became a seasonable supply

ply to the British who were but badly mounted. After this catastrophe all armed parties of Americans, for some time, abandoned that part of the state which lies to the southward of Santee.

SOON after this surprize, Colonel Anthony-Walton White arrived, and took the command of the remains of the cavalry. At the head of this corps, mounted a second time with great difficulty, he crossed to the southward of the Santee, and on the sixth of May 1780, came up with a small British party at the house of colonel Ball, took them prisoners, and conducted them to Lanneau's ferry. Orders had been given in due season by colonel White to proper persons to collect boats, and to assemble a body of infantry at this place, to cover the American cavalry in their recrossing the Santee, but they had not been carried into execution. The zeal of a new subject, who had lately submitted to the royal army, prompted him to give immediate notice to lord Cornwallis of colonel White's situation. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with a party of his horse, was dispatched to the ferry, and he arrived there in a few minutes after the American cavalry, and instantly charged them with a superior force. From the want of boats and of infantry, a retreat was impracticable, and resistance unavailing. A rout took place. Major Call and seven others escaped on horseback by urging their way through the advancing British cavalry. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, major Jameson, and five or six

privates, saved themselves by swimming across the Santee. About thirty were killed, wounded or taken. The remainder got off by concealing themselves in the swamps. The British prisoners, who were in a boat crossing the river, being called upon by their friends to come back, rose on their guard, and were released.

AFTER the landing of the British in 1780 depredations, similar to those described in the eighth chapter, recommenced. As the reduction of Carolina was then confidently expected, they did not commit such wanton wastes as general Prevost's army, but it is hard to tell which exceeded the other in plundering. As the royal army of 1780 was much more numerous, and extended over the country on all sides of Charleston, and had the convenience of a large fleet on the coast to carry off their spoil, they made much greater collections of bulky articles. They possessed themselves in particular of indigo to the value of many thousand dollars. From mistaken policy, the merchants and others had stored the greater part of their commodities without the lines, and very often on or near the water. These collections very generally fell into the hands of the conquerors. The British on this occasion plundered by system, formed a general stock, and appointed commissaries of captures. Spoil collected this way was disposed of for the benefit of the royal army. The quantity brought to market was so great, that though it sold un-

commonly

commonly low, yet the dividend of a major-general was upwards of four thousand British guineas. The private plunder of individuals, on their separate account, was often more than their proportion of the publick stock. Over and above what was sold in Carolina, several vessels were sent abroad to market, loaded with rich spoil taken from the inhabitants. Upwards of two thousand plundered negroes were shipped off at one embarkation. Several private gentlemen lost, in the invasions of 1779 and 1780, from five hundred to two thousand dollars worth of plate, and other property in proportion. The slaves a second time flocked to the British army, and, being crowded together, were visited by the camp-fever. The small-pox, which had not been in the province for seventeen years, broke out among them, and spread very rapidly. From these two diseases, and the impossibility of their being provided with proper accommodations and attendance in the British encampments, great numbers of them died, and were left unburied in the woods. A few instances occurred, in which infants were found in unfrequented retreats, drawing the breasts of their deceased parent some time after life was gone.

C H A P T E R

CHAPTER T E N T H.

Of the navy, trade, paper currency, army, militia, and other miscellaneous matters in South-Carolina, chiefly prior to the reduction of Charleston.

WHEN South-Carolina first adopted the idea of defending herself against all hostile attempts to enforce the claims of the British parliament, she had not possession of a single armed vessel. The Tamar, a sloop of eighteen guns, and the Cherokee, an armed vessel of sixteen guns, belonging to the King of Great-Britain, lay in the road and harbour of Charleston, and committed many outrages on private property. To check these depredations was the general wish, but the means of effecting it did not occur to the inhabitants heretofore occupied in the peaceable lines of agriculture and commerce. The offers of service, made by sundry spirited gentlemen, who proposed to board them sword in hand, were uniformly rejected by the popular leaders, who wished to heal rather than widen breaches. Few were acquainted with the nature of gallies, or the method of constructing them. With the means of defence in their hands, and the spirit to use them, the inhabitants of Charleston, partly from inexperience and partly from pacifick intentions, submitted for a considerable time to many insults from the British vessels in the harbour. At last it was agreed to
arm

arm merchantmen. A coasting schooner was fitted out with sixteen guns, to which was given the name of the Defence. The Prosper, a merchant-ship, was mounted with twenty guns ; and soon after another coasting schooner, named the Comet, was armed with sixteen guns. These were originally intended for the security of Charleston and the harbour. A galley, called the Beaufort, was built, and three small vessels were converted into gallies, for the protection of the inland navigation. Another coasting schooner was fitted out with ten guns, which was intended for the protection of Georgetown. In the progress of the dispute, after British seizures had induced the continental Congress to authorize reprisals, the Comet, the Defence, and the Beaufort gallies, were converted into brigs, and, cruising on the high seas, brought in several prizes. The marine department, in its first stage, was managed by the council of safety and the privy-council ; but it soon became necessary to put it under the direction of men of more leisure and professional knowledge. The legislature erected a navy-board, and delegated to Edward Blake, Roger Smith, Josiah Smith, George Smith, Edward Darrell, Thomas Corbet, John Edwards, George-Abbott Hall, and Thomas Savage, esquires, ‘ authority to superintend and direct the ‘ building, buying or hiring of all vessels in the ‘ publick service, and to direct the outfits of the ‘ same, and the furnishing them with necessary ‘ ordnance, victualling, provisions, and naval-
‘ stores—

‘ stores—to fill vacancies in the navy or marine—
 ‘ and to draw warrants on the treasury for the sums
 ‘ of money necessary for the purposes aforesaid.’
 These gentlemen took charge of the above-men-
 tioned publick vessels, and also built a brig of
 fourteen guns, to which they gave the name of
 the *Hornet*. This was the whole of the Carolina
 navy for the first four years of the war.

IN the year 1777 the continental frigate *Ran-*
dolph, captain *Biddle*, put into *Charleston* in
 distress. After being refitted she sailed on a
 cruize, and in eight days returned with four rich
 prizes. This encouraged the state to attempt
 something in the same way with her little marine.
 The ship *General Moultrie*, captain *Sullivan*, the
 brig *Polly*, captain *Anthony*, and brig *Fair Ame-*
rican, captain *Morgan*, belonging to private per-
 sons, were taken into the publick service on this
 occasion. They, in conjunction with the conti-
 nental frigate *Randolph*, and the state-brig *Notre*
Dame, early in 1778 sailed on a cruize. They
 descried a vessel to the windward of *Barbadoes*,
 and engaged her in the night, presuming that
 she was a frigate, but she proved to be the *Yar-*
mouth, a sixty-four gun ship. After an engage-
 ment of seventeen minutes the *Randolph* blew
 up, with three hundred and fifteen souls on board,
 who all perished excepting four, who, after toss-
 ing about for four days on a wreck, were disco-
 vered and taken up by a passing vessel. Captain
Biddle, who lost his life on this occasion, was
 prized

prized by his country as one of her very best naval officers. Captain Joor, a worthy brave officer of the first South-Carolina regiment, with fifty privates of that corps, acting as marines on board the Randolph, all likewise perished. The other vessels, escaping from the Yarmouth, continued their cruize. The brig Fair American, and ship General Moultrie, took a valuable Guineaman, and the brigs Notre Dame and Polly took sixteen prizes, but only four of them arrived safe in a friendly port.

IN 1779, when general Prevost lay near Charleston, several armed vessels brought him supplies from Savannah. To intercept this communication captain Hall, in the brig Notre Dame, captain Tryon, in the brig Beaufort, captain Anthony, in the brig Bellona, and some other private armed vessels, put to sea under the direction of the navy-board. They fell in with seven British vessels near Stono, two of which were taken and brought safe into Charleston; one was blown up, and the rest escaped.

ABOUT the same time sixty grenadiers of the British army, with two field-pieces and musketry, attacked the American schooner Rattlesnake, from the banks of the river Stono. Her gallant commander, captain Frisby, defended himself with the greatest bravery, repulsed the assailants with the loss of their captain, and the greatest part of his men; but finding it impossible to retreat

treat with his vessel, set her on fire, and conducted his wounded men with the rest of his crew, safe through the country, though in possession of the enemy, to the American camp at Bacon's bridge.

THE great advantages resulting to the state from their little navy, and the manifold distress sustained by the trade for want of protection, induced the legislature to take methods for purchasing or building three frigates. Had this measure been adopted at the commencement of the war, it is probable that the scheme would have been both practicable and advantageous, but all the plans adopted in the first period of the contest were temporary, and calculated for no other purpose than that of immediate domestic security. In the progress of the war the paper currency lost so much of its original value, that the means of procuring the frigates could not easily be commanded. Alexander Gillon, esquire, was appointed commodore, John Joyner, William Robeson, and John M'Queen, esquires, were appointed captains. The commodities of the country were purchased, and shipped on the publick account, and the commodore was authorized to borrow money on the credit of the state. He, with his corps of officers, sailed in the year 1778 for Europe, and there exerted the utmost of his abilities in the prosecution of the business on which he was sent. Various embarrassments, from intercepted remittances and
other

other causes, prevented his completing the object of his mission. He could accomplish nothing more than to purchase, on credit, for the use of the state, a large quantity of clothing and ammunition, and to hire a large frigate from the prince of Luxembourg for the term of three years, on condition of allowing the prince one fourth of the prizes captured while she cruised at the risk and expence of South-Carolina. The frigate engaged by commodore Gillon, on this occasion, was built at Amsterdam, originally on account of the United States, and was of a particular construction, mounting twenty-eight Swedish thirty-six pounders on one deck, and twelve Swedish twelve-pounders on her fore-castle and quarter-deck, being in dimensions equal to a seventy-four gun ship. Two hundred and eighty marines, and sixty-nine seamen, were engaged on behalf of South-Carolina, to man this frigate. These were kept at Dunkirk for several months, until the ship could be got to the Texel. As her great draught of water prevented her from getting over the shoals in any other position than on her broadside, their being on board would have proved an incumbrance. These men, though fed, paid and clothed with the money of the state of South-Carolina, were sent with other troops from Havre-De-Grace without the knowledge or consent of commodore Gillon, on an expedition against the island of Jersey. So many of them were killed and captured in that unfortunate enterprise, which took place in January 1781, that

the frigate was disabled from going to sea till the August following. After innumerable difficulties were surmounted she then began to cruize, and in a short time captured several valuable prizes. Her commander had also the sole direction of the Spanish and American marine forces, which in May 1782 reduced the Bahama islands under the crown of Spain. The fleet, consisting of eighty-two sail, which undertook this enterprize, was conducted by commodore Gillon from the Havannah through the dangerous navigation of the Providence channel. Soon after the termination of this expedition, she arrived in Philadelphia. After being completely repaired, at an immense expence, she put to sea from that port under the command of captain Joyner. On the second day after she left the capes of Delaware, she was captured by three British frigates. In this spirited attempt to equip a navy, the expences far exceeded the profits. Including the intercepted remittances, and the clothing and ammunition purchased by commodore Gillon for publick service, with the disbursements on account of the frigate, it cost the state of South-Carolina upwards of two hundred thousand dollars.

Soon after trade between Great-Britain and South-Carolina ceased, a few adventurous individuals began to send vessels to the Dutch and French West-India islands. It was early foreseen that the publick would suffer most for the want
of

of salt. To obviate this inconvenience, eight gentlemen entered into a partnership to purchase six swift-sailing vessels in Bermuda, to be employed in importing that necessary article. They arrived safe, and for a season supplied the wants of the people. They continued this trade till they were all taken.

COMMERCE soon began to flow in new channels. The old merchants, whose fortunes were easy, unwilling to risk their capital, generally retired from business. A new set, who had little to lose, by boldly venturing served their country, and rapidly advanced their own interest. Various artifices were used to screen this contraband trade from legal seizure. Some vessels had captains of different nations, and registers of different ports, and were occasionally French, Dutch, English, or American property, as the exigency of the case required. Notwithstanding all this subtilty many forfeitures were incurred. The increasing demand for imported goods, and the stoppage of all exportation to Great-Britain, put it so much in the power of adventurers to sell imported articles dear, and to purchase country produce cheap, that, in the years 1776 and 1777, the safe arrival of two vessels would indemnify them for the loss of one. For the encouragement of trade, two insurance-companies opened offices, which greatly forwarded the extension of commerce. A direct trade to France was soon attempted, and French vessels in like manner found

found their way into the port of Charleston. This intercourse, in its commencement, proved very unfortunate to the inhabitants of South-Carolina; for out of sixteen vessels, richly laden with the commodities of the country, four only arrived safe. This heavy blow, for a little time, damped the spirit of enterprize, but it soon revived.

THE new-raised regiments required a supply of many articles, which could not be procured in the United States. It was the good fortune of captain Cochran, who was first employed on this business, to be the only one of three trading on the account of the state, who went and returned safe. He sailed for Nantz, loaded with country produce, which he exchanged to great advantage for such articles as were wanted for publick service. The Betsy, captain M'Kenzie, and the Hope, captain Hatter, sailed soon after captain Cochran, but were both taken. The latter of them had on board a great quantity of foldiers' clothing, two forty-two pounders, and a large supply of other articles, the loss of which was severely felt. The spirit of adventure in the merchants daily increased. A considerable trade, though much inferior to what had been usual in times of peace, was carried on in this manner for the greatest part of the three first years of the contest, when the operations of the British were chiefly confined to the northern states. It received severe shocks from repeated embargoes,
and

and the growing depreciation of the paper currency. To subserve military operations, the sailing of vessels was several times interdicted. Though this was supposed, by the ruling powers, to promote the general cause of America, several of the most discerning citizens thought otherwise. It sorely distressed commerce, and prevented the country from obtaining supplies of foreign commodities. It also discouraged strangers from sending their vessels into American ports, as their return, for reasons of state, was so frequently prevented.

THE paper currency, issued by the Congress, retained its value undiminished much longer in South-Carolina than in other parts of the United States. In the latter end of 1776, though the victorious arms of general sir William Howe threatened the subversion of American independence, yet in Carolina there was no sensible depreciation. Men of property had so generally stepped forward in support of the revolution, that their influence was supposed to be fully equal to the establishment of their new currency, even in a royal house of assembly, if the conquest of the state should restore kingly government. The immense value of the staple commodities of the country, the animation, unanimity and enthusiasm of the people, precluded all fear of its finally sinking. When depreciation took place, it originated from causes very different from a distrust of the final success of the revolution. The emis-
sions

fions of paper currency in 1775 and 1776 were of real advantage to the state of South-Carolina; for the whole money then in circulation was inadequate to the purposes of a medium of trade. For several years before the termination of the royal government, from three to five thousand negroes had been annually imported into the province. This caused the greatest part of the gold and silver, procured at foreign markets for the commodities of the country, very soon to centre in Great-Britain. In consequence of disputes between the commons house of assembly, and the King's council, the passing of a tax-bill had been for four years prevented. The emissions of paper currency had been, by royal instructions, for some considerable time wholly prohibited. In this scarcity of a circulating medium, payments were often made by the transfer of private bonds. Bank-bills, to a considerable amount, issued on the credit of five gentlemen of large estates, had a currency equal to the precious metals. Certificates, signed by the clerk of the commons house of assembly, and countersigned by a few of its members, setting forth that the sums therein specified were due to individuals from the publick, passed currently for money, though they were issued by the sole authority of one branch of the legislature. The ability of the province to pay its debts, and the religious observance of good faith in performing all its engagements, had established a credit superior to the mines of Potosi, and gave currency
to

to every thing stamped with the authority of government. To a people thus circumstanced, whose credit was unstained, and who, though deficient in gold and silver, abounded in real wealth, the paper currency was very acceptable, and greatly facilitated the transfer of property. It set in immediate motion the late stagnant streams of commerce—invigorated industry—and gave a spring to every branch of business. It had an operation on society similar to what might be expected from a government becoming suddenly possessed of a large quantity of hidden treasure, and throwing it into circulation for the publick benefit. Instead of the war taking any thing from the people at its commencement, it was the occasion of increasing their possessions, by annexing the substantial value of gold and silver to paper of no intrinsic worth.

As hard money was either hoarded up by men of forecast, or shipped off to purchase foreign commodities, and the continental currency was mostly confined to the northern states, till near the beginning of the year 1778, the state emissions did not, for a considerable time, exceed the quantity necessary for circulation. The sums struck by the authority of South-Carolina were as follows :

1775,

1775,			
JUNE 14. By resolution of Congress,	£. 998,809	7	6
November 15. Ditto ditto,	119,726	3	9
1776,			
March 6. Ditto ditto,	748,957	4	4
October 19. By ordinance of general assembly,	125,937	10	0
December 23. By act of general assembly,	486,682	15	0
1777,			
February 14. By ordinance of general assembly,	499,785	0	0
March 28. By ordinance of do.	63,470	6	3
1779,			
February 8. By ditto ditto,	4,774,185	0	0
<hr/>			
	£. 7,817,553	6	10

These sums are in the old provincial currency, at the rate of seven for one, sterling money of Great-Britain. Besides these provincial bills, the different emissions struck by authority of the continental Congress had a currency in South-Carolina, and were by the laws of the state made a legal tender in the payment of debts. The emissions from this source, in the first five years of the war, amounted in the whole to two hundred millions of dollars.

THE paper currency retained its value undiminished in South-Carolina for eighteen months,
vix.

viz. from June 1775 to January 1777. At this period commenced a depreciation destructive to credit, ruinous to the monied interest, and greatly detrimental to the success of military operations. The progress of depreciation was scarcely perceivable in the first three months of 1777, and was very slow throughout that whole year. From the commencement of the year 1778, when great quantities of the continental money began to flow into the state, it became much more rapid. The enormous expences of the armies kept up by Congress in the extensive campaigns of 1775, 1776, 1777, in the northern states, required immense supplies of money. This could not be raised in sufficient quantities either by taxes or loans. The only practicable resource left was emissions of paper currency under an engagement to be redeemed at a future day. The supposed necessity of the case carried these emissions beyond all prudential bounds. The success of general Howe in 1776 and 1777 materially injured the credit of this currency in the middle states. Many interested men, in the neighbourhood of the British operations, judging from their success in reducing New-York, Philadelphia, and a great part of the Jerseys, apprehended the final conquest of America, and therefore began to realize the Congress paper money lest it might sink in their hands. The large quantities of counterfeit bills, which were industriously blended with the true by emissaries from the British garisons, contributed much to their depreciation.

The common people, not able to distinguish the false from the true bills, began to insure themselves by asking higher prices.

THE system of supplying the army, at first adopted by Congress, by allowing commissions on the amount of sums expended by commissaries and quartermasters, threw great temptations in the way of those descriptions of officers to enhance the price of commodities. The neglect of agriculture, and the embarrassments of trade, diminished the articles usually transferred from one to another by the intervention of money, at a time that the rulers of the country employed two printing-presses in multiplying the artificial signs of wealth. These causes of depreciation, operating most forcibly in the northern states, produced a greater and earlier depreciation there than in South-Carolina. Money like water will soon find its level. Adventurous traders, on being informed that the continental paper currency was of most value to the southward, repaired thither with large sums of it, and contributed much more to the depreciation in South-Carolina than all the emissions of the state. The Randolph's prizes, which arrived early in 1778, were supposed to bring into South-Carolina half a million of dollars. The depreciation that took place previous to this was comparatively trifling, and naturally resulted from the combined influence of an increase of money, and decrease of goods. From this time forward an artificial depreciation

preciation was superadded to the natural. The possessors of the paper money, who either from accident or sagacity, conjectured right about the event, finding that it daily lost part of its value, were perpetually in quest of bargains. As they foresaw that Congress would make further emissions for the supplies of their armies, they concluded that it would be better to purchase any kind of property than to lay up their money. The progressive superabundance of cash produced a daily rise in the price of commodities. The deceitful sound of large nominal sums tempted many possessors of real property to sell. The purchasers, if indulged with the usual credit, or if they took the advantage which the delays of the courts of justice allowed, could pay for the whole by the sale of an inconsiderable part. The sanguine, flattering themselves with the delusive hopes of a speedy termination of the war, were often induced to sell lest a sudden peace should at once appreciate the money, in which case it was supposed they would lose the present opportunity of selling to great advantage. From the same principles they hoarded up the bills of credit in preference to purchasing solid property at a supposed extravagant price. They mistook the diminished value of the money for an increased price of commodities, and therefore concluded that, by buying little, selling much, and retaining their paper currency, they were laying the solid foundations of future permanent wealth. Subsequent events, in opposition to the commonly received

received maxims of prudence and economy, fully demonstrated that they, who instantly expended their money, received its full value, while they who laid it up sustained a daily diminution of their capital.

THAT the money should finally sink, or that it should be redeemed by a scale of depreciation, were events neither foreseen nor expected by the bulk of the people. The Congress, and the local legislatures, for the first five years of the war, did not entertain the most distant idea of such a breach of publick faith. The generality of the friends of the revolution, reposing unlimited confidence in the integrity of their rulers, the plighted faith of the government, and the success of the cause of America, amused themselves with the idea, that, in a few years, their paper dollars, under the influence of peace and independence, would be sunk by equal taxes, or realized into silver at their nominal value, and that therefore the sellers would ultimately increase their estates in the same proportion that the currency had depreciated. The plunderings and devastation of the enemy made several think that their property would be much safer when turned into money than when subject to the casualties of war. The disposition to sell was in a great degree proportioned to the confidence in the justice and final success of the revolution, superadded to expectations of a speedy termination of the war. The most sanguine whigs were therefore oftenest duped

duped by the fallacious sound of high prices. These principles operated so extensively, that the property of the inhabitants, in a considerable degree, changed its owners. Many opulent persons, of ancient families, were ruined by selling paternal estates for a depreciating paper currency, which, in a few weeks, would not replace half of the real property in exchange for which it was obtained. Many bold adventurers made fortunes in a short time by running in debt beyond their abilities. Prudence ceased to be a virtue, and rashness usurped its place. The warm friends of America, who never despaired of their country, and who cheerfully risked their fortunes in its support, lost their property, while the timid, who looked forward to the re-establishment of British government, not only saved their former possessions, but often increased them. In the American revolution for the first time the friends of the successful party were the losers.

THE enthusiasm of the Americans, and their confidence in the money, gave the Congress the same advantage in carrying on the war which old countries derive from the anticipation of their permanent funds. It would have been impossible to have kept together an American army for so many years without this paper expedient. Though the bills of credit operated as a partial tax on the monied interest, and ruined many individuals, yet it was productive of great national benefits,
by

by enabling the popular leaders to carry on a necessary defensive war.

To all the evils of depreciation; those of monopoly were added. West-India and European goods being scarce, a few would secure exclusively to themselves almost the whole present stock of particular articles, and then raise the price of them by offering, at publick sales, much more than was current. In this manner, by throwing away shillings, they gained pounds. By practices of this kind, commodities were sometimes raised to one third more in one quarter of the capital of the state than was current the same moment in another.

To check the evils arising from the mixture of counterfeit bills with the true, and to diminish the quantity of circulating money, the Congress called in the two large emissions of 11th of April 1778 and of May 20th 1777, amounting in the whole to forty millions of dollars. The ostensible reason for this resolution was, that most of the counterfeits were of these emissions; ^f but it was also designed to diminish the superabundance of circulating paper. Great were the expectations formed from this scheme, but it was an additional proof that the worst consequences sometimes flow from the regulations which in theory appear to be founded in wisdom. The currency in South-Carolina received a deadly wound from this

^f See note vi.

this effort of its friends, which was supposed to be well calculated for its preservation. The resolutions for calling in these emissions, not being generally known in Charleston for several weeks after they had been adopted by the Congress in Philadelphia, the holders of them sent them to South-Carolina to be immediately realized. The new bills, designed to be given in exchange for these, which were called in, did not arrive for eight months after the old ones ceased to circulate. The possessors of the called-in emissions were so desirous of expending them, that they would purchase any thing without regarding the price however extravagant. The common people, not understanding the policy of these resolutions, and finding it difficult to distinguish the true bills of Congress from the counterfeits of general Howe, and the current bills from those that were called in, and also finding that the best of them daily depreciated, were induced to undervalue the whole.

THE planters, to indemnify themselves for the advanced prices of foreign goods, in the years 1778 and 1779 adopted the mistaken policy of raising the prices of their produce in some degree correspondent to the prices of imported articles. As the merchants bought foreign goods with rice, indigo and tobacco, they were obliged to sell in proportion to the risk of importation superadded to the prime cost of these articles. The merchant raised on the sale of his goods to make
himself

himself whole for the high prices of country produce: the planter, from a similar motive, but not with equal justice, raised his produce on the merchant when he came to purchase his next cargo. The advanced prices of the importer were in the first instance the cause, but in the second the effect of the advanced prices of the planter. From the long continuance of embargoes it frequently happened, that, though a merchant sold his cargo to great advantage, yet the country produce got in return for it, if not immediately purchased, would not replace an equal quantity of goods when exported to a foreign market.

MANY attempts were made to preserve the credit of the currency. State and continental loan-offices were opened, that the necessity of farther emissions might be diminished; and the hearty friends of American independence deposited in them large sums on interest. By a subsequent act of assembly the usual tax on money at interest was remitted on all sums lent to the publick, and the legislature, in the year 1779, offered an interest on money lent to the state of three per cent more than was paid by private persons. Notwithstanding all these douceurs, the supplies obtained by loans fell so far short of the publick demands, that farther emissions could not be restrained. When the small quantities of hard money that still remained had begun to be changed for paper-bills at an advance, an act of assembly

bly was passed, prohibiting any person from receiving or demanding for any article a larger sum in paper than in hard money. A law to prevent the ebbing and flowing of the sea would have been no less ineffectual than this attempt of the legislature to alter the nature of things. Gold and silver no longer passed at par, and contracts were either discharged in paper or not discharged at all. The bills of credit, being a legal tender in all cases, would pay off old debts equally with gold and silver, though for new purchases they were of much less value. The merchants and other monied men, who had out-standing debts contracted before or near the first period of the war, were great losers by the legal tender of the paper currency. For eighteen months they were not allowed to sue for their debts, and were afterwards obliged to accept of depreciated paper in discharge of them at par with gold or silver. This was not the result of intentional injustice, but forced on the legislature by the necessity of the times. When the means of payment were taken from individuals by publick authority, as has been already stated, forbidding them to export the productions of the soil, it would have been cruel to suffer them to be sued for money borrowed, and expended in cultivating their plantations. When the resolutions against exportation were repealed, the members of the legislature supposed it would have ruined their new currency, if they had in any case whatever denied it the credit of a legal tender. Besides, it

was at that time the fixed resolution of Congress, and the different legislatures, to redeem all their paper bills at par with gold or silver.

THE publick was in the condition of a town on fire, when some houses must be blown up to save the remainder. The liberties of America could not be defended without armies—armies could not be supported without money—money could not be raised in sufficient quantities otherwise than by emissions. It was supposed essentially necessary to the credit of these emissions, that they should have the sanction of a legal tender in the payment of all debts. This involved the ruin of the monied interest, and put it in the power of individuals to pay their debts with much less than they really owed. This unhappy necessity, to do private injustice for a publick benefit, proved in many respects injurious to the political interests of the state, and the moral character of its inhabitants. It disposed those who were losers by the legal tender, and who preferred their money to the liberties of America, to wish for the re-establishment of British government, and filled others with murmurings and bitter complaints against the ruling powers. The publick spirited, who were sincere in their declarations of devoting life and fortune to support the cause of their country, patiently submitted to the hardships, from a conviction that the cause of liberty required the sacrifice. The nature of obligations was so far changed, that he was reckoned

koned the honest man, who, from principle, delayed to pay his debts. Instead of creditors pressing their debtors to a settlement, they frequently avoided to see them, or secreted their obligations. The evils occasioned by depreciation did not terminate with the war. The shutting of the courts of justice, and authorizing men by law to pay their debts with depreciated paper, made the non-performance of contracts so familiar, that some of the inhabitants since the war have been much more careless about the punctual and honourable discharge of their engagements than they ever were before.

MUCH of the evil occasioned by the legal tender of paper-bills might have been prevented, if the laws respecting it had confined its operation to future contracts. A great deal might have been done at an early period by taxation to support the credit of the money. The plate might have been applied to that purpose. But the depreciation not being generally foreseen, no provision was made against the evils and injustice resulting from it. In the first stage of the dispute no American had any idea of its duration. Few had any acquaintance with the philosophy of money, or the subject of finance. And almost all were sanguine in expecting the establishment of their liberties, without such long and expensive sacrifices. Had even all these matters been properly attended to, they would only have moderated, but could not have prevented depreciation.

ciation. The United States had no permanent funds to give stability to their paper currency. In the commencement of the war they were without regular governments to enforce the collection of taxes. They were in possession of no resources adequate to the raising of sufficient supplies without large emissions of bills of credit.

WHEN the business of taxation was entered upon by the legislature, it was not carried to a sufficient extent. The planters, who form a majority of the legislature, were, with a few exceptions, very backward in laying on taxes proportioned to the exigencies of the war. They had much to sell, little to buy, and were generally in debt. To them the depreciation was no prejudice. From a mistaken policy they were more anxious to get rid of their private than of their publick debts. When called upon for large supplies, though it was evident that a little property would pay a large nominal tax, yet they suffered themselves to be alarmed with great sounds, and opposed liberal grants, as if every paper dollar had been a silver one. Some of them could, without one pang of remorse, pay off old debts with a shilling in the pound, and thereby reduce to beggary the helpless widow, the distressed orphan, and the decrepid old man, who had heretofore lived happily on the annual income of their estates, but were very compassionate to the people of their own class, whom they represented as unable to pay large taxes, though
their

their produce sold at ten, twenty, or thirty times its usual price before the war. In the first period of the contest, when the prohibited exportation of the productions of the soil diminished their profits, they frequently complained that the cause of their country required larger sacrifices from them than from the money-lenders, whose interest was going on without any diminution. On the idea of dividing the burden more equally between them and their creditors, they influenced the legislature to reduce interest from eight to seven per cent; but in the progress of the war, when their produce sold at immense nominal prices, and not only the interest but the principal of the money-lender was nearly annihilated, the just schemes of putting all orders in the community on an equal footing, in the distribution of necessary sufferings, were entirely forgotten. ^s

It is scarcely possible that a greater curse can befall a country than such an unfixed value of money. It strikes at every virtuous principle, exterminates the ideas of honour and justice, and turns the attention of people from the sober paths of industry to extravagant adventures and romantick projects. Evils of this kind became intolerable. The legislature at last adopted an expedient, which promised considerable relief. This was to prohibit the purchasing of country produce for any other purpose than domestick consumption or exportation, and to put the buyer in

^s See note VII.

in the power of the feller. Several individuals were in the habit of buying far beyond their abilities to pay. Before the fellers could compel payment in the ordinary course of law, a progressive depreciation made it practicable for the buyer to discharge the stipulated nominal sum with one half of its real value. To remedy this abuse special courts were instituted, which were authorised, in a summary manner, to compel payment in three days. The good effects of this were immediately felt. Rice fell in its price near a fifth, and in all probability the artificial depreciation would have been wholly remedied had not the arrival of the royal army prevented the full operation of this judicious law. The surrender of Charleston, on the 12th of May 1780, wholly arrested the circulation of the paper currency, and put a great part of the state in possession of the British, when many contracts for these nominal sums were unperformed, and after many individuals had received payment of old debts in depreciated paper. The honourable James Simpson, intendant-general of the British police, commissioned thirteen gentlemen to enquire into the different stages of depreciation, so as to ascertain a fixed rule for payment in hard money of out-standing contracts, and to compel those who had settled with their creditors to make up, by a second payment, the difference between the real and nominal value of the currency. The commissioners proceeded on principles of equity, and compared the prices of country

try produce when the paper currency was in circulation with its prices in the year before the war, and also the rate of exchange between hard money and the paper-bills of credit. From an average of the two they fixed on a table which was as follows, excepting that the fractional parts of the original are omitted.

A T A B L E,

Ascertaining the progressive depreciation of the paper currency, by taking an average of the prices of gold and silver, and the country produce, at different periods.

Date of each period.	Depreciation by value of specie.	Depreciation by value of produce.	Average of depreciation.
1777, April 1	113 per cent.	157 per cent.	135 per cent.
July 1	127	198	163
October 1	176	214	195
1778, Jan. 1	287	287	287
March 1	337	470	404
May 1	440	622	531
July 1	483	569	526
Sept. 1	500	577	538
Nov. 1	563	533	548
1779, Jan. 1	1000	596	798
February 1	1250	661	955
March 1	1350	897	1123
April 1	1400	1191	1295
May 1	1450	1116	1283
June 1	1350	1303	1326
July 1	1720	1355	1537
August 1	2085	1551	1818
Sept. 1	2340	1691	2015

Date

Date of each period.		Depreciation by value of specie.	Depreciation by value of produce.	Average of depreciation.
October	I	2100	1885	1992
Nov.	I	2911	1983	2447
Dec.	I	3485	2174	2830
1780, Jan.	I	3833	2923	3378
February	I	4457	4291	4374
March	I	5240	4525	4882
April	I	6583	5065	5824
May	I	11,000	5170	8085
June	I	11,000	5229	8114

THE British successes to the southward in 1780, caused the continental money to flow back to the middle states. Its superabundance and incurable depreciation at last forced on the Congress and the several legislatures a scale of depreciation, though the face of the bills, the terms of their emission, and every publick act respecting them, gave assurances that they should be ultimately redeemed at the rate of one silver dollar for every paper dollar. In September 1779, the supreme council of the states, in their circular letter, rejected with horror the bare supposition that such a measure should ever be adopted;^h yet in six months after it was done with the acquiescence of a great majority of the people. In other countries similar measures have produced popular insurrections, but in the United States of America, though many suffering individuals complained loudly, it was peaceably adopted. Publick faith was violated, but in the general opinion publick

^h See note VIII.

publick good was promoted. The evils consequent on depreciation had taken place, and the redemption of the bills at par, instead of remedying the distresses of the sufferers, would in many cases have increased them by subjecting their small remains of property to exorbitant taxation. The money had in a great measure got out of the hands of the original proprietors, and was in the possession of others who had obtained it at a cheap rate. The sufferers, who were obliged to receive it at par with gold and silver in payment of debts, contracted when there was no depreciation, look up to their country for reimbursement as far as is practicable. It is presumed, for the honour of the United States, that they will not look in vain.

THE paper currency continued to have a partial circulation for a year after a scale of depreciation was fixed. It gradually diminished in value till the summer of 1781. By common consent it then ceased to have currency. Like an aged man, expiring by the decays of nature, without a sigh or a groan, it gently fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors. It is now remembered with gratitude for the service it has rendered in carrying on the war, and the reimbursement of the holders of it rests with the legislatures, who, as soon as circumstances permit, will doubtless do what justice and the publick good require. The extinction of the paper currency was an event ardently wished for by the enemies,

and dreaded by the friends, of American independence. The failure of its circulation disappointed them both. The war was carried on with the same vigour afterwards as before, and the people very generally acquiesced in the measure, as justified by necessity.

THE introduction of silver and gold, by channels which were opened about the same time that the paper currency ceased to circulate, contributed much to diminish the bad effects of its annihilation. A trade was at that period opened with the French and Spanish West-India islands, by which specie was imported into the American continent, and a vent was found for the commodities of the northern and middle states. The French army, which arrived in Rhode-Island, as has been before mentioned, early in the year 1780, put into circulation a great quantity of coined silver; and subsidies, to a large amount, were, about the same time, granted to the United States by his most christian majesty. It is remarkable that of nine vessels which came from France with money at different periods of the war, no one, while the treasure was on board, fell into the hands of the British.

THE unexpected introduction of so much gold and silver suggested to the Congress a new system of finance. The issuing of paper currency, by the authority of government, was discontinued, and the publick engagements were made in specie.

cie. All matters relative to the department of the treasury, or of accounts, were put under the direction of the honourable Robert Morris, esquire, who arranged the whole with so much judgment that economy, method and system, soon took the place of extravagance, confusion and irregularity. The personal unfulfilled credit of the superintendent of finance was a powerful auxiliary to the government—it facilitated contracts in behalf of the army—and lessened the evils which otherwise would have resulted from the arrested circulation of the paper currency.

IN the years 1781, 1782 and 1783, when individuals had lost all confidence in publick bills of credit, notes were successively issued by mr. Morris, signed with his own name, payable at different periods out of the foreign subsidies or domestick revenues of the United States. These notes, though at one time, viz. July 1783, they amounted to five hundred and eighty-one thousand and fifty-seven dollars, yet, from the well-known punctuality of their signer, had a currency at a time when the credit of the American governments was at the lowest ebb. Their circulation enabled mr. Morris to anticipate the publick resources, to the great advantage of the United States. In this crisis of affairs the services of the superintendent of finance were as beneficial to the union as were, in any period of the war, the great abilities of the illustrious commander in chief of the armies of the United States.

States. When future ages celebrate the names of Washington and Franklin, they will also add that of Morris. The silent operation of his systems of finance, and personal credit, though less visible to the publick eye, were, in the confused state of American affairs, at the commencement of the year 1781, no less essential to the success of the revolution, than the splendid military achievements of the one, or the successful negotiations of the other.

THE supplies for publick exigencies in South-Carolina, before the reduction of Charleston, were principally raised by taxes on lands and negroes. Three contributions of this kind had been levied between the declaration of independence in 1776 and the surrender of the capital in 1780. The first was in the year 1777, and was fixed at nearly one third of a dollar per head on negroes, and as much on every hundred acres of land. Had Carolina and the other states taxed heavily at this period, they would have prevented much of the depreciation; but a fear of alarming the people, and too sanguine hopes of a speedy peace, induced the legislature to begin moderately, more with a view of making an experiment than of raising adequate supplies. The next tax was in 1778, nominally ten times larger than the former, but really at the time of payment worth only about twice as much. In 1779 a tax of twenty paper dollars per head on negroes, and on every hundred acres of land, was levied.

This,

This, about the time of payment, was nearly equal to a specie dollar.

THE three regiments which were raised on the Carolina establishment, in June 1775, were enlisted for six months certain, or three years if required. These short terms of service were fixed upon from the hopes, then every where entertained, that American grievances would be redressed without proceeding to an eternal separation. They at first were raised by the authority of the provincial congress, and were enlisted solely for the domestick defence of South-Carolina. A continental army, subject to the orders of the United States in Congress assembled, was an after-thought. When that measure was adopted, the popular leaders in South-Carolina found great difficulty in connecting their provincial troops with the continentals of the other states. To alter the terms of their enlistment could not be done without manifest injustice. To release the common soldiers from their provincial obligations, in order to put them in a capacity to re-enlist as continentals, was a hazardous experiment. The capture of the publick vessels had deprived them of many comforts. This had disgusted many to such a degree, that their re-enlistment as continentals was extremely doubtful. At last the matter was compromised. They who chose it were re-enlisted as continentals for the war, with the farther encouragement of two hundred acres of land for their service.

The

The others still remained under their original provincial obligations. The officers very readily agreed to exchange their provincial for continental commissions, and were in consequence thereof considered as a part of the army of the United States. The British availed themselves of the short period of enlistment first agreed upon, and did not seriously turn their arms to the southward till the expiration of three years had completed the term of service of the first and best recruits of the South-Carolina line. To supply these regiments with every comfort, and to keep them full, was the constant study of government; but the capture of the vessels destined to import clothing and other supplies for their use, with the diminished value of the currency, precluded the publick from doing that justice to these brave men which they so highly merited.

UNFAVOURABLE reports of the sufferings of the private soldiers greatly obstructed the recruiting service. Many deserted, and they who remained suffered more than any other order of men. Government did all that was possible to support its first recruits, and to increase their number; but they had not the means of carrying into effect their good intentions. Five hundred paper dollars were proposed in 1779 as a bounty, to encourage the recruiting service. Though this was nearly equal to fifty hard dollars, yet so great were the distresses of the military, that
few

few could be persuaded to enter the regular regiments.

ABOUT the same time a law was passed to take up vagrants and idle disorderly persons who had no visible method of maintaining themselves, and to make them serve in some of the regular regiments, if upon a trial to be held before one justice and six freeholders they were found to be of the before-mentioned characters. Over and above the recruits procured by this law, it was generally allowed to have produced salutary consequences, by promoting a spirit of industry in some idle persons, and by restraining others from disorderly practices, though, in a few instances, it was said to have been perverted, by the private resentments of partial judges, to the distress of some individuals who did not answer the character described in the act.

HAD America seriously intended independence from the beginning, she might, in the first stage of the contest, have easily recruited one hundred thousand men, to serve during the war; but aiming at nothing but a redress of grievances, and flattering herself with the hopes of accomplishing this in a little time, all her schemes were of a temporary nature. At last she was involved in a tedious and expensive war, with one of the greatest powers of Europe, when she was destitute of an army, of hard money, of trade, and
of

of a navy, and had few other means of procuring them than by printers' types.

THE insufficiency of the regular regiments, for the defence of the state, made it necessary to call the militia frequently into the field. This obstructed agriculture, without adding to the operative force of the army in any manner proportioned to its increased numbers. The expences of militia were greater than the pay of regulars. They had a right to charge the publick with the time spent in marching between the camp and their homes. Their private affairs not permitting long absence from their plantations, the men were frequently changed, and of course unacquainted with service. When encamped, their high notions of personal liberty made them slow to learn that implicit obedience which is necessary in military operations. They too often indulged in unfoldierly discussions of the propriety of orders issued by their superiors, and would sometimes, especially after defeats, without permission, quit their posts, and return to their plantations. To obtain more effectual service from them the legislature in 1778 imposed severe fines for neglect of duty, and for bad conduct when on duty. As the rich were most concerned in the defence of the state, to prevent them from setting a bad example, the fine of each delinquent was to be in proportion to the amount of his taxes. The state was divided into three brigades. Andrew Williamson, Richard Richardson,

son, and Stephen Bull, esquires, were appointed brigadiers. The men in each brigade were soon after classed into three divisions, which were to take the field in rotation. But in case of an invasion of any part of the state, the whole, to the distance of eighty miles from the place invaded, were liable to be ordered out to its immediate defence.

THE legislature, a little while before the reduction of Charleston, enacted a law, by which delinquents among the militia were sentenced to serve in one of the regular regiments from four to sixteen months, at the discretion of a court-martial. To soften these severities trials were instituted, in which the greater number of judges were privates. Individuals were also allowed to exempt themselves from personal service by hiring, at their own expence, a recruit to enter one of the regular regiments. These regulations had only a partial effect. The service wanted by the government could not be effectually obtained from men attached to their families and farms, and reluctantly pressed from the field of agriculture to that of battle. After they had suffered from the oppressions of the royal army, they rivalled regular soldiers in discipline, as well as in courage, and by their spirited co-operation with the continental troops, as shall hereafter be related, had a considerable share in recovering the state from the British forces.

VERY soon after the declaration of independence, the danger of retaining men in the state, who wished to subvert its constitution, suggested to the legislature of South-Carolina the necessity of securing itself against those who still abetted royal government, and wished for its re-establishment. A test-oath was therefore framed in 1776; but this was tendered only to those persons who had given some open evidence of their disaffection. The officers of the King, under the late regal constitution, and a few others of suspected characters, having, on requisition, refused to take it, were obliged to leave the state. In the year 1778 the legislature enacted an oath or affirmation of allegiance, to be taken by every adult male, which was in the following words:

‘ I, A B, do swear or affirm, that I will bear
 ‘ true faith and allegiance to the state of South-
 ‘ Carolina, and will faithfully support, maintain
 ‘ and defend the same, against George the third,
 ‘ King of Great-Britain, his successors, abettors,
 ‘ and all other enemies and opposers whatsoever,
 ‘ and will, without delay, discover to the execu-
 ‘ tive authority, or some one justice of the peace
 ‘ in this state, all plots and conspiracies that shall
 ‘ come to my knowledge against the said state,
 ‘ or any other of the United States of America.
 ‘ So help me God.’

In addition to this, an oath to abjure the King of Great-Britain was required of all officers of the state, both civil and military. They who refused the oath or affirmation above recited were obliged to depart the country; but they

they had their choice of either leaving their families, or of taking them away. They were also allowed to sell and carry off their estates, or to appoint attorneys in their absence to take care of them. The defence of the country, requiring both the personal services and the contribution of its inhabitants, that all might be on an equal footing, the unfold estates of these gentlemen, in common with other absentees, were taxed double ; but the idea of confiscation, at this period of the contest, was, by the legislature, uniformly reprobated. Notwithstanding this humane line of conduct, no indulgence with regard to property was given by British authority to the citizens of South-Carolina after the reduction of Charleston. In vain was leave solicited in the capitulation, for those who chose it to sell their estates and leave the country. This was not only refused, but their estates were sequestered, and they deprived of the means of supporting themselves, unless they would submit to a government which many of them had abjured, and all of them had renounced. But of this in the following chapter.

C H A P T E R

CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

Of the methods taken by the British to keep possession of South-Carolina, and by the Americans to recover it. Of the battle of Camden, and its consequences—hanging the revolted subjects—banishing the prisoners, and sequestration of estates.

NEVER did any people more mistake their true interest than the inhabitants of South-Carolina, in permitting the British to obtain a permanent residence in their country. Exhausted with the fatigues, and impoverished by the consequences of a war into which they had been gradually drawn, without any intention originally of pushing it so far, some flattered themselves that the reduction of Charleston would terminate their sufferings; but that event proved to them the commencement of still greater evils.

THE capital having surrendered, the next object with the British was to secure the general submission of the inhabitants. To this end they posted garrisons in different parts of the country, and marched with a large body of their troops over the Santee towards that extremity of the state which borders on the most populous settlements of North-Carolina. This caused an immediate retreat of some parties of Americans who had advanced into the upper parts of South-Carolina with the expectation of relieving Charleston.

Among

Among the corps which had come forward with that view there was one consisting of about three hundred continentals, the rear of the Virginia line, commanded by colonel Buford. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with about seven hundred horse and foot, was dispatched in quest of this party. That enterprising officer, having mounted his infantry, marched one hundred miles in fifty-four hours, came up with them at the Waxhaws, and demanded their surrender on terms similar to those granted to the continentals taken in Charleston. While the flags were passing and repassing on this business, lieutenant-colonel Tarleton kept his men in motion, and when the truce was ended, had nearly surrounded his adversaries. An action immediately ensued. This took place on the 29th of May, seventeen days after the surrender of Charleston. Colonel Buford's party, having partaken of the general consternation occasioned by the British successes, made a feeble resistance, and soon fled for quarters. A few, notwithstanding, continued to fire. The British cavalry advanced, but were not opposed by the main body of the continentals, who conceived that they were precluded by their submission from making opposition. On the pretence of this accidental firing of a few, the British legion was directed to charge men who had laid down their arms. In consequence of this order the unresisting Americans, praying for quarters, were chopped in pieces. Some lost their hands, others their arms, and almost every one was mangled

mangled in an inhuman manner. Five out of six of the whole number of the Americans were, by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's official account of this bloody scene,ⁱ either killed or so badly wounded as to be incapable of being moved from the field of battle, and by the same account, this took place though they made such ineffectual opposition as only to kill five and wound twelve of the British. Lord Cornwallis bestowed on lieutenant-colonel Tarleton the highest encomiums for this enterprize, and recommended him in a special manner to royal favour.^k This barbarous massacre gave a more sanguinary turn to the war. Tarleton's quarters became proverbial, and in the subsequent battles a spirit of revenge gave a keener edge to military resentments.

THIS total rout of all the continental troops of the southern states, which were not made prisoners by the capitulation of Charleston, together with the universal panick occasioned by the surrender of that capital, suspended, for about six weeks, all military opposition to the progress of the British army. In this hour of distress to the friends of independence, the royal commander, by proclamation, denounced the extremity of vengeance against those of the inhabitants who should continue, by force of arms, to oppose the re-establishment of British government.^l The conquerors did not rest the royal cause exclusively
on

ⁱ See note IX.

^k See note X.

^l See note XI.

on threats. On the first of June, nineteen days after the surrender of Charleston, sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot, in the character of commissioners for restoring peace to the revolted colonies, by proclamation, offered ‘ to the inhabitants, with a few exceptions, pardon for their past treasonable offences, and a reinstatement in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they heretofore had enjoyed under a free British government, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislatures.’^m These specious offers, together with the impossibility of their fleeing with their families and effects, and the want of an army to which the militia of the state might repair, induced the people in the country to abandon all schemes of farther resistance. The militia to the southward of Charleston sent in a flag to the commanding officer of the royal detachment at Beaufort, and obtained terms similar to those granted to the inhabitants of the capital. At Camden the inhabitants met the British with a flag, and negotiated for themselves. The people of Ninety-Six assembled to deliberate what course they should hold in such a difficult conjuncture. Being informed that the British were advancing to that part of the state, they sent a flag to the commanding officer, from whom they learned that sir Henry Clinton had delegated full powers to captain Richard Pearis to treat with them. Articles of capitulation were immediately proposed, and soon after ratified, by
which

^m See note XII.

which they were promised the same security for their persons and property which British subjects enjoyed. They submitted under a mistaken opinion that, agreeably to an early proclamation of sir Henry Clinton, previous to the surrender of Charleston, they were to be either neutrals or prisoners on parole. A later proclamation of June third 1780, which, as shall soon be related, made a change of allegiance necessary to their being in the King's peace, was kept out of sight. By this manœuvre the King of Great-Britain gained, without their knowledge, a large accession of nominal subjects. Excepting the extremities of the state, which border on North-Carolina, the inhabitants who continued in the country generally preferred submission to resistance. The difference between evacuating and defending towns became apparent, and fully proved that the first was the best plan of defence for America.

THOUGH the progress of the British arms was rapid, yet it was far short of what was originally expected. Their schemes had been deranged as to time, and new events made it necessary for them to divide their forces, and to alter their plans. The embarkation of the royal army from New-York, for the reduction of Charleston, had been fixed as early as September 1779, but the unexpected arrival of count D'Estaing, with a French fleet on the coast of Georgia, retarded that event till the 18th of December. This delay,
together

together with the slow method of reducing Charleston by regular approaches, and the defence made by general Lincoln—all concurred to waste away the season which had been allotted for a vigorous winter campaign. It was originally intended that the whole of the forces employed against Charleston should proceed, after the reduction of that capital, to the conquest of the adjacent states. It was presumed that the militia, by the surrender of their strongest southern post, and capture of the whole continental line, from Virginia to Georgia, would be intimidated from opposing a well-appointed and numerous royal army. The most extensive conquests in the southern states were confidently expected before a northern campaign for 1780 could be opened. As the arrival of one French fleet retarded the British schemes near three months in the latter end of 1779, so the expectation of another in the spring of the year 1780 made a division of their southern force indispensibly necessary. Intelligence was received by sir Henry Clinton, about the time of the surrender of Charleston, that a large number of land-forces, and a French fleet, consisting of seven sail of the line, and five frigates, commanded by M. De Ternay, was to have sailed from France so early in the year that its arrival on the American coast might be soon expected. This induced the commander in chief of the royal army to re-embark for New-York early in June, with the greatest part of his army. Though the French

fleets gained at this time no direct advantages for their American allies, yet they completely deranged the plan of British operations.

ON the departure of sir Henry Clinton from Charleston, lord Cornwallis was appointed commander in chief in the southern department, with about four thousand men. This force, though far short of what was originally intended for southern operations, was deemed fully sufficient for the purpose of extending the British conquests.

THE object hitherto pursued by the British commanders, with regard to the inhabitants of South-Carolina, was to induce them to remain peaceably at their homes. To this end they accepted of their submission on very easy terms. All, with a few exceptions, who applied obtained either paroles as prisoners, or protections as British subjects. They who preferred the latter were required to subscribe a declaration of their allegiance to the King of Great-Britain; but in the hurry of business this was frequently omitted, and the privileges of British subjects were freely bestowed on some without any engagements.

THE general submission of the inhabitants was followed by an unusual calm. The British believed that the state of South-Carolina was thoroughly conquered; but they soon found that the disguise which fear had imposed subsisted no longer

longer than the present danger. Their experience in America had not yet taught them enough of human nature to distinguish a forced submission, in a temporary panick, from a cordial return to their former allegiance. Subsequent events proved, that a country is unsubdued as long as the minds of the people are actuated by an hostile spirit.

ALL military opposition being suspended, the royal commanders, supposing their work in South-Carolina to be completely finished, began to extend their views to the adjacent states. To facilitate their future operations they conceived a scheme of obtaining substantial service from their new subjects. In the prosecution of this business their policy soon lost what arms had gained. While some of the inhabitants were felicitating themselves in having obtained a respite from the calamities of war, they were no less astonished than confounded at a proclamation by which they were called upon to take arms in support of royal government. All paroles given to prisoners, not taken by capitulation, and who were not in confinement at the surrender of Charleston, were declared on the third of June 1780, by the commander in chief of the royal army, ‘ to be null
 ‘ and void after the twentieth of the same month,
 ‘ and the holders of them were called upon to
 ‘ resume the character of British subjects, and to
 ‘ take an active part in forwarding military operations, or to be considered and treated as rebels
 ‘ against

‘ against his majesty’s government.’^a This extraordinary step was taken without any pretence of violation of parole on the part of the prisoners. With this proclamation, and the enrolment of the militia, commenced the declension of British authority. Many had applied for paroles and protection, from the fond expectation, that they should be indulged with a residence on their estates, and be at full liberty to prosecute their private business. Numbers who, from motives of fear or convenience, had submitted, still retained an affection for their American brethren in the other states, and shuddered at the thought of taking arms against them. Among such it was generally said, ‘ if we must fight, let it be ‘ on the side of America, our friends and countrymen.’ A great number, considering themselves released from their parole by the proclamation, conceived that they had a right to arm against the British; and were induced so to do from the royal menace, that they who did not enrol themselves as British subjects, must expect to be treated as enemies. A much greater number found it convenient to exchange their paroles for protection. To sacrifice all, and leave the country, required a degree of fortitude that is the lot of very few. To take protection, and to enrol themselves as militia under the royal standard, were events wholly unexpected when they submitted as prisoners of war. They conceived themselves reduced to a very hard alternative,

^a See note XIII.

native, and would often contrast the conduct of the British commanders with the former policy of the state, which gave every man his free choice of joining the Americans or of adhering to the royal cause, with the liberty of removing his family and property. They submitted, but their subsequent conduct made it probable that this was done, in many cases, with a secret reservation of breaking the compulsory tie when a proper opportunity should present itself. Had this severe alternative never been offered, and had the people been indulged in the quiet possession of their property and their domestick ease, it would have been extremely difficult for Congress to have made adequate exertions for rescuing the state out of the hands of the British. But, from a concurrence of causes about this time, there was formed a strong party, disposed to do and suffer much more for the expulsion of their new masters, than they could be persuaded to do six months before, to prevent the country from falling into their hands.

THE situation of the inhabitants of the town was different from that of the country. As they had a right, by the capitulation, to remain at their homes on parole, they were excepted from the alternative offered by the proclamation of the third of June; other methods were therefore used to compel them to become British subjects. Immediately after the surrender of Charleston a few persons, attached to the British government, prepared

prepared an address to the general and admiral, congratulating them on their conquest.* This was signed by two hundred and ten of the inhabitants, the greater part of whom had been in arms against the British during the siege, and among whom were a few who had been leaders in the popular government. In answer to their address they were promised the privileges and protection of British subjects, on subscribing a test of their allegiance, and of their willingness to support the royal cause. These addressers, who thus decidedly took part with the British, immediately made an invidious distinction between subjects and prisoners, and became the instigators of every severity against those who chose to remain on parole. As they had revolted from the cause of America, that they might be kept in countenance, they laboured hard to draw others into the same predicament. To effect this they would often complain to the British rulers, ‘ that none had proper encouragement to return ‘ to their allegiance, while prisoners were suffered ‘ to remain with their families, follow their occupations, and enjoy privileges which, in their ‘ opinion, should be monopolized by the friends ‘ of royal government.’ This example of exchanging paroles for protection, was soon followed by many of their fellow-citizens. Those of them, who owned estates in the country, had no security by capitulation for any property out of the lines, unless they became subjects. This

was

* See note xiv.

was a strong inducement to persons so circumstanced to join their conquerors. To oblige them universally to return to their allegiance, there was a succession of proclamations, each abridging the privileges of prisoners. Subjects were allowed to sue for their debts before the British board of police, but prisoners were denied all benefit of that court. Though they were liable to suits, they had no security for the payment of their debts but the honour of their debtors. The paroles granted to prisoners, after the surrender of the town, were much more limited than might have been expected. The citizens of the town were restrained from going out of the lines, or on the water, without special permission. This, when applied for, was sometimes wantonly refused, and on other occasions might be obtained for money. Ineffectual attempts were made to obtain more generous limits, but no extension was granted, and they who seemed averse from signing the offered paroles, were informed that, in case of an absolute refusal, they must expect close confinement. These shackles sat very uneasy on free citizens who had heretofore been accustomed to the fullest enjoyment of personal liberty ; but no relaxation could be obtained on any other condition than that of professing a return to their allegiance. The conquerors, in the most perfect confidence of keeping the province, and of extending their conquests, valued themselves much upon their generosity in being willing to receive as British subjects

subjects the citizens whom they viewed in the light of vanquished rebels. Under the influence of this opinion they laughed at the folly, and resented the ingratitude and impudence of those who chose to remain in the character of prisoners. Such persons met with every discouragement, and at the same time the door of re-admission to the privileges of subjects was thrown wide open. This made some martyrs, but more hypocrites. A numerous class of people were reduced to the alternative of starving or suing for protection. Those inhabitants of Charleston, who were of the Hebrew nation, and others who were shopkeepers, were, while prisoners, encouraged to make purchases from the British merchants who came with the conquering army, and, after they had contracted large debts of this kind, were precluded by proclamation from selling the goods they had purchased, unless they assumed the name and character of British subjects.^p Mechanics and others were allowed, for some months after the surrender, to follow their respective occupations, but as they could not compel payment for their services, repeated losses soon convinced them of the present convenience of accepting British protection. Great numbers in all communities are wholly indifferent what form of government they live under. They can always turn with the times, and submit with facility to the present ruling power whatsoever it may be. The low state of American affairs in
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^p See note xv.

the summer of 1780, induced a belief among many of the inhabitants, that Congress, from necessity, had abandoned the idea of contending for the southern states. The resolutions of that body disavowing this imputation, were carefully concealed from the prisoners.^a Many believing that South-Carolina would finally remain a British province, and being determined to save their estates under every form of government, concluded that the sooner they submitted the less they would lose. The negroes, and other property of individuals, had been seized by the British during the siege. Prisoners on parole had no chance of repossessing themselves of any part of this plunder, though subjects were allowed to put in their claim, and were sometimes successful. A party always attached to royal government, though they had conformed to the laws of the state, rejoiced in the revolution, and sincerely returned to their allegiance, but their number was inconsiderable in comparison with the multitude who were obliged by necessity, or induced by convenience, to accept of British protection.

THE inhabitants of the country, for the most part, lay more at the unconditional mercy of the conquerors than the citizens of the capital. Those who refused to give up their paroles, and did not flee out of the country, were generally removed from their families, and confined to some of the islands on the sea-coast, while their property be-

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came

^a See note XVI.

came the spoil and plunder of a rapacious army. In this trying situation, the various ruling passions of individuals appeared without disguise. Some men of the largest fortunes, and who had been promoted to exalted stations, both civil and military, relinquished the service of the state for present ease and convenience. A few of this character, who were entirely out of the way of personal danger, and in the full enjoyment of the privileges of freemen, voluntarily returned, and bowed their necks to the conquerors. In direct contradiction to the whole tenor of their past conduct, they attempted to apologize for their inconsistency, by declaring that they had never aimed at independence, and were always averse from an alliance with France. Many whose estates were deeply in debt at the commencement of the war, had extricated themselves by payments made in the depreciated paper-bills of credit. Some of this class reasoned with themselves, that, having got clear of their private debts at a very easy rate, if they could now break with Congress, and support the British in the possession of the province, they should rid themselves of the heavy taxes that must accrue in consequence of the American war. The mischievous effects of negro-slavery were, at this time, abundantly apparent. Several who had lived in ease and affluence from the produce of their lands, cultivated by the labour of slaves, had not fortitude enough to dare to be poor. Sentiments of honour and love of their country, made them wish to preserve

a consistency of conduct, by refusing submission to British government, but the impossibility of supporting themselves by their own exertions, counteracted every generous resolution. The conflict of contrary passions, and the distress of the times, drove several to the excessive use of spirituous liquors, which proved the source of many diseases, and very often destroyed life.

THOUGH numbers broke through the solemnities by which they had voluntarily bound themselves to support the cause of America, illustrious sacrifices were made at the shrine of liberty; several submitted to a distressing exile, or a more intolerable confinement. The proprietors of some of the best estates in South-Carolina, suffered them to remain in the power and possession of the conquerors, rather than stain their honour by deserting their country. The rich staked their fortunes; but in the humble walks of obscurity were found several of the middling and poorer class of citizens who may be truly said to have staked their lives on the cause of America, for they renounced the comforts subservient to health in warm climates, and contented themselves with a scanty portion of the plainest necessities of life, in preference to joining the enemies of independence. In this crisis of danger to the liberties of America, the ladies of South-Carolina conducted themselves with more than Spartan magnanimity. They gloried in the appellation of rebel ladies; and, though they withstood repeated solicitations

solicitations to grace publick entertainments with their presence, yet they crowded on board prison-ships, and other places of confinement, to solace their suffering countrymen. While the conquerors were regaling themselves at concerts and assemblies, they could obtain very few of the fair sex to associate with them; but no sooner was an American officer introduced as a prisoner, than his company was sought for, and his person treated with every possible mark of attention and respect. On other occasions the ladies in a great measure retired from the publick eye, wept over the distresses of their country, and gave every proof of the warmest attachment to its suffering cause. In the height of the British conquests, when poverty and ruin seemed the unavoidable portion of every adherent to the independence of America, the ladies in general discovered more firmness than the men. Many of them, like guardian Angels, preserved their husbands from falling in the hour of temptation, when interest and convenience had almost gotten the better of honour and patriotism. Among the numbers who were banished from their families, and whose property was seized by the conquerors, many examples could be produced of ladies cheerfully parting with their sons, husbands and brothers, exhorting them to fortitude and perseverance; and repeatedly entreating them never to suffer family-attachments to interfere with the duty they owed to their country. When, in the progress of the war, they were
also

also comprehended under a general sentence of banishment, with equal resolution they parted with their native country, and the many endearments of home—followed their husbands into prison-ships and distant lands, where, though they had long been in the habit of giving, they were reduced to the necessity of receiving charity. They renounced the present gratifications of wealth, and the future prospects of fortunes for their growing offspring—adopted every scheme of economy, and, though born in affluence, and habituated to attendance, betook themselves to hard labour.

WHILST the conquerors were indefatigable in their endeavours to strengthen the party for royal government, by the addition of new subjects, the Americans were not inattentive to their interests. During the siege of Charleston, general Lincoln, in the most pressing manner, requested governor Rutledge, with the whole of his council, to go out of town, on the idea that the civil authority of the state would be exerted to much greater advantage in the country than in the besieged metropolis; that an executive authority might be preserved, though the capital should fall; and at the same time, that the citizens might not conceive themselves deserted, in the day of danger, it was agreed that governor Rutledge, with three of the council, should leave Charleston, and that lieutenant-governor Gadsden, with the other five of that body, should remain

remain within the lines. In consequence of this determination, on the twelfth of April 1780, the governor left Charleston, accompanied by the honourable John-Lewis Gervais, Charles Pinckney and Daniel Huger, esquires. Every exertion was made to embody the country militia, and to bring them forward for the relief of the besieged capital. Failing in this, the next object of the governor was to make a stand to the north of the Santee, in which part of the state were a few continentals, and North-Carolina militia. The reduction of the town, with the army enclosed, occasioned such a general panick among the militia, that they could not be persuaded to second his views. Governor Rutledge in a little time retired to the northward, where he was more successful in his negotiations with North-Carolina, Virginia, and Congress. Soon after, he returned to South-Carolina, and gave vigour, union and force to the inhabitants in their exertions against British government.

DURING the siege expresses were sent by general Lincoln to the Congress, and the states of North-Carolina and Virginia, representing the unpromising appearance of affairs in South-Carolina. In consequence of these several requisitions, Congress determined that a considerable detachment from their main army should be immediately marched to the southward. The state of North-Carolina also ordered a large body of their militia to take the field, and to be relieved every
three

three months. These stamina of a second southern army were originally designed to compel the British to raise the siege of Charleston, but, being too late for that business, they became a respectable check to the extension of their conquests. The near approach of colonel Tarleton to Mecklenburgh county, where he defeated colonel Buford, induced general Rutherford to take the field for the defence of that part of the country. In three days he collected fifteen hundred militia at Charlotte town ; but as lieutenant-colonel Tarleton immediately retreated, they returned to their homes. About ten days after, lord Rawdon fixed a post at the Waxhaws. General Rutherford a second time collected eight hundred of his militia brigade at Charlotte, and soon after his lordship retreated. The brave men, who so willingly turned out for the defence of their country, at this time of difficulty, were reduced to the greatest straits in providing themselves with suitable armour. They employed the smith and sickle makers to convert iron and steel, where-ever they could be found, into instruments of defence. They had no lead but the small private stock accidentally in the possession of hunters, and would have been equally destitute of powder, if the remote magazines of South-Carolina had not been removed and lodged in their neighbourhood. The royalists in both Carolinas, confident of British protection, now began to throw off the mask, and were greatly increased by accessions from the
multitude,

multitude, who always side with the strongest. A large body of this kind, on the twenty-second of June 1780, embodied in North-Carolina, at Ramsour's, under the command of col. Moore. The greatest part of these had taken the oath of allegiance to the state of North-Carolina, and many of them had done militia duty in the American service; but they were induced, on this occasion, by the persuasion of their leaders, after having taken arms in support of royal government, to attempt a junction with the British troops at some of their out-posts. This premature insurrection, in opposition to the advice of lord Cornwallis, who had recommended to his friends to remain inactive till he had advanced into their settlements, subjected the royalists to immediate dispersion. Their leaders, as well in North-Carolina as in the south state, were for the most part persons of inferior characters, destitute of military or political talents, and wholly deficient in that sagacity which selects the fittest seasons for accomplishing events.

GENERAL Rutherford immediately marched against these insurgents, but was so short of lead that he could arm only three hundred men. Colonel Lock advanced with this armed detachment twenty-five miles ahead to observe the motions of the royalists, whilst the main body halted behind in expectation of a supply of ammunition from the mines of Virginia. Colonel Lock, though so greatly inferior in force, was soon

soon reduced to the necessity of attacking or of being attacked. He chose the former. This was executed with great spirit and judgment. Captain Falls, with a party of horse, rushed into the middle of the insurgents, and threw them into confusion. In this skirmish twenty-two of the whig militia were killed or wounded. Among the former were six of their officers who had been singled out by rifle-men among the royalists. The brave captain Falls was one of the slain. Colonel Moore made a proposition to colonel Lock to desist from all hostilities for an hour, which, being agreed to by the latter, the former in that time ran off with his whole party. This insurrection was scarcely quelled, when general Rutherford received information that colonel Brian, of Rowan county, in North-Carolina, had put himself at the head of a body of tories, in order to join the British. He instantly marched to that part of the state, but failed in his object. Colonel Brian marched down the east side of the Yadkin, and effected a junction with the royal army at Camden.

As the British advanced to the upper country of South-Carolina, a considerable number of the determined friends of independence retreated before them, and took refuge in North-Carolina. In this class was colonel Sumpter, a gentleman who had formerly commanded one of the continental regiments, and who was known to possess a great share of bravery and other military talents.

In a very little time after he had forsaken his home, a detachment of the British turned his wife and family out of doors, burned the house, and every thing that was in it. A party of these exiles from South-Carolina, who had convened in North-Carolina, made choice of colonel Sumpter to be their leader. At the head of this little band of freemen he soon returned to his own state, and took the field against the victorious British. He made this gallant effort at a time when the inhabitants had generally abandoned the idea of supporting their own independence, and when he had every difficulty to encounter. The state was no longer in a condition to pay, clothe or feed the troops, who had enrolled themselves under his command. His followers were, in a great measure, unfurnished with arms and ammunition, and they had no magazines from which they might draw a supply. The iron tools, on the neighbouring farms, was worked up for their use by common blacksmiths into rude weapons of war. They supplied themselves in part with bullets by melting the pewter with which they were furnished by private housekeepers. They sometimes came to battle when they had not three rounds a man, and some were obliged to keep at a distance, till, by the fall of others, they were supplied with arms. When they proved victorious they were obliged to rifle the dead and wounded of their arms and ammunition to equip them for their next engagement. At the head of these volunteers colonel Sumpter penetrated

netrated into South-Carolina, and re-commenced a military opposition to the British, after it had been suspended for about six weeks. This unlooked-for impediment to the extension of British conquests roused all the passions which disappointed ambition can inspire. The late conquerors, having in their official despatches, asserted ‘ that the inhabitants from every quarter had repaired to the detachments of the royal army, and to the garrison of Charleston, to declare their allegiance to the King, and to offer their services in arms in support of his government—that in many instances they had brought in prisoners, their former oppressors or leaders—and that there were few men in South-Carolina that were not either their prisoners or in arms with them ;’ and now, finding armed parties suddenly appearing in favour of independence, were overwhelmed with astonishment, and filled with indignation. Their successes had flattered them with hopes of distinguished rank among the conquerors of America ; but these unexpected hostilities made them fear, that their names would be enrolled among those who, by pompous details of British victories, and exaggerated pictures of American sufferings, had deceived the people of England into a continued support of an expensive and ruinous war. Forgetting their experience in the northern states, they had believed the submission of the inhabitants to be sincere ; making no allowance for that propensity in human nature which leads mankind, when in the power
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of others, to frame their intelligence with more attention to what is agreeable than to what is true, the British for some time conceived that they had little to fear on the south side of Virginia. When experience convinced them of the fallacy of their hopes, they were transported with indignation against the inhabitants. Without taking any share of the blame to themselves for their policy in constraining men to an involuntary submission, they charged them with studied duplicity and treachery. Lenient measures were laid aside for those which were dictated by the spirit of revenge. Nor were opportunities long wanting for the indulgence of this malignant passion. The private soldiers of the royal army, after deserting, had concealed themselves among the inhabitants. Lord Rawdon, whose temper was soured by disappointment, and whose breast was agitated with rage against the new subjects, as well for their unmeaning submissions, as for their conniving at a practice so injurious to the royal interest, on the first of July 1780 addressed the following letter to H. Rugely, major of British militia, near their head-quarters at Camden :

‘ SIR,

‘ So many deserters from this army have passed
 ‘ with impunity through the districts which are
 ‘ under your direction, that I must necessarily su-
 ‘ spect the inhabitants to have connived at, if not
 ‘ facilitated their escape. If attachment to their
 ‘ sovereign

‘ soveraign will not move the country-people to
 ‘ check a crime so detrimental to his service, it
 ‘ must be my care to urge them to their duty as
 ‘ good subjects by using invariable severity to-
 ‘ wards every one who shall shew so criminal a
 ‘ neglect of the publick interest. I am therefore,
 ‘ sir, to request of you that you signify to all
 ‘ within the limits of your command my firm
 ‘ determination in this case. If any person shall
 ‘ meet a soldier straggling without a written pass
 ‘ beyond the picquets, and shall not do his ut-
 ‘ most to secure him, or shall not spread an alarm
 ‘ for that purpose, or if any person shall give
 ‘ shelter to soldiers straggling as above-mentioned,
 ‘ or shall serve them as a guide, or shall furnish
 ‘ them with passes or any other assistance, the
 ‘ persons so offending may assure themselves of
 ‘ rigorous punishment either by whipping, im-
 ‘ prisonment, or by being sent to serve his majesty
 ‘ in the West-Indies, according as I shall think
 ‘ the degree of criminality may require. I have
 ‘ ordered that every soldier who passes the pic-
 ‘ quets shall submit himself to be examined by
 ‘ any of the militia who have any suspicion of
 ‘ him: if a soldier therefore attempts to escape,
 ‘ when ordered by a militiaman to stop, he is
 ‘ immediately to be fired upon as a deserter—Sin-
 ‘ gle men of the light-horse need not be exa-
 ‘ mined, as they may often be sent alone upon
 ‘ expresses—nor is any party of infantry with a
 ‘ non-commissioned officer at the head of it to
 ‘ be stopped.

‘ I WILL give the inhabitants ten guineas for
 ‘ the head of any deserter belonging to the vo-
 ‘ lunteers of Ireland, and five guineas only if
 ‘ they bring him in alive. They shall likewise
 ‘ be rewarded, though not to that amount, for
 ‘ such deserters as they may procure belonging
 ‘ to any other regiment.

‘ I AM confident that you will encourage the
 ‘ country-people to be more active in this respect.

‘ And am, sir,

‘ with much esteem,

‘ your very humble servant,

‘ (signed)

RAWDON:’

IN addition to this exertion of military authority lord Rawdon, on the first rumour of an advancing American army, called on the inhabitants in and near Camden to take up arms against their approaching countrymen, and confined in the common gaol those who refused. In the midst of summer upwards of one hundred and sixty persons were shut up in one prison, and twenty or thirty of them, though citizens of the most respectable characters, were loaded with irons. Mr. James Bradley, mr. Strother, colonel Few, mr. Kershaw, captain Boykin, colonel Alexander, mr. Irvin, colonel Winn, colonel Hunter and captain John Chesnut, were in the number of those who were subjected to these indignities. The last of these gentlemen, though taken in Charleston, and entitled to the security of
 of

of his person and property by a solemn capitulation, was deprived of a quantity of indigo equal in value to five thousand dollars ; and was also chained to the floor for a considerable time on a suspicion of his having violated his parole by corresponding with the Americans, though the charge was supported by no better evidence than the information of one of his slaves.

THE friends of independence having once more taken the field in South-Carolina, a party of the corps, commanded by colonel Sumpter, consisting of one hundred and thirty-three men, on the twelfth of July 1780 engaged at Williams' plantation, in the upper parts of South-Carolina, with a detachment of the British troops and a large body of tories, commanded by captain Huck. They were posted in a lane, both ends of which were entered at the same time by the Americans. In this unfavourable position they were speedily routed and dispersed. Colonel Ferguson, of the British militia, captain Huck, and several others were killed. This was the first advantage gained over the royal forces since their landing in the beginning of the year. At the very moment this unexpected attack was made, a number of women were on their knees vainly soliciting captain Huck for his mercy in behalf of their families and property. During his command he had distressed the inhabitants by every species of insult and injury. He had also shocked them with his profanity, having
been

been often heard to say, ‘ that GOD ALMIGHTY
 ‘ was turned rebel ; but that if there were twenty
 ‘ GODS on their side they should all be conquer-
 ‘ ed.’ In a very particular manner he displayed
 his enmity to the Presbyterians, by burning the
 library and dwellinghouse of their clergyman the
 rev. mr. Simpson, and all bibles which contained
 the Scots translation of the psalms. These pro-
 ceedings, no less impolitick than impious, inspir-
 ed the numerous devout people of that district
 with an unusual animation. A warm love for in-
 dependence blended itself with a religious fer-
 vour—and these two passions reciprocally added
 strength to each other. The inhabitants of that
 part of the state generally arranged themselves
 under the command of colonel Sumpter, and
 opposed the British with the enthusiasm of men
 called upon to defend not only their civil liberties
 but their holy religion. The effects of this ar-
 dour were very sensibly felt. Colonel Sumpter
 was soon reinforced to the number of six hun-
 dred men. At the head of this party, on the
 thirtieth of July 1780, he made a spirited, but
 unsuccessful attack on the British post at Rocky-
 Mount. Without delay he marched in quest of
 other British detachments, and in eight days after
 successfully attacked one of their posts at the
 Hanging Rock, in which was a considerable force
 of regulars and tories. The prince of Wales’s
 regiment, which defended this place, was nearly
 annihilated ; and a large body of tories, which
 had advanced from North-Carolina under colonel
 Brian,

Brian was completely routed and dispersed. The party commanded by colonel Sumpter was so short of ammunition, that when they began this attack no one of them had more than ten bullets. In the latter part of the action the arms and ammunition which were taken from the British and tories, who fell in the beginning of it, were turned against their associates.

It had been for some time known that an American army was marching from the northward for the relief of their southern brethren. The panick occasioned by the fall of Charleston was daily abating. The whig militia, on the extremities of the state, formed themselves into small parties under leaders of their own choice, and some times attacked detachments of the British army, but much more frequently those of their own countrymen, who were turning out as a royal militia. These American parties severally acted from the impulse of their own minds. They set themselves in opposition to the British without the knowledge of each others motions, and without any preconcerted general plan. Colonel Williams, of the district of Ninety-Six, in particular, was indefatigable in collecting and animating the friends of Congress in that settlement. With these he frequently harrassed the conquerors. On the eighteenth of August 1780, he attacked a considerable party of British and tories at Musgrove's mills, on the Enoree river. In this engagement colonel Innis, of the South-

Carolina royalists, was wounded, and the whole of his party obliged to retire.

DURING the siege of Charleston, fourteen hundred continental troops, consisting of the Delaware and Maryland line, commanded by major-general Baron De-Kalb, were by Congress ordered to the southward. They marched from headquarters at Morristown, in New-Jersey, on the sixteenth of April 1780, embarked at the Head of Elk in May, and landed soon after at Petersburg in Virginia, and from thence proceeded by land through the country towards South-Carolina. Virginia made great and effectual exertions to expedite the movements of this little army, but in North-Carolina little or no preparations were made for supporting the troops or transporting their baggage. The commissaries and quartermasters complained that the want of cash and of credit, were insuperable obstacles to the discharge of their duty. The American general found it necessary to make large detachments for impressing provisions. Their misapplied violences in many cases distressed the inhabitants, and greatly injured the service. The country was thinly inhabited and poorly cultivated. The last year's crop was nearly expended, and the present one was not sufficiently ripe. The troops subsisted principally on lean cattle collected in the woods. The officers were so distressed for the want of flour, that they made use of hair-powder to thicken their soup, but soon found a more savory substitute

stitute in green corn. Peaches were also used, and became a seasonable supply. The whole army was some times supplied for twenty-four hours in this way without either meat or flour. The sufferings and the virtue of the American troops on this occasion, are stated in a letter of August fourteenth, 1780, from major-general Baron De-Kalb to Chevalier De La Luzerne, the minister plenipotentiary from his most christian Majesty to the United States, in the following words: ‘ You may judge of the virtues of our ‘ small army from the following fact: we have ‘ for several days lived on nothing but peaches, ‘ and I have not heard a complaint. There has ‘ been no desertion.’

A CONSIDERABLE number of the militia of North-Carolina had taken the field, and had agreed to rendezvous at Anson courthouse on the twentieth of July, that they might be in readiness to co-operate with the continental army. On the approach of the Americans major M‘Arthur, who commanded on the Peedee, called in his detachments, abandoned his post on the Cheraw hill, and marched directly to join the main body of the royal army at Camden. On the day that the British relinquished this part of the country, the inhabitants, distressed by their depredations, and disgusted with their conduct, generally took arms. Lord Nairne, and one hundred and six British invalids, going down the Peedee, were made prisoners by a party of the Americans, commanded

commanded by major Thomas, who had lately been received as loyal subjects. A large boat coming up from George-Town, well stored with necessaries for major M^cArthur's party, was seized for the use of the American army. All the new-made British militia-officers, excepting colonel Mills, were made prisoners by their own men. The retreat of the British from their out-posts to Camden, the rapid advances of an American army, and the impolitick conduct of the conquerors towards their new subjects, all concurred about this time to produce a general revolt in favour of Congress. For some time past the people were daily growing more and more dissatisfied with the British. Tired of war, they had submitted to their government, with the flattering expectation of bettering their condition; but they soon found that they had fled from the scorching heat of the sun into the consuming blaze of a furnace. The protection they received, as the recompense of their submissions, was wholly inadequate to the purpose of securing their property. When the British first took possession of the country, they considered themselves as having a right to seize on the property of rebels. Their commissaries and quartermasters took provisions, and all other things wanted by the army where-ever they were to be found. Though things taken this way were all charged to the British government, yet very few of the persons from whom they were taken ever received any satisfaction. After the state had generally submitted,

submitted, the same practice was continued. The rapacity of the common men, the indigence and avarice of many of the officers, and the gains of the commissaries and quartermasters, all concurred to forbid any check to this lucrative mode of procuring supplies. They found it much more profitable to look on the inhabitants in the light of rebels, whose property was forfeited, than as reclaimed subjects, who were reinstated in the protection of government. When they applied in the latter character to claim their rights, and to remonstrate against British depredations, they much oftener received insults than redress. People who had received this kind of treatment, and who believed that allegiance and protection were reciprocal, soon conceived themselves released from their late engagements, and at full liberty to rejoin the Americans.

THOUGH the inhabitants of Charleston had not the same opportunity of shewing their resentment against their conquerors, yet many of the new-made subjects and the prisoners were very soon disgusted with their conduct. Every ungenerous construction was put on an ambiguous capitulation, to the disadvantage of the citizens, and their rights founded thereon, were, in several instances, most injuriously violated. On the nineteenth day after the surrender, a quartermaster of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's legion, of the name of Tuck, with a party of dragoons of that corps, called on mr. Samuel Wyly, an inoffensive private

vate militiaman, and, on his acknowledging that he went as a volunteer to the defence of Charleston, put him to death at his own house near Camden, by cutting him in pieces in a most barbarous manner. Though Mr. Wyly produced a certified copy of his parole as an evidence of his being entitled to the protection due to a prisoner taken by capitulation, yet it availed him nothing. Tuck and his party swore they would not only kill him, but all others who had turned out as volunteers to oppose the British forces. Continental officers were stripped of their property, on the pretence that they were soldiers, and had no right to claim under the character of citizens. The conquerors deprived the inhabitants of their canoes by an illiberal construction of the article which gave them the shipping in the harbour. Many slaves, and a great deal of property, though secured by the capitulation, were carried off by sir Henry Clinton's army in June 1780, when they sailed from Charleston. Immediately after the surrender, five hundred negroes were ordered to be put on board the ships for pioneers to the royal forces in New-York. These were taken where-ever they could be found, and no satisfaction was made to their owners. The common soldiers, from their sufferings and services during the siege, conceived themselves entitled to a licensed plunder of the town. That their murmurings might be soothed, the officers connived at their reimbursing themselves for their fatigues and dangers at the ex-
pence

pence of the citizens. Almost every private house had one or more of the officers or privates of the royal army quartered upon them. In providing for their accommodation very little attention was paid to the convenience of families. The insolence and disorderly conduct of persons thus forced upon the citizens, were in many instances intolerable to freemen heretofore accustomed to be masters in their own houses. The greatest address should have been practised towards the inhabitants, if the army meant to second the views of the parent-state, in re-uniting the revolted colonies to her government. To induce a people who had tasted of the sweets of independence, to return to the condition of subjects, their minds and affections, as well as their armies, ought to have been conquered. This more delicate and difficult task was rarely attempted. The officers, privates, and followers of the royal army, were generally more intent on amassing fortunes by plunder and rapine, than on promoting a re-union of the disaffected members of the empire. The general complexion of the officers serving in the royal army against America, was very different from what had been usual in better times. In former wars dignity, honour and generosity, were invariably annexed to the military character. Though the old officers of the British regiments in America were for the most part gentlemen, and eminently possessed these virtues, yet several vacancies, both at the commencement and in the progress of the American war,

war, had been filled up by a new set greatly inferior in fortune, education and good breeding. Several new corps had been raised in America, in which commissions had been promised by publick advertisement to any person who would recruit a given number of men. They who possessed most of that low cunning, which is necessary to wheedle the vulgar, were of course most successful in procuring these commissions. From an army abounding with such unworthy characters, and stationed among a people whom they hated as rebels, and from the plunder of whom they hoped to make fortunes, it was not reasonable to expect that winning behaviour which was necessary to conciliate the affections of the revolted states. The royal officers, instead of soothing the inhabitants into good humour, by acts of beneficence and generosity, often aggravated intolerable injuries by more intolerable insults; instead of increasing the number of real friends of royal government, they disgusted the few that they found; instead of gaining the affections of the people, their whole conduct tended to alienate them: in one word, they did more to re-establish the independence of the state than could have been effected by the armies of Congress, had the conquerors guided themselves by maxims of sound policy. The high-spirited citizens of Carolina could not brook these oppressions and insults; but most ardently wished to rid the country of the insulting oppressors. From motives of this kind, and a prevailing attachment to the cause

cause of their country, many broke through all ties to join the advancing American army, and more most cordially wished them success.

MAJOR-GENERAL Baron De-Kalb commanded the continentals sent from the northward till the twenty-seventh of July, when major-general Gates arrived with the orders of Congress to take the supreme command. Great were the expectations of the publick from this illustrious officer. The cloud that had for some time overshadowed American affairs began to disperse. Nothing short of the speedy expulsion of the British from the state came up to the wishes and hopes of the friends of independence. A well-timed proclamation from the American general was very generally approved, and greatly influenced the sentiments and conduct of the inhabitants.^r The continental army formed a junction with the North-Carolina militia at the Cross-Roads, forty-five miles from Camden, on the tenth of August. The British, on the approach of general Gates, concentrated their whole force at Camden. No interruption of the American army was attempted any where but at Lynch's creek, and even this was abandoned upon their making a circuitous march to the right. The retreat of the British, and the extreme scarcity of provisions, induced general Gates to continue his march to Rugeley's mills, about thirteen miles from Camden, in which position he had the prospect of more com-

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fortable

^r See note xvii.

portable supplies from the well-cultivated settlement of Waxhaws. While the American army advanced towards Camden, colonel Sumpter was to the westward of the Wateree, and daily augmenting his corps from the revolting inhabitants who enrolled themselves under his standard. On receiving intelligence that an escort of clothing, ammunition, and other stores for the garrison at Camden, was on the road from Charleston, and that the whole must pass the Wateree ferry under cover of a small redoubt which the British occupied on the south side of the river, he formed a successful plan for reducing the redoubt, and capturing the convoy. From his position on the south side of the Wateree, the farther hope was indulged of his intercepting the British, whose defeat or retreat was confidently expected on their way from Camden to Charleston. On the fifteenth general Stevens, with a brigade of Virginia militia, joined general Gates. The whole of the American army now amounted to three thousand six hundred and sixty-three, of which about nine hundred were continental infantry, and seventy cavalry.

THE arrival of this force being quite unexpected, lord Cornwallis, busily employed in forming regulations for the interior police of the country, was distant from the scene of action. No sooner was he informed of the approach of general Gates, than he prepared to join his army at Camden. He arrived, and superseded lord

Rawdon

Rawdon in command on the fourteenth. His inferior force, consisting of about seventeen hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry, would have justified a retreat ; but, considering that no probable event of an action could be more injurious to the royal interest than that measure, he chose to stake his fortune in the field in a contest with the conqueror of Burgoyne. On the night of the fifteenth he marched out with his whole force to attack the American army ; and at the same hour general Gates put his army in motion, with a determination to take an eligible position between Sander's creek and Green-Swamp, about eight miles from Camden. The advanced parties of both armies met about midnight, and a firing commenced. In the skirmish of the night colonel Porterfield, a very gallant officer of the state of Virginia, received a mortal wound. After some time both parties retreated to their main bodies, and the whole lay on their arms. In the morning a severe and general engagement took place. The American army was formed in the following manner : the second Maryland brigade, commanded by brigadier-general Gift, on the right of the line, flanked by a morass ; the North-Carolina militia, commanded by major-general Caswell, in the centre ; and the Virginia militia, commanded by brigadier-general Stevens, on the left, flanked by the North-Carolina militia light-infantry and a morass. The artillery was posted in the interstices of brigades, and on the most advantageous grounds. Major-general

general Baron De-Kalb commanded on the right of the line, and brigadier-general Smallwood commanded the first Maryland brigade, which was posted as a corps-de-reserve two or three hundred yards in the rear. In this position the troops remained till dawn of day. As soon as the British appeared about two hundred yards in front of the North-Carolina troops, the artillery was ordered to fire, and brigadier-general Stevens to attack the column which was displayed to the right. That gallant officer advanced with his brigade of militia in excellent order within fifty paces of the enemy, who were also advancing, and then called out to his men, ‘ my brave fellows, you have bayonets as well as they, we’ll charge them.’ At that moment the British infantry charged with a cheer, and the Virginians, throwing down their arms, retreated with the utmost precipitation. The militia of North-Carolina followed the unworthy example, except a few of general Gregory’s brigade, who paused a very little longer. A part of colonel Dixon’s regiment fired two or three rounds, but the greater part of the whole militia fled without firing a single shot. This precipitate flight was perhaps occasioned by the following causes: the troops being badly supplied, had for some time subsisted on fruit scarcely ripe, without any regular rations of flesh, flour or spirituous liquors. The unexpected meeting of the enemy, their lying for some hours on their arms, with the apprehension of immediate danger, and the horrors of the

the

the night, operating on militia who had never been in action, and whose strength and spirits were depressed by their preceding low regimen, occasioned so general a panick among the raw troops, that they could not stand before bayonets. The whole left wing and centre being gone, the continentals who formed the right wing, and the corps of reserve, engaged about the same time, and gave the British an unexpected check. The second brigade, consisting of Maryland and Delaware troops, gained ground, and had taken no less than fifty prisoners. The first brigade being considerably out-flanked, were obliged to retire ; but they rallied again, and with great spirit renewed the fight. This expedient was repeated two or three times. The British directed their whole force against these two devoted corps, and a tremendous fire of musketry was continued on both sides, with great perseverance and obstinacy. At length lord Cornwallis, observing that there was no cavalry opposed to him, poured in his dragoons and ended the contest. Never did men behave better than the continentals in the whole of this action ;^f but all attempts to rally the militia were ineffectual. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's legion charged them as they broke, and pursued them as they were fleeing. Without having it in their power to defend themselves, they fell in great numbers under the legionary sabres.

MAJOR-

^f See note XVIII.

MAJOR-GENERAL Baron De-Kalb, an illustrious German, in the service of France, who had generously engaged in the support of the American independence, and who exerted himself with great bravery to prevent the defeat of the day, received eleven wounds, of which, though he received the most particular assistance from the British, he in a short time expired. Congress, sensible of his exalted merit, ordered a monument to be erected in Annapolis to his memory. Lieutenant-colonel Du-Buysson, aid-de-camp to Baron De-Kalb, embraced his wounded general, announced his rank and nation to the surrounding foe, and begged that they would spare his life. While he generously exposed himself to save his friend, he received sundry dangerous wounds, and was taken prisoner. Brigadier-general Rutherford, a valuable officer, of the most extensive influence over the North Carolina militia, surrendered to a party of the British legion, one of whom, after his submission, cut him in several places. Of the South-Carolina line, that brave and distinguished officer, major Thomas Pinckney, acting as aid-de-camp to major-general Gates, had his leg shattered by a musket-ball, and fell into the hands of the conquerors.

THE Americans lost eight field-pieces, the whole of their artillery, upwards of two hundred waggons, and the greatest part of their baggage. The loss of the British, in killed and wounded,

was

See note XIX.

was about three hundred. The royal army fought with great bravery; but their success was in a great measure owing to the precipitate flight of the militia, and the superiority of their cavalry.

THE militia composed so great a part of the American army, that general Gates, when he saw them leave the field, lost all hopes of victory, and retired in order to rally a sufficient number to cover the retreat of the continentals, but the further the militia fled, the more they were dispersed. Finding nothing could be done, he continued his retreat into North-Carolina. On his way he was soon overtaken by an officer from colonel Sumpter, who reported that the colonel had fully succeeded in his enterprize against the British post at the ferry, had captured the garrison, and intercepted the escort with the stores; but no advantage could be taken of this event, as the successful party of Americans was on the opposite side of the river. A few of the Virginia militia were halted at Hillsborough, but in a little time their tour of service was out, and all who had not deserted were discharged. The North-Carolina militia went different ways, as their hopes led or their fears drove them. Several of them were intercepted by their countrymen, who, though they had assembled under the pretence of joining general Gates, yet, on hearing of his defeat, became active in pursuing the fugitives from his army. Almost all the American officers were separated from their commands.

Every

Every corps was broken in action, and dispersed through the woods. Major Anderson, of the third Maryland regiment, was the only infantry-officer who kept together any number of men. The retreat of the heavy baggage was delayed till the morning of the action, and the greatest part of it fell into the hands of the British, or was plundered in the retreat. The pursuit was rapid for more than twenty miles; even at the distance of forty miles, teams were cut out of the waggons, and numbers promoted their flight on horseback. The road by which they fled was strewn with arms and baggage, which in their hurry and trepidation they had abandoned, and covered with the sick, the wounded and the dead.

ON the seventeenth and eighteenth of August brigadiers Smallwood and Gift, and several other officers, arrived at Charlotte. At this place also had rendezvoused upwards of one hundred regular infantry of different corps, besides colonel Armand's cavalry and a small partizan corps of horse, which took the field, on this occasion, under the command of major Davie. Some provisions having been collected there, proved a most seasonable refreshment. The drooping spirits of the officers began to revive, and hopes were entertained that a respectable force might soon again be assembled from the country militia, and from the addition of colonel Sumpter's victorious detachment. All these prospects were soon
obscured,

obscured, by intelligence that arrived on the nineteenth of the complete dispersion of that corps. On hearing of general Gates's defeat, colonel Sumpter began to retreat up the south side of the Wateree, with his prisoners and captured stores. Lord Cornwallis dispatched lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with his legion and a detachment of infantry, to pursue him. This was done with so much celerity and address, that he was overtaken on the eighteenth at Fishing Creek. The British horse rode into their camp before they were prepared for defence. The Americans having been for four days without sleep or provisions, were more obedient to the calls of nature than attentive to her first law—self-preservation. Colonel Sumpter had taken every prudent precaution to prevent a surprize, but his videttes were so fatigued, that they neglected their duty. With great difficulty he got a few of them to make a short stand, but the greater part of his corps fled to the river or the woods. The British prisoners, about three hundred, were all retaken and conducted to Camden. Colonel Sumpter lost all his artillery, and his whole detachment was either killed, captured, or dispersed. *

EVERY hope of making a stand at Charlotte being extinguished, the resolution was soon taken of retreating to Salisbury. A circumstantial detail of this would complete the picture of distress. The officers suffered much for want of

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horses

* See note xx.

horses to carry off their wounded companions. The citizens of that part of the north state were reduced to great difficulties in removing their families and effects. It was expected that every day would bring intelligence of lord Cornwallis pursuing his fugitive enemies. The inhabitants generally meant to flee before the approaching conquerors. The confusion that took place among all orders is more easily conceived than expressed.

THOUGH much censure was cast on general Gates for this unfortunate action, yet, upon a careful examination of every circumstance, his chief fault seems to be his risking a battle. He chose the most advantageous ground, drew up his men to the best advantage," but to make them fight was beyond his power. It must be confessed the baggage of the army should have been farther in his rear, a place of rendezvous fixed upon in case of a defeat, and the action, if possible, delayed. Orders for the retreat of the baggage, though given in proper time, were not executed. The other matters, from the great probability of success, were not regarded with sufficient attention.

THE loss of Charleston, and the capture of an army within its lines, had reduced American affairs in South-Carolina low; but the complete rout of a second army, procured with great difficulty

" See note XXI.

culty for the recovery of the state, sunk them much lower, and filled the friends of independence with fearful anxiety for the future fate of their country.

THE British were unusually elated, and again flattered themselves, that all opposition in South-Carolina was effectually subdued. Though their victory was complete, and there was no army to oppose them, yet the extreme heat of the weather, and sickness of the season, restrained them for some time from pursuing their conquests. Much was to be done in the interior police of the country. To crush that spirit of opposition to British government, which discovered itself on the approach of an American army, engaged the attention of lord Cornwallis.

By the complete dispersion of the continental forces, the country was in the power of the conquerors. The expectation of aid from the northward was now less probable than immediately after the reduction of Charleston. Several of the revolted subjects had fallen as prisoners into the hands of the British, and the property of others lay at their mercy. This situation of publick affairs pointed out the present moment of triumph, as the most favourable conjuncture for breaking the spirits of those who were attached to the cause of independence. To prevent their future co-operation with the forces of Congress, a severer policy was henceforward adopted.

UNFORTUNATELY

UNFORTUNATELY for the inhabitants this was taken up on grounds which involved thousands in distress, and not a few in the loss of life. The British conceived themselves in possession of the rights of sovereignty over a conquered country, and that therefore the efforts of the citizens to assert their independence were chargeable with the complicated guilt of ingratitude, treason and rebellion. Influenced by these opinions, and transported with indignation against the inhabitants, they violated rights which are held sacred between independent hostile nations. In almost every district their progress was marked with blood, and with deeds so atrocious as reflected disgrace on their arms. Nor were these barbarities perpetrated in a sudden fally of rage, or by officers of low rank. Major Wemys, of the sixty-third regiment of his britannick majesty's army, deliberately hung mr. Adam Cusack in Cheraw district, who had neither taken parole as a prisoner, nor protection as a British subject, though charged with no other crime than refusing to transport some British officers over a ferry, and shooting at them across a river. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton has been heard to say, ' he ' firmly believed that distressing the inhabitants ' was the most effectual mode of promoting the ' interest of his royal master.' The immediate authors of executions pleaded no less authority than that of earl Cornwallis, for deliberately shedding the blood of their fellow-men. In a few days after the defeat of general Gates, his lordship

ship stained his military fame by the following letter, addressed to the commandant of the British garrison at Ninety-Six :

‘ I HAVE given orders that all the inhabitants
 ‘ of this province, who have subscribed and have
 ‘ taken part in this revolt, should be punished
 ‘ with the greatest rigour ; and also those who will
 ‘ not turn out, that they may be imprisoned, and
 ‘ their whole property taken from them or de-
 ‘ stroyed. I have likewise ordered, that compen-
 ‘ sation should be made out of their estates to the
 ‘ persons who have been injured or oppressed by
 ‘ them. I have ordered in the most positive man-
 ‘ ner, that every militiaman, who has borne arms
 ‘ with us, and afterwards joined the enemy, shall
 ‘ be immediately hanged. I desire you will take
 ‘ the most vigorous measures to punish the rebels
 ‘ in the district in which you command, and that
 ‘ you obey in the strictest manner the directions
 ‘ I have given in this letter relative to the inhabi-
 ‘ tants of this country.

(Signed)

‘ CORNWALLIS.’

SIMILAR orders were addressed to the commanders of different posts, and executed with the same spirit with which they were dictated. At or near Camden, Samuel Andrews, Richard Tucker, John Miles, Josiah Gayle, Eleazer Smith, with some others whose names are unknown, were taken out of gaol and hung with-
 out

out any ceremony. Some were indulged with a hearing before a court-martial, instituted by lord Cornwallis for the trial of prisoners; but the evidences against them were not examined on oath, and slaves were both permitted and encouraged to accuse their masters. Not only at Camden, but in the other parts of South-Carolina, and at Augusta in Georgia, the same bloody tragedies were acted, and several of the inhabitants fell sacrifices to this new mode of warfare.

THE warm zeal of earl Cornwallis, to annex the states of America to the British empire, prompted him to measures not only derogatory to his character, but inconsistent with the claims of humanity. The prisoners on parole had an undoubted right to take arms; for, by proclamation, after the 20th of the preceding June, as has been stated, they were released from every engagement to their conquerors. Of those it may be affirmed, that they were murdered in cold blood. The case of those who had taken British protection is somewhat different. His lordship could allege, in vindication of his severity to them, an appearance of right, but it was of that too rigid kind which hardens into wrong. These men were under the tie of an oath to support American independence; but had been overcome by the temptation of saving their property to make an involuntary submission to the royal conquerors. By a combination of circumstances they were in such a situation that they could not do otherwise,
without

without risking the support of their families. Experience soon taught them the inefficacy of these protections. These men naturally reasoned thus : ‘ that, as the contract was first violated on ‘ the part of the conquerors, it could not be so ‘ highly criminal for them to recede from it.’ They had also submitted on the idea, that they should not be called on to fight against the Americans ; but finding themselves compelled to take up arms, and under the necessity of violating their engagements either to their countrymen or their conquerors, they chose to adhere to the former. To treat men thus circumstanced with the sanguinary severity of deserters and traitors might be politick, but the impartial world must regret, that the unavoidable horrors of war should be aggravated by such deliberate effusions of human blood.

AFTER such cruel executions, the destruction of property is scarcely deserving of notice. Suffice it therefore only to quote an extract of a letter from governor Rutledge, to the delegates in Congress from South-Carolina, dated on the eighth of December 1780, which was in the following words : ‘ It is really melancholy to see ‘ the desolate condition of mr. Hill’s plantation ‘ in the New Acquisition : all his fine iron-works, ‘ mills, dwellinghouses, buildings of every kind, ‘ even his negro-houses, reduced to ashes, and ‘ his wife and children in a little log hut. I was ‘ shocked to see the ragged shabby condition of
‘ our

‘ our brave and virtuous men, who would not
 ‘ remain in the power of the enemy, but have
 ‘ taken to arms. This, however, is but a faint
 ‘ description of the sufferings of our country ; for
 ‘ it is beyond a doubt, that the enemy have hanged
 ‘ many of our people, who, from fear and the im-
 ‘ practicability of removing, had given paroles, and
 ‘ who, from attachment to our side, had joined it.
 ‘ Nay, Tarleton has, since the action at Black
 ‘ Storks, hung one Johnson, a magistrate of re-
 ‘ spectable character. They have also burnt a pro-
 ‘ digious number of houses, and turned a vast
 ‘ many women, formerly of affluent and easy for-
 ‘ tunes, with their children almost naked, into the
 ‘ woods. Tarleton, at the house of the widow of
 ‘ general Richardson, exceeded his usual barbari-
 ‘ ty ; for, having dined in her house, he not only
 ‘ burned it after plundering it of every thing it con-
 ‘ tained, but having driven into the barns a num-
 ‘ ber of cattle, hogs and poultry, he consumed
 ‘ them, together with the barn and the corn in it,
 ‘ in one general blaze. This was done because he
 ‘ pretended to believe that the poor old general
 ‘ was with the rebel army ; though, had he open-
 ‘ ed his grave before the door, he might have seen
 ‘ the contrary. Colonel Charles-Cotesworth Pinck-
 ‘ ney’s family, are turned out of his house. In
 ‘ short, the enemy seem determined, if they can,
 ‘ to break every man’s spirit ; if they cannot, to
 ‘ ruin him. Engagements of capitulation and pro-
 ‘ clamations are no security against their oppres-
 ‘ sions and cruelties.’

NOTWITHSTANDING

NOTWITHSTANDING the decisive superiority of the British arms in the summer of 1780, several of the citizens, respectable for their numbers, but more so for their weight and influence, continued firm to the cause of independence. It was no less mortifying to lord Cornwallis than unfriendly to his future schemes, that these remained within the British lines in the character of prisoners. Though they were restrained by their paroles from doing any thing injurious to the interest of his britannick majesty, yet the silent example of men who were revered by their fellow-citizens, had a powerful influence in restraining many from exchanging their paroles as prisoners, for the protection and privileges of British subjects. To remove every bias of this sort, and to enforce a general submission to royal government, lord Cornwallis, soon after his victory at Camden, gave orders to send out of the province a number of the principal citizens, prisoners on parole in Charleston. On the twenty-seventh of August Christopher Gadsden, esquire,^w the lieutenant-governor of the state, most of the civil and militia officers, and some others of the hearty friends of America, were taken up very early in the morning out of their houses and beds by armed parties, commanded by major Benson and captain M'Mahon, and brought to the Exchange, from whence, when collected together, they were removed on board the Sandwich guardship, and from thence, in a few days, transported

to St. Augustine. The manner in which this order was executed was not less painful to the feelings of gentlemen, than the order itself was injurious to the rights of prisoners, entitled to the benefits of a capitulation. Guards were left at their respective houses. The private papers of some of them were examined. Reports were immediately circulated to their disadvantage, and every circumstance managed so as to induce a general belief, that they were all apprehended for violating their paroles, and for concerting a scheme for burning the town, and massacring the loyal subjects. On the very first day of their confinement they remonstrated to lieutenant-colonel Balfour, the commandant of Charleston, asserting their innocence, and challenging their accusers to appear face to face, with their charges against them.

‘ To lieutenant-colonel Nisbet Balfour,
‘ commandant of Charleston.

‘ The MEMORIAL of several persons,

‘ SHEWETH,

‘ THAT they are citizens of Charleston ; that
‘ by the articles of capitulation agreed to by sir
‘ Henry Clinton, citizens were to be considered
‘ as prisoners of war on parole, and to be secur-
‘ ed in their persons and properties whilst they
‘ observed their paroles.

‘ THAT after their surrender they gave their
‘ paroles

‘ paroles in the following form, viz. acknowledg-
 ‘ ing themselves to be prisoners of war, upon
 ‘ parole, to his excellency sir Henry Clinton, and
 ‘ thereby engaged, until exchanged or otherwise
 ‘ released therefrom, to remain in Charleston,
 ‘ unless permitted to go out by the commandant;
 ‘ and that they should not in the mean-time do,
 ‘ or cause any thing to be done, prejudicial to
 ‘ the success of his majesty’s arms, or have in-
 ‘ tercourse or hold correspondence with his ene-
 ‘ mies, and to surrender themselves when requir-
 ‘ ed; which parole your memorialists have en-
 ‘ deavoured strictly to observe, nor are they con-
 ‘ scious of the least violation of it.

‘ NOTWITHSTANDING which, on Sunday the
 ‘ twenty-seventh instant, early in the morning,
 ‘ your memorialists were suddenly arrested, and
 ‘ carried to instant confinement into the Ex-
 ‘ change; from thence, about two or three hours
 ‘ after, they were put into boats, and carried on
 ‘ board the Sandwich guard-ship, near fort John-
 ‘ ston; and from thence, it is said, are to be
 ‘ sent on board a transport.

‘ YOUR memorialists cannot conjecture the rea-
 ‘ son of such extraordinary severity, nor by what
 ‘ means they have forfeited those privileges, ex-
 ‘ pressly secured to them by the articles of capi-
 ‘ tulation.

‘ THEY request that full and speedy enquiry
 ‘ may

‘ may be made, and wish to know what is the
 ‘ nature of their offence, and who are their
 ‘ accusers.

‘ Charleston, Monday, August 27, 1780.’

To this no answer was directly obtained ; but a message from the commandant, delivered officially by major Benson, acknowledged that this extraordinary step had been taken ‘ from motives of policy.’ This relieved the prisoners from the apprehension that they were charged with a violation of their paroles ; but though they obtained this private satisfaction, the royal Gazettes, in all parts of the British dominions, represented them as criminals, apprehended for being concerned in the most dishonourable and mischievous practices. On the first of September following general Moultrie remonstrated to lieutenant-colonel Balfour against this proceeding in a letter expressed in the following words :

‘ SIR,

‘ ON perusing the paper, of the twenty-ninth
 ‘ of August, of Robertson, M'Donald and Came-
 ‘ ron, published by authority, to my astonishment
 ‘ I find a paragraph to this effect : “ The follow-
 ‘ ing is a correct list of the persons sent on
 ‘ board the Sandwich yesterday morning,” and;
 ‘ underneath, the names of a number of the most
 ‘ respectable gentlemen, inhabitants of this state,
 ‘ most of whose characters I am so well acquaint-
 ‘ ed

‘ ed with that I cannot believe they would be
 ‘ guilty of any breach of their paroles, or any
 ‘ article of the capitulation, or done any thing
 ‘ to justify so rigorous a proceeding against them.
 ‘ I therefore think it my duty, as the senior con-
 ‘ tinental officer, prisoner under the capitulation,
 ‘ to demand a release of those gentlemen, par-
 ‘ ticularly such as are entitled to the benefit of
 ‘ that act. This harsh proceeding demands my
 ‘ particular attention, and I do therefore, in be-
 ‘ half of the United States of America, require
 ‘ that they be admitted immediately to return to
 ‘ their paroles, as their being thus hurried on
 ‘ board a prison-ship, and I fear without being
 ‘ heard, is a violation of the ninth article of the
 ‘ capitulation. If this demand cannot be com-
 ‘ plied with, I am to request that I may have
 ‘ leave to send an officer to Congress, to repre-
 ‘ sent this grievance, that they may interpose in
 ‘ behalf of these gentlemen in the manner they
 ‘ shall think proper.’

THE only notice taken of this letter of general
 Moultrie was the following :

‘ Charleston, September 4, 1780.

‘ SIR,

‘ THE commandant, lieutenant-colonel Bal-
 ‘ four, will not return any answer to a letter
 ‘ wrote in such exceptionable and unwarrantable
 ‘ terms as that to him from general Moultrie,
 ‘ dated

‘ dated the first instant, nor will he receive any
 ‘ further application from him on the subject of
 ‘ it.

‘ By order of the commandant,
 ‘ G. BENSON, major of brigade.
 ‘ To brigadier-general Moultrie.’

THE British endeavoured to justify this removal by alleging the right of the victors to remove prisoners whithersoever they please, without regarding their convenience. Even where the vanquished are taken at unconditional mercy, this is one of those rigid rights of which a generous conqueror would not, but in cases of extreme necessity, avail himself. From officers of liberal minds, the humanity of modern civilized nations would give the prisoner, though surrendered without any terms, room to hope for every indulgence compatible with the interest of his conqueror. But when men had given up their arms by a solemn capitulation, the case was much stronger. In the surrender of Charleston, the plain intention and spirit of the capitulation, with respect to the citizens, was, on the part of the Americans, to give the British quiet possession of the town, fortifications, &c. as an equivalent for their granting the inhabitants their property, and an unmolested residence at their homes, on the condition of an honourable observance of parole. This is expressly mentioned in the case of the country militia; and with regard to the citizens of the town, they were promised

mised the same security for their property that the country militia had, and on the same terms. Hence it was generally conceived, that the right of the citizens of Charleston to reside at their homes, was not only strongly implied, but plainly expressed in the capitulation: but as the article respecting the inhabitants of the town, only promised that they should be prisoners on parole, and did not immediately add in Charleston, the British commanders found a salvo for their honour in removing gentlemen, charged with no breach of the capitulation, from their houses, estates, wives and children, by offering them that parole in St. Augustine, to which they had an acknowledged right in Charleston. Few such instances can be produced in the modern history of any civilized nation, with whom it is an established rule to construe capitulations, where ambiguous, in favour of the vanquished. The conquerors, in their great zeal to make subjects, forgot the rights of prisoners. To express his indignation at this ungenerous treatment, lieutenant-governor Gadsden refused to accept an offered parole in St. Augustine, and, with the greatest fortitude, bore a close confinement in the castle of that place for forty-two weeks, rather than give a second one to a power which had plainly violated the engagement contained in the first. The other gentlemen, who renewed their paroles in St. Augustine, had the liberty of the town, but were treated with indignities unsuitable to their former rank and condition.

Though

Though several of them had been members of Congress, and had filled some of the most honourable stations in South-Carolina; and though they had all given their paroles on the honour of gentlemen, not to exceed certain prescribed limits; yet, as if no dependence could be placed on these sacred ties, they were ordered every day, by lieutenant-colonel Glazier, to appear on the publick parade, and to answer to their names at roll-calling. For upwards of ten months they were secluded from their wives and families, and durst not correspond with them without subjecting every letter to examination. Destitute of gold and silver, they could scarcely support themselves, and they were less able to provide for their connexions, which were left in want and in the power of their conquerors. Cut off from all communication with their countrymen, they could receive no intelligence of publick affairs but through British channels. In this forlorn situation, they were informed of several decisive battles, which were represented as having completely annihilated every prospect of American independence, and they were taught to expect the fate of vanquished rebels. They also heard from high authority, that the blood of the brave but unfortunate Andrè would be required at their hands. They were told that lieutenant-colonel Glazier, commandant of the garrison in St. Augustine, had announced his fixed resolution instantly to hang up six of them, if the exasperated Americans should execute their threats of putting

ting to death colonel Brown, of the East-Florida rangers. To all these indignities and dangers they submitted, without an application from a single individual of their number for British protection.

FROM the time that the citizens before mentioned were sent off from Charleston, St Augustine was made use of to frighten prisoners to petition for the privileges of subjects. They who delayed their submission were repeatedly threatened with banishment from their families and estates, to the inhospitable shores of that barren country. To convince the inhabitants that the conquerors were seriously resolved to remove from the country all who refused to become subjects, an additional number of about thirty citizens, who still remained prisoners on parole, was shipped off on the fifteenth of November following.* These were treated with more politeness than the first set. The only charge exhibited against them, as the reason of their exile, was, that ‘ they discovered no disposition to return to their allegiance, and would, if they could, overturn the British government.’ Lord Cornwallis did not stop here, but being determined to use every method to compel the re-establishment of British government, as well by rewarding its friends, as punishing its opposers, his lordship proceeded, very soon after the action of the sixteenth, to the sequestration of all estates belonging to the decided friends of America.† In the execution

Y

of

* See note XXIII.

† See note XXIV.

of this business John Cruden, esquire, was appointed to take possession of the estates of particular persons, designated in warrants issued by earl Cornwallis and lieutenant-colonel Balfour. These were announced to the publick in notifications, of which the following is a specimen :

‘ IN consequence of the powers in me vested,
 ‘ by the right hon. earl Cornwallis, and warrants
 ‘ received from his lordship and the command-
 ‘ ant of Charleston, I do hereby make publick,
 ‘ to all whom it may concern, that I have given
 ‘ the necessary orders for the seizure of the
 ‘ estates, both real and personal, of those persons
 ‘ whose names are under mentioned, excepting
 ‘ such property in Charleston as is secured to
 ‘ those who were in the town at the time of the
 ‘ capitulation ; and I do hereby strictly prohibit
 ‘ all and every person or persons from attempting
 ‘ to conceal, remove, or in any way injure the
 ‘ said property, on pain of being punished as
 ‘ aiding and abetting rebellion.

‘ I do also forbid the payment of debts due to
 ‘ such persons whose names have been before or
 ‘ are hereafter mentioned, and whose estates are
 ‘ now under sequestration ; and I am warranted
 ‘ to require, that all and every his majesty’s loyal
 ‘ subjects, who may be indebted as aforesaid, do
 ‘ forthwith furnish me with an accurate and ex-
 ‘ act state of the same ; and should any person
 ‘ or persons conceal, or in any respect prove
 ‘ backward

‘ backward in delivering to me such information,
 ‘ they will be considered in the same light as
 ‘ those who may attempt to remove, conceal or
 ‘ injure the moveable property, and treated ac-
 ‘ cordingly.

‘ AND, the more effectually to prevent any
 ‘ collusive practices, I do hereby promise to all
 ‘ those who may make discoveries of the conceal-
 ‘ ment of negroes, horses, cattle, plate, house-
 ‘ hold furniture, books, bonds, deeds, &c. so
 ‘ that the property may be secured, and the de-
 ‘ linquents punished, a generous reward.

‘ Given under my hand.

(Signed)

‘ JOHN CRUDEN.’

THE names of persons whose estates were or-
 dered for sequestration were, from time to time,
 subjoined.

IN the year 1778, when the then recent cap-
 ture of general Burgoyne’s army, and the alli-
 ance with France, inspired all ranks of men in
 Carolina with confidence in the final establish-
 ment of their independence, the legislature of
 that state gave to all the friends of royal govern-
 ment their free choice, of either joining them or
 of going where they pleased, with their families
 and property. In the year 1780, when the Bri-
 tish arms had the ascendant, the conquerors gave
 no alternative, but either to join them, and to
 fight

fight against their countrymen and consciences, or to be banished, under every restriction of prisoners of war. Instead of being allowed to carry their estates with them, they, whose property made it worth while, were stripped of every thing; and all, whether their estates were sequestered or not, were deprived of the privileges of recovering their debts, and of selling or removing their property without the permission of the conquerors. An adherent to independence was now considered as one who courted exile, poverty and ruin. The temptation was too great to be resisted by those who were attached to their interest and ease. Numbers who formerly professed great zeal in the support of their country, and who continued their adherence to the cause of America after the surrender of Charleston, yielded to these temptations, and became British subjects. To discourage the other states from any further attempts in behalf of Carolina, an address to lord Cornwallis was drawn up, in which the subscribers ‘congratulated him for his
‘glorious victory at Camden; and expressed their
‘indignation at Congress for disturbing the citi-
‘zens of Carolina, who were represented as hav-
‘ing broken off from the union, and re-united
‘themselves to the British empire.’^z Though every method was used to obtain signers to this address, yet no more than one hundred and sixty-four could be procured. Notwithstanding these discouragements, the genius of America rose superior

^z See note xxv.

perior to them all. At no time did her sons appear to greater advantage, than when they were depressed by successive misfortunes. They seemed to gain strength from their losses, and, instead of giving way to the pressure of calamities, to oppose them with more determined resolution.

C H A P T E R

CHAPTER TWELFTH.

Of colonel Ferguson's defeat. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's defeat. Of the retreat of the American army into Virginia. Of their return to North-Carolina. Of the battle of Guilford courthouse. Of lord Cornwallis's march to Wilmington. General Greene's pursuit, and subsequent return to South-Carolina. Of the reduction of fort Watson. Of the battle of Hobkirk's hill near Camden. Of the evacuation of Camden. Of the reduction of fort Motte. Fort Granby. Fort Cornwallis. Of the siege of Ninety-Six. Of the retreat of the American army. Of the battle of Eutaw. The retreat of the British army to the vicinity of Charleston, and the distresses of the American army.

HITHERTO the British arms to the southward have been attended with almost uninterrupted success. The royal standards we have seen overspreading all the country, penetrating into every quarter, and triumphing over all opposition. Their defeats at the Hanging-Rock and at Williams's, in the upper parts of South-Carolina, made but little impression on an army grown familiar with victories. Checks indeed they were, but nothing more, and the only checks they had sustained since their landing in the state. The British ministry, by this flattering posture of affairs, were once more intoxicated with

with the delusive hopes of subjugating America. New plans were formed, and great expectations indulged of speedily re-uniting the dissevered members of the empire. The rashness of general Burgoyne, and the languor of sir William Howe, were assigned as the only causes of that shame and disappointment which had already disgraced five successive campaigns. It was now asserted with a confidence bordering on presumption, that such troops as fought at Camden, put under such a commander as lord Cornwallis, would soon extirpate rebellion so effectually as to leave no vestige of it in America. The British ministry and army, by an impious confidence in their own wisdom and prowess, were duly prepared to give, in their approaching downfall, an useful lesson to the world.

THE disaster of the army under general Gates, overspread, at first, the face of American affairs with a dismal gloom. But the day of prosperity to the United States began, as will appear in the sequel, from that moment to dawn. Their prospects brightened up while those of their enemies were obscured by disgrace, broken by defeat, and at last covered with ruin. Elated with their victory, the conquerors grew more insolent and rapacious, while the real friends of independence, thoroughly alarmed at their danger, became resolute and determined. We have seen Sumpter penetrating into South-Carolina, and recommencing a military opposition to British government.

Soon

Soon after that event he was promoted by governor Rutledge to the rank of brigadier-general. About the same time Marion was promoted to the same rank, and, in the northeastern extremities of the state, successfully prosecuted the same plan. This valuable officer, to whom Carolina is much indebted, had retired from Charleston during the siege, having most fortunately for his country fractured his leg, which rendered him incapable of commanding his regiment. After the surrender of the metropolis, he retreated to North-Carolina. On the advance of general Gates, he obtained a command of sixteen men—with these he penetrated through the country, and took a position near the Santee. From this station he sallied out, captured a British guard, and rescued a party of continental prisoners, who, having been taken on the sixteenth of August 1780, were on their way from Camden to Charleston. On the defeat of general Gates he was compelled to abandon the state; but after an absence of ten days he returned. Unfurnished with the means of defence, he was obliged to take possession of the saws of the sawmills, and to convert them into horsemen's swords. So much was he distressed for ammunition, that he has engaged when he had not three rounds to each man of his party. At other times he has brought his men into view, though without ammunition, that he might make a shew of numbers to the enemy. For several weeks he had under his command only seventy men, all volunteers
from

from the militia. At one time hardships and dangers reduced that number to twenty-five; yet, with this inconsiderable force, he secured himself in the midst of surrounding foes. Various methods were attempted to draw off his followers. Major Wemys burned scores of houses, belonging to the inhabitants living on Peedee, Lynch's creek and Black river, who were supposed to do duty with him, or to be subservient to his views. This measure had a contrary effect from what was expected. Revenge and despair co-operated with patriotism to make these ruined men keep the field. The devouring flames sent on defenceless habitations by blind rage and brutal policy, increased not only the zeal, but the number of his followers. The impolitick conduct of the British on other occasions gained him frequent reinforcements. On one occasion major Wemys collected some hundreds of the fencible inhabitants, residing near the Santee, and in an harangue to them set forth, ' that the British
' were come to rescue them from tyranny and
' oppression.' While he amused them with his eloquence, he had a party out who seized all their horses. The enraged countrymen walked home, but soon after many of them repaired to general Marion. For several months he and his party were obliged to sleep in the open air, and to shelter themselves in the thick recesses of deep swamps. From these retreats he sallied out whenever an opportunity of harassing the enemy or of serving his country presented itself. This wor-

thy citizen, on every occasion, paid the greatest regard to private property, and restrained his men from every species of plunder. On the whole, he exhibited a rare instance of disinterested patriotism in doing and suffering every thing subservient to the independence of his country.

OPPOSITION to British government was not wholly confined to the parties commanded by general Sumpter and general Marion. It was at no time altogether extinct in the extremities of the state. The inhabitants of that part of South-Carolina, which is called the New Acquisition from the circumstance of its being gained from North-Carolina by a late settlement of the boundary-lines between the two provinces, never were paroled as prisoners, nor did they take protection as subjects. From among these people general Sumpter had recruited a considerable part of his men. After his defeat on the eighteenth of August 1780, several of them repaired to that settlement, and kept in small parties for their own defence. Some of them also joined major Davie, an enterprising young gentleman who commanded fifty or sixty volunteers, who had equipped themselves as dragoons. This was the only American corps which, at that time, had not been beaten or dispersed. The disposition to revolt, which had been excited on the approach of general Gates's army, was not extinguished by its defeat. By that check the spirit of the people was over-awed, but not subdued. The severity
with

with which revolters who were taken had been treated, induced many others to persevere, and to seek safety in swamps.

EARLY in September 1780 colonel Clark collected a party, and marched through the upper parts of South-Carolina on his way to Georgia. A few joined him in Ninety-Six, but the more prudent discouraged him from his ill-timed enterprize. He, however, prosecuted his design, and made a bold attempt on the British post at Augusta, but was soon obliged to flee out of the country. This premature insurrection paved the way to a much more serious and general revolt. Colonel Brown, who commanded at Augusta, being relieved from his fears, treated with the utmost severity those of the inhabitants who had joined colonel Clark, or who were supposed to have favoured his designs. Suspicion began to spread her baneful poison. The British, having lost all confidence in their new subjects, confined some, and threatened others, who were entirely innocent of Clark's insurrection. These severities disgusted the people, and actually brought on that revolt which they were intended to prevent. Some leading men were obliged, in self-defence, to break with their conquerors, and resume their arms in opposition to them.

FROM the time of the general submission of the inhabitants in the summer of 1780, pains were taken to increase the royal force by the co-
operation

operation of the yeomanry of the country. Commissions in the militia were given by the British commanders to such of the inhabitants as they supposed had influence, and were most firmly attached to their interest. They persuaded the people to embody by representing to the uninformed that American affairs were entirely ruined, and that farther opposition would only be a prolongation of their distresses, if not their utter ruin. They endeavoured to reconcile those who had families and were advanced in life to the bearing of arms, by considerations drawn from the necessity of defending their property and of keeping their domesticks in proper subordination. From young men without families more was expected. Whilst lord Cornwallis was restrained from active operations by the excessive heats and unhealthy season which followed his victory at Camden, colonel Ferguson, of the seventy-first British regiment, had undertaken personally to visit the settlements of the disaffected to the American cause, and to train their young men for service in the field. With these, at a proper season, he was to join the main army, and to co-operate with it in the reduction of North-Carolina. This corps had been chiefly collected from the remote parts of the state, and was induced to continue for some length of time near to the western mountains, with the expectation of intercepting colonel Clark on his retreat from Georgia. Among those who joined colonel Ferguson were a considerable proportion of those licentious

centious people who have collected themselves out of all parts of America into these remote countries, and were willing to take the opportunity of the prevailing confusion to carry on their usual depredations. As they marched through the country on the pretence of promoting the service of his Britannick majesty, they plundered the whig citizens. Violences of this kind, frequently repeated, induced many persons to consult their own safety by fleeing over the mountains. By such lively representations of their sufferings as the distressed are always ready to give, they communicated an alarm to that hardy race of republicans who live to the westward of the Alleghany. Hitherto these mountaineers had only heard of war at a distance, and had been in peaceable possession of that independence for which their countrymen on the sea-coast were contending. Alarmed for their own safety by the near approach of colonel Ferguson, and roused by the violences and depredations of his followers, they embodied to check the neighbouring foe. This was done of their own motion, without any requisition from the governments of America, or the officers of the continental army. Being all mounted and unincumbered with baggage, their motions were rapid. Each man set out with his blanket, knapsack and gun, in quest of colonel Ferguson, in the same manner he was used to pursue the wild beasts of the forest. At night the earth afforded them a bed, and the Heavens a covering: the running stream quenched their thirst,

thirst, while a few cattle, driven in their rear, together with the supplies acquired by their guns, secured them provision. They soon found out the encampment of colonel Ferguson. This was on an eminence of a circular base, known by the name of King's Mountain, situated near the confines of North and South-Carolina. Though colonel Campbell had a nominal command over the whole, their enterprize was conducted without regular military subordination, under the direction of the four colonels, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier and Williams, each of whom respectively led on his own men. It being apprehended that colonel Ferguson was hastening his march down the country to join lord Cornwallis, the Americans selected nine hundred and ten of their best men, and mounted them on their fleetest horses. With this force they came up with colonel Ferguson on the seventh of October 1780. As they approached the royal encampment, it was agreed to divide their force. Some ascended the mountain, while others went round its base in opposite directions. Colonel Cleveland, who led one of the detachments round the mountain, in his progress, discovered an advanced picquet of the royal army. On this occasion he addressed his party in the following plain unvarnished language : ‘ My
‘ brave fellows, we have beat the tories, and we
‘ can beat them. They are all cowards. If they
‘ had the spirit of men, they would join with
‘ their fellow-citizens in supporting the independence of their country. When engaged you
‘ are

‘ are not to wait for the word of command from
 ‘ me. I will shew you by my example how to
 ‘ fight. I can undertake no more. Every man
 ‘ must consider himself as an officer, and act from
 ‘ his own judgment. Fire as quick as you can,
 ‘ and stand your ground as long as you can.
 ‘ When you can do no better, get behind trees
 ‘ or retreat; but I beg of you not to run quite
 ‘ off. If we are repulsed, let us make a point to
 ‘ return and renew the fight. Perhaps we may
 ‘ have better luck in the second attempt than the
 ‘ first. If any of you are afraid, such have leave
 ‘ to retire, and they are requested immediately
 ‘ to take themselves off.’ A firing commenced.

Some of the Americans were on horseback, others on foot. Some behind trees, and others exposed. None were under the restraints of military discipline, but all were animated with the enthusiasm of liberty. The picquet soon gave way, and were pursued as they retired up the mountain to the main body. Colonel Ferguson, with the greatest bravery, ordered his men to charge. The Americans commanded by colonel Cleveland followed his advice, and, having fired as long as they could with safety, they retired from the approaching bayonet. They had scarcely given way when the other detachment, commanded by colonel Shelby, having completed the circuit of the mountain, opportunely arrived, and from an unexpected quarter poured in a well-directed fire. Colonel Ferguson desisted from the pursuit, and engaged with his new adversaries.

verfaries. The British bayonet was again fuccefsful, and caufed them alfo to fall back. By this time the party commanded by colonel Campbell had afcended the mountain, and renewed the attack from that eminence. Colonel Fergufon, whole conduct was equal to his courage, prefented a new front, and was again fuccefsful ; but all his exertions were unavailing. At this moment the men who began the attack, no lefs obedient to the fecond request of their commander in returning to their pofts, than they were to the firft in fecuring themfelves by a timely retreat, had rallied and renewed their fire. As often as one of the American parties was driven back, another returned to their ftation. Refiftance on the part of colonel Fergufon was in vain ; but his unconquerable fpirit refufed to furrender. After having repulfed a fucceffion of adverfaries pouring in their fire from new direCTIONS, this diftinguifhed officer received a mortal wound. No chance of efcape being left, and all profpect of fuccefsful refiftance being at an end, the fecond in command fued for quarters. The killed, wounded and taken, exceeded eleven hundred, of which nearly one hundred were regulars. The affailants had the honour of reducing a number fuperior to their own. The Americans loft comparatively few, but in that number was that diftinguifhed militia-officer, colonel Williams, who has already been mentioned as uncommonly active in heading the whig citizens of the diftrict of Ninety-Six, in the ftate of South-Carolina.

Ten

Ten of these men who had surrendered were hanged by their conquerors. They were provoked to this measure by the severity of the British, who had lately hanged a greater number of Americans at Camden, Ninety-Six and Augusta. They also alleged, that the men who suffered were guilty of crimes for which their lives were forfeited by the laws of the land.

THIS unexpected advantage gave new spirits to the desponding Americans, and in a great degree frustrated a well-concerted scheme for strengthening the British army, by the co-operation of the inhabitants who were disaffected to the cause of America.

IT was scarcely possible for any event to have happened, in the present juncture of affairs, more unfavourable to the views of lord Cornwallis, than this reverse of fortune. The fall of colonel Ferguson, who possessed superior talents as a partizan, was no small loss to the royal cause. In addition to the accomplishments of an excellent officer, he was a most exact marksman, and had brought the art of rifle-shooting to an uncommon degree of perfection. He had invented a gun of that kind on a new construction, which is said to have far exceeded every thing before known. The total rout of the royalists, who had joined colonel Ferguson, operated as a check on their future exertions. The same timid caution which made them averse from joining their

countrymen, in opposing the claims of Great-Britain, restrained them from risking any more in support of the royal cause. From this time forward many of them waited events, and reserved themselves till the British army, by their own unassisted efforts, should gain a decided superiority.

IN a few weeks after the general action near Camden, on the sixteenth of August 1780, lord Cornwallis left a small force in that village, and marched with the main army to Charlotte. Whilst they lay there, general Sumner and general Davidson, with a considerable body of North-Carolina militia, took post in the vicinity, and annoyed their detachments. Major Davie, whose corps was greatly increased by stanch volunteers from the lower country, was particularly successful in intercepting their foraging-parties and convoys. Riflemen frequently penetrated near the British camp, and from behind trees took care to make sure of their object, so that the late conquerors found their situation very uneasy, being exposed to unseen danger if they attempted to make an excursion of only a few hundred yards from their encampment. The defeat of colonel Ferguson, added to these circumstances, gave a serious alarm to lord Cornwallis, and made him, while at Charlotte, apprehensive for his own safety. He therefore retreated, and fixed his next position at Winnsborough. As he retired, the militia took several waggons loaded with

with stores, and single men often rode up within gun-shot of his army, discharged their pieces, and made their escape.

THE panick occasioned by the reduction of Charleston, and the defeat of general Gates, began to wear off. The defeat of colonel Ferguson, and the consequent retreat of lord Cornwallis from Charlotte to Winnborough, encouraged the American militia to repair to the camps of their respective commanders. The necessity of the times induced them to submit to the stricter discipline of regular soldiers. The legislature of North-Carolina put the militia of their state under the command of general Smallwood, of the continental army.

EARLY in October, major-general Gates detached brigadier-general Morgan from Hillsborough, with three hundred Maryland and Delaware troops, and eighty dragoons, to aid the exertions of the whig citizens of Mecklenburgh and Rowan counties. In an excursion from this detached position, lieutenant-colonel Washington penetrated with a small force to the vicinity of Camden, and, on the fourth of December 1780, appeared before colonel Rugely's. This gentleman, having taken a commission in the British militia, had made a stockade-fort round his house, in which he had collected one hundred and twelve of the men under his command. The appearance of the force, commanded by lieutenant-

nant-colonel Washington, produced an immediate surrender of this whole party. A pine log enforced the propriety and necessity of their speedy unresisting submission. This harmless timber, elevated a few feet from the surface of the earth by its branches which stuck in the ground, was moulded by the imagination of the garrison into artillery, completely equipped with all the apparatus of death.

GENERAL Sumpter, soon after the dispersion of his force on the eighteenth of August 1780, as has been before related, collected a corps of volunteers. About thirty of his party re-joined him immediately after that event. In three days more, one hundred of the whig-citizens in the vicinity, on his requisition, rendezvoused at Sugar Creek, and put themselves under his command. With these, and other occasional reinforcements, though for three months there was no continental army in the state, he constantly kept the field in support of American independence. He varied his position from time to time about Enoree, Broad and Tyger rivers, and had frequent skirmishes with his adversaries. Having mounted his followers, he infested the British with frequent incursions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys, and so harassed them with successive alarms, that their movements could not be made but with caution and difficulty. On the twelfth of November 1780, he was attacked at Broad river by major Weyms, commanding

manding a corps of infantry and dragoons. In this action the British were defeated, and their commanding officer taken prisoner. Though major Weyms had personally superintended the execution of mr. Adam Cusack, after ordering him to be hung, and though in his pocket was found a memorandum of several houses burned by his command, yet he received every indulgence from his conquerors. On the twentieth of the same month, general Sumpter was attacked at Black Storks, near Tyger river, by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, at the head of a considerable party. The action was severe and obstinate. The killed and wounded of the British was considerable. Among the former were three officers, major Money, lieutenants Gibson and Cope. The Americans lost very few, but general Sumpter received a wound, which, for several months, interrupted his gallant enterprizes in behalf of the state. His zeal and activity in animating the American militia when they were discouraged by repeated defeats, and the bravery and good conduct he displayed in sundry attacks on the British detachments, procured him the applause of his countrymen, and the thanks of Congress.²²

THE continental army which had been collected at Hillsborough, after their dispersion on the sixteenth of August, moved down to Charlotte in the latter end of the year 1780. Congress authorized general Washington to appoint an officer,

²² See note xxvi.

ficer, to take the command in the southern district. His excellency nominated major-general Greene, a native of the state of Rhode-Island, to this important trust ; and in consequence thereof he arrived in Charlotte the second day of December 1780. This illustrious officer was universally acknowledged to possess great military talents, particularly a penetrating judgment, and a decisive enterprising spirit. Great were the difficulties he had to encounter. The principal part of his standing-force consisted of the few continentals who had escaped from the defeat near Camden on the sixteenth of August 1780. On the eighth of December, six days after general Greene took the command, the returns of the southern army were nine hundred and seventy continentals, and one thousand and thirteen militia. The continentals were without pay, and almost without clothing. All sources of supply from Charleston were shut up, and no imported article could be obtained but from a distance of near two hundred miles. Though the American force was small, yet the procuring of provisions for its support, was a matter of the greatest difficulty. The paper currency was so depreciated, that it was wholly unequal to the purchase of necessaries for the suffering soldiers. Specie could not be procured. Though general Greene was authorized to dispose of a few bills, drawn by Congress on their minister at the court of France, on a credit given him by that court, yet, such was the situation of the country, that
 very

very little relief could be obtained from this quarter, and the greatest part of the bills were returned unfold. The confusion and disorder which prevailed near the seat of war increased the difficulty of procuring supplies. The government of North-Carolina had adopted an inconvenient system of collecting provisions. The state was divided into little districts, in which commissaries and quartermasters were duly appointed, but not connected with each other under a common head of the department. General Greene's experience in the business of quartermaster enabled him to point out the defects of this arrangement, and to introduce such salutary alterations as the publick service required. The good effects of this new system, united under one head, were quickly felt. The want of money still remained an insuperable obstacle to the purchasing of provisions. The only resource left for supplying the American army was by impressment. The country had been so completely ravaged, that all which could be obtained even in that way, in the vicinity of the army, was far short of a sufficiency. To supply the army, and please the inhabitants, was equally necessary. To seize upon their property, and preserve their kind affections, was a most delicate point, and yet of the utmost moment, as it furnished the army with provisions without impairing the disposition of the inhabitants to co-operate with the continental troops in recovering the country. This grand object called for the united efforts of both. Therefore,

fore, that the business of impressment might be conducted in the least offensive manner, it was transferred from the military to the civil officers of the state. This was not only more effectual, but it also prevented two other evils of dangerous consequence—the corruption of the discipline of the army—and, the misapplication of property impressed for the publick service.

WITH an inconsiderable army, miserably provided, general Greene took the field against a superior British regular force, which had marched in triumph two hundred miles from the sea-coast, and was flushed with successive victories through a whole campaign. To face an host of difficulties, the American general had the justice of his cause, his own valour and good conduct, a very respectable cavalry, and the Maryland and Delaware continentals who had served upwards of four years, and who, for their numbers, were equal to any troops in the world.

MANY of the inhabitants who, from necessity, had submitted to the British government, most cordially wished him good speed ; but the unsuccessful attempt of general Gates to recover the country, made the cautious and timid, for some time, very slow in repairing to the standard of liberty.

Soon after general Greene took the command, he divided his force, and sent a respectable detachment,

tachment, under general Morgan, to the western extremities of South-Carolina, and marched on the twentieth of December with the main body to Hicks's creek, on the north side of the Peedee, opposite to Cheraw hill. This division of the little American army into two parts, so remote from each other that they could not co-operate, was risking much ; but the necessity of the case gave no alternative. The continental army was too inconsiderable to make successful opposition to the superior numbers of lord Cornwallis without the most powerful co-operation of the militia of the country. To give them an opportunity of embodying it was necessary to cover both extremities of the state.

AFTER the general submission of the militia in the year 1780, a revolution took place highly favourable to the interests of America. The residence of the British army, instead of increasing the real friends to royal government, diminished their number, and added new vigour to the opposite party. In the district of Ninety-Six, moderate measures were at first adopted by the British commanders, but the effects of this were frustrated by the royalists. A great part of those who called themselves the King's friends, had been at all times a banditti, to whom rapine and violence were familiar. On the restoration of royal government, these men preferred their claim to its particular notice. The conquerors were so far imposed on by them, that they promoted

some of them who were of the most infamous characters. Men of such base minds and mercenary principles, regardless of the capitulation, gratified their private resentments, and their rage for plunder, to the great distress of the new-made subjects, and the greater injury of the royal interest. Violences of this kind made some men break their engagements to the British, and join the Americans. Their revolt occasioned suspicions to the prejudice of others who had no intention of following their example. Fears, jealousies and distrust, haunted the minds of the conquerors. All confidence was at an end. Severe measures were next tried, but with a worse effect. Lieutenant-colonel Balfour, an haughty and imperious officer, who commanded in that district, was more calculated, by his insolence and overbearing conduct, to alienate the inhabitants from a government already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was generally disliked. By an unwarrantable stretch of his authority, he issued a proclamation, by which it was declared, ‘ that every man who was not in his house by a certain day, should be subject to military execution.’ The British had a post in Ninety-Six for thirteen months, during which time the country was filled with rapine, violence and murder. Applications were made daily for redress, yet in that whole period there was not a single instance wherein punishment was inflicted either on the soldiery or tories. The people soon found that there was no security for their lives, liberties

liberties or property, under the military government of British officers, which subjected them to the depredations of a malicious mercenary banditti, falsely calling themselves the friends of royal government. The peaceable citizens were reduced to that uncommon distress, in which they had more to fear from oppression than resistance; they therefore most ardently wished for the appearance of an American force. Under these favourable circumstances general Greene detached general Morgan to take a position in the western extremity of the state. There he arrived on the twenty-fifth of December 1780. On the twenty-ninth he dispatched lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his own regiment, and two hundred militia-horse, commanded by lieutenant-colonel M'Call, to attack a body of Tories who were plundering the whig inhabitants. Lieutenant-colonel Washington came up with them on the thirtieth, near Hammond's storehouse, and charged them, on which they all fled without making any resistance. Many were killed or wounded, and about forty taken prisoners.

On the next day lieutenant-colonel Washington detached cornet James Simons, with a command of eleven regulars and twenty-five militia, to pursue the fugitives, and to surprize a fort a few miles distant, in which general Cunningham commanded about one hundred and fifty British militia. This fort, situated seventeen miles from Ninety-Six, was strongly picquetted in every direction;

direction ; and, besides containing a great deal of plunder taken from the whig inhabitants, was well stored with forage, grain and other provisions for the use of the British army. As soon as the Americans were discovered, general Cunningham and all his men abandoned the fort. Cornet Simons stationed his detachment, and, advancing with a flag, demanded their surrender. General Cunningham requested time to consult his officers, and five minutes were given him for that purpose. In that short space the whole party of Tories ran off, and dispersed themselves through the woods. Cornet Simons, after destroying the fort, and all the provisions in it, which he could not carry away, rejoined lieutenant-colonel Washington without any molestation.

THESE successes, the appearance of an American army, a sincere attachment to the cause of independence, and the impolitick conduct of the British, induced several persons to resume their arms, and to act in concert with the detachment of Continentals. Lord Cornwallis wished to drive general Morgan from this station, and to deter the inhabitants from joining him. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, at the head of a thousand regulars, was ordered to execute this business. The British had two field-pieces, and the superiority of numbers in the proportion of five to four, and particularly of cavalry, in the proportion of three to one. Besides this inequality of force, two thirds of the troops under general Morgan were militia.

militia. With these fair prospects of success lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, on the seventeenth of January 1781, engaged general Morgan, with the expectation of driving him out of the country. General Morgan had obtained early intelligence of Tarleton's force and advances, and drew up his men in two lines. The whole of the southern militia, with one hundred and ninety from North-Carolina, under major M'Dowel, were put under the command of colonel Pickens. These formed the first line, and were advanced a few hundred yards before the second, with orders to form on the right of the second when forced to retire. The second line consisted of the light-infantry, under lieutenant-colonel Howard, and a small corps of Virginia militia riflemen. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and about forty-five militiamen mounted and equipped with swords, under lieutenant-colonel M'Call, were drawn up at some distance in the rear of the whole. The Americans were formed before the British appeared in fight. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton halted and formed his men when at the distance of about two hundred and fifty yards from the front line of general Morgan's detachment. As soon as the British had formed they began to advance with a shout, and poured in an incessant fire of musketry. Colonel Pickens directed the militia under his command not to fire till the British were within forty or fifty yards. This order, though executed with great firmness and success, was not sufficient
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to repel the advancing foe. The American militia were obliged to retire, but were soon rallied by their officers. The British advanced rapidly and engaged the second line, which, after a most obstinate conflict, was compelled to retreat to the cavalry. In this crisis of the battle lieutenant-colonel Washington made a successful charge upon lieutenant-colonel Tarleton who was cutting down the militia. Lieutenant-colonel Howard, almost at the same moment, rallied the continental troops, and charged with fixed bayonets. The example was instantly followed by the militia. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and confusion of the British, occasioned by these unexpected charges. Their advance fell back upon their rear, and communicated a panick to the whole. In this moment of confusion lieutenant-colonel Howard called to them ‘to lay down their arms,’ and promised them good quarters. Upwards of five hundred accepted the offer, and surrendered. The first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, and two British light-infantry companies laid down their arms to the American militia. Previous to this general surrender, three hundred of the corps, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, had been killed, wounded or taken. Eight hundred stand of arms, two field-pieces, and thirty-five baggage-waggon, also fell into the hands of the Americans. Lieutenant-colonel Washington pursued the British cavalry for several miles, but a great part of them escaped. The Americans had only twelve men killed,
and

and sixty wounded. General Morgan, whose great abilities were discovered by the judicious disposition of his force, and whose activity was conspicuous through every part of the action, obtained the universal applause of his countrymen. And there never was a commander better supported than he was by the officers and men of his detachment. The glory and importance of this action resounded from one end of the continent to the other. It re-animated the desponding friends of America, and seemed to be like a resurrection from the dead to the southern states.

GENERAL Morgan's good conduct on this memorable day was honoured by Congress with a gold medal. That illustrious assembly, on this occasion, presented also a medal of silver to colonel Washington, another to lieutenant-colonel Howard, a sword to colonel Pickens, a brevet majority to Edward Giles, the general's aid-de-camp, and a captaincy to baron Glasback, who had lately joined the light-infantry as a volunteer.^{bb} This action reflected so much honour on the American arms, that general Morgan transmitted to Congress an official account of the names of the continental officers who shared in the glory thereof.^{cc} The British legion, hitherto triumphant in a variety of skirmishes, on this occasion lost their laurels, though they were supported by the seventh regiment, one battalion of the

^{bb} See note xxvii.

^{cc} See note xxviii.

the seventy-first, and two companies of light-infantry. Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton had hitherto acquired distinguished reputation, but he was greatly indebted for his military fame to good fortune and accident. In all his previous engagements he either had the advantage of surprising an incautious enemy—of attacking them when panick-struck after recent defeats—or of being opposed to undisciplined militia. He had gathered no laurels by hard fighting against an equal force. His repulse on this occasion did more essential injury to the British interest than was compensated by all his victories.

TARLETON'S defeat was the first link, in a grand chain of causes, which finally drew down ruin, both in North and South-Carolina, on the royal interest. The series of victories, which had followed the British arms in the first nine months of the year 1780, had been considered by the sanguine royalists as decisive with respect to the most southern colonies, and had led to the formation of extensive plans for the year 1781. To favour their execution, major-general Leslie, with about three thousand men, was detached from New-York to the Chesapeake. It was expected that this force would not only create a diversion in Virginia, but also intercept any succours that might be sent from the American northern army to the southward. The distance between the royal armies in Virginia and South-Carolina was too great for an active co-operation.

Lord

Lord Cornwallis therefore ordered general Leslie to proceed without delay from the Chesapeake to Charleston, and to march directly from thence with fifteen hundred men to join the royal army under his own immediate command. To facilitate the intended operations against North-Carolina and Virginia, major Craig, with a detachment of about three hundred men from the garrison of Charleston, one frigate, and two sloops of war, took possession of Wilmington, in the former state, early in the year 1781, and about the same time the latter was again invaded by a considerable force from New-York, commanded by general Arnold. This is the same Arnold who, after distinguishing himself as an American officer for the first five years of the war, changed sides in the year 1780, and was immediately thereon promoted by the British to the rank of brigadier-general.

THE establishment of a British post on Cape Fear river, besides the diversion it afforded, was well calculated to furnish the royal army, while in North-Carolina, with supplies by the easiest and safest conveyance. It was presumed that the invasion of Virginia would confine the attention of its inhabitants to their own domestick defence; and that the two Carolinas, thus unsupported, would be discouraged from persevering in resistance.

LORD Cornwallis, though preparing to extend
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his conquests northward, was not inattentive to the security of South-Carolina. Besides the force at Charleston, he left a considerable body of troops, under the command of lord Rawdon. These were principally stationed at Camden, from which central situation they might be easily drawn forth to defend the frontiers, or to suppress internal insurrections.

WHILE these arrangements were making, the year 1781 commenced, with the fairest prospects to the friends of British government. The admirers of lord Cornwallis flattered themselves that his victory at Camden was but the dawn of his glory—that his exertions in the approaching campaign would immortalize his name as the conqueror of America. The determined resistance of the inhabitants of North-Carolina, in front of the royal army, was as little thought of as the unconquerable disaffection of the citizens of South-Carolina in its rear. Great dependence was placed on the expected co-operation of the loyalists. Their numbers and zeal for royal government had been represented as so considerable, that North-Carolina was scarcely considered in any other light than as the road to Virginia. A junction with the forces under general Arnold was expected at so early a day as to give time for prosecuting farther operations against Maryland and Pennsylvania. The sanguine expectations of some went so far, as to count upon a junction with the royal army in New-York, and the subjugation

jugation of every state to the southward of Hudson's river, before the close of the campaign. Whilst lord Cornwallis was anticipating, in imagination, a rich harvest of glory, from a rapid succession of victories, he received the intelligence, no less unwelcome than unexpected, of the complete overthrow of the detachment led by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. So contemptible, from their conduct at Camden, was his lordship's opinion of the American militia—so unlimited was his confidence in the courage and abilities of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, that, of all improbable events, none seemed to him more improbable than that an inferior force, two thirds militia, should gain such a decisive advantage over his favourite hero. This unexpected event led to still more serious consequences. The royal army was essentially injured in its future movements, for want of the light troops lost on that occasion. Besides, it precipitated the invasion of North-Carolina before the schemes subservient to that grand design were fully completed. Lord Cornwallis, with the expectation of regaining the prisoners taken on the seventeenth of January at the battle of the Cowpens, and to obliterate the impression made by that engagement, instantly began those marches and countermarches, which, after various conflicts and innumerable hardships, ultimately terminated in the surrender of his whole army.

THE rapid movements of the British, under
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the expectation of retaking their captive fellow-soldiers, induced general Greene immediately to retreat from Hicks's creek, lest, by crossing the upper sources of the Peedee, they should get between him and general Morgan, or intercept his army before it could reach Virginia. Had lord Cornwallis succeeded in this scheme, he could have interrupted reinforcements and supplies coming from Virginia, and might have reduced general Greene to the necessity of fighting to a great disadvantage, and without any place of safety for a retreat. In this critical situation general Greene rode one hundred and fifty miles through the country to join general Morgan on the Catawba—that, by being in front of lord Cornwallis, he might best direct the motions of both divisions of his army. Major Hyrne had been previously detached to receive the British prisoners, with orders to conduct them to Virginia. Guilford courthouse was fixed upon as the place of rendezvous for the two divisions of the Americans; and general Huger, who commanded the main army, was ordered to retreat thither. To favour an expeditious march the heavy baggage was directed, after filing off from the route which general Huger was to pursue, to make all possible dispatch for Hillsborough, and to pass the Roanoke at Taylor's ferry. This circumstance enabled the army to move with rapidity, and to cross the Dan without the loss of baggage or stores.

THE retreat from the Peedee commenced on the twenty-eighth of January 1781, and was conducted under circumstances requiring the utmost exertions of patience. The Americans underwent hardships almost incredible. Many of them performed this march without shoes over frozen ground, and through flinty roads, which so gashed their naked feet, that the spouting blood marked every step of their progress. They were some time without meat, often without flour, and always without spirituous liquors. In this extreme season also, with very little clothing, they were every day reduced to the necessity of fording deep creeks, and of remaining wet without any change of clothes, till the heat of their bodies, and occasional fires in the woods, dried their tattered rags. Their march led them through a barren country, which scarcely afforded necessaries for a few straggling inhabitants. They were also retarded with apparently unsurmountable difficulties from heavy rains, deep creeks, broken bridges, bad roads and poor horses. They submitted to all these difficulties without the loss of a single sentinel by desertion. Lord Cornwallis destroyed his superfluous baggage, and every thing which was not necessary in action, or to the existence of the troops. No waggons were reserved, excepting those loaded with hospital-stores, salt, and ammunition, and four empty ones for the use of the sick. The royal army submitted to unusual trials and hardships, with a most general and cheerful acquiescence.

escence. They beheld, without murmuring, their most valuable baggage destroyed, their spirituous liquors staved, when they were entering on a service in which it would be much wanted, and under circumstances which precluded every prospect of future supply.

THE British had urged the pursuit of general Morgan with so much rapidity, that they came to the ford of the Catawba on the evening of the same day that the Americans had crossed. Before the next morning a heavy fall of rain had made it impassable. The Americans, confiding in the protection of Heaven, considered this event as a special interposition of Providence in favour of their righteous cause. It is certain that if the rising of the river had taken place a few hours earlier, general Morgan, with his whole detachment, and five hundred prisoners, could have scarcely had any chance of escape. The Americans having effected their passage before the rain, major Hyrne proceeded with the prisoners, and general Morgan continued on the north banks of the Catawba, to oppose the passage of the British army. At this crisis general Greene joined general Morgan, and prevented his going over the mountains which was intended, and directed the movements of the detachment lately under his command, so as to favour the scheme of forming a junction at Guilford courthouse with the main army under general Huger.

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As soon as the passage of the Catawba was practicable, lord Cornwallis made preparations for crossing. The more effectually to deceive the Americans he made a feint of passing at several different fords; but the real attempt was made very early in the morning of the first of February, at a ford near M'Cowan's, the north banks of which were defended by a guard of militia, under the command of general Davidson. The British marched through the river upwards of five hundred yards wide, and about three feet deep, sustaining the fire from the opposing militia, which they never returned till after landing, they formed on the shore. The early fall of the brave general Davidson dispirited his party, who, seeking safety in a precipitate flight, left the British to effect their passage without the opposition which was at first expected. The militia; throughout the neighbouring settlements, who had hitherto only heard of the dangers of war, were totally dispirited. Though general Greene risked himself at a distance from his troops to excite them to arms, yet very few of them could be persuaded to take or keep the field. A small party, collected at Torrains's house, about ten miles from the ford, was soon dispersed by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. All the fords were abandoned, and the whole royal army, with their baggage and artillery, crossed over without any farther opposition.

A MILITARY race now commenced between
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the pursuing British and the fleeing Americans. The latter retreated as expeditiously as possible, and crossed the Yadkin partly in flats and partly by fording on the second and third days of February, and secured the boats on the north side. Though lord Cornwallis was close in the rear, yet the want of boats, and the rapid rising of the river, from preceding rains, made his crossing impossible. This second hair-breadth escape was considered by the Americans as a fresh evidence that their cause was favoured by Heaven. They viewed it in every point of light with pious gratitude, and frequently remarked, that if the rising of the river had taken place a few hours earlier, it would have put general Morgan's whole detachment in the power of a greatly superior army ; if a few hours later, that the passage of it would have been effected by lord Cornwallis, so as to have enabled him to get between the two divisions of the American army, a circumstance which might have been of fatal consequence to both. That the Americans with their prisoners should, in two successive instances, effect their passage, while the British, whose advance was often in sight of the rear of their retreating enemy, seemed to be providentially restrained, affected the devout people of that settlement with lively thankfulness to Heaven, which added fresh vigour to their exertions in behalf of their country.

THE British having failed in their scheme of crossing at the trading ford on the Yadkin, were
obliged

obliged to march to the upper fords which are generally passable. This gave time for the junction of the two divisions of the American army.

WHILE matters were in this situation between the two main armies, general Marion, though surrounded with enemies, had defended himself with a few faithful militia in the swamps and morasses of the settlements near Charleston, and was frequently sallying out from his hiding-places, and enterprising something in behalf of his country. Having mounted his followers, their motions were rapid, and their attacks unexpected. With these light troops he intercepted the British convoys of provisions, infested their out-posts, beat up their quarters, and harassed them with such frequent alarms, that they were obliged to be always on their guard. On the twenty-ninth of January 1781 he sent two small detachments of militia-dragoons, under the command of major Postell and captain Postell, to cross the Santee. The former destroyed a great quantity of valuable stores at Manigault's ferry; the latter did the same at another place in the vicinity. Thence he marched to Reithfield near Monk's Corner, where he destroyed fourteen waggons loaded with soldiers' clothing and baggage, besides several other valuable stores, and took forty prisoners, chiefly British regulars, and effected the whole without any loss.

GENERAL Greene and general Huger formed

a junction on the seventh of February 1781, near Guilford courthouse. Though this was effected, their whole number was so much inferior to the British, that general Greene could not, with any propriety, risk an action. In this critical situation he called a council of officers, who unanimously concurred in opinion, that he ought to retire over the Dan, and to avoid a general action till he was reinforced. Lord Cornwallis, well knowing the inferiority of the American army, conceived hopes, by getting between general Greene and Virginia, to cut off his retreat—intercept his supplies and reinforcements—and oblige him to fight while he was hemmed in by the great rivers in the west, the sea on the east, lord Rawdon in the south, and the main royal army in the north. To this end his lordship kept the upper country, where only the rivers are fordable, supposing, from information, that his adversaries, from the want of a sufficient number of flats, could not make good their passage in the deep water; or, in case of that attempt, he presumed he would overtake and force general Greene to an action before the American army could cross. In the prosecution of this plan, lord Cornwallis was completely baffled. The advantages resulting from the season of the year, and from the face of the country, intersected with rivers and creeks, were so improved by general Greene as to elude his lordship. The services of the light army were never more essentially necessary or conspicuous than on this retreat.

treat. To increase its force, the legion, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lee, was therefore incorporated with it, and the regular battalion of infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Howard, was filled up—The whole, including those two corps, the cavalry commanded by lieutenant-colonel Washington, and a small corps of Virginia riflemen, under major Campbell, amounted to about seven hundred of the flower of the American army. The command of this light corps was given to colonel Williams, commandant of the Maryland line, and deputy adjutant-general of the American army. The manœuvres of this valuable detachment, in seconding the views of general Greene, reflected the greatest honour on its leader, and contributed much to frustrate the schemes of earl Cornwallis. The retreat commenced from Guilford courthouse the tenth of February. The better to avoid a rapid pursuit, the main and light army took different routes. The next day the latter had a rencounter with the van of the British army, in which an officer and six or seven of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton's legion were made prisoners, and several were killed. Frequent skirmishes and the manœuvres which were practised to mislead lord Cornwallis, with regard to the route that the main army was to pursue, had the desired effect, and gave general Greene time to send forward his baggage. The design of the American general, notwithstanding he assumed appearances of confidence, became every day more apparent.

Lord

Lord Cornwallis grew more ardent, and urged his pursuit with so much rapidity, that the American light troops were, on the fourteenth, compelled to retire upwards of forty miles. By the most indefatigable exertions general Greene had that day, without any loss or interruption, transported his main army, artillery and baggage into Virginia, by crossing Boyd's and Irwin's ferries on the Dan, and personally waited the arrival of the light troops, all of which he saw safe over the river that night—so rapid was the pursuit, and so narrow the escape, that the van of the British just arrived as the rear of the Americans had crossed. The hardships and difficulties which the royal army had undergone in this rapid march, were exceeded by the mortification that all their toils and exertions were in vain. They conceived it next to impossible that general Greene could escape without receiving a decisive blow; they therefore, with vigour and perseverance, encountered and surmounted distresses and difficulties of which they, who reside in cultivated countries, can form no adequate ideas. After these sufferings, when they fancied themselves within grasp of their object, they discovered that all their hopes were frustrated.

THOUGH lord Cornwallis failed in his main object, yet he consoled himself with the idea that he had driven the rebel army out of the province, and that there was now no force in North-Carolina to prevent the loyal inhabitants from

from making good their promise of a general rising in favour of British government. His lordship being in no condition to invade so powerful a state as Virginia, desisted from any farther pursuit of the American army. And in order to encourage the loyalists, he retired to Hillsborough, and there erected the royal standard, and to it invited, by proclamation, all his friends to repair.^{dd} Some particular causes had operated in North-Carolina very favourably to his lordship's expectations. A few years before the commencement of the American war a large body of men, under the denomination of Regulators, oppressed with the mal-practices of some avaricious individuals, had forcibly opposed the administration of civil government under the officers of the crown. These insurgents, though numerous, being undisciplined, and for the most part without arms, were easily dispersed by governor Tryon at the head of the incorporated militia of the country. Some of their leaders were killed in action, others were hanged, and all of them were involved in distress. This large body, having so recently experienced the power of royal government, never heartily acquiesced in the measures of Congress. They considered them as similar in their origin, and most likely to be so in their consequences, to their own unfortunate schemes of regulation. These dissentients, from the general voice of America, were artfully managed by the royal governors Tryon and

^{dd} See note xxix.

and Martin, and formed into a party for the support of British government. There was also a numerous settlement of Scotch Highlanders in that state, particularly at Cross-Creek, who, in common with a majority of their countrymen elsewhere, were inimical to the cause of America. From these, and other causes which operated on the timid, the selfish and uninformed, the friends of royal government were, at this particular period, more numerous perhaps in North-Carolina than in any other of the states. A fair opportunity was now given for their manifesting to the world, whether they opposed American measures from ignorance, cowardice, interest, or from a virtuous love of the old constitution. To counteract his lordship's scheme of embodying the tories, the American army very suddenly, on the twenty-third day of the same month, re-crossed the Dan, and immediately after some light troops, commanded by general Pickens and lieutenant-colonel Lee, were detached in pursuit of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. This officer, with a considerable force of cavalry and infantry, had crossed over Haw river to countenance the royalists, and encourage them to an insurrection. Colonel Pyles, at the head of three hundred and fifty tories, on their way to join the British, fell in with this light American party, and as he had no suspicion of their having re-crossed the Dan, mistook them for the detachment commanded by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. The Americans attacked them, labouring under this mistake, to great

great advantage, and cut them down as they were making ardent protestations of loyalty, and asserting, ' that they were the very best friends ' of the King.' Men of this character much more rarely found mercy than the regular soldiers from Europe. They were considered by the whig Americans as men, who not only wanted spirit to defend their natural rights, but who co-operated with foreigners to fix the chains of slavery on themselves and their countrymen. On this occasion they suffered the extremity of military vengeance. About the same time lieutenant-colonel Tarleton cut down several of them as they were coming to join the British army, mistaking them for rebel militia of the country. The recrossing of general Greene induced lord Cornwallis to decamp from Hillsborough, within six days after the proclamation in which he had called on his friends to rendezvous at that place. His lordship continued for many days to manœuvre in that part of the country where colonel Pyles was defeated, that the royalists might have an opportunity to join him; but, to his great mortification, he found nothing, as he expressed it in his official despatches, but ' timid friends or inveterate enemies.' The advocates for royal government were so discouraged by this series of adverse accidents, that they could not be induced to act with confidence. Their situation over a large extent of country was so dispersed, that it was not easy to bring them to unite in any common plan. They had not the advantage of a
superintending

superintending congress to give system, or concert to their schemes. While each party pursued separate measures, all were obliged to submit to the American governments. Considerable numbers of them were on their way to join lord Cornwallis, but being struck with terror at the unexpected return of the American army, and with the unhappy fate of their brethren, they returned home to wait events.^{cc} Lord Cornwallis found himself no less disappointed in his expectations of great aid from the loyalists in North-Carolina, than he had been in his former schemes of compelling general Greene to an engagement.

THE retreat of the Americans to Virginia at length roused the people of that state from their lethargy. During the three preceding years the Virginians had greatly fallen off from that military ardour and love of their country which distinguished them in the years 1776 and 1777. The first heat of passion being over, they were fond of recurring to their beloved ease, and of resuming their usual habits of life. Their exertions, as well against the invaders within their own limits, as in aid of the distressed southern states, were far below the martial character which they had established in the first years of the war, and still farther short of what the citizens of North and South-Carolina expected from the extensive, opulent and powerful dominion of Virginia. The gains of commerce, and the airy schemes suggested by speculations,

^{cc} See note xxx.

lations, and an unsettled value of money, co-operating with the temporary security which a great part of the state enjoyed, had rendered many of them inattentive to the general cause of America. Danger, brought to their doors, awakened them to a sense of their duty—great numbers of militia turned out, but few of them were armed, and fewer still could be persuaded to cross into North-Carolina. From the whole a small brigade, consisting of between four or five hundred men, commanded by general Stevens, was all of the reinforcement the American general received while in Virginia, that came with him over the Dan. It was risking much to turn about, and face the British army, with this trifling reinforcement; but such was the critical situation of North-Carolina, that it would have been risking much more to have delayed. The decisive enterprising general Greene formed the bold resolution of re-crossing, and of manœuvring in the face of a superior foe, till his expected reinforcements should come up. The two armies once more encamped in the vicinity of each other. The respective commanders almost daily changed their position, endeavouring to gain some advantage. During three weeks there was a complete trial of military skill. In the movements on this occasion, native-genius fairly carried the palm from the arts and discipline of regular military education. It was the interest of general Greene to avoid an action till he was reinforced, but at the same time to keep

the field so near his antagonist as would prevent his foraging to advantage—and his receiving reinforcements from the Tories of North-Carolina. All this was done with an inferior army, till the Americans were reinforced with another brigade of militia from Virginia, commanded by general Lawton, and four hundred regulars raised for eighteen months, besides two brigades of militia from North-Carolina, one commanded by general Butler, the other by general Eaton. The whole of these reinforcements arrived about the eleventh of March. Soon after which the general dissolved the constitution of the light army, with expressions of great obligations to colonel Williams, and the officers and men of that corps, for their good conduct in the late dangerous crisis. Another arrangement then took place. The army marched to Guilford courthouse, and every preparation was made for an engagement. On this occasion general Greene issued the following order: ‘The great probability of coming to a
‘general action, in a short time, must be a con-
‘sideration that will induce every good officer
‘and soldier to do his duty; and, if order and
‘discipline are maintained, so great confidence
‘has the general in the bravery of his troops,
‘that he flatters himself the efforts of his coun-
‘trymen will be favoured by Heaven, and crown-
‘ed with success.’ The American general having now a superiority of numbers, especially of cavalry, determined no longer to avoid an action. The fate of both Carolinas was in some degree sus-
pended

depended on the issue of this important engagement. Had the American army been unsuccessful, as in the preceding battle of Camden, Virginia would have become the southern frontier, and royal government would have instantly been re-established in North-Carolina, and greatly strengthened in South-Carolina. Had the British army been routed, the consequences to them would have been much more fatal. Far from their shipping, and destitute of supplies, they would have found it difficult, perhaps impossible, to have made good their retreat. To them a defeat must have been completely ruinous; but as general Greene had such a superiority of cavalry as secured him from almost the possibility of an irretrievable misfortune, his being beaten could be no more than a partial evil. The greatest part of his army consisted of militia, who do all at a single effort—are soon disgusted—and find reason for desertion if kept long inactive. He had therefore much more to hope than to fear from a general action. This accordingly took place on the fifteenth of March 1781, near Guilford courthouse.

THE American army consisted of four thousand four hundred and ninety-one men, of which two thousand seven hundred and fifty-three were militia of North-Carolina and Virginia, one thousand and sixty from the first state, and sixteen hundred and ninety-three from the last—The British of about two thousand four hundred men, chiefly

chiefly troops grown veteran in victories. The American army was drawn up in three lines; the front composed of North-Carolina militia, under the command of general Butler and general Eaton; the second of Virginia militia, commanded by general Stevens and general Lawson; the third and last of the Maryland and Virginia continentals, amounting to fourteen hundred and ninety rank and file, commanded by general Hunger and colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and a corps of Delaware light-infantry, and some riflemen under colonel Lynch, covered the right flank. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, and some riflemen under colonel Campbell, the left. After a brisk cannonade in front, the British advanced in three columns, the Hessians on the right, the guards in the centre, and lieutenant-colonel Webster's brigade on the left, and attacked the front line. This gave way when their adversaries were at the distance of one hundred and forty yards. Some of the North-Carolina militia, who composed this line, fired once, but a great number ran away without firing or being fired upon. All exertions of their officers to rally them were ineffectual. The Virginia militia behaved much better—kept up their fire till they were ordered to retreat, and did great execution. General Stevens had posted forty riflemen at equal distances, twenty paces in the rear of his brigade, with orders to shoot every man who should leave his post. This gallant officer, though he

he received a wound through the thigh, did not quit the field. He had the address to prevent his brigade from receiving any bad impressions from the retreating North-Carolinians, by giving out that they had orders to retire after discharging their pieces. To cherish this idea he ordered the militia, under his command, to open their files to favour their passage. The continental troops were last engaged, and Huger fought with great spirit. Towards the close of the action, a charge was made on the British guards by the cavalry of lieutenant-colonel Washington and the Maryland troops, commanded by colonel Gunby and lieutenant-colonel Howard, with such execution that the whole corps was nearly annihilated. After a severe conflict of an hour and a half, the discipline of veteran troops carried the point against numbers. General Greene abandoned the field to his rival, still however shewing a good face; he retreated no farther than over the Reddy Fork, a distance of three miles. The Americans lost four six-pounders which had been in the possession of both armies in different stages of the action. This victory cost the British dear. Their killed and wounded exceeded six hundred men. The guards lost colonel Stuart, with the captains Schutz, Maynard and Goodriche, besides subalterns. Colonel Webster, an officer of distinguished reputation, died of his wounds, to the great injury of the service, and the universal regret of the royal army. Brigadier-generals
O'Hara

O'Hara and Howard, and lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, with several other officers, were wounded.

ABOUT three hundred of the continentals and one hundred of the Virginia militia were killed and wounded, among the former was major Anderson, of the Maryland line, a valuable officer, and the same who behaved so well in general Gates's defeat. Among the latter were general Huger and general Stevens. The early retreat of the North-Carolinians saved them from much loss. Though the Americans had fewer killed and wounded than the British, yet their army sustained a greater diminution by the numerous fugitives from the militia, who no more re-joined the camp. Lord Cornwallis suffered so severely, that he was in no condition to improve the advantage he had gained. The British had only the name; the Americans all the good consequences of a victory. General Greene retreated, and lord Cornwallis kept the field; but, notwithstanding, the British interest, in North-Carolina, was ruined by this action. Three days after the battle lord Cornwallis issued a proclamation, setting forth his complete victory, and calling on all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring good order and government; and offering a pardon and protection to all rebels, murderers excepted, who would surrender themselves on or before the twentieth day of April.^{ff} On the day on which this proclamation was issued,
his

^{ff} See note xxxi.

his lordship left his hospital and seventy-five wounded men with the numerous loyalists in the vicinity of Guilford, and began a march towards the sea-coast, which had the appearance of a retreat. Thirteen days before the expiration of this act of grace he had reached his shipping at Wilmington, all the upper country remaining in the power of general Greene's army. Amnesties in civil wars, not only shew the greatest generosity, but are productive of the best consequences when they follow great successes, and are issued by the power that has gained a decided superiority. The present was introduced with a recital to this purpose; but the well-known situation of the conquerors induced even their friends to believe, that their disposition to receive protection and assistance from the royalists of North-Carolina far exceeded their abilities to extend it to them. Much in particular was expected from the numerous Scotch Highlanders, settled at Cross-Creek, who had uniformly opposed American measures. Lord Cornwallis, though he marched through their settlements, found the inhabitants, to his great mortification, generally unwilling to give their personal services in the field, and their country poor and unable to afford supplies for his distressed army. General Greene no sooner received authentick information of the movement of lord Cornwallis, than he immediately put his army in motion to follow him. This pursuit was continued as far as Ramfay's mill, on Deep River, with such rapidity that
the

the American army arrived soon after the departure of the British. In this march provisions were so scarce, that the American soldiers gleaned the slaughter-pens of their adversaries, and fed on the garbage which in common is the destined repast for turkey-buzzards, and other obscene birds. After a delay of near three weeks at Wilmington, the British army marched from that place by a route which left it doubtful, whether their intention was to return to South-Carolina or to proceed to Virginia. Had his lordship adopted the first plan, he might have prolonged the subjection of South-Carolina and Georgia, but his enterprising spirit could not endure inaction, and he had too much pride to turn back. He was, besides, induced to proceed, from an opinion that solid operations in Virginia would be the most effectual plan for securing the royal conquests in South-Carolina, and effecting the submission of North-Carolina.

LORD Cornwallis met with no opposition of consequence in marching from Wilmington to Petersburg. On the twentieth of May he formed a junction with the British forces in Virginia, commanded by major-general Philips and brigadier-general Arnold. Before and after his lordship's arrival, the royal army traversed a great part of that state, plundering the inhabitants, and laying waste the country.^{ss} At length, in the close of the campaign, his lordship, with the
force

^{ss} See note XXXII.

force under his command, was furrounded and captured in York-Town; events which shall be more particularly related in the next chapter. I now follow the progress of the continental army.

BEFORE it was certainly known that lord Cornwallis had determined to proceed to Virginia, the bold resolution of re-commencing military operations in South-Carolina was formed by general Greene. This was one of the times in which more is to be done by a wise plan of operations than by numbers. Had the American army followed his lordship, the southern states would have conceived themselves conquered; for their hopes and fears prevailed just as the army marched north or south. Though lord Cornwallis marched through North-Carolina to Virginia, yet as the American army returned to South-Carolina the people considered that movement of his lordship more in the light of a retreat than a conquest. Had general Greene retired before lord Cornwallis, the people would have been dispirited, and many would have joined the royal army. These, with the large reinforcements lord Cornwallis would have received, not only from South-Carolina, but from the Irish troops that arrived in Charleston in a few weeks after his departure from Wilmington, together with his having a secure retreat into North-Carolina, might have saved his lordship from the catastrophe of York-Town.

IT was no sooner known in South-Carolina that lord Cornwallis had left the state in pursuit of the American army, than general Sumpter, who had just recovered from his wound, collected a force to penetrate into the heart of the country, as well with the design of distracting the views of the British, as of encouraging the friends of independence. To this end, early in February 1781, he crossed the Congaree, and appeared in force before fort Granby, and destroyed its magazines. Lord Rawdon advanced from Camden for the relief of the post, on which general Sumpter retreated; but immediately appeared before another British post near colonel Thomson's. On the second day after this excursion, he attacked and defeated an escort convoying some waggons and stores from Charleston to Camden. Thirteen of the British detachment were killed, and sixty-six were taken prisoners. The captured stores were sent in boats down the Congaree; but on their passage they were re-taken. General Sumpter, with three hundred and fifty horsemen, swam across the Santee, and proceeded to fort Watson at Wright's Bluff; but on lord Rawdon's marching from Camden for its relief, he retired to Black River. On his return he was attacked near Camden by major Frazer, at the head of a considerable force of British regulars and militia. The major lost twenty of his men, and was obliged to retreat. General Sumpter, having by this excursion, satisfied the friends of independence in the centre of the state, that their

cause

cause was not desperate, retired in safety to the borders of North-Carolina. Hitherto all his enterprises had been effected by volunteers from the militia; but the long continued services in the field which were required, pointed out the propriety of a more permanent corps. General Sumpter, therefore, in March 1781, with the approbation of general Greene, enlisted three small regiments of regular state-troops, to be employed in constant service for the space of ten months. With these, and the returning continental army, as shall shortly be related, the war re-commenced in South-Carolina with new vigour, and was carried on with more regularity.

GENERAL Greene having determined to return to South-Carolina, he sent orders to general Pickens to collect the militia of his brigade, and to prevent supplies from going to the British garrisons at Ninety-Six and Augusta. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, and part of the second Maryland brigade, was ordered to advance before the continental troops, to co-operate with general Marion.

ABOUT the time that these preparations were making to renew the war in South-Carolina, seventy-six exiles, who had been compelled to seek refuge with general Marion, on the north side of Santee, re-crossed that river, with the bold design of re-visiting their own settlements. Some of them were from the militia on the sea-coast of Carolina

Carolina to the southward of Charleston, and others from Georgia. The first commanded by colonel Harden, the latter by colonel Baker. On their way they fell in with about twenty-five of the royal militia at Four Holes, and captured the whole of them. The privates were paroled, and their officers carried off. As they marched through the country, parties were sent to the houses of the officers of the royal militia, some of whom were taken, and others fled to Charleston. Colonel Harden had two or three successful skirmishes with detachments of the British, but his capital manœuvre was the surprize of fort Balfour, at Pokataligo. By his address and good management in this enterprize three British colonels of militia, Fenwick, Lechmere, and Relfal, with thirty-two regular dragoons, and fifty-six privates of the royal militia, surrendered on the twelfth of April 1781, to this handful of returning exiles, without any loss on their part. Colonel Harden had his party considerably increased by daily accessions of the people inhabiting the southern sea-coast of Carolina. With their aid he prosecuted, in that part of the state, the same successful plan of opposition to the British which was begun much earlier in the north-western and north-eastern extremities under the auspices of his gallant co-adjutors Sumpter and Marion.

ON the seventh of April general Greene marched, with the main army, from Deep River, in North-Carolina, towards Camden. The British
were

were no less alarmed than surprized when they heard that lieutenant-colonel Lee had penetrated through the country, and in eight days effected a junction with general Marion near the Santee, and that the main body of the Americans encamped on the nineteenth of April before Camden. To secure the provisions that grow on the fertile banks of the Santee and Congaree rivers, the British had erected a chain of posts in their vicinity. One of the most important of these was on an eminence, known by the name of Wright's Bluff, and called fort Watson. This was closely invested on the fifteenth of April 1781 by about eighty militiamen under general Marion, and by the continentals commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lee. Neither party had any other means of annoyance or defence but musketry. Though the ground on which the fort stood was an Indian mount, thirty or forty feet high, yet the besiegers, under the direction of colonel Maham, erected, in a few days on an unusual plan, a work much higher. From this eminence the American riflemen fired into the fort with such execution, that the besieged durst not shew themselves. On the twenty-third the garrison, consisting of one hundred and fourteen men, commanded by lieutenant M'Kay, surrendered by capitulation.

CAMDEN, before which the main army was encamped, is a village situated on a plain covered on the south and east sides by the Wateree, and

a creek which empties itself into that river. On the western and northern by six strong redoubts. It was defended by lord Rawdon with about nine hundred men. The American army, consisting of about seven hundred continentals, was unequal to the task of carrying this post by storm, or of completely investing it. The general therefore took a good position at Hobkirk's hill, about a mile distant, in expectation of favourable events, and with a view of alluring the garrison out of their lines. Lord Rawdon armed his musicians, drummers, and every thing that could carry a firelock, and with great spirit sallied on the twenty-fifth. An engagement ensued. Victory for some time very evidently inclined to the side of the Americans ; but, in the progress of the action, the fortune of the day was changed, and the British kept the field. Lieutenant-colonel Washington was ordered to turn the right flank of the British, and to charge in their rear. While he executed this order, he was so confident of the success of the main army, that he divided his men into small parties, and made them take such positions as he thought most eligible for intercepting the fugitives on their retreat to Camden. At one time he had in his possession upwards of two hundred ; but he relinquished the greatest part of them on seeing the American army retreat. On this unexpected reverse of fortune he paroled the officers on the field of battle—collected his men—wheeled round—and made his retreat good, with the loss of three men, and at the same time brought

brought off near fifty prisoners. In this action the loss of the Americans in killed, wounded and missing, was about two hundred.^{hh} The British had one officer killed, and eleven taken prisoners. General Greene retreated, in good order, with his artillery and baggage, to Gun Swamp, about five miles from the place of action. In the evening after this action lieutenant-colonel Washington marched with fifty men of the cavalry within a mile of the British army, and after sending forward a small party, concealed his principal force in the woods. As soon as the advanced small party was discovered, major Coffin, at the head of about forty of the Irish volunteers, pursued them a considerable distance. After the British party had passed the American cavalry which was concealed, the latter rushed from the woods, and charged them so briskly in the rear, that they lost upwards of twenty of their number.

VERY soon after the action on the twenty-fifth of April, general Greene, knowing that the British garrison could not subsist long in Camden without fresh supplies from Charleston or the country, detached a reinforcement to general Marion on the road to Nelson's ferry, and, on the third of May, crossed the Wateree, and took occasionally such positions as would most effectually prevent succours from going into the town from that quarter. On the seventh of May lord Rawdon received a considerable reinforcement by the
the

^{hh} See note xxxiii.

the arrival of the detachment under lieutenant-colonel Watfon. With this increafe of force he attempted, on the day following, to compel general Greene to another action, but soon found that this was impracticable. Failing in his design, he returned to Camden, and on the tenth burned the gaol, mills, many private houfes, and a great deal of his own baggage—evacuated the poft—and retired with his whole army to the fouth of the Santee, leaving about thirty of his own fick and wounded, and as many of the Americans, who, on the twenty-fifth of April, had fallen into his hands. Lord Rawdon difcovered as great prudence in this evacuation of Camden as he had fhewn bravery in its defence. The fall of fort Watfon broke the chain of communication with Charleifton, and the pofitions of the American army intercepted all fupplies from the country. The return of general Greene to the fouthward being unexpected, the ftores of the garrifon were not provided for a fieve. Lord Rawdon had the honour of faving his men, though he loft the poft, the country, and the confidence of the tories. He offered every affiftance in his power to the friends of British government who would accompany him ; but it was a hard alternative to the new-made fubjects, to be obliged to abandon their property, or to be left at the mercy of their exafperated countrymen. Several families nevertheless accompanied his lordfhip. Thefe were cruelly neglected after their arrival in Charleifton. They built themfelves huts without the works.

Their

Their settlement was called Rawdon-Town, which, from its poverty and wretchedness, became a term of reproach. Many women and children, who lived comfortably on their farms near Camden, soon died of want in these their new habitations.

THIS evacuation animated the friends of Congress, and gave a very general alarm to the British. The former had been called upon for their personal services, to assist in regaining the country, but were disheartened by the repulse of general Greene from before Camden; but, from the moment that lord Rawdon evacuated this place, their numbers daily increased, and the British posts fell in quick succession. On the day after the evacuation of Camden, the garrison of Orangeburgh, consisting of seventy British militia, and twelve regulars, surrendered to general Sumpter. The next day fort Motte capitulated. After the surrender of fort Watson, general Marion and lieutenant-colonel Lee crossed the Santee, and moved up to this post, which lies above the Fork on the south side of the Congaree, where they arrived on the eighth of May. The approaches were carried on so rapidly that a house in the centre of the fort was set on fire the fourth day after they began the entrenchments, and the garrison, which consisted of one hundred and sixty-five men, commanded by lieutenant M'Pherson, was compelled, after a brave defence, to surrender at discretion. On this occasion mrs.

Motte displayed an eminent example of disinterested patriotism. The British had built their works round her dwellinghouse, on which she removed to a neighbouring hut. When she was informed that firing the house was the easiest mode of reducing the garrison, she presented the besiegers with a quiver of African arrows, to be employed for that purpose. Skewers armed with combustible materials were also used, and with more effect. Success soon crowned these experiments, and her joy was inexpressible that the reduction of the post was expedited, though at the expence of her property. Two days after this surrender, the British evacuated their post at Nelson's ferry—blew up their fortifications—and destroyed a great part of their stores. The day following, fort Granby, near Friday's ferry, about thirty miles to the westward of fort Motte, surrendered by capitulation. Very advantageous terms were given by the assailants in consequence of information that lord Rawdon was marching to its relief. This was a post of more consequence than the others, and might have been better defended; but the offer of security to the baggage of the garrison, in which was included an immense quantity of plunder, hastened the surrender. For some time before it had been greatly harassed by colonel Taylor's regiment of militia, and had also been invested by general Sumpter. On the night of the fourteenth of May, lieutenant-colonel Lee erected a battery within six hundred yards of its out-works, on
which

which he mounted a six-pounder. After the third discharge from this field-piece, major Maxwell capitulated. His force consisted of three hundred and fifty-two men, a great part of whom were royal militia. His works were a parapet round a house, defended by four bastions, a fosse and abbatis, with two pieces of artillery. In these several forts a considerable quantity of valuable stores fell into the possession of the Americans. Lord Rawdon, having retreated towards Charleston by the way of Nelson's ferry, marched up the Santee to relieve major Maxwell; but, after he had advanced fourteen miles, he met the garrison in the character of prisoners, on which he immediately retired. General Marion, with his brigade of militia, marched to George-Town, and began regular approaches against the British post in that place. On the first night after the Americans had broken ground, their adversaries evacuated their works, and retreated to Charleston. In a short time after this evacuation one Manson, an inhabitant of the country who had joined the British, appeared in an armed vessel before George-Town, and demanded permission for his men to land. This being refused by a small party of American militia, he sent a few of his men ashore, under cover of his guns, and set fire to some of the houses next to the water. He then directed his crew to fire at the burning houses, in such a direction as prevented the inhabitants from either extinguishing the flames or removing their property. Forty-two houses, in
this

this flourishing town, were, on this occasion, reduced to ashes.

IN the rapid manner just related the British lost six posts, and abandoned all the north-eastern extremities of the state. They still retained possession of Ninety-Six in South-Carolina, and Augusta in Georgia; the reduction of these posts was the next object with the Americans.

As the affairs in the upper country, on the Georgia and Carolina side of the river Savannah, were unconnected with the transactions of that part of the state which adjoins North-Carolina, they now require a particular detail.

AFTER the successes of the royal army, the determined friends of America, in the upper country of Georgia, fled over the mountains, or over the river Savannah, to the more northerly states. Great numbers, both there and on the Carolina side, submitted to the conquerors. The inhabitants of the latter obtained very generous terms of capitulation, in consequence of which they thought themselves secured in their persons and property; but the rapine, and impolitick conduct of the British in compelling the inhabitants to take up arms against their countrymen, very soon produced a thorough disposition to revolt. As the British collected their force to pursue their intended northern conquests, they left this part of the country with a feeble garrison. Colonel
Clark,

Clark, a refugee from Georgia, took advantage of these incidents, and, at the head of a party of exiles, returned to Georgia in September 1780, and laid siege to Augusta. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, with a detachment from the British garrison at Ninety-Six, marched to the relief of colonel Brown, commanding in Augusta. By their joint exertions this premature insurrection was soon quelled. Clark was obliged to flee, and those of his adherents, who fell into the hands of colonel Brown, experienced the severest consequences of their ill-timed enterprize. Opposition, though checked by this want of success, was not extinguished. Parties, arming themselves against the British, daily increased in the extremities of the state. This was done in different places, without any concert between the people, and often without any knowledge of each other's motions or intentions. Captain M'Koy collected a few bold adventurers, and took several positions on the banks of the Savannah, from which he frequently sallied, and made prize of boats going up the river with supplies for the garrison at Augusta. After some captures of this kind, colonel Brown detached lieutenant Kemp, with twenty-five regulars, and twenty militiamen, to attack him. Captain M'Koy engaged them near Matthew's Bluff, killed the officer and fifteen privates, and dispersed the remainder. Soon after this colonel Brown marched with a hundred Indians and the greatest part of his whole force to drive him from his usual stations. Colonel Harden,

Harden, with some of the adjacent American militia, who had lately revolted from their conquerors, joined M'Koy in this hour of distress; but their combined force was defeated, and, for a little time, their followers were dispersed. After these advantages the royal conquerors laid waste the settlements on the banks of Savannah river for forty miles up and down, and for several miles across the country. They stripped the inhabitants, both men and women, of their clothes—turned them out of doors in the midst of winter—and then set fire to their houses. Notwithstanding all these severities, captain M'Koy soon returned to his old station, on the banks of the Savannah, and had the address to keep together a party sufficient to intercept supplies going up the river to the British garrison at Augusta. I now return to trace the progress of the continental army.

AGREEABLY to a plan settled at Deep River, when the resolution was formed of returning to South-Carolina, general Pickens and colonel Clark, with a body of militia, had for some time continued in the neighbourhood of Augusta. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, the day after the surrender of fort Granby, began his march for that place, and in four days completed it. Fort Galphin, on the Carolina side of the Savannah river, with seventy men, a field-piece, and valuable stores, were surrendered to a detachment of lieutenant-colonel Lee's legion, under captain Rudolph.

dolph. Lieutenant-colonel Grierson, with some British militia, occupied a separate out-work, dependent on the main fort at Augusta. This post he relinquished, with the view of throwing his force into fort Cornwallis, where colonel Brown commanded. In attempting his retreat he had above thirty of his men killed and wounded, and a greater number taken prisoners; but the colonel, with a few of his followers, were so fortunate as to escape. There was now but one object, against which the approaches were conducted with great judgment and rapidity, but no advantage could be gained over the vigilant and brave colonel Brown. In the course of the siege several batteries, two of which were within thirty yards of the parapet, were erected, which overlooked the fort. From these eminences the American riflemen shot into the inside of the works with success. The garrison buried themselves in a great measure under ground, and obstinately refused to surrender till the necessity was so pressing, that every man, who attempted to fire upon the besiegers, was immediately shot down. On the fifth of June 1781 the fort, with about three hundred men, after a gallant defence, surrendered by capitulation.ⁱⁱ The Americans, during the siege, had about forty killed and wounded; among the former was the brave major Eaton. Lieutenant-colonel Grierson, who was greatly obnoxious to the Americans, was, after his surrender, by some unseen marksman, put to death.

A

ⁱⁱ See note xxxiv.

A reward of a hundred guineas was offered, but in vain, for the perpetrator of this perfidious deed. Lieutenant-colonel Brown would probably have shared the same fate, had it not been for the generosity of his conquerors, who furnished him with an escort to the royal garrison in Savannah. Though he had lately hanged thirteen American prisoners, and delivered to the Indians some of the citizens of the country, who suffered from their hands all the tortures which savage barbarity has contrived to add poignancy to the pains of death, yet his conquerors, no less generous than brave, saved him from the fate he had so much reason to expect. On his way to Savannah he had to pass through the inhabitants whose houses he had lately burned, and whose relations he had recently hanged. At Silver-Bluff Mrs. M'Koy, having obtained leave of the American officer who commanded his safe-guard to speak with him, addressed him in words to the following effect :

‘ COLONEL Brown, in the late day of your
 ‘ prosperity, I visited your camp, and on my knees
 ‘ supplicated for the life of my son, but you were
 ‘ deaf to my entreaties. You hanged him, though
 ‘ a beardless youth, before my face. These eyes
 ‘ have seen him scalped by the savages under
 ‘ your immediate command, and for no better
 ‘ reason than that his name was, M'Koy. As
 ‘ you are now prisoner to the leaders of my coun-
 ‘ try, for the present I lay aside all thoughts of
 ‘ revenge ;

‘ revenge ; but when you resume your sword, I
 ‘ will go five hundred miles, to demand satisfacti-
 ‘ on, at the point of it, for the murder of my son.’

WHILE these operations were carrying on against the small posts, general Greene proceeded with the main army to Ninety-Six. This place, being of much more consequence than the others; was defended by a considerable force. Lieutenant-colonel Cruger commanded in the garrison. He, with the officers and men under his orders, conducted their defence with great bravery and judgment. Major Green, in particular, acquired distinguished reputation by his spirited and judicious conduct in defending the redoubt against which the Americans made their principal efforts.

ON the left of the besiegers was a work erected in the form of a star ; on the right was a strong stockade-fort, with two block-houses in it. The town, flanked by these two works, was also picquetted in with strong picquets, and surrounded with a ditch, and a bank near the height of a common parapet. There were also several flushes in different parts of the town, and all the works communicated with each other by covered ways. On the twenty-third of May 1781, the main body of the American army encamped in a wood within half a mile of Ninety-Six, and, on that night, threw up two flushes within one hundred and fifty yards of the star fort. The next morning the enemy made a sally, and being supported

by the artillery and musketry from the parapet of the star redoubt, drove the besiegers from them. The next night two strong block batteries were erected at the distance of three hundred and fifty yards, which were opened in the morning. Another battery twenty feet high, erected within two hundred and twenty yards, was finished in a few days, and soon afterwards another of the same height was erected within one hundred yards of the main fort. Approaches were gradually carried on at the same time against the redoubt on their left. Colonel Kozinsco, a young gentleman of distinction from Poland, superintended the operations of the besiegers, and, by his assiduity and firmness, promoted the business with such expedition, that, though the ground was excessively hard, and the situation extremely unfavourable, on the fourteenth of May a third parallel, within thirty yards of the ditch, was completed, and a rifle-battery, upwards of thirty feet high, erected at the same distance. On the seventeenth the abbatis was turned, and two trenches and a mine were extended, so as to be within six feet of the ditch. Few sieges afford greater instances of perseverance and intrepidity than were exhibited on this occasion by the besiegers and besieged. Riflemen were employed on both sides, who immediately levelled at every person who appeared in sight, and very seldom missed their object. Various success attended the conflicts between the several covering parties of the workmen, and those who repeatedly sallied from the garrison.

ON

ON the third of June, twelve days after the commencement of this siege, a fleet arrived at Charleston from Ireland, having on board the third, nineteenth and thirtieth regiments of his Britannick majesty, a detachment from the guards, and a considerable body of recruits, the whole commanded by lieutenant-colonel Gould. Earl Cornwallis had given permission to the commanders of the British forces in South-Carolina, to detain these reinforcements if they conceived that the service of his Britannick majesty required it; otherwise they were to be sent forward to join his lordship. On the seventh of June 1781, lord Rawdon marched from Charleston, with these newly arrived troops, for the relief of the garrison at Ninety-Six. Great were the difficulties they had to encounter, in rapidly marching under the rage of a burning sun through the whole extent of South-Carolina; but much greater was their astonishment at being informed, that their services in the field were necessary to oppose the yet unsubdued rebels in the province. They had been amused with hopes, that nothing remained for them to do, but to sit down as settlers on the forfeited lands of a conquered country.

THE American army had advanced their approaches very near that critical point, after which farther resistance on the part of the garrison would have been temerity. At this interesting moment intelligence was received, that lord Rawdon

don was near at hand, with a reinforcement of about two thousand men. An American lady, who had lately married an officer then in the British garrison of Ninety-Six, had been bribed by a large sum of money to convey a letter to lieutenant-colonel Cruger with the welcome news of their approach. Attempts had been made to retard their march, but without the desired effect. Their vicinity made it necessary, either to raise the siege, or attempt the reduction of the place by a coup-de-main. The last was agreed upon, and the necessary dispositions made on the eighteenth of June. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion infantry, and captain Kirkwood's light-infantry, made the attack on the right. Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with the first Maryland and first Virginia regiments, were to have stormed the star redoubt, the ditch of which was eight or nine feet deep, the parapet eleven or twelve feet high, and raised with sand-bags near three feet more. The forlorn hopes were led on by lieutenants Duval and Sheldon, and were followed by a party with hooks and entrenching-tools to pull down the sand-bags, and reduce the parapet. Had this been effected, the besieged could not have annoyed the assailants without exposing themselves to the American marksmen. The artillery soon made sufficient breaches on the fortified redoubt on the right for the infantry, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Lee, to assault the garrison. It was therefore abandoned, and they took possession without loss. On the left the
utmost

utmost exertions of resolution and fortitude were displayed, but failed of success. The parties led on by Duval and Sheldon entered the ditch, and, though galled by an incessant fire, made every effort to get down the sand-bags. Both these gallant officers were wounded, and not more than one in six of their party escaped. The near approach of lord Rawdon, and the uncertainty of final success, induced general Greene to raise the siege and to retreat over the Saluda, after having lost about one hundred and fifty men.^{kk}

TRULY distressing was the situation of the American army. When in the grasp of victory, to be obliged to expose themselves to the dangers of an hazardous assault, and afterwards to abandon the siege. When they were nearly masters of the whole country, to be compelled to retreat to its extremity. After subduing the greatest part of the force lately opposed to them, to be under the necessity of encountering still greater reinforcements, when their remote situation precluded them from the hope of receiving a single recruit. In this gloomy situation there were not wanting persons who advised general Greene to leave the state, and retire with his remaining force to Virginia. To arguments and suggestions of this kind he nobly replied, ‘I will recover the country, or die in the attempt.’ This distinguished officer, whose genius was most vigorous in those perilous extremities, when feeble minds abandon themselves

^{kk} See note xxxv.

themselves to despair, adopted the only resource now left him, of avoiding an engagement till the British force should be divided.

LORD Rawdon, who by rapid marches was very near Ninety-Six at the time of the assault, pursued general Greene as far as the Enoree; but finding it impossible to overtake the light retreating American army, and supposing that they had gone to North-Carolina or Virginia, his lordship consoled himself with the imaginary advantage of having driven the rebels out of the country. On this occasion general Pickens exhibited an illustrious instance of republican virtue. When the retreat was ordered, the general's family and private property was sent off with the baggage of the army. This precaution, though wished for by all, and justified on every principle of prudence, gave an alarm to many who either had not the same means of transportation, or who could not have attended to it without deserting the American army. To encourage the men to stay in camp, and their families to remain on their plantations, general Pickens ordered his family and property back again to his house within twenty miles of the British garrison. His example saved the country in the vicinity from depopulation, and the army under general Greene from sustaining a great diminution of their numbers, by the desertion of the militia to take care of their families.

THE arrival of the British reinforcement, and the subsequent retreat from Ninety-Six, induced a general apprehension, that the British would soon re-establish the posts they had lost to the southward of Santee. The destination of the main army under lord Cornwallis, having been for some time known, the British commanders in South-Carolina had contracted their boundaries to that extent of country which is in a great measure enclosed by the Santee, the Congaree and the Edisto. Within these rivers lord Rawdon intended to confine his future operations, and to canton his forces in the most eligible positions. His lordship, taking it for granted that the Americans had abandoned South-Carolina, resolved, upon his return from pursuing general Greene, to divide his army, with the intention of fixing a detachment at the Congaree; but he soon found that his adversaries were not disposed to give up the prize for which they had so long contended. General Greene, on hearing that lord Rawdon had marched with a part of his force to Congaree, faced about to give him battle. Lord Rawdon, no less surprized than alarmed at this unexpected movement of his lately retreating foe, abandoned the Congaree in two days after his arrival there, and retreated expeditiously to Orangeburgh. In this position he was secured on one side with a river, and on the other with strong buildings little inferior to redoubts. General Greene pursued—encamped within five miles of this post—and offered him battle. His
lordship,

lordship, secure in his strong hold, would not venture out, and general Greene was too weak to attack him in his works with any prospect of success. In the course of these movements, on the second of July, captain Eggleston, of lieutenant-colonel Lee's legion, fell in with forty-nine British horse, near the Saluda, and took forty-eight of them prisoners. Whilst the American army lay near Orangeburgh, advice was received that lieutenant-colonel Cruger had evacuated Ninety-Six, and was marching, with the troops of that garrison, through the forks of Edisto to join lord Rawdon at Orangeburgh. As the north fork of Edisto is not passable by an army without boats, for thirty miles above or below the British encampments, general Greene could not throw himself between with any prospect of preventing the junction; he therefore retired to the high hills of Santee, and lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Cruger the day after made a junction. The evacuation of Camden having been effected by striking at the posts below it, the same manœuvre was now attempted to induce the British to leave Orangeburgh. With this view, on the day that the main American army retired from before that post, generals Sumpter and Marion, with their brigades, and the legion cavalry, were detached to Monk's Corner and Dorchester. They moved down by different roads, and in three days commenced their operations. Lieutenant-colonel Lee took all the waggons and wagon-horses belonging to a convoy of provisions.

Colonel

Colonel Wade Hampton charged a party of British dragoons within five miles of Charleston. He also took fifty prisoners at Strawberry ferry, and burned four vessels loaded with valuable stores for the British army. General Sumpter appeared before the garrison at Biggin's church, which consisted of five hundred infantry and upwards of one hundred cavalry. Lieutenant-colonel Coates, who commanded there, after having repulsed the advanced party of general Sumpter, on the next evening, destroyed his stores and retreated towards Charleston. He was closely pursued by lieutenant-colonel Lee with the legion, and lieutenant-colonel Hampton with the state cavalry. The legion came up with them near Shubrick's plantation, took their rear guard, and all their baggage. Captain Armstrong, of Lee's legion, at the head only of five men, charged through a considerable part of their lines, and escaped with the loss of two men. General Sumpter and general Marion, after some hours, came up with the main body ; but by this time the British had secured themselves by taking an advantageous post in a range of houses. An attack was however made, and continued with spirit till upwards of forty were killed or wounded by the fire from the houses. The British lost in these different engagements one hundred and forty prisoners, besides several killed and wounded, all the baggage of the nineteenth regiment, and above one hundred horses and several waggons.

THUS was the war carried on. While the British kept their forces compact, they could not cover the country, and the American general had the precaution to avoid fighting. When they divided their army, their detachments were separately and successfully attacked. While they were in force in the upper country, light parties of Americans were annoying their small posts in the low country near Charleston. The people soon found that the late conquerors were not able to afford them their promised protection. The spirit of revolt became general, and the British interest daily declined.

Soon after these events lord Rawdon, driven from almost the whole of his posts—baffled in all his schemes—and overwhelmed with vexation, in a fit of revenge, as shall hereafter be more fully related, made an oblation to his waning military fame, by executing the brave, the amiable and the worthy colonel Hayne. His lordship, immediately after this execution, sailed for Europe, leaving his brother officers, in South-Carolina, objects of retaliation. In the course of his command, he aggravated the unavoidable calamities of war by many acts of severity, which admit of no other apology than that they were supposed to be useful to the interest of his royal master.

ABOUT the same time that generals Sumpter and Marion were detached to the lower parts of the

the state, the main American army retired to the high hills of Santee, and the British returned to their former station near the junction of the Wateree and the Congaree. General Greene, in a little time, began to concert measures to force them a second time from these posts. Though the two armies were within fifteen miles of each other on a right line, yet, as two rivers intervened, and boats could not be procured, the American army was obliged to take a circuit of seventy miles with the view of more conveniently crossing the Wateree and the Congaree. Soon after their crossing these rivers, the continental army was joined by general Pickens, with a party of the Ninety-Six militia, and by the state troops, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Henderson. General Marion, with his brigade of militia, had been on an expedition towards Ponpon, to co-operate with colonel Harden, in opposing some detachments of the British who had taken post near Combahee ferry. From this position they had issued orders to the inhabitants to bring their rice to the neighbouring landings, in order that it might be carried to Charleston. Colonel Harden exerted himself to frustrate their designs; but he soon found it necessary to call to his aid the militia of the other extremity of the state. As the British dispersed themselves over the country on this business, a variety of skirmishes took place, in which they lost upwards of a hundred of their number. On the termination of the expedition, general Marion, with his brigade,
joined

joined general Greene. The whole American force, thus collected, proceeded the next morning to attack the British army commanded by lieutenant-colonel Stewart. On the approach of the Americans the British had retired from the Congarees about forty miles nearer Charleston, and taken post at the Eutaw Springs. General Greene drew up his little force, consisting of about two thousand men, in two lines. The front consisted of the militia from North and South-Carolina, and was commanded by generals Marion and Pickens, and by colonel De Malmédy. The second consisted of the continental troops from North-Carolina, Virginia and Maryland, and was led on by general Sumner, lieutenant-colonel Campbell, and colonel Williams. Lieutenant-colonel Lee, with his legion, covered the right flank; lieutenant-colonel Henderson, with the state-troops, covered the left. Lieutenant-colonel Washington, with his cavalry, and captain Kirkwood, with the Delaware troops, formed a corps of reserve. As the Americans advanced to the attack, they fell in with two advanced parties of the British three or four miles ahead of their main army. These, being briskly charged by the legion and state-troops, soon retired. The front line continued to fire and advance on the British till the action became general, and till they, in their turn, were obliged to give way. They were well supported by general Sumner's North-Carolina brigade of continentals, though they had been under discipline only for a few weeks,

weeks, and were chiefly composed of militiamen who had been transferred to the continental service, to make reparation for their precipitate flight in former actions. In the hottest of the engagement, when great execution was doing on both sides, colonel Williams, and lieutenant-colonel Campbell, with the Maryland and Virginia continentals, were ordered by general Greene to charge with trailed arms. Nothing could surpass the intrepidity of both officers and men on this occasion—They rushed on, in good order, through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of musketry, with such unshaken resolution, that they bore down all before them. The state-troops of South-Carolina were deprived of their gallant leader, lieutenant-colonel Henderson, who was wounded very early in the action; but they were nevertheless boldly led on by the second in command, lieutenant-colonel Hampton, to a very spirited and successful charge, in which they took upwards of a hundred prisoners. Lieutenant-colonel Washington brought up the corps-de-reserve on the left, and charged so briskly with his cavalry, and captain Kirkwood's light-infantry, as gave them no time to rally or form. The British were closely pursued, and upwards of five hundred prisoners were taken. On their retreat they took their posts in a strong brick-house and in impenetrable shrubs and a picquetted garden. From these advantageous positions they renewed the action—Lieutenant-colonel Washington made every possible exertion to dislodge them from the thickets,

thickets, but failed in the attempt—had his horse shot under him—was wounded and taken prisoner. Four six-pounders were ordered up before the house from which the British were firing under cover. These pieces finally fell into their hands, and the Americans retired out of the reach of their fire—They left a strong picquet on the field of battle, and retreated to the nearest water in their rear—In the evening of the next day, lieutenant-colonel Stewart destroyed a great quantity of his stores, abandoned the Eutaw, and moved towards Charleston, leaving upwards of seventy of his wounded, and a thousand stand of arms. He was pursued for several miles but without effect. Though major M'Arthur, with a large reinforcement, formed a junction with lieutenant-colonel Stewart fourteen miles below the Eutaw, yet the action was not renewed. The success of the American army in the first part of this engagement spread such an alarm, that the British burned their stores at Dorchester, and evacuated their posts near Monk's Corner. The gates of the town were shut, and a number of negroes employed in felling trees across the road on Charleston Neck. The loss of the British amounted to upwards of eleven hundred men. That of the Americans was about five hundred, in which number were sixty officers.¹¹ Among the killed of general Greene's army, the brave lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the Virginia line, was the theme of universal lamentation. While with
great

¹¹ See note xxxvi.

great firmness he was leading on his brigade to that charge which determined the fate of the day, he received a mortal wound. After his fall he enquired who gave way, and being informed the British were fleeing in all quarters, he added, ‘ I die contented,’ and immediately expired.

CONGRESS honoured general Greene, for his decisive conduct in this action, with a British standard, and a golden medal; and they also voted their thanks to the different corps and their commanders. ^{mm}

AFTER the action at the Eutaws, the Americans retired to their former position on the high hills of Santee, and the British took post in the vicinity of Monk’s Corner. While they lay there, a small party of American cavalry, commanded by colonel Maham, took upwards of eighty prisoners within sight of their main army. The British no more acted with their usual vigour. On the slightest appearance of danger, they discovered a disposition to flee scarcely inferior to what was exhibited the year before by the American militia.

THOUGH the army under general Greene was too weak to risk another general action, yet it became necessary, in the close of the year 1781, to move into the lower country, to cover the collection of provisions for subsistence through the winter.

^{mm} See note xxxvii.

winter. In about two months after the action at Eutaw, the main body of the American army was put in motion under colonel Williams. General Greene, with two hundred horse, and two hundred infantry, advanced by private roads, and appeared near Dorchester so unexpectedly, and with such confidence, as induced the British to believe that the whole army was close in his rear. This manœuvre had the intended effect. They abandoned their out-posts, and retired with their whole force to the Quarterhouse on Charleston Neck. By this means all the rice between Edisto and Ashley rivers was saved to the Americans.

THE defence of the country was given up, and the conquerors, who had lately carried their arms to the extremities of the state, seldom aimed at any thing more than to secure themselves in Charleston Neck, and to keep a communication with the sea islands on which they had collected great numbers of cattle.

THOUGH the British made no attempts to preserve permanent posts at a distance from Charleston, after the close of the year 1781, yet they made some excursions with cavalry. These were of too little consequence to merit particular mention, being chiefly directed against some uncovered part of the state, or some detached corps of militia. One of the most important was made in February 1782. While general Marion was attending

attending his duty as a member of the legislature at Jacksonborough, his brigade was surprized near the Santee, by a party of British horse, commanded by that spirited and judicious officer lieutenant-colonel Thomson. Major Benson, an American officer highly esteemed by his country, mr. Thomas Broughton, a young gentleman of a respectable family in South-Carolina, with some others, were killed. The remainder of the brigade, then in camp, was for some time dispersed. In a few days the British retired within their lines, and the militia re-assembled.

THOUGH the battle of Eutaw may be considered as closing the national war in South-Carolina, yet after that period several small enterprises, greatly to the credit of individuals, were successfully executed. The American army felt the elevation of conquerors, while the British, from the recollection of their former prowess, and the exactness of their discipline, though reduced in their limits, could not bear to be insulted. From among a variety of projects which were undertaken by detached parties of Americans, in the year 1782, the following is selected as meriting particular notice. On the nineteenth of March captain Rudolph, of Lee's legion, and lieutenant Smith, of the Virginia line, with twelve men, captured and burned the British galley Alligator, lying in Ashley river, which mounted twelve guns, besides a variety of swivels, and was manned with forty-three seamen. The Ameri-

cans had the address to pass themselves for negroes who were coming to market with poultry. They were therefore permitted to come so near the galley that they boarded her with ease, while their adversaries suspected no danger. Three or four of the British were killed, and twenty-eight were brought off prisoners.

AFTER general Greene moved from the high hills of Santee into the low country near Charleston, a scene of inactivity succeeded different from the busy operations of the late campaign. He was unable to attempt any thing against the British within their lines ; and they declined risking any general action without them.

WHILE the American soldiers lay encamped in this inactive situation, their tattered rags were so completely worn out, that seven hundred of them were as naked as they were born, excepting a small slip of cloth about their waists ; and they were nearly as destitute of meat as of clothing. In this condition they lay for three months within four hours march of the British garrison in Charleston, which contained in it more regular troops than there were continentals in the American army. Though they had abundant reason to complain, yet, while they were every day marching, and almost every week fighting, they were in good health, good spirits, and good humour ; but when their enemy was confined within their fortifications, and they were inactive, they

they became sickly and discontented, and a few began to be mutinous. Their long arrears of pay, the deficiency of their clothing, and their want of many comforts, were forgotten whilst constant action employed their minds and bodies ; but when an interruption of hostilities gave them leisure to brood over their calamities, these evils were presented to their imaginations in the most aggravated colours. A plan was seriously laid to deliver their gallant and victorious leader into the hands of the British ; but the whole design was happily discovered and prevented from being carried into execution. To the honour of the continental army, it may with justice be added, that, notwithstanding the pressure of their many sufferings, the whole number concerned in this plot did not exceed twelve.

IN the course of the year 1782, John Mathews, esquire, governor of South-Carolina, concerted measures with some of the citizens in Charleston, who wished to make their peace with their countrymen, for sending out of the British lines necessary clothing for the almost naked continentals. When their distresses had nearly arrived to that point beyond which human nature can bear no more, mr. Joshua Lockwood, under the direction of governor Mathews, brought out of Charleston a large quantity of the articles which were most needed in the American camp. This seasonable supply, though much short of their due, quieted the minds of the suffering soldiers,

soldiers. Tranquillity and good order were restored in the camp, and duty was cheerfully performed. It is impossible to do justice to that invincible fortitude which was displayed by both officers and men in the campaigns of 1780 and 1781. They encountered fatigues which, if particularly related, would appear almost incredible. They had scenes of suffering to bear up under, of which citizens, in the peaceable walks of private life, can form no adequate idea. Without pay, almost without clothing, and often with but a scanty portion of the plainest provisions, they were exposed to the scorching heat of the day, and the baleful vapours of the night. When sinking under the fatigues of repeated successions of forced marches, they were destitute of every comfort suitable to their situation. But to all these accumulated hardships the greatest part of them submitted with patience and magnanimity, which reflected honour on human nature, and which was never exceeded by any army in the world.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

Of the board of police, and other British establishments. The animosities between whigs and tories, and the distresses of the inhabitants. The execution of colonel Hayne. The treatment of prisoners. The violation of publick faith with the royalists. Of the assistance given to the Americans by the French army and navy. Of the operations in Virginia in 1781, and the reduction of lord Cornwallis. The re-establishment of civil government. The Jacksonborough assembly. Confiscation of estates. The operations in Georgia, and the evacuation of Savannah. Compacts with the British for security of property. Fall of lieutenant-colonel Laurens. The evacuation of Charleston. Peace.

AFTER the reduction of Charleston, on the twelfth of May 1780, followed the establishment of a military government. A commandant was appointed to superintend the affairs of the province. His powers were as undefined as those of the American committees which took place in the early stages of the dispute between Great-Britain and America, while the royal governments were suspended, and before the popular establishments were reduced to system. To soften the rigid and forbidding aspect of this new mode of administration, and as far as possible to temper it with the resemblance of civil authority,

a board of police, for the summary determination of disputes, was instituted. Under the direction of the honourable James Simpson, intendant of the board, a table was drawn up, ascertaining the depreciation of the paper currency at different periods, from which the friends of royal government, who had sustained losses by paper payments, were induced to hope for reimbursement. This measure, though just in itself, was productive of unexpected and serious consequences, fatal to the reviving fondness for the royal interest. Among the new-made British subjects, many were found who had been great gainers by the depreciation of the American bills of credit. These, by the proposition of a second payment of their old debts, were filled with astonishment. From the circumstances of the country, a compliance with it was, to the most opulent, extremely inconvenient, and to multitudes absolutely impracticable. The paper currency, before the reduction of Charleston, had supplanted the use of gold and silver, and banished them from circulation. The ravages of war had desolated the country, and deprived the inhabitants of the means of payment. Creditors became clamorous for their long arrears of interest, and debtors had either lost their property or could not exchange it for one half of its value. Many suits were commenced, and great numbers ruined. The distresses of the reclaimed subjects, within the British lines, were in many instances greater than those of their unsubdued countrymen

men who had forsaken all in the cause of liberty. After the Americans had recovered possession of a considerable part of the state, it was presumed that the proceedings of the board of police would be reversed. This redoubled their difficulties. Creditors became more pressing, and at the same time the doubtfulness of British titles induced a depreciation of real property not far behind that of the American paper currency. Fear and interest had brought many of their new subjects to the British standard ; but, in consequence of the plans they adopted, in a little time both these powerful motives of human actions drew in an opposite direction. The Americans pursued a different line of conduct. In every period of the contest they sacrificed the few creditors to the many debtors. The true whigs, who suffered on this score, consoled themselves with the idea that their country's good required it, and that this was the price of their independence. A disposition to suffer in behalf of the royal interest was not so visible among the professed adherents to British government. That immediate justice might be done to a few, great distress was brought on many, and the cause of his Britannick majesty injured beyond reparation.

SEVERAL commandants were successively appointed to superintend the affairs of the town. Among these lieutenant-colonel Nisbet Balfour had the greatest share of administration. This gentleman, having raised himself in the army by his

his obsequious devotedness to the humours and pleasures of sir William Howe, displayed, in the exercise of this new office, all the frivolous self-importance, and all the disgusting insolence, which are natural to little minds when puffed up by sudden elevation, and employed in functions to which their abilities are not equal. By the subversion of every trace of the popular government, without any proper civil establishment in its place, he, with a few coadjutors, assumed and exercised legislative, judicial and executive powers over citizens in the same manner as over the common soldiery under their command. A series of proclamations was issued by his authority, which militated as well against the principles of the British constitution, as those of justice, equity and humanity. For slight offences, and on partial and insufficient information, citizens were confined by his orders, and that often without any trial.

THE place allotted for securing them, being the middle part of the cellar under the Exchange, was called the Provost. The dampness of this unwholesome spot, together with the want of a fire-place, caused, among the unhappy sufferers, some deaths, and much sickness. Colonel Stark, colonel Beard, captain Moore, and mr. Pritchard, after being put in irons, were brought on foot to Charleston by rapid marches from distant parts of the country. These gentlemen, in conjunction with messrs. Peter Bocquet, Samuel Legaré,

Legaré, Jonathan Larrazin, Henry Peronneau and Daniel Stevens, were shut up in this place of confinement. Two young ladies, of most amiable characters and respectable connexions, on a groundless suspicion of giving intelligence to the Americans, were, for a short time, subjected to the same indignity. These were crowded together with the sick, labouring under contagious diseases, with negroes, deserters, and women of infamous characters, to the number of fifty-six, within narrow limits. So little regard was paid to decency, that the calls of nature could not be satisfied but in the open view of both sexes promiscuously collected in one apartment. The American state-prisoner, and the British felon, shared the same fate. The former, though for the most part charged with nothing more than an active execution of the laws of the state, or having spoken words disrespectful or injurious to the British officers or government, or of corresponding with the Americans, suffered indignities and distresses in common with those who were accused of crimes tending to subvert the peace and existence of society.

SUCH was the administration of police by lieutenant-colonel Balfour. His conduct, on the whole, tended greatly to strengthen the whig interest, and to diminish the number of royalists.

It has already been observed, that on the arrival of the British in South-Carolina, the inhabi-

tants were encouraged to stay on their plantations, with the prospect of neutrality, and that, in a little time, these delusive hopes vanished, they being called upon to arm and embody in support of royal government. Instead of drawing off the people gradually from an attachment to their late constitution, which had acquired stability by a duration of four years, the conquerors were so far mistaken as to suppose that men could instantly be transformed from obstinate revolvers to zealous royalists. In a very short time after their submission, they were called upon to promise that, by force of arms, they would oppose men who were their friends and neighbours, and by whose sides they had lately fought. In effecting a revolution from the regal to the republican government, a very different policy was pursued. The popular leaders proceeded gradually. The common people were not shocked by any propositions too repugnant to their antient prejudices, or too remote from established opinions. Though the leading-men in the counsels of America were far from being adepts in the maxims of refined policy, yet they were led, by a providential concurrence of circumstances, to carry on their operations in a manner which contributed more to their success than if every step they took had been prescribed by the most consummate art. When they first began to oppose the claims of Great-Britain, they were far from intending that separation which they afterwards effected, and would have trembled with horror at the thoughts
of

of that which at last they gloried in accomplishing. Strange and undesigned consequences followed in the gradual succession of causes and effects. In confuting the extravagant opinion of taxation without representation, the Americans were insensibly led to enquire into the nature of civil liberty, and of their connexion with Great-Britain. From a denial of the British right of taxation, the way was opened for an investigation of the restrictions on their commerce, and of the disadvantages of their subordinate station. A direct renunciation of the mother-country, in the first instance, would have drawn on the Americans the whole weight of her vengeance, and would probably have disunited the colonists; but as this was far from the thoughts of the popular leaders, they continued to profess, and with sincerity, great respect for their King and his government, till step by step they came to erect the standard of independence. The sentiments of a great majority of the people coincided with the resolutions of their leaders. Nothing was recommended, but what was in unison with the prevailing opinions. A prudent respect was paid to ancient prejudices, and nothing new was imposed till the publick mind was gradually reconciled to its favourable reception. The first popular assemblies conducted their opposition on legal grounds, and in a manner compatible with their allegiance. It was the acknowledged right of the subjects to meet together, and petition for a redress of their grievances. Their committees
and

and congresses, their resolutions of non-importation and non-exportation contained nothing unconstitutional. The association, which was the first band of popular union in South-Carolina, was sanctioned by no other penalty but that of withholding all intercourse with those who should refuse to concur with the same measures. The republican government had existed upwards of two years. General Burgoyne's army had been captured, and the alliance with France ratified, before an oath of allegiance to the state of South-Carolina was generally exacted from the inhabitants. During the whole war an abjuration of the King of Great-Britain was required of none but those who were in the publick service, with the exception of crown officers, and a few other suspected characters.

It was not only by the violence that was done to the publick sentiments, in arming the inhabitants against their countrymen, that the British rulers injured their interest. The circumstances attending that measure were productive of distress to the new-made subjects, as well as of disservice to the cause of his Britannick majesty. The officers who obtained commissions in the royal militia were, for the most part, men of unpopular character. They had been considered either as timid and luke-warm friends; or disguised enemies, and were objects of contempt to the active spirited whigs. All commissions from the Americans being extinct, the officers who had
 lately

lately acted by their authority were instantly called upon to do duty as privates under men whom they lately commanded, and whom they generally despised. This revolution gave an opportunity for the gratification of private resentments. The British militia-officers persecuted individuals, whom they disliked, with so much severity, that many of them, who would have wished to remain quiet at home, were driven in self-defence to join American parties. After their second revolt, they soon obtained followers from among their former friends and connexions who were in the same predicament with themselves.

THE distinction of Whig and Tory took its rise in the year 1775. Both parties in the interior country were then embodied, and were obliged to impress provisions for their respective support. The advocates for Congress prevailing, they paid for articles consumed in their camps; but as no funds were provided for discharging the expences incurred by the royalists, all that was consumed by them was considered as a robbery. This laid the foundation of a piratical war between whigs and tories, which eventually was productive of great distress, and deluged the country with blood. In the interval between the insurrection of 1775, and the year 1780, the whigs were occasionally plundered by parties who had attempted insurrections in favour of royal government. But all that was done prior to the surrender of Charleston was trifling when compared to

to what followed. After that event political hatred raged with uncommon fury, and the calamities of civil war desolated the state. The ties of nature were in several instances dissolved, and that reciprocal good-will and confidence, which hold mankind together in society, was in a great degree extinguished. Countrymen, neighbours, friends and brothers, took different sides, and ranged themselves under the opposing standards of the contending factions. In every little precinct, more especially in the interior parts of the state, King's-men and Congress-men were names of distinction. The passions on both sides were kept in perpetual agitation, and wrought up to a degree of fury which rendered individuals regardless, not only of the laws of war but of the principles of humanity. While the British had the ascendancy, their partizans gave full scope to their interested and malicious passions. People of the worst characters emerged from their hiding-places in swamps—called themselves King's-men—and began to appropriate to their own use whatsoever came in their way. Every act of cruelty and injustice was sanctified, provided the actor called himself a friend to the King, and the sufferer was denominated a rebel. Of those who were well-disposed to the claims of America, there were few to be found who had not their houses and plantations repeatedly rifled. Under the sanction of subduing rebellion, private revenge was gratified. Many houses were burned, and many people inhumanly murdered.

Numbers

Numbers for a long time were obliged, either entirely to abandon their homes, or to sleep in the woods and swamps. Rapine, outrage and murder, became so common, as to interrupt the free intercourse between one place and another. That security and protection, which individuals expect by entering into civil society, ceased almost totally. Matters remained in this situation for the greatest part of a year after the surrender of Charleston. When general Greene returned to South-Carolina, in the spring of 1781, every thing was reversed. In a few weeks he dispossessed the British of all their posts in the upper country, and the exasperated whigs once more had the superiority. On their return to their homes, they generally found starving families and desolate plantations. To reimburse their losses, and to gratify revenge, they, in their turn, began to plunder and to murder. The country was laid waste, and private dwellings frequently stained with the blood of husbands and fathers inhumanly shed in the presence of their wives and children. About this time governor Rutledge returned to South-Carolina, and exerted his great abilities in re-establishing order and security. To this end he issued a proclamation, strictly forbidding all violence and rapine.ⁿⁿ Magistrates were appointed in every part of the state recovered from the British. Civil government was restored. Property was secured. Confusion and anarchy gave place to

ⁿⁿ See note XXXVIII.

to order and regular government. The people were happy, and rejoiced in the revolution.

IN the close of the year 1781, when the successes of the American army had confined the late conquerors to the vicinity of Charleston, a desperate band of tories adopted the infernal scheme of taking their last revenge, by carrying fire and sword into the settlements of the whig militia. To this end major William Cunningham, of the British militia, collected a party, and having furnished them with every thing necessary for laying waste the country, sallied from Charleston. He and his associates concealed themselves till they arrived in the back settlements, far in the rear of the American army, and there began to plunder, burn and murder. In the unsuspecting hour of sleep and domestick security, they entered the houses of the solitary farmers, and sacrificed to their revenge the obnoxious head of the family. Their cruelties induced some small parties to associate and arm in self-defence. Captain Turner and twenty men had, on these principles, taken post in a house, and defended themselves till their ammunition was nearly expended. After which they surrendered on receiving assurances that they should be treated as prisoners of war. Notwithstanding this solemn agreement, captain Turner and his party were put to instant death by Cunningham and the men under his command. Soon after this massacre the same party of tories attacked a number of
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the American militia, in the district of Ninety-Six, commanded by colonel Hayes, and set fire to the house in which they had taken shelter. The only alternative left was either to be burned, or to surrender themselves prisoners. The last being preferred, colonel Hayes and captain Daniel Williams were hung at once on the pole of a fodder-stack. This breaking, they both fell, on which major William Cunningham cut them into pieces with his own sword, when, turning upon the others, he continued on them the operations of his savage barbarity, till the powers of nature being exhausted, and his enfeebled limbs refusing to administer any longer to his insatiate fury, he called upon his comrades to complete the dreadful work by killing whichever of the prisoners they pleased. They instantly put to death such of them as they personally disliked. Only two fell in action, but fourteen were deliberately cut to pieces after their surrender. Their names and rank were as follows: colonel Joseph Hayes, captain Daniel Williams, lieutenant Christopher Hardy, lieutenant John Neel, Clement Hancock, Joseph Williams, Joseph Irby, senior, Joseph Irby, junior, John Milven, James Feris, John Cook, Great Irby, Benjamin Goodman, Yancy Saxon.

ABOUT the same time, and under the same influence, emissaries from the British induced the Cherokee Indians to commence hostilities. Early in the year 1781 general Greene had concluded

a treaty with them, by which they had engaged to observe a neutrality. This was attended with the beneficial effects of saving the frontier settlements both of North and South-Carolina from their incursions, while the inhabitants were left at full liberty to concentrate their force against the army under the command of lord Cornwallis. When the co-operation of the Indians could be of the least service to the British forces, they were induced to break through their engagements of neutrality. They, with a number of disguised whitemen, who called themselves the King's friends, made an incursion into the district of Ninety-Six, massacred some families, and burned several houses. General Pickens collected a party of the American militia, and penetrated into the settlements of the Cherokees. This he accomplished in fourteen days, at the head of three hundred and ninety-four horsemen. In that short space he burned thirteen towns and villages, killed upwards of forty Indians, and took a greater number prisoners. Not one of his party was killed, and only two were wounded. None of the expeditions carried on against the Cherokees had been so rapid and decisive as the present one. General Pickens did not expend three pounds of ammunition, and yet only three Indians escaped, after having been once seen. On this occasion a new and successful mode of fighting the savages was introduced. Instead of firing, the American militia rushed forwards on horseback, and charged with drawn swords. This

was

was the second time during the American war that the Cherokee Indians had been chastised in their own settlements, in consequence of suffering themselves to be excited by British emissaries to commence hostilities against their white neighbours. They again sued for peace, in the most submissive terms, and obtained it, after promising that, instead of listening to the advice of the royalists instigating them to war, they would deliver those of them that visited their settlements, on that errand, to the authority of the state.

IN consequence of these civil wars between the whigs and tories—the incursions of the savages—and the other calamities resulting from the operations of the British and American armies, South-Carolina exhibited scenes of distress which were shocking to humanity. The single district of Ninety-Six, which is only one of six districts into which the state of South-Carolina is divided, has been computed, by well-informed persons residing therein, to contain within its limits fourteen hundred widows and orphans, made so by the war. Nor is it wonderful that the country was involved in such accumulated distress. The American government was suspended, and the British conquerors were careless of the civil rights of the inhabitants. They conducted as though interior order and police were scarcely objects of attention. The will of the strongest was the law. Such was the general complexion of those who called themselves royalists,

ists, that nothing could be expected from them, unrestrained as they were by civil government, but outrages against the peace and order of society. Though among the tories in the lower parts of South-Carolina there were gentlemen of honour, principle and humanity, yet, in the interior and back parts of the state, a great proportion of them was an ignorant unprincipled banditti, to whom idleness, licentiousness, and deeds of violence, were familiar. Horse-thieves and others, whose crimes had exiled them from society, attached themselves to parties of the British. Encouraged by their example, and instigated by the love of plunder, they committed the most extensive depredations. Under the cloak of attachment to the old government, they covered the basest and most selfish purposes. The necessity which their indiscriminate plundering imposed on all good men of defending themselves, did infinitely more damage to the royal cause than was compensated by all the advantages resulting from their friendship. They could scarcely ever be brought to the field of battle. They sometimes furnished the British army with intelligence and provisions, but on all other accounts their services were of very little importance.

WHEN the war was ended, though the presence of crushing rebellion was no more a cloak to their robberies, the same depredations were continued, not only on the frontiers of South-Carolina

Carolina and Georgia, but in East-Florida. Mr. Tonyn, governor of the last-mentioned loyal province, granted a commission to a horse-thief, of the name of M'Girth, who, at the head of a party, had for several years harassed the inhabitants of South-Carolina and Georgia. By his frequent incursions he had amassed a large property, which he deposited in the vicinity of St. Augustine. After peace was proclaimed, he carried on the same practices against his former protectors in East-Florida, till they were obliged, in self-defence, to raise the royal militia of the province to oppose him. So dangerous is it to confer offices on men devoid of principle; for villians, when it is their interest, will turn against their employers.

As soon as the American army obtained re-possession of the country, the inhabitants, after returning to their former allegiance, resolutely put all to the risk in support of independence. Though the British, in the career of their conquests, had inculcated the necessity and propriety of transferring allegiance from the vanquished to the victor, yet they treated with the utmost severity those unfortunate men, when in their power, who, having once accepted of British protection, acted on these very principles in afterwards re-joining their victorious countrymen.

AMONG the sufferers on this score, the illustrious colonel Hayne stands conspicuous. During
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the siege of Charleston that gentleman served his country in a corps of militia-horse. After the capitulation, there being no American army in the state, and the prospect of one being both distant and uncertain, no alternative was left but either to abandon his family and property, or to surrender to the conquerors. This hard dilemma, together with well-founded information, that others in similar circumstances had been paroled to their plantations, weighed with colonel Hayne so far as to induce a conclusion, that, instead of waiting to be captured, it would be both more safe and more honourable to come within the British lines, and surrender himself a voluntary prisoner. He therefore repaired to Charleston, and offered to bind himself by the honour of an American officer, to do nothing prejudicial to the British interest till he should be exchanged. Reports which were made of his superior abilities and influence, uniformly exerted in the American cause, operated with the conquerors to refuse him a parole, though they were in the habit of daily granting that indulgence to others of the inhabitants. To his great astonishment he was told, ‘ that he must either become a British subject, or ‘ submit to close confinement.’ To be arrested and detained in the capital, was to himself not an intolerable evil ; but to abandon his family both to the ravages of the small-pox, a disease then raging in their neighbourhood, and which in a short time after proved mortal to his wife and two of his children, and to the insults and depredations

depredations of the royal army, was too much for a tender husband and a fond parent. To acknowledge himself the subject of a king whose government he had from principle renounced, was repugnant to his feelings ; but without this he was cut off from every prospect of a return to his family. In this embarrassing situation he waited on the author of this history, with a declaration to the following effect : ‘ If the British
‘ would grant me the indulgence which we, in
‘ the day of our power gave to their adherents,
‘ of removing my family and property, I would
‘ seek an asylum in the remotest corner of the
‘ United States rather than submit to their go-
‘ vernment ; but as they allow no other alter-
‘ native than submission or confinement in the
‘ capital, at a distance from my wife and family,
‘ at a time when they are in the most pressing need
‘ of my presence and support, I must for the pre-
‘ sent yield to the demands of the conquerors.
‘ I request you to bear in mind, that, previous
‘ to my taking this step, I declare, that it is con-
‘ trary to my inclination, and forced on me by
‘ hard necessity. I never will bear arms against
‘ my country. My new masters can require no
‘ service of me but what is enjoined by the old
‘ militia-law of the province, which substitutes a
‘ fine in lieu of personal service. That I will pay
‘ as the price of my protection. If my conduct
‘ should be censured by my countrymen, I beg
‘ that you would remember this conversation, and
‘ bear witness for me, that I do not mean to de-
‘ sert the cause of America.’

IN

IN this state of duress colonel Hayne subscribed a declaration of his allegiance to the King of Great-Britain, but not without expressly objecting to the clause which required him, ‘with his arms, to support the royal government.’ The commandant of the garrison, brigadier-general Paterfon, and James Simpson, esquire, intendant of the British police, assured him, that this would never be required, and added farther, ‘that when the regular forces could not defend the country without the aid of its inhabitants, it would be high time for the royal army to quit it.’

HAVING submitted to their government, he readily obtained permission to return to his family. In violation of the special condition under which he subscribed the declaration of his allegiance, he was repeatedly called on to take arms against his countrymen, and was finally threatened with close confinement in case of a farther refusal. This open breach of contract, together with the inability of the late conquerors to give him that protection which was promised as a compensation for his allegiance, the Americans having regained that part of the state in which he resided, induced him to consider himself as released from all engagements to the British commanders. The inhabitants of his neighbourhood, who had also revolted, subscribed a petition to general Pickens, praying that colonel Hayne might be appointed to the command of their regiment. Having thus resumed

resumed his arms, and the tide of conquest being fairly turned in the short space of thirteen months after the surrender of Charleston, he sent out, in the month of July 1781, a small party to reconnoitre. They penetrated within seven miles of the capital—took general Williamson prisoner, and retreated to the head-quarters of the regiment. This was the same Williamson, who, having been an active and useful officer in the militia of South-Carolina, from the commencement of the war to the surrender of Charleston in May 1780, became, soon after that event, a British subject. Such was the anxiety of the British commandant to rescue general Williamson, that he ordered out his whole cavalry on that business. Colonel Hayne unfortunately fell into their hands. Though he had conducted himself peaceably while under the British government, and had injured no man, yet, for having resumed his arms, after accepting British protection, he was, when brought to Charleston, confined in a loathsome provost. At first he was promised a trial, and had counsel prepared to justify his conduct by the laws of nations and usages of war; but this was finally refused. Had he been considered as a British subject, he had an undoubted right to a trial—if as an American officer, to his parole; but in violation of every principle of the constitution, he was ordered for execution by the arbitrary mandate of lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Balfour.

THE royal lieutenant-governor Bull, and a great number of inhabitants, both loyalists and Americans, interceded for his life. The ladies of Charleston generally signed a petition in his behalf, in which was introduced every delicate sentiment that was likely to operate on the gallantry of officers, or the humanity of men.^{oo} His children, accompanied by some near relations, were presented on their bended knees, as humble suitors for their father's life. Such powerful intercessions were made in his favour as touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many an hard eye; but lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Balfour remained inflexible.

AFTER his fate was fixed, he was repeatedly visited by his friends, and conversed on various subjects with the fortitude of a man, a philosopher and a christian. He particularly lamented that, on principles of reciprocal retaliation, his execution would probably be an introduction to the shedding of much innocent blood. His children, who had lost their other parent, were brought to him in the place of his confinement, and received from his lips the dying advice of an affectionate father. On the last evening of his life he told a friend, 'that he was no more
'alarmed at the thoughts of death than at any
'other occurrence which was necessary and unavoidable.' He requested those in whom the supreme power was vested, to accommodate the
mode

^{oo} See note xxxix.

mode of his death to his feelings as an officer ; but this was refused.

ON the morning of the fatal day, on receiving his summons to proceed to the place of execution, he delivered the annexed papers to his eldest son, a youth of about thirteen years of age—‘ Present,’ said he, ‘ these papers ^{pp} to mrs. Edwards, with my request that she would forward them to her brother in Congress. You will next repair to the place of execution—receive my body, and see it decently interred among my forefathers.’ They took a final leave. The colonel’s arms were pinioned, and a guard placed round his person. The procession began from the Exchange, in the forenoon of the fourth of August 1781. The streets were crowded with thousands of anxious spectators. He walked to the place of execution with such decent firmness, composure and dignity, as to awaken the compassion of many, and to command respect from all. There was a majesty in his sufferings which rendered him superior to the pangs of death. When the city barrier was past, and the instrument of his catastrophe appeared full in view, a faithful friend by his side observed to him, ‘ that he hoped he would exhibit an example of the manner in which an American can die.’ He answered with the utmost tranquillity, ‘ I will endeavour to do so.’ He ascended the cart with a firm step and serene aspect. He enquired of the

the executioner, who was making an attempt to get up to pull the cap over his eyes, what he wanted? Upon being informed of his design, the colonel replied, ‘ I will save you that trouble,’ and pulled it over himself. He was afterwards asked, whether he wished to say any thing, to which he answered, ‘ I will only take leave of my friends, and be ready.’ He then affectionately shook hands with three gentlemen—recommended his children to their care—and gave the signal for the cart to move.

THUS fell, in the bloom of life, a brave officer, a worthy citizen, a just and upright man, furnishing an example of heroism in death that extorted a confession from his enemies, ‘ that, though he did not die in a good cause, he must at least have acted from a persuasion of its being so.’

FEW men stood higher in the estimation of their countrymen than the illustrious man whose exit has been just described. General Greene demanded from the British commanders their reasons for this execution. To which he received a written answer, signed by N. Balfour, acknowledging, ‘ that it took place by the joint order of lord Rawdon and himself, but in consequence of the most express directions from lord Cornwallis, to put to death those who should be found in arms, after being at their own requests received as subjects, since the
‘ capitulation

‘ capitulation of Charleston, and the clear conquest of the province in the summer of 1780.’^{qq}

THE regular officers of the continental army presented a petition to general Greene, requesting that he would retaliate for the execution of colonel Hayne. By this they voluntarily subjected themselves to all the consequences to which, in case of capture, they would be exposed.^{rr} General Greene soon after issued a proclamation, threatening to make British officers the objects of retaliation.^{rr} This encouraged the revolted inhabitants to continue in arms, and effaced every impression that was expected from the fate of colonel Hayne. The British interest gained no permanent advantage, while pity and revenge sharpened the swords of the countrymen and friends of the much beloved sufferer.

HAD this execution taken place four or five months sooner, the policy of the measure, as tending to prevent a revolt, would have been some apology for it; but after lord Rawdon was driven from almost the whole of his posts in the country, and the people had generally resumed their arms in favour of America, it had more the appearance of the revenge of a disappointed savage, than of the political severity of a conqueror. It was also in express violation of a cartel which had been reciprocally ratified on the
seventeenth

^{qq} See note XLI.

^{rr} See note XLII.

^{rr} See note XLIII.

seventeenth day of the preceding May. By that it was stipulated, that all the militia prisoners on one side should be exchanged for the same order of men on the other. This was intended to give the inhabitants of the country a liberty of choosing their sides, without involving themselves in the consequences of treason for a transfer of their allegiance.

AFTER the British landed in Carolina in 1780, they confined some of their first prisoners in the vaults with the dead. When their successes had multiplied the number of prisoners, they were crowded on board prison-ships, where they suffered every inconvenience that could result from putrid air, and the want of the comforts of life. This was done not only to those who surrendered at discretion, but also to the private soldiers who were entitled to the benefit of the capitulation of Charleston. General Moultrie remonstrated against this proceeding, in the following letter, addressed to lieutenant-colonel Nisbet Balfour, commandant of Charleston.

‘ Christ-Church parish, Oct. 16, 1780.

‘ SIR,

‘ HOWEVER my letters may be thought by you
 ‘ to be wrote “ in exceptionable and unwarrant-
 ‘ able terms,” yet I cannot be deterred from
 ‘ representing matters of such consequence, as
 ‘ I am now constrained to do, in the strongest
 ‘ manner. Though it is indifferent to me, whe-
 ‘ ther

‘ther I write to you or to the commissary of
 ‘prisoners on trifling applications; yet, when
 ‘my duty calls upon me loudly to remonstrate
 ‘against a proceeding of so high a nature as a
 ‘violation of a solemn capitulation, I then think
 ‘it my duty to make my application as near the
 ‘fountain-head as possible. I therefore, sir, ad-
 ‘dress myself to you, to complain of a great
 ‘breach of the capitulation in sending the con-
 ‘tinental soldiers on board prison-ships, (the truth
 ‘of which I have not the least doubt of) as part
 ‘of the equivalent, for which the town was de-
 ‘livered up to sir Henry Clinton, was, that the
 ‘continental soldiers should be kept in some con-
 ‘tiguous buildings in the town. This appears
 ‘by the following extract from their excellencies
 ‘sir Henry Clinton and admiral Arbuthnot’s let-
 ‘ter to major-general Lincoln, of the twelfth of
 ‘May 1780, antecedent to the surrender.’

“SIR,

“WE have to request you will propose some
 “proper contiguous buildings, in the town, for
 “the residence of the private prisoners of war,
 “not to be on parole; those will be of course
 “such as may in discretion be asked.”

‘THE barracks and some adjacent houses were
 ‘then proposed and agreed upon, as a proof of
 ‘which the soldiers have been confined in those
 ‘buildings from the very instant of the surrender
 ‘till this present removal, which I do most solemnly
 protest

‘ protest against, and complain of to you, sir,
 ‘ as a direct violation of the third article of the
 ‘ capitulation, and demand that the continental
 ‘ soldiers be ordered back to the barracks and
 ‘ other houses in which they were first confined.’

To this remonstrance lieutenant-colonel Balfour returned a verbal answer, ‘ that he should
 ‘ do as he pleased with the prisoners for the good
 ‘ of his majesty’s service, and not as general
 ‘ Moultrie pleased.’

THE condition of these unfortunate men was truly deplorable. They were crowded on board the prison-ships in such numbers that several were obliged to stand up for want of room to lie down. The state of South-Carolina could afford them no supply. Congress could not at that time command hard money for their relief. Wine, and such like comforts, particularly necessary for the sick in southern climates, could not be obtained from the British hospitals.

UPWARDS of eight hundred of these brave men, nearly one third of the whole, exhausted by a variety of sufferings, “ expired in the short space of thirteen months’ captivity. When the general exchange took place in June 1781, out of nineteen hundred taken at the surrender of Charleston, on the twelfth of May 1780, and several hundreds more taken afterwards at Camden

“ See note XLIV.

den and at Fishing Creek, on the sixteenth and eighteenth of August of the same year, there were only seven hundred and forty restored to the service of their country. It was not by deaths alone that the Americans were deprived of their soldiers. Lord Charles-Greville Montague enlisted five hundred and thirty of them in the British service. His lordship, before the revolution, had been governor of the province of South-Carolina, and had frequently declared himself to be warmly attached to the liberties of America. In the early stage of the war he had gone privately to Paris, and offered his service to doctor Franklin, to take a command in the army of Congress. The distressed continental soldiers were induced to accept the offers of lord Charles-Greville Montague in preference to the horrors of a prison-ship, by the specious promise that they should be employed in the West-Indies, and not against their countrymen in the United States. His lordship, after completing his regiment, offered the command of it to brigadier-general Moultrie, the senior officer of the prisoners of war belonging to the continental army. To induce him to accept of this command, and to enter the British service, his lordship wrote him the following letter :

‘ March 11, 1781.

‘ SIR,

‘ A SINCERE wish to promote what may be to your advantage, induces me now to write. The

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‘ freedom

‘ freedom with which we have often conversed,
 ‘ makes me hope you will not take amiss what
 ‘ I say.

‘ My own principles respecting the commence-
 ‘ ment of this unfortunate war are well known
 ‘ to you, of course you can only conceive what
 ‘ I mention is out of friendship. You have now
 ‘ fought bravely in the cause of your country for
 ‘ many years, and, in my opinion, fulfilled the
 ‘ duty every individual owes it : you have had
 ‘ your share of hardships and difficulties ; and,
 ‘ if the contest is still to be continued, younger
 ‘ hands should now take the toil from you. You
 ‘ have now a fair opening of quitting that service
 ‘ with honour and reputation to yourself by go-
 ‘ ing to Jamaica with me. The world will rea-
 ‘ dily attribute it to the known friendship that has
 ‘ subsisted between us, and, by quitting this coun-
 ‘ try for a short time, you would avoid any dis-
 ‘ agreeable conversations, and might return at
 ‘ your own leisure to take possession of your
 ‘ estates for yourself and family. The regiment
 ‘ I am going with I am to command, the only
 ‘ proof I can give you of my sincerity is, that
 ‘ I will quit that command to you with pleasure,
 ‘ and serve under you. I earnestly wish I could
 ‘ be the instrument to effect what I propose, as I
 ‘ think it would be a great means towards pro-
 ‘ moting that reconciliation we all wish for. A
 ‘ thousand circumstances concur to make this a
 ‘ proper period for you to embrace : our old
 ‘ acquaintance,

‘ acquaintance, my having been formerly go-
‘ vernor in this province, &c. &c. the interest I
‘ have with the present commander.

‘ I GIVE you my honour what I write is en-
‘ tirely unknown to the commandant or to any
‘ one else, and so shall your answer be if you
‘ favour me with one. Think well of me.

‘ Yours sincerely,

(Signed) ‘ CHA. MONTAGUE.

‘ To brigadier-general Moultrie.’

To this brigadier-general Moultrie returned
the following answer :

‘ Haddrell’s Point, March 12, 1781.

‘ MY LORD,

‘ I RECEIVED yours this morning. I thank you
‘ for your wish to promote my advantage, but am
‘ much surprized at your proposition. I flattered
‘ myself I stood in a more favourable light with
‘ you. I shall write with the same freedom with
‘ which we used to converse, and doubt not you
‘ will receive it with the same candour. I have
‘ often heard you express your sentiments respect-
‘ ing this unfortunate war, when you thought
‘ the Americans injured ; but am now astonished
‘ to find you taking an active part against them,
‘ though not fighting particularly on the conti-
‘ nent ; yet the seducing their soldiers away, to
‘ enlist in the British service, is nearly similar.

‘ MY

‘ My lord, you are pleased to compliment me
 ‘ with having fought bravely in my country’s
 ‘ cause for many years, and in your opinion ful-
 ‘ filled the duty every individual owes to it: but
 ‘ I differ widely with you in thinking that I
 ‘ have discharged my duty to my country, while
 ‘ it is still deluged with blood and over-run by
 ‘ the British troops, who exercise the most sa-
 ‘ vage cruelties. When I entered into this con-
 ‘ test I did it with the most mature deliberation,
 ‘ and with a determined resolution to risk my life
 ‘ and fortune in the cause. The hardships I have
 ‘ gone through I look back upon with the greatest
 ‘ pleasure and honour to myself. I shall continue
 ‘ to go on as I have begun, that my example
 ‘ may encourage the youths of America to stand
 ‘ forth in defence of their rights and liberties.
 ‘ You call upon me now, and tell me I have a
 ‘ fair opening of quitting that service with ho-
 ‘ nour and reputation to myself, by going with
 ‘ you to Jamaica. Good God! is it possible that
 ‘ such an idea could arise in the breast of a man
 ‘ of honour. I am sorry you should imagine I
 ‘ have so little regard for my own reputation, as
 ‘ to listen to such dishonourable proposals. Would
 ‘ you wish to have that man, whom you have ho-
 ‘ noured with your friendship, to play the traitor?
 ‘ surely not. You say, by quitting this country
 ‘ for a short time, I might avoid disagreeable
 ‘ conversations, and might return at my own lei-
 ‘ sure and take possession of my estates for myself
 ‘ and family; but you have forgot to tell me how
 ‘ I

‘ I am to get rid of the feelings of an injured
 ‘ honest heart, and where to hide myself from
 ‘ myself. Could I be guilty of so much baseness,
 ‘ I should hate myself and shun mankind. This
 ‘ would be a fatal exchange from my present situ-
 ‘ ation, with an easy and approving conscience, of
 ‘ having done my duty, and conducted myself as
 ‘ a man of honour.

‘ My lord, I am sorry to observe, that I feel
 ‘ your friendship much abated, or you would not
 ‘ endeavour to prevail upon me to act so base a
 ‘ part. You earnestly wish you could bring it
 ‘ about, as you think it will be the means of
 ‘ bringing about that reconciliation we all wish
 ‘ for. I wish for a reconciliation as much as any
 ‘ man, but only upon honourable terms. The
 ‘ re-possessing my estates, the offer of the com-
 ‘ mand of your regiment, and the honour you
 ‘ propose of serving under me, are paltry con-
 ‘ siderations to the loss of my reputation. No not
 ‘ the fee-simple of that valuable island of Jamaica
 ‘ should induce me to part with my integrity.

‘ My lord, as you have made one proposal,
 ‘ give me leave to make another, which will be
 ‘ more honourable to us both. As you have an
 ‘ interest with your commanders, I would have
 ‘ you propose the withdrawing the British troops
 ‘ from the continent of America, allow the in-
 ‘ dependence, and propose a peace. This being
 ‘ done, I will use my interest with my command-
 ‘ ers

‘ers to accept of the terms, and allow Great-
 ‘ Britain a free trade with America.

‘ My lord, I could make one more propofal;
 ‘ but my fituation as a prifoner circumfcribes me
 ‘ within certain bounds. I muft therefore con-
 ‘ clude with allowing you the free liberty to make
 ‘ what ufe of this you may think proper. Think
 ‘ better of me.

‘ I am, my lord,

‘ your lordfhip’s

‘ moft obedient humble fervant,

‘ WILLIAM MOULTRIE, B. G.

‘ To lord Charles Montague.’

THE continental officers taken at the furrender of Charleſton were confined to Haddrell’s Point and the vicinity. Far from their friends, and deſtitute of hard money, they were reduced to the greateſt ſtraits. Such were the difficulties and ſevere reſtrictions impoſed on this band of patriots, that many of them, though born in affluence and habituated to attendance, were compelled to do not only the moſt menial offices for themſelves, but could ſcarcely procure the plaineſt neceſſaries of life. During a captivity of thirteen months, they received no more from their country than nine days pay. Theſe hardſhips were not alleviated by thoſe civilities from their conquerors which among modern refined nations have abated the horrors of war. They were debarred the liberty of fiſhing for their ſup-
 port,

port, though their great leisure and many wants made it an object not only as an amusement, but as a mean of supplying their necessities. After bearing all these evils with great fortitude, they were informed, in the month of March 1781, by lieutenant-colonel Balfour, that, by positive orders from earl Cornwallis, he was to send them to some one of the West-India islands. This was so directly opposed to the letter and spirit of the capitulation of Charleston, that general Moultrie was induced once more to prefer a remonstrance. This address, though supported with manly spirit, and directed by decency, met with little regard. Preparations were made for the execution of the mandate ; but a general exchange of prisoners, in the southern department, took place in a few weeks, which released the prisoners on both sides from captivity.

THE citizens of the town, who adhered to their paroles, were treated with great severity. Though they were not allowed rations, yet they were debarred from trade, and from exercising any profession of whatever kind for a competent subsistence. Upon the application of an individual for rations, the town major, Charles Frazer, issued the following order : ‘ All difficulties with regard to provisions ought to have been considered before people entered into rebellion, or, in the course of these twelve months, while they have been allowed to walk about on parole. All militia prisoners and others on parole, are
‘ to

‘ to keep their paroles and to remain in their
 ‘ houses.’ The loyal subjects were precluded from
 employing them in the most servile labour, by an
 order of lieutenant-colonel Nisbet Balfour, issued
 on the twenty-fifth of March 1781, in the follow-
 ing words: ‘ Whereas divers persons who are
 ‘ prisoners on parole, in Charleston, do exercise
 ‘ their professions, trades and occupations, and
 ‘ avail themselves of the emoluments and advan-
 ‘ tages incident thereto, which should be enjoyed
 ‘ by those only who have returned to their allegi-
 ‘ ance, and are desirous of supporting his majes-
 ‘ ty’s government, which affords them protection.
 ‘ For prevention whereof in future, it is ordered,
 ‘ that no person, now a prisoner on parole in
 ‘ Charleston, shall have the liberty of exercising
 ‘ any profession, trade, mechanick art, business
 ‘ or occupation. And his majesty’s subjects are
 ‘ hereby strictly enjoined and required not to
 ‘ employ such person or persons on any pretence.’

‘ By order of the commandant,

‘ HENRY BARRY, secretary, and

‘ deputy adjutant-general.’

THOUGH by the capitulation of Charleston, in
 May 1780, the inhabitants were entitled to their
 paroles, and a residence on their estates with their
 families; yet in May 1781 upwards of one hun-
 dred of them were confined to prison-ships. The
 conquerors did not undertake to justify this step
 from any supposed breach of parole. They af-
 fected to hold the prisoners in this state of duress

as

as hostages, to secure good treatment for those of the loyalists who had been captured by the Americans. The gentlemen who were confined on this occasion submitted to their fate with great magnanimity. Instead of repining at their situation, they only regretted, ‘ if it should fall to
 ‘ the lot of any or all of them to be made victims,
 ‘ agreeably to the menaces of lieutenant-colonel
 ‘ Balfour, that their blood could not be disposed
 ‘ of more to the advantage of the glorious cause
 ‘ in which they had engaged.’ ^{vv}

THOUGH the property of the prisoners was confessedly secured by the capitulation, as part of the equivalent for the surrender of Charleston, yet they had the mortification to see it repeatedly taken from them without any redress.

As the war was carried on, not to gain a contested point from an independent power, but to annihilate the assumed independence of the state, and to reduce it to its former provincial subjection, the conquerors ridiculed the idea of observing the capitulation with citizens. They considered that measure as the expedient of a day, only proper at the surrender to prevent the effusion of blood, but no longer so when their arms were triumphant in the remote extremities of the state. Indulgences shewn to prisoners were viewed as favours derived from the humanity of conquerors, and not as rights founded on a capitulation.

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lation.

^{vv} See note XLV.

lation. Persons who remained in the character of prisoners, and claimed under that solemn agreement, were considered as obstinate rebels, who meant to thwart the views of the royal army. While they wished to be regarded as the members of an independent state, they were looked upon as vanquished rebels who owed their lives to British clemency. In this confusion of sentiments, to reconcile contradictory claims required uncommon address. The pride of conquerors, highly estimating their own moderation, and the pride of prisoners, considering themselves as independent freemen, entitled to respect for their firmness and patriotism, made the former trample on the latter, and the latter despise the former. It would have been more for British honour, either to have refused a capitulation, or to have observed it better. Their capitulating one day with the inhabitants as the members of a distinct nation, and soon after treating them as their own vanquished rebellious subjects, made a confusion in their politicks, and contributed not a little to the utter ruin of their cause.

It has been already mentioned, that, in May 1781, a general exchange of prisoners was agreed to, in which the militia on both sides were respectively exchanged for each other. Notwithstanding every difficulty, a considerable number of the inhabitants had perseveringly refused to become British subjects. These being exchanged, were delivered at the American posts in Virginia

ginia and Pennsylvania. Great were the exultations of the suffering friends of independence, at the prospect of their being released from confinement, and restored to activity in their country's cause; but these pleasing prospects were obscured by the distresses brought on their families by this otherwise desirable event. On the twenty-fifth of June 1781 the British commandant, lieutenant-colonel Balfour, issued the following order :

‘ As many persons lately exchanged as prisoners of war, and others who have long chose to reside in the colonies now in rebellion, have, notwithstanding such their absence, wives and families still remaining here, the weight of which on all accounts it is equally impolitick as inconsistent should longer be suffered to rest on the government established here and the resources of it :

‘ THE commandant is therefore pleased to direct, that all such women, children and others, as above described, should quit this town and province on or before the first day of August next ensuing ; of which regulation all such persons are hereby ordered to take notice, and to remove themselves accordingly.’

THE gentlemen who had been, from motives of policy, removed from Charleston to St. Augustine, as has been already related, obtained their
release

release by this general exchange, and were delivered at the port of Philadelphia. Though their wives and children who had been left in Charleston were ordered the same way, and at the same time, lieutenant-colonel Balfour gave positive orders that they should not be suffered to touch at Charleston. Here commenced a scene of distress. More than a thousand persons were exiled from their homes, and thrown on the charity of strangers for their support. Husbands and wives, parents and children, some of whom had been for several months separated from each other, were not permitted to sooth their common distress by being together; but were doomed to have their first interview among strangers in a distant land. In retaliation for this conduct, governor Rutledge ordered the brigadiers of militia to drive, within the British lines, the families of those who adhered to the royal cause. The wives and children of those inhabitants who, to avoid the resentments of their countrymen, had retreated with the retreating British, were compelled to take shelter within their posts. In exchange for their comfortable farms in the country, many of them were reduced in a little time to the necessity of living in clay huts in the vicinity of Charleston. In this forlorn situation numbers of them, destitute of the comforts of life, and overwhelmed with diseases, speedily perished. The exiled Americans received generous treatment from some individuals, and also from the bounty of Congress; but, notwithstanding this liberality, they suffered

suffered many of the evils which result from a want of friends and a want of money. Several of the persons thus exchanged, and sent to the northern states, were owners of landed property in Charleston. Though by the capitulation they had an undoubted right to dispose of this for their own advantage, yet they were debarred that liberty by the following order, issued on the eleventh of July 1781 :

‘ THE commandant is pleased to direct, that
 ‘ no person, living under the rebel government,
 ‘ shall have liberty, or grant power to others for
 ‘ so doing, to let or lease any house within this
 ‘ town without a special license for so doing, as
 ‘ it is intended to take all such houses as may be
 ‘ wanted for the publick service, paying to the
 ‘ owners of those secured by the capitulation a
 ‘ reasonable rent for the same, as by this means
 ‘ government will be enabled to re-instate its
 ‘ firm friends in possession of their own houses
 ‘ within a short space of time.’

(Signed) ‘ JAMES FRASER, acting
 ‘ barrackmaster.’

IN consequence of this mandate, the houses of those who adhered to the cause of America were, in violation of publick faith, taken out of their hands, and there was scarce an instance of compensation being allowed them for this seizure of their property.

THE partial re-establishment of British government in South-Carolina was, as has been stated, the source of accumulated evils to the steady friends of independence; but they were not the only sufferers. The calamities of the years 1780 and 1781 operated extensively. There was scarcely an inhabitant of the state, however obscure in character or remote in situation, whether he remained firm to one party or changed with the times, who did not in some degree partake of the general distress. The adherents to royal government were often treated by the British conquerors with neglect and contempt—frequently suffered in their property, and had many grievances unredressed. Their most essential interests were in every stage of the war, and especially at the evacuation of Charleston, and the general treaty of peace, sacrificed to political necessity. They had the peculiar misfortune of suffering from the repeated violation of publick faith successively pledged for their security. Immediately after the surrender of Charleston they were assured by proclamation, ‘that they should meet ‘with effectual countenance, protection and ‘support.’ Notwithstanding these bold promises, general Clinton immediately withdrew the greatest part of the conquering army; and lord Cornwallis, after marching through the state, proceeded to his northern operations with so great a part of the remainder, as left the country without a sufficient defence. After general Greene returned to the state, the same delusion was renewed
by

by proclamation, dated at Monk's Corner on May twenty-fourth, 1781, in which lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Balfour gave ' assurances of ' every support to the loyal inhabitants, that they ' would shortly re-instate them in the full and ' peaceable possession of their property from ' which they had been driven.' ^{uu} But the greatest deception took place in December 1781, and the following months. Though the defence of the country was abandoned, and the royal army durst not risk an action without their lines, yet general Leslie, who had been about that time appointed to command the British troops in Carolina, under all these forbidding circumstances, issued his proclamation, assuring ' his majesty's ' loyal subjects in the province, that they might ' rely on speedy and effectual support being given ' them by the exertions of the forces under his ' command ; and that, in every event and situation, their interests and security should be considered as inseparably connected with those of ' his majesty's troops.' This proclamation was continued while the legislature of the state, convened at Jacksonborough, was confiscating their property. Such at that time was the reduced state of the southern army, and of the finances of America, that great indulgences in favour of British subjects could have been obtained as an equivalent for a voluntary withdrawing of the royal forces. After an act of assembly had banished and beggared the active friends of the old government,

^{uu} See note XLVI.

government, that event, in a few months, took place without securing any one advantage to the deceived royalists.

THE measures that ultimately occasioned the evacuation of Charleston, and a termination of the war, took their rise at a distant period, and were principally effected in the state of Virginia. To understand them in a proper connexion, a review of the exertions of the court of France, in the years 1780 and 1781, in favour of the United States, and of the plans adopted by the British for their subjugation in the same years, together with the general state of American affairs in that period, becomes necessary.

THE fall of Charleston in May 1780, and the complete rout of the American army in the August following, laid the foundation of a vigorous enterprize, which in two years terminated a war that might otherwise have lasted much longer. The British successes to the southward, after they had changed the theatre of the war from north to south, gave a serious alarm to the friends of independence. In the close of the year 1780, the United States appeared to be in nearly the same situation as they were at the close of the year 1776. What the battle of Trenton and Princeton effected in the north, in the beginning of the war, bears a strong analogy to the consequences of the battles of King's Mountain and of the Cowpens in the south, in its last period ;
but

but with this difference: in the first crisis of American affairs the spirits of the people were high, and the paper currency had credit equal to gold and silver: in the last, the inhabitants of the United States were thoroughly tired of the war, and their bills of credit would scarcely defray the expence of printing them. In the year 1776 America had no assurance of foreign aid; but in the year 1780 she had the advantage of a connexion with the greatest monarch in Europe, bound by treaty to establish her independence. In the last low state of American affairs Congress looked up to their faithful ally, Louis the sixteenth of France. Lieutenant-colonel John Laurens was appointed their special minister, and ordered to repair to the court of Versailles, and there to urge the necessity of speedy and effectual succour, and, in particular, to solicit for a loan of specie, and a co-operation of a French fleet in attempting some important enterprize against the common enemy. So much address was displayed in accomplishing the object of this mission, that it is hard to tell which we ought to admire most, the gallant officer or the able negotiator.

THE unrivalled reputation which lieutenant-colonel Laurens had acquired in the field, seemed, if possible, to be eclipsed by the superior eclat with which he terminated his short but important embassy. Within six months from his departure he returned to America, all the objects of his mission being fully obtained. On his ar-

rival on the continent, he instantly repaired to Philadelphia, and gave an account of his negotiation. In three days he finished his business with Congress, and immediately after re-joined the American army. Though he was entitled to a generous salary allowed by Congress to their ministers at foreign courts, he declined receiving any thing more than his bare expences. On the application of Congress, in this crisis of their affairs, to their illustrious ally, every thing asked for, and even more, was with great liberality cheerfully granted. His most christian majesty generously gave them a subsidy of six millions of livres, and became their security for ten millions more borrowed for their use in the United Netherlands. A naval co-operation was promised, and a conjunct expedition against the common foe was projected. It was not only by these liberal grants of money and of ships that the King of France aided his American allies in their hour of distress; in the year 1780, as has been related, five thousand five hundred French troops had landed in Rhode-Island, to co-operate with the armies of Congress. The disposition to support the American revolution was not only prevalent in the court of France, but it animated the body of the French nation. As soon as it was known that a resolution was adopted to send out troops to the United States, the young French nobility discovered the most ardent zeal to be employed on that service. Court favour was scarcely ever solicited with more earnestness than
was

was the honour of serving under general Washington. The number of applicants was much greater than the publick service required. Among those who were on this occasion sent to America, the following illustrious names deserve to be particularly mentioned: the count de Rochambeau, whose good conduct proved the wisdom of the choice by which he was put at the head of the French troops; the baron de Viomenil; the chevalier de Chatelleux, famous as well for his literary as his military talents; the duke de Laval Montmorency; the viscount de Rochambeau; the count de Saintmemes; the viscount de Noailles, who had before made a campaign in America under count d'Estaing; the count de Gustine and the duke de Castries. These two last-named officers had quitted the cavalry, in which they were far advanced, to serve in the infantry, that they might be sent on this favourite service. The marquis and the count de Deux Ponts; the prince de Broglio and the count de Segur; the duke de Lauzun, who commanded a legion composed of cavalry and infantry, and who had under his orders the viscount d'Arrot and the count de Dillon.

NOTWITHSTANDING this uncommon zeal to serve in the American war, a whole year elapsed after the arrival of the French troops in Rhode-Island, before a proper opportunity of gratifying their passion for military fame presented itself. So great was the impatience of the officers in this

this state of inactivity, that it became necessary for their commander, count de Rochambeau, to exercise severe discipline to moderate their impetuosity. A few of them were indulged with the liberty of making excursions from Rhode-Island, but in general they were kept together, to be ready for any enterprize that should offer. Early in the year 1781 fifteen hundred of these French troops were embarked on an expedition for the relief of Virginia. An engagement took place on the fifth of March, near the capes of the Chesapeake, between the British admiral Arbuthnot and the French chef d'escadre d'Estouches. The former having the advantage of one ship more than the latter, frustrated the intended scheme. The fleet of his most christian majesty was obliged to return to Rhode-Island without accomplishing their object. The ardent zeal of the French troops, though checked, was not repressed by this want of success. In a few months full scope was given for the gratification of their fervent desire to render effectual aid to their American allies. Near the same spot where they failed in their first attempt, they, in conjunction with other troops and ships of their nation and the American army, completed the great enterprize which terminated the war.

THE failure of the project for the relief of Virginia in March 1781, though at that time considered as disastrous, proved eventually a most fortunate circumstance to the allied arms of France
and

and America ; for it encouraged the British to fortify themselves in the Chesapeake, and prepared the way for the great event, shortly to be related, which gave peace to contending nations. The British had fixed on Virginia as the principal theatre of their operations for the year 1781. They had, besides their militia, about ten thousand regular troops in New-York. They were also in possession of Savannah, Charleston, and many strong posts in Carolina and Georgia. To retain their conquests in these last-mentioned states, and to defend themselves in New-York, were the principal objects of the British in the north and south, while their chief active-force was to operate in or near the centre of the confederacy.

As the opposition to the re-establishment of British government in the two Carolinas and Georgia was greatly invigorated by supplies from Virginia, the reduction of that powerful state was considered as the most effectual method of completing the conquest of the southern extremity of the union. The possession of the Chesapeake by the British furnished a convenient harbour for their fleets, and a central point from which they might direct their operations against the middle states. Subservient to this scheme, as well as to that of making a diversion, while the war raged chiefly in South-Carolina, detachments from the royal army had been occasionally sent to Virginia in the latter end of the year 1780 and the beginning of 1781. As the season advanced

vanced these were increased. By the junction of lord Cornwallis with the troops commanded by generals Philips and Arnold, an event which took place on the twentieth of May 1781, they became very formidable. After his lordship had marched through South and North-Carolina, he fancied he had subdued these states, and therefore, as has been related, he prosecuted his imaginary conquests into Virginia. The forces under the command of general Philips and general Arnold had been, for some months previous to their junction with lord Cornwallis, marching through that state in the same manner, and with the same effect, that his lordship had traversed the two Carolinas. Whithersoever they marched they bore down all opposition; but their conquests were seldom of longer duration than their encampments.

THE formidable force, thus collected in Virginia, called for the vigorous exertions of the friends of independence. The defence of that state was at this period of the war principally entrusted to the marquis de la Fayette. The enthusiastick zeal and great services of this distinguished French nobleman, merit a particular detail. At the age of nineteen he espoused the cause of America with all the ardour which the most generous philanthropy could inspire. At a very early period of the war, he determined to embark from his native country for the United States. Before he could complete this intention,

intelligence

intelligence arrived in Europe, that the American insurgents, reduced to two thousand men, were flying through Jersey before a British force of thirty thousand regulars. This news so effectually extinguished the little credit which America had in Europe, in the beginning of the year 1777, that the commissioners of Congress at Paris, though they had previously encouraged his project, could not procure a vessel to forward his intentions. Under these circumstances they thought it but honest to dissuade him from the present prosecution of his perilous enterprize. It was in vain they acted so candid a part. The flame which America had kindled in his breast could not be extinguished by her misfortunes. ‘Hitherto,’ said he, in the true spirit of patriotism, ‘I have only cherished your cause—now I am going to serve it. The lower it is in the opinion of the people, the greater will be the effect of my departure; and since you cannot get a vessel, I shall purchase and fit out one to carry your despatches to Congress and myself to America.’ He accordingly embarked and arrived in Charleston early in the year 1777. Congress soon conferred on him the rank of major-general. He accepted the appointment, but not without exacting two conditions, which displayed the elevation of his spirit: the one, that he should be permitted to serve at his own expence; the other, that he should begin his services as a volunteer.

HE

HE was soon appointed to command an irruption into Canada. The plan was to cross the lakes on the ice; the object to seize Montreal and St. Johns. He was now at the age of twenty, and must have keenly experienced the almost irresistible allurements of independent command; but his cool judgment, and honest heart, restrained him from indulging a passion for military fame, under circumstances that might have injured the cause which he had so zealously espoused. He found that, in case of his proceeding, the army under his command would be in danger of experiencing a fate similar to that of the unfortunate Burgoyne. With a boldness of judgment that would have done honour to the most experienced general, and without advancing beyond Albany, he relinquished the expedition. Soon after he received the thanks of Congress for his prudence.

IN the four campaigns which succeeded the arrival of the marquis de la Fayette in America, he gave repeated proofs of his military talents in the middle and eastern states; but as these operations do not fall within the prescribed limits of this history, I proceed to relate those events which took place under his command in the southern states, and which had an influence on the publick affairs of South-Carolina.

EARLY in the year 1781, while the war raged to the southward of Virginia, the marquis de la Fayette

Fayette was detached on an expedition against Portsmouth, but here his active zeal received a check, no less fatal to his hopes than when he was obliged to relinquish the expedition to Canada. The engagement near the capes of the Chesapeake, between the French chef d'escadre d'Estouches and the British admiral Arbuthnot, which took place on the fifth of March, 1781, as has been related, defeated the enterprize. Upon this event he marched back to the Head of Elk, where he received an order from general Washington to return to Virginia, to oppose general Philips, who had joined general Arnold at Portsmouth. Although the troops under his command were in want of almost every thing, he nevertheless proceeded with them to Baltimore. Here he learned that general Philips was urging preparations to embark at Portsmouth, with upwards of three thousand men. With the marquis de la Fayette it was a moment of extreme distress and embarrassment. In his whole command there was not one pair of shoes; but the love and confidence he had universally excited, enabled him to obtain a loan of money which procured him some necessaries for his troops, and gave renewed vigour to his march. He supposed Richmond to be the object of general Philips, and therefore marched thither with so great expedition, that he arrived at that place the evening before general Philips. He was joined the first night after his arrival by major-general baron Steuben, with a corps of militia. In this manner was the capi-

tal of Virginia, at that time filled with almost all the military stores of the state, saved from the most imminent danger. The British appeared the next morning at Manchester, just opposite to Richmond. The two armies surveyed each other for some time, and then general Philips, apprehending it to be too hazardous to attack the marquis de la Fayette in his strong position, very prudently retired.

SUCH was the great superiority of numbers by the combination of the forces under general Arnold, general Philips and lord Cornwallis—so fatal to all the southern states would have been the conquest of Virginia—that the marquis de la Fayette had before him a labour of the last consequence, and was pressed on all sides by innumerable difficulties.

IN the first moments of the rising tempest, and till he could provide against its utmost rage, he began to retire with his little army, which consisted of about a thousand regulars, two thousand militia, and sixty dragoons. Lord Cornwallis, exulting in the prospect of success, which he thought to be heightened by the youth of his opponent, incautiously wrote to Great-Britain, ‘that the boy could not escape him.’ The engagement, however, which was to confirm his promise, was sedulously avoided. Finding it impossible to force an action, he next endeavoured to cut off the communication of the marquis de
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la Fayette with general Wayne, who, with eight hundred Pennsylvanians, was advancing from the northward. The junction however was effected at Rackoon Ford without loss. The next object of lord Cornwallis was to get possession of the American stores, which, for their greater security, had been removed from Richmond to Albemarle old courthouse above the Point of Fork. While the troops commanded by the marquis de la Fayette and general Wayne were forming a junction, lord Cornwallis had gotten between them and their publick stores. The possession of these was a principal object with both armies. The marquis de la Fayette, by forced marches, got within a few miles of the British army, when they were yet distant two days march from Albemarle old courthouse. Once more the British general considered himself sure of his adversary. To save the stores he knew was his design, but to accomplish that object, his lordship saw no practicable way but by a road in passing which the American army might be attacked to great advantage. It was a critical moment, but the marquis de la Fayette had the good fortune to extricate himself. He opened in the night, by part of his army, a nearer road to Albemarle, which, having been many years disused, was much embarrassed, and, to the astonishment of lord Cornwallis, posted himself in a strong position the next day between the British army and the American stores.

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HIS lordship, finding all his schemes frustrated, fell back to Richmond, whither he was followed by the marquis de la Fayette. The main American army in Virginia was now reinforced by the troops under major-general baron Steuben, and by volunteer corps of Virginia and Maryland gentlemen. And the marquis de la Fayette had the address to impress lord Cornwallis with an idea, that his force was much greater than he actually commanded. His lordship, therefore, retreated to Williamsburg. During this movement, on the twenty-sixth of June 1781, an American light corps, commanded by colonel Butler, attacked the rear of the British army, and killed and wounded one hundred and sixty of them. On the sixth of July following, lord Cornwallis retreated from Williamsburg to James-Town, at which place happened a smart engagement between the British army and the American vanguard, commanded by general Wayne. General Wayne, having advanced with eight hundred men on mistaken information, that the troops opposed to him were only a detached corps, no sooner perceived his error, than he resolutely engaged with the whole British army, conceiving this to be the most eligible mode of extricating himself from his perilous situation. With this view he urged his attack with such confidence as impressed his enemy with the idea, that the party under his command was the advance of the American army, which was consequently approaching to sustain him. This bold manœuvre enabled him

him to take advantage of the apprehensions it excited, to effect a dangerous retreat with little loss. His lordship soon after retired to Portsmouth, and the marquis de la Fayette chose this moment to give some rest to those troops that had so successfully defended the state from a greatly superior force.

AFTER a series of manœuvres, which it is not necessary to relate, and in which the British general displayed the boldness of enterprize, and the young marquis the sound judgment of age, blended with the ardour of youth, the former fixed himself and his army in York-Town. The latter, under various pretences, sent the Pennsylvania troops to the south side of James River—collected a force in Gloucester county, and made fundry arrangements subservient to the grand design of the whole campaign.

THOUGH all the movements in Virginia previous to this period were on the defensive, yet, during this time, a well-concerted scheme was carrying on for no less a purpose than the capture of the whole British force in that state. Notwithstanding this had been agreed upon for some time, and many preparatory steps subservient thereto had been taken, yet it had been effectually concealed. Every appearance in the grand American army, under general Washington, was calculated to cherish an opinion, that it was intended to make a vigorous conjunct attack
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on the British garrison in New-York. The French army was brought forwards from Rhode-Island to American head-quarters. The militia from New-England were called out. A sufficient number of flat-bottomed boats to transport at once five thousand men, were built near Albany, in a short time, by general Schuyler. These were brought down Hudson's river to the neighbourhood of the American army before New-York, though there was no intention of making use of them. Ovens were erected opposite to Staten-Island for the use of the French forces, and every movement made by general Washington which indicated his expectation of a fleet to co-operate with him in reducing the British army under the immediate command of sir Henry Clinton. These manœuvres had their intended operation. The whole attention of the British commanders was employed in fortifying New-York, and in preparing for a siege. Part of the forces in Virginia was ordered to the defence of that city. While lord Cornwallis with his army in Virginia were in fancied security, flattering themselves with extensive conquests, general Washington, to the surprize of all who were not in the secret, suddenly left his station near New-York, and marched with the flower of his army through the intermediate states to York-Town in Virginia, where the forces under the command of lord Cornwallis were intrenched. The French troops, commanded by count de Rochambeau, at the same time marched through the same extent

tent of territory. It seldom if ever happened before, that an army led through a foreign country, at so considerable a distance from their own, among a people of different principles, customs, language and religion, behaved with so much regularity. To the honour of the officers and soldiers of the French army it must be acknowledged, that, in their different marches in the space of three years, through various parts of the United States, there never was a complaint brought against them by the citizens. The utmost harmony prevailed both between the allied armies, the troops of his most christian majesty and the inhabitants. Nations long accustomed to the freest social intercourse, could not have been on a more friendly footing than the French and Americans, though a few years before they had been in the habit of reviling, hating and fighting with each other.

GENERAL Washington had marched as far as Chester in Pennsylvania, before he received the welcome news of the arrival of the French fleet. Contrary winds had occasioned a delay of a few days longer than was at first agreed upon. On the thirtieth of August count de Grasse arrived in the Chesapeake with twenty-eight ships of the line, and on the next day he landed on the south side of James river three thousand two hundred men. These were commanded by the marquis de St. Simon, and were for the most part from the garrison in Hispaniola. They speedily formed
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ed a junction with the marquis de la Fayette. Great was the exultation of this illustrious French nobleman on finding himself reinforced by so many of his countrymen, and that there was so fair a prospect of extensive service to the cause in the support of which he had so zealously engaged.

ADMIRAL Greaves, reinforced by lord Hood, made an attempt, on September fifth, with twenty sail of the line, to relieve lord Cornwallis, but he was soon compelled to retire. Count de Barras, with eight sail of the line, sailed from Newport on the twenty-fifth of August, and formed a junction with count de Grasse within the Chesapeake on the fourteenth of September. This was both difficult and dangerous. The British fleet was between the French fleet and the French squadron. Count de Barras had only eight ships under his command, and the British had nearly three times that number ; yet he had the extraordinary good fortune to pass them in the night, and effect a junction without any loss. This gave a decided superiority to the fleet of his most christian majesty.

ALL these movements of the combined forces of France and America were the result of a well-digested plan of operations. The French fleets in the West-Indies and in Rhode-Island, together with the French and American land-forces, notwithstanding the original distance of the parties, both from the scene of action and from each other,

other, and the various accidents to which they were liable, coincided in their operations in an extraordinary manner far beyond the reach of military calculation. They all tended to one object, and at one and the same time, and, what is still more surprizing, that object was neither known nor suspected by the British commanders till the proper season for counteraction was elapsed.

IN important military operations the attention is fixed on the movements of armies or of fleets, and mankind never fail to do homage to the able general and the expert admiral. To this they are justly entitled; but as great a tribute is due to the profound statesman, who, from a more elevated station, surveys and balances the whole system of a campaign, and the general safety and welfare of an empire. To foresee the movements of an enemy, and to direct the force of a state towards those points where defence is necessary, and attacks may be made with advantage, requires the greatest exertions of human abilities. This glory in a particular manner belongs to the marquis de Castries, who at this time directed the marine of France. He had calculated with that precision, which is the distinguishing characteristick of great minds, the naval force which the British could concentrate on the coast of the United States, and disposed his own in such a manner as ensured him a superiority. These dispositions were made on such principles, that the

French fleet, in the Chesapeake, would have been superior to the British without the junction of the squadron which had been stationed at Newport. This junction was nevertheless effected by count de Barras, though he was at liberty to undertake any other expedition. Notwithstanding he was an older officer than count de Grasse, he voluntarily chose to put himself under his command, to make sure of an object, the attainment of which was of such immense consequence to the allied arms of France and America.

LORD Cornwallis conceived himself bound by instructions from sir Henry Clinton, to defend the posts of York and Gloucester. In obedience to these orders, and in the expectation of succour from New-York, he prepared for a siege, by intrenching his army on both sides of York river. The militia of the state of Virginia were called out to service, and were commanded by governor Nelson. The French and American troops marched forwards with such expedition, that, on the last day of September, they closely invested lord Cornwallis in York-Town; the French extending from the river above the town to a morass in the centre, where they were met by the Americans who occupied the opposite side from the river to that spot. The post at Gloucester Point was at the same time invested by the duke de Lauzun with his legion, and a number of Virginia militia commanded by general Weedon; but the operations on that side were little more than

than a warm skirmish, in which the duke de Lauzun compelled lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to retire.

THE trenches were opened by the combined armies on the night of the sixth of October, and their attacks were carried on with great vigour. The shells from the besiegers reached the ships in the harbour, and the Charon, of forty-four guns, with some of the transports, were burned. On the night of the eleventh of October they began their second parallel, at the distance of three hundred yards from the works of the besieged.

LORD Cornwallis was soon convinced, that the post which he occupied was incapable of resisting the force opposed to it ; but, in the confident expectation of aid from New-York, he declined attempting a retreat, or hazarding an engagement in the open field. His hopes were farther confirmed by a letter from sir Henry Clinton, by which he was informed that relief would fail about the fifth of October. But it so happened, that the delays which necessarily occurred in equipping and refitting the fleets, destined for York-Town, made the fulfilment of this engagement impossible.

Two redoubts, which were advanced about three hundred yards on the left of the British, greatly impeded the progress of the combined
armies.

armies. An attack on these was therefore resolved upon. To excite a spirit of emulation, the reduction of one was committed to the French—of the other to the Americans. The latter marched to the assault with unloaded arms, passed the abbatis and palisades, and, attacking on all sides, carried the redoubt in a few minutes. Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, on this occasion, personally took the commanding officer of the redoubt, but saved him from the fate which usually attends those who are taken by storm. Colonel Hamilton, who conducted this successful enterprize with so much address and intrepidity, and who is no less distinguished for literary than for military talents, in his report of the transaction to the marquis de la Fayette, mentioned, to the honour of his detachment, ‘ that, ‘ incapable of imitating examples of barbarity, ‘ and forgetting recent provocations, they spared ‘ every man that ceased to resist.’

THE French were equally successful on their side. They carried the redoubt committed to them with rapidity, but lost a considerable number of men. These two works, which had heretofore embarrassed the operations of the besiegers by being included in the second parallel, were made subservient to their ulterior designs.

THE inferior numbers of the garrison made it improper for lord Cornwallis to risk any considerable force in the making of sallies, and the besiegers

siegers had proceeded with so much regularity and caution, that nothing less than a strong attack could make any impression. On the morning of the sixteenth lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie was ordered to make a sortie, with about three hundred and fifty men. They succeeded so far as to force two advanced redoubts, and to spike eleven pieces of cannon, besides killing and wounding a considerable number of the French troops. Though the officers and soldiers displayed great bravery in this enterprize, yet their success produced no essential advantage. The cannon, which had been hastily spiked, were soon again rendered fit for service. By this time the works of the besieged were so far destroyed, that they could scarcely shew a single gun.

LORD Cornwallis had now no choice left but either to prepare for a surrender, or to make his escape. He determined to attempt the latter, hoping that at least it might retard the fate of his army. Boats were prepared under different pretexts, but with the intention of receiving the troops at ten at night, in order to pass them over to Gloucester Point, from whence a passage to the open country was not altogether hopeless. In the execution of this design the first embarkation had arrived at Gloucester Point, and a part of the troops were landed, when the weather, which was then moderate and calm, instantly changed to a most violent storm of wind and rain. The boats were all driven down the river,
which

which not only frustrated the original scheme, but made it impossible to bring back the boats from Gloucester. The royal army, thus weakened and divided, was exposed to increased danger till the next day, when the boats returned and the troops were brought back.

By this time the works of the besieged were so broken, that they were assailable in many places, and the troops were exhausted by constant watching and unceasing fatigue. The time in which relief from New-York was promised had elapsed. Longer resistance could answer no purpose, and might occasion the loss of many valuable lives. Lord Cornwallis therefore, on the seventeenth, wrote a letter to general Washington, requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed for digesting terms of capitulation. It is remarkable, while lieutenant-colonel Laurens, the officer employed by general Washington on this occasion, was drawing up articles by which a numerous British army became prisoners, that his father was closely confined in the tower of London.

THE posts of York and Gloucester were surrendered on the nineteenth of October. The honour of marching out with colours flying, which had been denied to general Lincoln, on his giving up Charleston, was now refused to earl Cornwallis, and general Lincoln was appointed

- References to the British Lines
- N. 1. Battery of 2 6 P's 15/1 How'
 - 2 3 18 P's
 - 3 4 18 5 9 P's
 - 4 5 18 1 9 2 6 P's
 - 5 1 18 5 9 P's
 - 6 1 18 4 9 P's
 - 7 2 18 5 2 12 P's
 - 8 2 18 4 1 9 P's
 - 9 2 18 4 2 12 P's
 - 10 3 18 2 12 1 6 10 Mer'
 - 11 1 24 8 2 9 P's
 - 12 2 12 2 5 1 Howitzer
 - 13 2 18 5 1 12 P's
 - 14 3 9 P's

- Gloucester side.
- 15 10 18 5 1 12 P's
 - 16 2 Batts of 8 Guns discharging
 - 17 Part of the British line sunk
 - 18 the middle of the line sunk
 - 19 the right of the line
 - 20 the left of the line
 - 21 the left of the line
 - 22 the left of the line

PLAN
of
the Investment of
YORK & GLOUCESTER,
by the Allied Armies:
in Sept. & Oct. 1781.



De Catinois
Toussaint Road from Williamburg
Agencies
Saintonge
Soissonois
Roy's Deux Pains
Bourbonnais
Baron Vominil's 2^{rs}
Vominil's 2^{rs}

The Field where the
British laid down
their Arms.

Gen. Lincoln's 2^{rs}
Light Infantry
Vire Militia
Mary's 2^{rs}
Americ's Hosp.
Road to Hampton
French Hosp.
Vire Militia
St. Louis's 2^{rs}
Rhode's 2^{rs}
Vire Militia
Gen. Clinton's 2^{rs}
Sappers & Miners
Gen. Knox's 2^{rs}

Scale of Yards
100 200 400 600 800 1000

Count ROCHAMBEAU'S
Gen. WASHINGTON'S
Adj. Gen. 2^{rs}
French Park of Artillery
American Park of Artillery
Gen. Knox's 2^{rs}
Laboratory
Magazine
Gen. Clinton's 2^{rs}
Gen. Knox's 2^{rs}
Gen. Knox's 2^{rs}

pointed to receive the submission of the royal army at York-Town precisely in the same way his own had been conducted about eighteen months before. The troops of every kind surrendered prisoners of war exceeded seven thousand men, but the effective men at that time was very little more than half that number. The officers and soldiers retained their baggage and effects, but all visible plundered property was liable to be reclaimed.

LORD Cornwallis endeavoured to obtain permission for the British and German troops to return to their respective countries, under engagements not to serve against France or America; and also an indemnity for those of the inhabitants who had joined him; but he was obliged to consent, that the former should be retained in the governments of Virginia, Pennsylvania and Maryland; and that the latter, whose case lay with the civil authority of the states, should be given up to the unconditional mercy of their countrymen. His lordship, nevertheless, obtained permission for the Bonetta sloop of war to pass unexamined, which gave an opportunity of screening those of the royalists who were most obnoxious to the resentment of the Americans.

THE land-forces became prisoners to Congress, but the seamen and ships were assigned to the French admiral. ^{ww}

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^{ww} See note XLVII.

THE British fleet and army, destined for the relief of lord Cornwallis, arrived off the Chesapeake on the twenty-fourth of October; but, on receiving authentick accounts of his surrender, they returned to Sandy-Hook and New-York.

SUCH was the fate of that general from whose successes in the years 1780 and 1781 the complete and speedy conquest of the southern states had been so confidently expected. No event, during the war, bid so fair for ruining the independence of America as his complete victory at Camden; but so it happened, that his lordship by that action, and its consequences, became the occasion of rendering that a revolution, which, from his previous success, was in danger of terminating in a rebellion. The loss of this army may be considered as the closing scene of the continental war in North-America. From that time forward a new policy influenced the British cabinet, and every thing tended to peace and an acknowledgment of the independence of the states. The re-establishment of British government had been in vain attempted in the north, in the south, and in the middle states. The seventh campaign terminated with the surrender of all the British force in Virginia, and the confinement of their army in Carolina to the vicinity of Charleston.

CONGRESS honoured general Washington, count de Rochambeau, count de Grasse, and the officers

officers of the different corps, and the men under their command, with their thanks for their services in the reduction of lord Cornwallis. They also resolved to erect in York-Town a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most christian Majesty. ^{xx}

THE very important services rendered by the engineers and artillery-officers, in this interesting siege, attracted the particular notice of Congress. In the former line brigadier-general Du-Portail was advanced to the rank of major-general. Lieutenant-colonel Gouvion received a brevet of a colonel, and captain Rochefontaine the brevet of a major. In the line of artillery-officers brigadier-general Knox was promoted to the rank of major-general. The circumstances of these promotions were as honourable as the services of these officers had been beneficial. ^{yy}

THE army, under the command of lord Cornwallis, had spread waste and ruin over the face of all the country for four hundred miles on the sea-coast, and for two hundred miles to the westward. Their numbers enabled them to go where they pleased, and their rage for plunder disposed them to take whatever they esteemed most valuable. Their progress was marked with rapine, and they had involved thousands in distress. The reduction of such a commander, and of such an

VOL. II. T t army,

^{xx} See note XLVIII.

^{yy} See note XLIX.

army, occasioned transports of joy in the breast of every American. The churches resounded with devout acknowledgments to the God of battles. Festivity crowned the social board, while, in grateful commemoration of these signal services, the sparkling wine was freely poured out in ardent wishes for the health and happiness of the illustrious defenders of the rights of human nature. Legislative bodies, executive councils, city corporations, and many private societies, presented congratulatory addresses to general Washington, accompanied with the warmest acknowledgments to count de Rochambeau, count de Grasse, and the other officers in the service of his most christian majesty.

WHILST earl Cornwallis commanded in the southern department, he had, in many instances, violated the capitulation of Charleston. This was considered by many as a sufficient reason to deprive him of some of the benefits to which he was entitled by the capitulation of York-Town. It was therefore moved in Congress by the honourable Arthur Middleton, a delegate from the State of South-Carolina, that, ‘ in order to prevent future controversy upon the subject of exchange, Congress, who represent the feelings as well as the sense of the union, do declare, that lieutenant-general Charles earl Cornwallis ought not to be exchanged by composition, not from any apprehensions of his influence or superior abilities, but because they look upon him
‘ not

‘ not in the light of a British general, but a barbarian. In proof of their justice for classing him in so degrading a predicament, they appeal to the impartial history of his conduct during his command in the southern and middle states, where his progress may be traced by blood wantonly spilt, by executions unwarranted even by military regulations, and by the indiscriminate plunder of the property and destruction of the habitations of the widow and the orphan, circumstances disgraceful to the arms of any enlightened people, because he has governed himself solely upon the principles of eastern tyranny—has broken the faith of treaty solemnly pledged in the capitulation of Charleston, by ordering the seizure of the property and persons of the capitulants, by the confinement of some on board of prison-ships, the transportation of others to St. Augustine, and the banishment of their wives and children—because he has authorized and countenanced the enlistment of upwards of five hundred American soldiers into the British service, or rather suffered them to be compelled by cruelties and hard usage to take arms against their country, and in numberless other instances has infringed every rule of war established among civilized nations.’ But as his lordship had surrendered by capitulation, a sense of national honour, and delicacy with respect to general Washington, weighed with the supreme council of the states to refuse their assent to this proposition.

THE successes that had attended the American arms in South-Carolina, in the summer of 1781, and the arrival of count de Grasse in the Chesapeake, gave such flattering prospects to the friends of independence, that it was judged to be a favourable opportunity to detach from the British interest in South-Carolina those of the inhabitants of the state who had joined them in the day of their success. On the twenty-seventh of September 1781, governor Rutledge, therefore, issued a proclamation, offering them pardon on condition of their doing six months militia duty, with the exception of those who had taken commissions—signed congratulatory addresses on British victories—or who had been otherwise active in support of their government.^{zz} In a few weeks several hundreds came out of the British lines, and greatly reinforced the American militia. Several were now as assiduous in framing excuses for their having arranged themselves under the British standard, as they had been the year before to apologize for their involuntary support of rebellion. ‘ Their wives, their children and their property, made it necessary to make a shew of submission to the conquerors—They thought the country was subdued, and that farther resistance was vain—but, notwithstanding, at all times they wished well to American independence.’ Such was the alacrity with which they joined their countrymen, that several, though excepted by the proclamation, cast themselves on
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^{zz} See note L.

the publick mercy. They explained their taking British commissions into a benevolent design, of rescuing their neighbours from more severe officers. For their signing addresses of congratulation on British victories, many apologies were offered. Some alleged in their behalf ‘ the fear ‘ of losing their estates—of being refused protection, or of being objects of suspicion.’ Others had never read them ; but they all agreed, ‘ that ‘ the sentiments contained in these ill-fated addresses, were at no time the language of their ‘ hearts.’

THE tranquillity that reigned through every part of the state gave an opportunity of calling an assembly, the meetings of which had been interrupted ever since the reduction of Charleston. Many of the inhabitants who had never submitted to the British, and who had been lately delivered as exchanged in Virginia and Philadelphia, soon found their way back to South-Carolina. In their number were most of the late civil officers of the state, and members of the legislature. These favourable circumstances, in conjunction with the position of the American army within thirty-six miles of Charleston, pointed out the propriety of convening a legislature. In the close of the year 1781, governor Rutledge, by virtue of the extraordinary power delegated to him before the surrender of Charleston, issued writs for a new election. These were ordered to be held in the usual places where it was practicable, and

and in other cases as near as safety and other circumstances would permit. By the same authority it was ordered, that at the election the votes of such only should be received as had never taken British protection, or who having taken it, had notwithstanding re-joined their countrymen on or before the twenty-seventh of September 1781. Other persons, though residents, were not considered as freemen of the state, or entitled to the full privilege of citizenship. A general assembly was chosen, and convened in January 1782 at Jacksonborough, a small village situate on Edisto river, about twenty-five miles from the sea and thirty-five from Charleston. The legislative bodies, soon after their meeting, were addressed by governor Rutledge with the following speech :

‘ The SPEECH of his excellency JOHN RUTLEDGE,
 ‘ esquire, governor and commander in chief of
 ‘ the state of South-Carolina, to the general
 ‘ assembly, met at Jacksonborough, on Friday
 ‘ the eighteenth day of January, 1782.

‘ Honourable gentlemen of the senate,
 ‘ Mr. speaker, and gentlemen of the house
 ‘ of representatives,

‘ SINCE the last meeting of a general assembly,
 ‘ the good people of this state have not only felt the
 ‘ common calamities of war, but, from the wanton
 ‘ and savage manner in which it has been prosecuted,
 ‘ they have experienced such severities as
 ‘ are

‘ are unpractised, and will scarcely be credited by
 ‘ civilized nations.

‘ THE enemy, unable to make any impression
 ‘ on the northern states, the number of whose in-
 ‘ habitants, and the strength of whose country,
 ‘ had baffled their repeated efforts, turned their
 ‘ views towards the southern, which, a difference
 ‘ of circumstances, afforded some expectation of
 ‘ conquering, or at least of greatly distressing.
 ‘ After a long resistance, the reduction of Charle-
 ‘ ton was effected, by the vast superiority of force
 ‘ with which it had been besieged. The loss of
 ‘ that garrison, as it consisted of the continental
 ‘ troops of Virginia and the Carolinas, and of a
 ‘ number of militia, facilitated the enemy’s march
 ‘ into the country, and their establishment of
 ‘ strong posts in the upper and interior parts of
 ‘ it; and the unfavourable issue of the action
 ‘ near Camden induced them vainly to imagine,
 ‘ that no other army could be collected which
 ‘ they might not easily defeat. The militia, com-
 ‘ manded by the brigadiers Sumpter and Marion,
 ‘ whose enterprising spirit and unremitted perse-
 ‘ verance under many difficulties are deserving
 ‘ of great applause, harassed and often defeated
 ‘ large parties; but the numbers of those militia
 ‘ were too few to contend effectually with the
 ‘ collected strength of the enemy. Regardless
 ‘ therefore of the sacred ties of honour, desti-
 ‘ tute of the feelings of humanity, and deter-
 ‘ mined to extinguish, if possible, every spark of
 ‘ freedom

' freedom in this country, they, with the info-
 ' lent pride of conquerors, gave unbounded scope
 ' to the exercise of their tyrannical disposition,
 ' infringed their publick engagements, and vio-
 ' lated the most solemn capitulations. Many of
 ' our worthiest citizens were, without cause,
 ' long and closely confined—some on board of
 ' prison-ships, and others in the town and castle
 ' of St. Augustine—their properties disposed of
 ' at the will and caprice of the enemy, and their
 ' families sent to a different and distant part of
 ' the continent without the means of support.
 ' Many who had surrendered as prisoners of war
 ' were killed in cold blood—several suffered
 ' death in the most ignominious manner, and
 ' others were delivered up to savages, and put to
 ' tortures under which they expired. Thus the
 ' lives, liberties and properties of the people
 ' were dependent solely on the pleasure of British
 ' officers, who deprived them of either or all on
 ' the most frivolous pretences. Indians, slaves,
 ' and a desperate banditti of the most profligate
 ' characters, were caressed and employed by the
 ' enemy to execute their infamous purposes. De-
 ' vastation and ruin marked their progress and
 ' that of their adherents—nor were their vio-
 ' lences restrained by the charms or influence of
 ' beauty and innocence—even the fair sex, whom
 ' it is the duty of all, and the pleasure and pride
 ' of the brave, to protect—they, and their tender
 ' offspring, were victims to the inveterate malice
 ' of an unrelenting foe. Neither the tears of mo-
 ' thers

'thers, nor the cries of infants, could excite in
 'their breasts pity or compassion. Not only the
 'peaceful habitations of the widow, the aged
 'and the infirm, but the holy temples of the
 'Most High were consumed in flames, kindled by
 'their sacrilegious hands. They have tarnished
 'the glory of the British arms, disgraced the pro-
 'fession of a British soldier, and fixed indelible
 'stigmas of rapine, cruelty, perfidy and pro-
 'faneness, on the British name—But I can now
 'congratulate you, and I do so most cordially,
 'on the pleasing change of affairs which, under
 'the blessing of GOD; the wisdom, prudence,
 'address and bravery of the great and gallant ge-
 'neral Greene, and the intrepidity of the officers
 'and men under his command, has been happily
 'effected—a general who is justly entitled, from
 'his many signal services, to honourable and sin-
 'gular marks of your approbation and gratitude.
 'His successes have been more rapid and com-
 'plete than the most sanguine could have ex-
 'pected. The enemy, compelled to surrender
 'or evacuate every post which they held in the
 'country, frequently defeated and driven from
 'place to place, are obliged to seek refuge under
 'the walls of Charleston, and on islands in its
 'vicinity. We have now the full and absolute
 'possession of every other part of the state; and
 'the legislative, executive and judicial powers,
 'are in the free exercise of their respective
 'authorities.

‘ I ALSO most heartily congratulate you on the
 ‘ glorious victory obtained by the combined
 ‘ forces of America and France over their com-
 ‘ mon enemy. When the very general who was
 ‘ second in command at the reduction of Charle-
 ‘ ton, and to whose boasted prowess and highly
 ‘ extolled abilities the conquest of no less than
 ‘ three states had been arrogantly committed,
 ‘ was speedily compelled to accept of the same
 ‘ mortifying terms which had been imposed on
 ‘ that brave but unfortunate garrison, to surren-
 ‘ der an army of many thousand regulars, and
 ‘ to abandon his wretched followers, whom he
 ‘ had artfully seduced from their allegiance by
 ‘ specious promises of protection, which he could
 ‘ never have hoped to fulfil, to the justice or
 ‘ mercy of their country—On the naval superio-
 ‘ rity established by the illustrious ally of the
 ‘ United States—a superiority in itself so decided,
 ‘ and in its consequences so extensive, as must
 ‘ inevitably soon oblige the enemy to yield to us
 ‘ the only post which they occupy in this state—
 ‘ On the reiterated proofs of the sincerest friend-
 ‘ ship, and on the great support which America
 ‘ has received from that powerful monarch—a
 ‘ monarch whose magnanimity is universally ac-
 ‘ knowledged and admired, and on whose royal
 ‘ word we may confidently rely for every neces-
 ‘ sary assistance—On the perfect harmony which
 ‘ subsists between France and America—On the
 ‘ stability which her independence has acquired—
 ‘ and on the certainty that it is too deeply rooted
 ‘ ever

‘ ever to be shaken ; for, animated as they are
 ‘ by national honour, and united by one common
 ‘ interest, it must and will be maintained.

‘ WHAT may be the immediate effects on the
 ‘ British nation, of the events which I have
 ‘ mentioned ; of their loss of territory in other
 ‘ parts of the world ; and of their well-founded
 ‘ apprehensions from the powers of France, Spain
 ‘ and Holland, it is impossible to foretel. If ex-
 ‘ perience can teach wisdom to a haughty and
 ‘ infatuated people, and if they will now be go-
 ‘ verned by reason, they will have learned that
 ‘ they can have no solid ground of hope to con-
 ‘ quer any state in the union ; for, though their
 ‘ armies have obtained temporary advantages
 ‘ over our troops, yet the citizens of these states,
 ‘ firmly resolved as they are never to return to
 ‘ a domination which, near six years ago, they
 ‘ unanimously and justly renounced, cannot be
 ‘ subdued—and they must now be convinced
 ‘ that it is the height of folly and madness to
 ‘ persist in so ruinous a war. If, however, we
 ‘ judge as we ought of their future by their past
 ‘ conduct, we may presume that they will not
 ‘ only endeavour to keep possession of our capi-
 ‘ tal, but make another attempt, howsoever impro-
 ‘ bable the success of it may appear, to subjugate
 ‘ this country—It is therefore highly incumbent
 ‘ on us to use our most strenuous efforts to frus-
 ‘ trate so fatal a design. And I earnestly conjure
 ‘ you by the duty which you owe, and the sacred
 ‘ love

‘ love which you bear, to your country ; by the
 ‘ constant remembrance of her bitter sufferings ;
 ‘ and by the just detestation of British govern-
 ‘ ment, which you and your posterity must for-
 ‘ ever possess, to exert your utmost faculties for
 ‘ that purpose, by raising and equipping, with
 ‘ all possible expedition, a respectable permanent
 ‘ force, and by making ample provision for their
 ‘ comfortable subsistence. I am sensible the ex-
 ‘ pence will be great, but a measure so indispen-
 ‘ sable to the preservation of our freedom, is
 ‘ above every pecuniary consideration.

‘ THE organization of our militia is likewise
 ‘ a subject of infinite importance. A clear and
 ‘ concise law, by which the burdens of service
 ‘ will be equally sustained, and a competent
 ‘ number of men brought forth and kept in the
 ‘ field when their assistance may be required, is
 ‘ essential to our security, and therefore justly
 ‘ claims your immediate and serious attention.
 ‘ Certain it is, that some of our militia have,
 ‘ upon several occasions, exhibited instances of
 ‘ valour which would have reflected honour on
 ‘ veteran troops. The courage and conduct of
 ‘ the generals whom I have mentioned, the cool
 ‘ and determined bravery repeatedly displayed by
 ‘ brigadier Pickens, and indeed the behaviour of
 ‘ many officers and men in every brigade, are
 ‘ unquestionable testimonies of the truth of this
 ‘ assertion ; but such behaviour cannot be ex-
 ‘ pected from militia in general, without good
 ‘ order

‘ order and strict discipline—nor can that order
 ‘ and discipline be established but by a salutary
 ‘ law steadily executed.

‘ ANOTHER important matter for your delibe-
 ‘ ration, is the conduct of such of our citizens
 ‘ as voluntarily avowing their allegiance, and
 ‘ even glorying in their professions of loyalty and
 ‘ attachment to his Britannick majesty, have of-
 ‘ fered their congratulations on the success of his
 ‘ arms, prayed to be embodied as royal militia,
 ‘ accepted commissions in his service, and endea-
 ‘ voured to subvert our constitution and establish
 ‘ his power in its stead—of those who have re-
 ‘ turned to this state in defiance of a law by
 ‘ which such return was declared to be a capital
 ‘ offence, and have abetted the British interest—
 ‘ and of such whose behaviour has been so repre-
 ‘ hensible, that justice and policy forbid their
 ‘ free re-admission to the rights and privileges of
 ‘ citizens.

‘ THE extraordinary lenity of this state has
 ‘ been remarkably conspicuous; other states
 ‘ have thought it just and expedient to appropri-
 ‘ ate the property of British subjects to the pub-
 ‘ lick use, but we have forbore to take even the
 ‘ profits of the estates of our most implacable
 ‘ enemies. It is with you to determine whether
 ‘ the forfeiture and appropriation of their pro-
 ‘ perty should now take place. If such shall be
 ‘ your determination, though many of our firmest
 ‘ friends

‘ friends have been reduced, for their inflexible
 ‘ attachment to the cause of their country, from
 ‘ opulence to inconceivable distress, and, if the
 ‘ enemy’s will and power had prevailed, would
 ‘ have been doomed to indigence and beggary,
 ‘ yet it will redound to the reputation of this state
 ‘ to provide a becoming support for the families
 ‘ of those whom you may deprive of their pro-
 ‘ perty.

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

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

‘ THE interest and honour, the safety and hap-
 ‘ piness of our country, depend so much on the
 ‘ result

‘ result of your deliberations, that I flatter myself
‘ you will proceed, in the weighty business be-
‘ fore you, with firmness and temper, with vi-
‘ gour, unanimity and dispatch.

‘ JOHN RUTLEDGE.’

To this speech the following addressees were
returned by the two branches of legislature.

‘ The ADDRESS of the honourable the SENATE
‘ in answer to the governor’s speech.

‘ May it please your excellency,

‘ WE beg leave to return your excellency the
‘ thanks of this house for your speech.

‘ ANY words that we might adopt would con-
‘ vey but a very faint idea of the satisfaction we
‘ feel on the perfect re-establishment of the legis-
‘ lative, executive and judicial powers in this
‘ state.

‘ IT is with particular pleasure, that we take
‘ the earliest opportunity to present to your ex-
‘ cellency our unfeigned thanks for your unwea-
‘ ried zeal and attention to the real interest of
‘ this country, and to testify our entire approba-
‘ tion of the good conduct of the executive since
‘ the last meeting of the general assembly.

‘ WE see and revere the goodness of Divine
‘ Providence in frustrating and disappointing the
‘ attempts

‘ attempts of our enemies to conquer the south-
 ‘ ern states ; and we trust, that, by the blessing of
 ‘ the same Providence, on the valour and intre-
 ‘ pidity of the free citizens of America, their
 ‘ attacks and enterprizes will continue to be re-
 ‘ pelled and defeated.

‘ WE reflect with pleasure on the steady reso-
 ‘ lution with which Charleston was defended by
 ‘ a small body of brave men against such a vast
 ‘ superiority of force, and we gratefully acknow-
 ‘ ledge the meritorious conduct and important
 ‘ services of the officers and privates of the mili-
 ‘ tia, who stood forth in the hour of danger, and
 ‘ whose coolness, perseverance and ardour, under
 ‘ a complication of difficulties, most justly entitle
 ‘ them to the applause of their country.

‘ WE flatter ourselves that the blood which the
 ‘ enemy has inhumanly spilled, the wanton deva-
 ‘ station which has marked their progress, and the
 ‘ tyrannical system that they have invariably pur-
 ‘ sued, and which your excellency hath so justly
 ‘ and pathetically described to us, will rouse the
 ‘ good people of this state, and will animate
 ‘ them with a spirit to protect their country, to
 ‘ save their rights and liberties, and to maintain,
 ‘ at all hazards, their independency.

‘ It is with inexpressible pleasure, that we re-
 ‘ ceive your excellency’s congratulations upon
 ‘ the great and glorious events of the campaign,
 ‘ on

‘ on the happy change of affairs, and on the
 ‘ pleasing prospect before us ; and we assure your
 ‘ excellency, that we concur most sincerely with
 ‘ you, in acknowledging and applauding the me-
 ‘ ritorious zeal, and the very important services
 ‘ which have been rendered to this state by the
 ‘ great and gallant general Greene, and the brave
 ‘ and intrepid officers and men under his com-
 ‘ mand, and to whom we shall be happy to give
 ‘ the most honourable and singular testimonies
 ‘ of our approbation and applause.

‘ WE are truly sensible of the immense ad-
 ‘ vantage which the United States derive from
 ‘ the magnanimous prince their ally : we have
 ‘ the most perfect confidence on his royal word,
 ‘ and on the sincerity of his friendship ; and we
 ‘ think ourselves much indebted to that illustri-
 ‘ ous monarch for the great and effectual assist-
 ‘ ance which he hath been pleased to give the
 ‘ confederated states, and by whose means they
 ‘ have been enabled to humble the pride of Bri-
 ‘ tain, and to establish their independency upon
 ‘ the most permanent basis.

‘ THE importance of the several matters which
 ‘ your excellency hath recommended to our con-
 ‘ sideration is so evident, that we shall proceed
 ‘ to deliberate upon them with all possible dis-
 ‘ patch ; and we flatter ourselves that our business
 ‘ will

‘ will be carried on with temper, firmness and
‘ unanimity.

‘ J. L. GERVAIS, president.’

‘ The ADDRESS of the HOUSE of REPRESENTA-
‘ TIVES in answer to the governor’s speech.

‘ WE, the house of representatives of the state
‘ of South-Carolina, in general assembly met,
‘ return your excellency our most cordial thanks
‘ for your very interesting speech to both houses
‘ at the opening of this session, the language of
‘ which evidently bespeaks a heart glowing with
‘ ardent zeal for the interest and welfare of our
‘ common country.

‘ WE want words to express our heart-felt ex-
‘ ultation on the pleasing reverse in our affairs.
‘ On this spot, but a few months past, a military
‘ despotism prevailed, and tyranny, with lawless
‘ violence, was desolating our fair possessions;
‘ but we now, with extacy, behold a free go-
‘ vernment re-established, liberty, that greatest
‘ of temporal blessings, restored, and every citi-
‘ zen secured in the possession of his property
‘ by the firm barrier of the law of his country.
‘ This auspicious change is in a great degree ow-
‘ ing to the prudence, firmness and good conduct
‘ of your excellency.

‘ IF any thing can add to the sublime and re-
‘ fined enjoyment, which must arise from your
‘ excellency’s own reflections on your persever-
‘ ing,

‘ ing, unabated and successful exertions towards
 ‘ rescuing your country from the iron hand of
 ‘ oppression, be pleased, sir, to accept the most
 ‘ sincere and unfeigned thanks of your grateful
 ‘ fellow-citizens.

‘ THE black catalogue which your excellency
 ‘ has given of British barbarities, forms but a
 ‘ small part of the whole. Whenever the histo-
 ‘ rick page shall be stained with their story, it
 ‘ will exhibit a nation devoid of faith; with
 ‘ whom oaths, treaties, and the most solemn
 ‘ compacts were considered as trifles; who, with-
 ‘ out scruple or remorse, had abandoned all re-
 ‘ gard to humanity, honour, justice and every
 ‘ ennobling sentiment of the human breast. It
 ‘ is hardly possible to conceive any circumstance
 ‘ that could aggravate the atrocious wickedness
 ‘ of their conduct. There is not left a step in the
 ‘ degradation of national character to which they
 ‘ can now descend. The name of a Briton must
 ‘ henceforward be a term of reproach among
 ‘ all nations.

‘ WE should betray a great degree of insensi-
 ‘ bility, and be wanting in justice to his merit,
 ‘ should we omit this occasion of acknowledging,
 ‘ with the warmest gratitude, our obligations to
 ‘ the great and gallant general Greene. His at-
 ‘ chievements in this state, while they rank him
 ‘ with the greatest commanders of ancient or
 ‘ modern date, will engrave his name in indeli-
 ‘ ble

' ble characters on the heart of every friend to
 ' this country. Our acknowledgments are also
 ' due to all the brave officers and men under his
 ' command, who have so often fought, bled and
 ' conquered for us. The generals Sumpter, Ma-
 ' rion and Pickens, with the brave militia under
 ' their commands, those virtuous citizens who
 ' did not despair of the commonwealth in her
 ' greatest extremity, are deserving of the highest
 ' commendation. The friendly, seasonable and
 ' effectual aid, recently afforded us by our great
 ' and illustrious ally, by means of which the ge-
 ' neral, on whom the British nation seemed most
 ' to have placed their dependence, has been com-
 ' pelled to surrender the flower of the British
 ' army to our immortal commander in chief, must
 ' greatly increase the flame of gratitude which
 ' had been before kindled in the breast of every
 ' American, and which it will not be in the power
 ' of time or accident to extinguish. We per-
 ' fectly concur in sentiment with your excellen-
 ' cy, that, from our connexion with this power-
 ' ful and wise monarch, we may expect, with
 ' well-grounded confidence, that our indepen-
 ' dence will be shortly established upon an immov-
 ' able basis, nor need we harbour a single fear
 ' of its dissolution.

' AN union which originated from such liberal
 ' and generous motives, and which is founded
 ' on mutual interest, that best cement of nations,
 ' must and will continue. Whether the series of
 ' losses,

‘ losses, disasters and defeats of the year past,
 ‘ will at length recover Britain from her deliri-
 ‘ um, time only can disclose ; but as misfortune
 ‘ hitherto, instead of producing reflection and
 ‘ prudence, has operated to increase her insanity,
 ‘ we agree in opinion with your excellency, that
 ‘ it is probable she will not only endeavour to
 ‘ keep possession of our capital, but make another
 ‘ attempt to subjugate the country—we shall there-
 ‘ fore immediately enter upon the prosecution of
 ‘ the measures recommended by your excellency,
 ‘ as necessary for its safety ; and being fully sen-
 ‘ sible how much depends upon the result of
 ‘ our deliberations, we will endeavour to proceed
 ‘ in the weighty business with firmness and tem-
 ‘ per, with vigour, unanimity and dispatch.

‘ By order of the house,

‘ HUGH RUTLEDGE, speaker.’

By the rotation established, it became necessary
 to choose a new governor. The suffrages of
 a majority were in the first instance in favour of
 the honourable Christopher Gadsden, esquire,
 who declined the office in a short speech to the
 following effect : ‘ I have served you in a variety
 ‘ of stations for thirty years, and I would now
 ‘ cheerfully make one of a forlorn hope in an
 ‘ assault on the lines of Charleston, if it was pro-
 ‘ bable that, with the certain loss of my life, you
 ‘ would be re-instated in the possession of your
 ‘ capital. What I can do for my country I am
 ‘ willing to do. My sentiments of the American
 ‘ cause

‘ cause from the stamp-act downwards have never
 ‘ changed. I am still of opinion that it is the
 ‘ cause of liberty and of human nature. If my
 ‘ acceptance of the office of governor would
 ‘ serve my country, though my administration
 ‘ would be attended with the loss of personal
 ‘ credit and reputation, I would cheerfully un-
 ‘ dertake it. The present times require the vi-
 ‘ gour and activity of the prime of life ; but I
 ‘ feel the increasing infirmities of old age to such
 ‘ a degree, that I am conscious I cannot serve you
 ‘ to advantage. I therefore beg for your sakes,
 ‘ and for the sake of the publick, that you would
 ‘ indulge me with the liberty of declining the
 ‘ arduous trust.’ He was indulged in his re-
 quest ; but, though he declined the laborious
 office of governor, he continued to serve both
 in the assembly and council, where, notwithstand-
 ing the long confinement he had suffered in the
 castle of St. Augustine, in violation of the capi-
 tulation of Charleston, and the immense loss of
 his property, he opposed the law, which was
 brought in on this occasion, for confiscating the
 estates of the adherents to the British govern-
 ment, and zealously contended that sound policy
 required to forget and forgive.

THE general assembly elected the honourable
 John Mathews governor, filled up vacancies in
 the different departments, and re-established civil
 government in all its branches. They also dele-
 gated to the governor or commander in chief the
 same

same extensive powers, with similar limitation, which had been entrusted to his predecessor—‘ Of doing all matters and things which were judged expedient and necessary to secure the liberty, safety and happiness of the state.’ Hitherto the legislature of the state had given every man the free liberty of choosing his side, and retaining his property; but the conduct of the British, while they had the ascendancy in the state, was so contrary to this humane mode of carrying on war, that on this occasion an opposite line of policy was adopted.

LAWS were passed for confiscating the estates, and banishing the persons of the active decided friends of British government, and for amercing the estates of others, as a substitution for their personal services, of which their country had been deprived. Two hundred and thirty-seven persons or estates were included in the first class, and forty-eight in the last. Those whose submission appeared to be necessary and unavoidable, and who did not voluntarily aid or abet the government of the conquerors, were generally overlooked. The reasons that induced the assembly to adopt the measure of confiscation are stated by themselves in the preamble to the act which is in the following words : ‘ Whereas the thirteen British colonies, now the United States of America, were, by an act of the parliament of Great-Britain, passed in or about the month of December, in the year of our LORD one thousand
‘ seven

‘ seven hundred and seventy-five, declared to be
 ‘ in rebellion, and out of the protection of the
 ‘ British crown ; and by the said act not only the
 ‘ property of the colonists was declared subject to
 ‘ seizure and condemnation, but divers seizures
 ‘ and destruction of their property having been
 ‘ made after the nineteenth day of April, anno
 ‘ Domini one thousand seven hundred and se-
 ‘ venty-five ; and before the passing of the said
 ‘ act, such seizures and destruction were by the
 ‘ said act declared to be lawful : and whereas the
 ‘ good people of these states having not only suf-
 ‘ fered great losses and damages by captures of
 ‘ their property on the sea by the subjects of his
 ‘ Britannick majesty, but by their seizing and
 ‘ carrying off much property taken on the land :
 ‘ in consequence of such proceedings of the Bri-
 ‘ tish crown, and those acting under its authority,
 ‘ the honourable Congress of the United States,
 ‘ after due and mature consideration, authorized
 ‘ the seizing and condemnation of all property
 ‘ found on the sea, and belonging to the subjects
 ‘ of Great-Britain, and recommended to the se-
 ‘ veral states in which such subjects had property,
 ‘ to confiscate the same for the publick use ; all
 ‘ political connexion between Great-Britain and
 ‘ the United States having been dissolved by the
 ‘ separation of these states from that kingdom,
 ‘ and their declaring themselves free and inde-
 ‘ pendent of her : in pursuance of which recom-
 ‘ mendation most, if not all, have disposed of
 ‘ such property for the publick use. And whereas,
 ‘ notwithstanding

notwithstanding this state has forborne even to
 sequester the profits arising from the estates of
 British subjects, the enemy, in violation of the
 most solemn capitulations and publick engage-
 ments, by which the property of individuals
 was secured to them, seized upon, sequestered
 and applied to their own use, not only in several
 instances, the profits of the estates, but in
 other instances the estates themselves of the
 good citizens of this state, and have commit-
 ted the most wanton and wilful waste of pro-
 perty both real and personal, to a very con-
 siderable amount.

AND whereas, from a proclamation of sir
 Henry Clinton, declaring, that if any person
 should appear in arms in order to prevent the
 establishment of his Britannick majesty's go-
 vernment in this country, such persons should
 be treated with the utmost severity, and their
 estates be immediately seized in order to be con-
 fiscated: and whereas, from a letter of lord
 Rawdon to lieutenant-colonel Rugely, declaring,
 that every militiaman who did not use his utmost
 endeavours to apprehend deserters, should be
 punished in such manner as his lordship should
 think adequate to such offence, by whipping,
 imprisonment, or being sent to serve his Britan-
 nick majesty in the West-Indies. From earl
 Cornwallis's letter to lieutenant-colonel Cruger,
 bearing date the eighteenth of August, one
 thousand seven hundred and eighty, declaring

‘ that he had given orders that all the inhabitants
 ‘ who had submitted, and who had taken part
 ‘ with their countrymen in the first action near
 ‘ Camden, although such submission was an act
 ‘ of force or necessity, should be punished with
 ‘ the greatest rigour—that they should be impri-
 ‘ soned, and their whole property taken from
 ‘ them or destroyed—and that he had ordered,
 ‘ in the most positive manner, that every militia-
 ‘ man who had borne arms on the part of his
 ‘ Britannick majesty, and who had afterwards
 ‘ joined his fellow-citizens, although he had been
 ‘ compelled to take up arms against them, should
 ‘ be immediately hanged ; and ordering the said
 ‘ lieutenant-colonel Cruger to obey these directi-
 ‘ ons in the district in which he commanded, in
 ‘ the strictest manner. And, from the general
 ‘ tenor of the enemy’s conduct in their wilful
 ‘ and wanton waste and destruction of property
 ‘ as aforesaid, committing to a cruel imprison-
 ‘ ment, and even hanging, and otherwise putting
 ‘ to death in cold blood and an ignominious
 ‘ manner, many good citizens who had surren-
 ‘ dered as prisoners of war, it is evident that it
 ‘ was the fixed determination of the enemy,
 ‘ notwithstanding their professions to the contra-
 ‘ ry, to treat this state as a conquered country ;
 ‘ and that the inhabitants were to expect the
 ‘ utmost severities, and to hold their lives, liber-
 ‘ ties and properties, solely at the will of his
 ‘ Britannick majesty’s officers.

‘ AND

‘ AND it is therefore inconsistent with publick
 ‘ justice and policy to afford protection any longer
 ‘ to the property of British subjects, and just and
 ‘ reasonable to apply the same towards alleviat-
 ‘ ing and lessening the burdens and expences of
 ‘ the war, which must otherwise fall very heavy
 ‘ on the distressed inhabitants of this state; Be
 ‘ it therefore enacted’—

THE execution of these laws, so derogatory to the many bold promises of the British commanders for the security and protection of the property of their adherents, induced general Leslie, who at that time commanded the royal forces in Carolina, to concert measures for their indemnification. To this end he sent a party to seize the negroes and other effects belonging to the whig-citizens, with the avowed intention of applying it to the relief of the sufferers by the confiscation law. After a successful excursion of this kind, he wrote the following letter to general Greene :

‘ Head-Quarters, April 4, 1782.

‘ SIR,

‘ IT was with deep concern I viewed, in the
 ‘ proceedings of your last assembly, acts for amerc-
 ‘ ing the property of some persons, and confiscat-
 ‘ ing that of others, whose principles had attached
 ‘ them to the cause of their sovereign. Yet,
 ‘ alarming as the publick resolutions appeared,
 ‘ I was in hopes humanity, as well as policy,
 ‘ would

‘ would have arrested their execution, and that
 ‘ I should not have been compelled to take mea-
 ‘ sures for their counteraction, injurious to the
 ‘ country, and therefore painful to me. But
 ‘ when these hopes were disappointed, and I
 ‘ found the effects of the loyal and well-affected
 ‘ removed from their estates, and carried to parts
 ‘ far distant from them, I could no longer remain
 ‘ the quiet spectator of their distresses ; but, in
 ‘ order to induce a juster line of conduct, I have
 ‘ employed a part of the force entrusted to my
 ‘ charge for their protection, in seizing the ne-
 ‘ groes of your friends, that restitution may be
 ‘ thereby made to such of ours as may suffer un-
 ‘ der these oppressive and ruinous resolutions.
 ‘ This, sir, was the object of the late excursion
 ‘ towards Santee, and these principles will greatly
 ‘ mark the future operations of this army, unless
 ‘ a relinquishment of this assumed right on your
 ‘ part should justify less destructive measures on
 ‘ mine.

‘ To point out to you, or the world, the dis-
 ‘ tinction between temporary sequestration and
 ‘ actual confiscation would be impertinent ; but
 ‘ it will by no means be so to observe on the op-
 ‘ posite conduct pursued by each party in carry-
 ‘ ing into execution these very different measures ;
 ‘ for whilst you have endeavoured to involve, in
 ‘ perpetual ruin, the persons and estates of those
 ‘ who have differed from you in political senti-
 ‘ ments, I can safely appeal even to those whose
 ‘ violent

‘ violent opposition to the King’s government
 ‘ compelled the with-holding from them for a
 ‘ time their possessions in this province, for the
 ‘ great attention which has been invariably paid
 ‘ to their property—the connected state in which
 ‘ it has been preserved—and the liberal allow-
 ‘ ances that were made to their families, inso-
 ‘ much that, while other estates were running to
 ‘ waste by the distractions of the country, these
 ‘ have greatly thriven at the expence of govern-
 ‘ ment.

‘ Thus far I have deemed it necessary to urge
 ‘ the motives of humanity, policy and example,
 ‘ for your suspension of such rigorous procedures ;
 ‘ and should you think a meeting of commissi-
 ‘ oners on each side might tend to lessen the de-
 ‘ vastations of war, and secure inviolate the pro-
 ‘ perty of individuals, I shall have a peculiar
 ‘ happiness in embracing proposals that may ac-
 ‘ complish such benevolent purposes ; but if, not-
 ‘ withstanding this earnest representation, you
 ‘ should still persevere in executing these acts of
 ‘ your assembly, I trust this letter will hold me
 ‘ justifiable to the world for any measures which
 ‘ necessity may adopt in counteraction of steps
 ‘ unjust in their principles and personally distress-
 ‘ ful in their consequences ; and that, whilst I
 ‘ only endeavour to secure to those, who with
 ‘ respectable steadiness have attached themselves
 ‘ to our cause, the full possession of their effects,
 ‘ or, in case of losses, to provide an equitable re-
 stitution

‘stitution for them, I shall be clearly exculpated
‘from all the horrors and calamities which the
‘road you now point out unavoidably leads to.

‘I have the honour to be,

‘your most obedient

‘and most humble servant,

(Signed)

‘ALEX. LESLIE.

‘To major-general Greene.’

To this letter general Greene returned an immediate answer, ‘that he had the honour to
‘command the forces of the United States in
‘the southern department; but had nothing to
‘do with the internal police of any state.’ On which lieutenant-general Leslie addressed himself to governor Mathews, and enclosed the letter which had been addressed to general Greene, to which governor Mathews gave the following answer :

‘April 12, 1782.

‘SIR,

‘I HAD the honour of receiving your letter of
‘the eighth instant, enclosing one from you to
‘major-general Greene of the fourth, and his
‘answer to you of the same date.

‘THE manner in which you refer to your letter
‘to general Greene, obliges me to view that letter
‘as now addressed to me. I must therefore beg
‘leave to observe upon it, previous to answering
‘the one immediately addressed to me.

‘YOUR

‘ YOUR remaining so short a time in this state,
 ‘ after the surrender of Charleston, and not re-
 ‘ turning to it till most of the sequestered estates
 ‘ had been rescued from the hands of your seques-
 ‘ trator, has put it out of your power to speak of
 ‘ the management of them in this country from
 ‘ your own knowledge, consequently what has
 ‘ been said by you on that subject must have been
 ‘ from information. The character of general
 ‘ Leslie has always been represented to me in so
 ‘ favourable a light, that candour forbids me to
 ‘ entertain the most distant idea of his having
 ‘ intentionally represented matters so contrary to
 ‘ fact, to answer even the greatest political pur-
 ‘ poses ; but it is evident that he has been most
 ‘ grossly imposed on by men in whom he had
 ‘ confided, and that they have betrayed him into
 ‘ an assertion which must injure his feelings when-
 ‘ ever he is possessed of a true state of the ma-
 ‘ nagement of those estates that were put under
 ‘ sequestration by order of lord Cornwallis.

‘ I WOULD not, sir, give an hasty answer to
 ‘ your observations on this subject, and thought
 ‘ myself well justified in deviating from the rule
 ‘ of politeness in delaying an answer, that I might
 ‘ have an opportunity of investigating truth. I
 ‘ have taken much pains in my enquiries, the
 ‘ result of which has been the most indubitable
 ‘ proofs, that so far from these sequestered estates
 ‘ having had the greatest attention paid to them
 ‘ —being preserved in a connected state—and
 ‘ greatly

“greatly thriven,” most of them, while under
 ‘the management of your sequestrator, have been
 ‘very greatly injured; many have been nearly
 ‘ruined, and others altogether so. What expence
 ‘the British government has incurred on their
 ‘account I know not, but, I can with confidence
 ‘assert, the sequestered estates have been very
 ‘little benefited thereby.

‘I WILL now appeal to a fact within your own
 ‘knowledge. You know that great numbers of
 ‘the negroes, belonging to these estates, are now
 ‘within your lines, and lost to their owners.
 ‘And on few plantations is a four-footed animal
 ‘to be found. How then do you prove that the
 ‘estates have been preserved in a connected state,
 ‘when one half of some, two thirds of others,
 ‘and the whole of a few of the estates have been
 ‘deprived of the negroes and stock that were
 ‘upon them when put under sequestration? How
 ‘do you prove that these estates have greatly
 ‘thriven; and that the greatest attention has been
 ‘paid to them?

‘As to the liberal allowance made to the fa-
 ‘milies of those persons whose estates were se-
 ‘questered: this sir, I must beg leave to say you
 ‘have been as greatly deceived in, as the other
 ‘parts of your information. So far from the
 ‘wives and children having been allowed the
 ‘stipulated sums out of their husbands’ and fa-
 ‘thers’ estates, the truth is, that after much
 ‘entreaty

‘ entreaty, and in many instances very unbecom-
 ‘ ing treatment, some have obtained trifling sums
 ‘ compared with what they were entitled to, while
 ‘ others have been altogether denied.

‘ ON this ground of investigation I am ready
 ‘ to meet you, sir, whenever you think proper,
 ‘ when I will undertake to produce to you the
 ‘ proofs for every thing I have here advanced.

‘ YOUR observation on the opposite conduct of
 ‘ each party in carrying into execution the mea-
 ‘ sures of sequestration and confiscation, so far
 ‘ from being founded in fact, evidently shew the
 ‘ uniform deception into which you have been led.
 ‘ In the common acceptation of the word, it is
 ‘ true, sequestration means no more than a tem-
 ‘ porary privation of property ; but your sequef-
 ‘ trator general, and most of his officers, have
 ‘ construed this word into a very different mean-
 ‘ ing ; and, regardless of the articles of capitula-
 ‘ tion of Charleston, as well as of the most sacred
 ‘ contracts contained in marriage-settlements, eve-
 ‘ ry species of property, negroes, plate, house-
 ‘ hold furniture, horses, carriages, cattle, &c.
 ‘ have been indiscriminately torn from their own-
 ‘ ers by persons now under your immediate com-
 ‘ mand, and have been either sent beyond seas,
 ‘ for the benefit of those who had taken—I had
 ‘ almost said plundered them, or now remain
 ‘ within your lines, and in either case lost to their
 ‘ owners.

‘ Now, fir, let us for a moment view the con-
 ‘ duct of the legislature of this state in their late
 ‘ session. The most sacred regard has been paid
 ‘ by them to private contracts, neither marriage-
 ‘ settlements nor the faith of individuals have
 ‘ been violated, but left to their full operation.
 ‘ A provision also was made for the families of
 ‘ those whose estates have been confiscated. And
 ‘ although the property of British subjects within
 ‘ this state has been confiscated, yet the debts
 ‘ due to them from the citizens of this state have
 ‘ been left untouched. And be assured, fir,
 ‘ whilst I have the honour of holding the rank
 ‘ I now do, it shall be my particular business to
 ‘ see that this, as well as every other law of the
 ‘ state, is executed with lenity, fidelity and inte-
 ‘ grity.

‘ AFTER these observations permit me, fir, to
 ‘ draw your serious attention to a candid and
 ‘ impartial view of the conduct of each party on
 ‘ the operation of your sequestration and our con-
 ‘ fiscation acts, when I leave you at liberty and
 ‘ at leisure to judge, whether you find any diffe-
 ‘ rence between them, and if you do, whether
 ‘ confiscation on our part is likely to be produc-
 ‘ tive of more ruinous consequences to those who
 ‘ are affected by it, than sequestration on your
 ‘ part has been to those unfortunate citizens of
 ‘ this state who have felt its effects.

‘ As to the assumption of a right on the part
 ‘ of

‘ of the state, to treat its citizens according to
 ‘ their demerits, I must beg leave to observe such
 ‘ language is only calculated to irritate, and by
 ‘ no means to accomplish the ends you aim at.
 ‘ And, sir, if you conceive ours to be no more
 ‘ than an assumed right, I have every reason to
 ‘ suppose that no convention that can be entered
 ‘ into in the negotiation that you propose can be
 ‘ looked upon by you as binding, after it has
 ‘ been in the most solemn manner concluded.
 ‘ And, did I not suppose the expression had in-
 ‘ advertently escaped you, I should rest the mat-
 ‘ ter here, and think no more about it. But the
 ‘ opinion I entertain of general Leslie forbids me
 ‘ to imagine him capable of deception.

‘ You entirely mistake my character when you
 ‘ suppose me to be intimidated by threats, and
 ‘ thereby deterred from executing the duties of
 ‘ the office with which the state has honoured me.
 ‘ For be assured, sir, the laws of this state trusted
 ‘ to me must and shall be carried into execution
 ‘ —maugre the consequences.

‘ THE powers vested in me by the state are
 ‘ very extensive; but I shall ever be extremely
 ‘ cautious how I exercise them, and when I do
 ‘ I must be convinced that the exercise of my ex-
 ‘ traordinary powers is calculated to produce
 ‘ some proportionate benefit to the state.

‘ I WOULD recommend to you, sir, to consider
 ‘ well

‘ well the consequences before you carry into
 ‘ execution the threats you hold out ; for remem-
 ‘ ber the estates reserved by marriage settlements,
 ‘ and the debts due to those who have attached
 ‘ themselves to your cause, as well as the debts
 ‘ due to the subjects of Britain, are in my power,
 ‘ and that I can, in an hour’s time, deprive them
 ‘ of every benefit to be derived to them from the
 ‘ benevolent intentions of the legislature of this
 ‘ state. My sensibility would be extremely wound-
 ‘ ed, should I be reduced to the painful necessity
 ‘ of exercising this power ; but it rests with you,
 ‘ sir, whether I do or not. And I shall be as
 ‘ ready as you are to appeal to the world for the
 ‘ rectitude of my conduct.

‘ YOUR proposition for suspending the opera-
 ‘ tion of the confiscation act, without offering
 ‘ any equivalent, is inadmissible. If you have
 ‘ any thing serious and solid to propose on this
 ‘ head, I am ready to appoint commissioners on
 ‘ my part to meet those of yours to confer on the
 ‘ business.

‘ I have the honour to be,
 ‘ sir, your most obedient
 ‘ and humble servant,

(Signed) ‘ JOHN MATHEWS.
 ‘ Lieutenant-general Leslie.’

AFTER the reduction of lord Cornwallis was
 completed, the Pennsylvania line marched to
 South-Carolina. This increase of force enabled
 general

general Greene to detach a part of his army to Georgia. During the two or three preceding years, that state had suffered, in an eminent degree, the desolations of war. The blood of its citizens had been daily shed by contending parties, under the denomination of whigs and tories. Political hatred raged to such a degree, that a Georgia parole, and a thrust with the bayonet, were terms of equal import. A few of the friends of the revolution kept together in the upper country, and exercised the powers of independent government; and armed parties were frequently making excursions against British detachments. One of the most successful of this kind was on the twenty-third of March 1781, by colonel Clark, commanding a party of Georgia militia, who fell in with major Dunlap near Ninety-Six, at the head of a detachment of British troops. The major and thirty-four of his men were killed, and forty-two taken prisoners.

IN January 1782 general Wayne, having previously ordered the Americans at Augusta to join him at Ebenezer, crossed the river Savannah at the Two Sisters ferry, with about a hundred dragoons, under the command of colonel Anthony-Walton White. He was soon after reinforced by three hundred continental infantry, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Posey. The British commander in Savannah, on hearing of this irruption of the Americans, sent orders to the different posts to burn, as far as they could,
all

all the provisions in the country, and then to retire within their works. The margin of the river Savannah, and the islands in the vicinity of it, were soon covered with smoke, and presented to the astonished eye a grand but an awful spectacle. What remained of the last year's crop was so generally destroyed, that the American forces were obliged to depend chiefly on South-Carolina for their support.

THE British garrison at this time consisted of about a thousand regulars, besides a considerable number of militia, and was under the command of brigadier-general Clarke. Notwithstanding this great superiority of force, general Wayne frequently appeared before the British lines, and insulted their picquets. Three different attempts were made to surprize an advanced party of the Americans commanded by lieutenant-colonel Jackson, but none of them succeeded.

ABOUT this time John Martin, esquire, governor of the state of Georgia, came with his council from Augusta to Ebenezer, and re-established American government in the vicinity of the sea-coast. Soon after his arrival he issued a proclamation, offering to every British or Hessian soldier, who should desert from Savannah, two hundred acres of land, and some stock. This had, in a certain degree, the desired effect.

ON the twenty-first of May 1782, colonel Brown,

Brown, at the head of a considerable party, marched out of the garrison of Savannah, with the apparent intention of attacking the Americans. General Wayne, by a bold manœuvre, got between colonel Brown and the British garrison in Savannah—attacked him at twelve o'clock at night, and routed his whole party. The vanguard of the Americans, consisting of sixty horse and forty infantry, was led on by colonel White of the cavalry, and captain Parker of the infantry, to a spirited charge, in which forty of the men, commanded by colonel Brown, were killed or wounded, about twenty taken prisoners, and the remainder obliged to shelter themselves in the swamps under cover of the night. This advantage was gained by the liberal use of the sword and bayonet. Orders had been previously given to depend exclusively on these weapons; and that this might be more punctually complied with, the flints were taken out of the muskets of the infantry. Mr. Jonathan Brian, a respectable citizen of the state of Georgia, though nearly eighty years of age, was among the foremost on this occasion, and shewed as much fire and spirit as could be exhibited by a young foldier in the pursuit of military fame. In this successful enterprise the Americans had only five privates killed and two wounded.

ON the twenty-fourth of June 1782, a party of Creek Indians, with a British officer, made in the night a spirited attack on general Wayne.

The

The assailants conducted the enterprize with so much spirit and address, that they got possession of two field-pieces, which were guarded by a small party in the rear of the Americans. The troops commanded by general Wayne soon rallied and recovered their field-pieces. A smart action ensued, in which they fought on both sides in close quarters with swords and bayonets. Though the Indians, in this unusual mode of engaging, displayed uncommon bravery, yet they were completely routed. Fourteen of their number were killed. Emisteffigo, a famous Indian chief, was among the slain. The Americans carried off a British standard, and a large number of horses.

THE presence of an American force between the upper country and the garrison in Savannah interrupted the communication between the Indians and the British. A party of the former, when on their way to Savannah with a considerable number of pack-horses, and a great deal of peltry, was taken by general Wayne. Two of their number were detained as hostages, but the remainder was sent home with a friendly talk and provisions. These lenient measures, together with the recent successes of the Americans, had a considerable influence in detaching the Indians from their British friends. The surrender of lord Cornwallis, the successes of general Greene in South-Carolina, together with the declining state of the royal interest in every part of the United States, operated on the government of Great-Britain

Britain so as to induce a resolution, early in the year 1782, to abandon all offensive operations in America. Under this sanction, on the twenty-second of May 1782, general Leslie proposed to general Greene a cessation of hostilities; but this was declined by the latter for want of instructions from Congress on the subject. Nevertheless, there was nothing of consequence attempted on either side.

IN connexion with this system of abandoning offensive operations in America, a scheme was adopted of evacuating the weaker British posts in the United States. As it had been the lot of Savannah to be the first southern post which was reduced, in like manner it was the first which was evacuated. When this measure was determined upon, the merchants and others, inhabitants thereof, obtained permission to apply to general Wayne for the security and preservation of their property. To their deputies he replied, ‘ that, should the British garrison eventually effect an evacuation, the persons and properties of such inhabitants or others, who choose to remain in Savannah, will be protected by the military, and resigned inviolate into the hands of the civil authority, which must ultimately decide.’ The merchants and inhabitants of Savannah, having sent out a second flag, general Wayne, at the desire of the civil authority of the state, sent them for answer, ‘ that the merchants, not owing allegiance to the United States, will be permit-

‘ted to remain a reasonable time to dispose of their goods and settle their affairs.’ Major Habersham, who was charged with this message, pledged himself that they might rely, with the utmost confidence, on the terms proposed to them.

ON the eleventh of July 1782 the British evacuated the town of Savannah, and the Americans immediately took possession of it. Peace and tranquillity were restored to Georgia, after it had been near four years in the possession of the British. It is supposed, by well-informed persons, that in this space of time, the state lost by the war one thousand of its citizens, besides four thousand slaves.

FROM the commencement of the year 1782 constant reports were circulated, that the British intended an immediate evacuation of Charleston. The apprehension of this gave a serious alarm to those of the inhabitants who adhered to their interest. There was no part of South-Carolina without the British lines which was not formally in the peace of the state, excepting a settlement on Little Peedee. Major Ganey, at the head of some loyalists residing near that river, had refused to do militia duty under general Marion, the brigadier of the district. They defended themselves in the swamps, and from thence frequently sallied to the distress of the whig inhabitants of the adjacent country. On the twenty-eighth of April 1781 a party of them, commanded by captain

tain Jones, surrounded and set fire to the house of colonel Kolb, a respectable American militia officer. He, after receiving assurances of being treated as a prisoner of war, surrendered. Nevertheless he was put to instant death in the presence of his wife and children. When the British had lost ground in 1781, general Marion made a treaty of neutrality with them. In the summer of 1782 this was formally renewed. Though the British interest was entirely ruined, and their departure from Charleston soon expected, such was the generosity of the government, that it gave them a full pardon for all treasons committed against the state, the security of their property, and the protection of the laws, on the condition of their delivering up their plunder—abjuring the King of Great-Britain, and demeaning themselves as peaceable citizens of the state. An alternative was offered to those who disapproved of these articles, to go within the British lines, and to carry off or sell their property.^{aaa} These lenient measures brought over the disaffected people of the settlement. Several of them not long after fought bravely under general Marion, and the whole conducted themselves peaceably. Regularity, order and government took place of reciprocal depredations and hostilities.

ON the proposed evacuation of Charleston, the merchants who came with the British were in a most disagreeable predicament. They had entered

^{aaa} See note LI.

ed into extensive commercial engagements in the short interval of the British sway. Those of their debtors, who were without the lines, were not subject to their jurisdiction ; those who were within were unable to pay. It was supposed that all transfers of property, by the authority of the board of police, would be null and void on the departure of the British from the state. Environed with difficulties, and threatened with bankruptcy, if they should leave the state along with the garrison, they applied to general Leslie for leave to negotiate for themselves. A deputation of their body waited on governor Mathews, and obtained from him permission to reside in South-Carolina for eighteen months after the evacuation, with the full liberty of disposing of their stock of goods on hand, and of collecting the debts already due to them. This indulgence was extended to a longer term by the legislature at their next meeting, before any information arrived that the preliminary articles of peace were signed.

AFTER the intention of evacuating Charleston had been announced in publick orders, general Leslie wrote to general Greene, offering full payment for rice and other provisions to be sent into Charleston, and, at the same time, accompanied his request with a threat, that, if it was not granted for money, it should be taken by force without compensation.^{bbb} Every pecuniary consideration operated to induce the acceptance of these

^{bbb} See note LII.

these offers. It would have been the means of retaining in the state many thousand pounds in gold and silver, besides saving the country from depredation. But as it was then believed that the British meant to supply themselves largely with provisions, the better to enable them to transfer the war to the French West-India Islands, a sense of honour—of what was due to national character—and to their French allies, forbade an assent to the advantageous offers of general Leslie. Every effort was made by the commander of the American army, and by the governor of the state, to restrain the intercourse between town and country on private account, though the necessities of the American army made a small deviation necessary for the sake of obtaining supplies for publick service. General Leslie, finding it impossible to purchase, sent out parties to seize provisions near the different landings, and to bring them by water to Charleston. This was effected in some instances before the Americans could be collected in sufficient force for the defence of their property.

ONE of the most considerable parties ordered on this business was sent to Combahee ferry, where they arrived on the twenty-fifth of August 1782. Brigadier-general Gist, with about three hundred cavalry and infantry, of the continental army, was detached to oppose them. He succeeded so far as to capture one of their schooners, and in a great degree to frustrate their designs. Lieutenant-

nant-colonel John Laurens, though he had been confined for several days immediately preceding, yet, on hearing of the expedition, rose from his bed, and followed general Gist. When the British and American detachments approached within a few miles of each other, lieutenant-colonel Laurens, being in advance with a small party of regulars and militia, engaged with a much superior force, in expectation of support from the main body in his rear. In the midst of his gallant exertions, this all-accomplished youth received a mortal wound. Nature had adorned him with a profusion of her choicest gifts, to which a well-conducted education had added its most useful as well as its most elegant improvements. Though his fortune and family entitled him to pre-eminence, yet he was the warm friend of republican equality. Generous and liberal, his heart expanded with genuine philanthropy. Zealous for the rights of humanity, he contended that personal liberty was the birth-right of every human being, however diversified by country, colour or capacity. His insinuating address, won the hearts of all his acquaintances : his sincerity and virtue, secured their lasting esteem. Acting from the most honourable principles—uniting the bravery and other talents of a great officer with the knowledge of a complete scholar, and the engaging manners of a well-bred gentleman, he was the idol of his country—the glory of the army—and an ornament of human nature. His abilities shone in the legislature and in the cabinet, as
well

well as in the field, and were equal to the highest stations. His admiring country, sensible of his rising merit, stood prepared to confer on him her most distinguished honours. Cut down in the midst of all these prospects, he has left mankind to deplore the calamities of war, which, in the twenty-seventh year of his life, deprived society of so invaluable a citizen.

THROUGHOUT the year 1782 the American army acted chiefly on the defensive. A short time before the evacuation, an attempt was made against a British detachment on James-Island. In this unsuccessful enterprize captain Wilmot, a brave and worthy officer of the Maryland line, lost his life. This was the last drop of blood which was shed in the American war.

WHEN the long-expected evacuation of Charleston really drew nigh, it was apprehended by the inhabitants, that the British army, on its departure, would carry off with them some thousands of negroes which were within their lines. To prevent this, governor Mathews wrote a letter to general Leslie, dated August seventeenth, 1782, in which he informed him, ‘ that, if the
 ‘ property of the citizens of South-Carolina was
 ‘ carried off from its owners by the British army,
 ‘ he should seize on the debts due to the British
 ‘ merchants—and to the confiscated estates—and
 ‘ the claims on those estates by marriage settle-
 ‘ ments—which three articles were not included
 ‘ in

‘ in the confiscation act.’ This conditional resolution operated as a check on some, so as to restrain their avidity for plunder, and induced general Leslie to propose a negotiation, for securing the property of both parties. The honourable Benjamin Guerard and Edward Rutledge, esquires, were appointed commissioners in behalf of the state, and Alexander Wright and James Johnson, esquires, in behalf of the royalists. After sundry conversations, the commissioners on both sides, on the tenth of October 1782, ratified a compact on this subject, of which the following are the principal articles :

‘ FIRST, That all the slaves of the citizens of
 ‘ South-Carolina, now in the power of the ho-
 ‘ nourable lieutenant-general Leslie, shall be re-
 ‘ stored to their former owners, as far as is prac-
 ‘ ticable, except such slaves as may have rendered
 ‘ themselves particularly obnoxious on account
 ‘ of their attachment and services to the British
 ‘ troops, and such as had specifick promises of
 ‘ freedom.

‘ THAT the faith of the state is hereby solemnly
 ‘ pledged, that none of the debts due to British
 ‘ merchants, or to persons who have been ba-
 ‘ nished, or whose estates have been confiscated,
 ‘ or property secured by family settlements fairly
 ‘ made, or contracts relative thereto, shall now,
 ‘ or at any time hereafter, be arrested or with-
 ‘ held by the executive authority of the state—
 ‘ that

‘ that no act of the legislature shall hereafter pass
 ‘ for confiscating or seizing the same in any man-
 ‘ ner whatever, if it is in the power of the exe-
 ‘ cutive to prevent it—and that its whole power
 ‘ and influence, both in its publick and private
 ‘ capacity, shall at all times be exerted for that
 ‘ purpose.

‘ THAT the same power shall be allowed for
 ‘ the recovery of the debts and property, hereby
 ‘ protected and secured by the parties or their
 ‘ representatives, in the courts of justice or other-
 ‘ wise, as the citizens of the state may at any
 ‘ time be entitled unto, notwithstanding any act
 ‘ of confiscation or banishment, or any other dis-
 ‘ ability whatever—and that the same may be
 ‘ remitted to whatever part of the world they
 ‘ may think proper, under the same, and no
 ‘ other, regulations than the citizens of the state
 ‘ may be subject to.

‘ THAT no slaves restored to their former own-
 ‘ ers, by virtue of this agreement, shall be pu-
 ‘ nished by authority of the state for having left
 ‘ their masters, and attached themselves to the
 ‘ British troops; and it will be particularly re-
 ‘ commended to their respective owners to for-
 ‘ give them for the same.

‘ THAT no violence or insult shall be offered
 ‘ to the persons or houses of the families of such
 ‘ persons as are obliged to leave the state for their

‘ adherence to the British government, when the
 ‘ American army shall take possession of the town,
 ‘ or at any time afterwards, as far as it is in the
 ‘ power of those in authority to prevent it.

‘ **THAT** Edward Blake and Roger-Parker
 ‘ Saunders, esquires, be permitted to reside in
 ‘ Charleston, on their parole of honour, to assist
 ‘ in the execution of the first article of this
 ‘ compact.’

IN consequence of this agreement governor Mathews gave a commission and a flag to the honourable Thomas Ferguson and Thomas Waring, esquires, to reside near the British lines, with instructions to receive such negroes as should be delivered from the garrison. Edward Blake and Roger-Parker Saunders, esquires, had also a commission and a flag given them to reside in Charleston, and forward the delivery of the ‘negroes to the gentlemen who were waiting to receive them without the garrison. Governor Mathews requested the citizens of the state to attend for the purpose of receiving their negroes, and earnestly entreated that they would forgive them for having deserted their service and joined the British. Great were the expectations of the suffering inhabitants, that they would soon obtain re-possession of their property ; but these delusive hopes were of short duration. Notwithstanding the solemnity with which the compact had been ratified,
 it

it was so far evaded as to be in a great measure ineffectual for the end proposed.

EDWARD Blake and Roger-Parker Saunders, esquires, having waited on general Leslie, were permitted to examine the fleet bound to St. Augustine; but were not suffered to examine any vessel that wore the King's pendant. Instead of an examination the word of the commanding officer, to restore all the slaves that were on board, in violation of the compact, was offered as an equivalent. In their search of the Augustine fleet, they found and claimed one hundred and thirty-six negroes. When they attended to receive them on shore, they were surprized to find no more than seventy-three landed for delivery. They then claimed this small residue of the original number to be forwarded to the other commissioners without the lines, but they were informed by general Leslie, that no negroes would be delivered till three soldiers were restored that had been taken by a party of general Greene's army. On that occasion the following letter was written to Edward Blake and Roger-Parker Saunders :

‘ Head-Quarters, Oct. 18, 1782.

‘ GENTLEMEN,

‘ GENERAL Leslie was much surprized on finding that a large patrol from general Greene's army, two days ago, came down so near our
‘ advanced

‘ advanced post on Charleston Neck, as to carry
 ‘ off three soldiers who were a little way in the
 ‘ front. At the time this act of hostility was
 ‘ committed, mr. Ferguson and another person
 ‘ was at Accabee, where I believe they still re-
 ‘ main, in expectation of receiving the negroes
 ‘ to be delivered up, without any sanction but
 ‘ that of the agreement entered into.

‘ I AM directed to observe, that if a line of
 ‘ conduct on the part of general Greene, so dif-
 ‘ ferent from ours, is adopted, that it must of
 ‘ course put an end to the pacifick intentions ge-
 ‘ neral Leslie means to follow in regard to this
 ‘ province, during the short time he is to remain
 ‘ in it.

‘ HE wishes you will inform governor Mathews,
 ‘ that he expects the soldiers taken away will be
 ‘ returned, and that the governor will take pro-
 ‘ per measures to have this requisition complied
 ‘ with. Until this is done general Leslie must be
 ‘ under the necessity of putting a stop to the
 ‘ farther completion of the agreement.

‘ I am, gentlemen,

‘ your most obedient,

‘ humble servant,

‘ J. WEYMS, D. A. General.

‘ Roger-P. Saunders and

‘ Edward Blake, esquires.’

THIS letter being forwarded to governor Matthews, he replied to it in a letter to general Leslie, in the following words :

‘ SIR,

‘ October 19, 1782.

‘ I WAS a few minutes ago favoured with a letter from messrs. Blake and Saunders, enclosing one to them from major Weyms, written by your authority. As I do not like a second-hand correspondence, I therefore address myself immediately to you.

‘ I ADDRESSED a letter to you this morning, by which you will find, that I was not even then without some apprehensions of an intended evasion of the compact entered into on the tenth instant ; but on the receipt of major Weyms’s letter, no room was left me for doubt ; which obliges me, without giving farther trouble to those engaged in the business, and introducing farther altercation between us, to declare, that I look on that agreement as dissolved, and have accordingly ordered my commissioners immediately to quit your lines. But, before I take my final leave of you, permit me to make one or two observations on major Weyms’s letter, as probably the whole correspondence between us may one day be brought to publick view.

‘ ON the twelfth instant I wrote to you, to know whether persons going to Accabee, to bring off their negroes when brought there, should

' should be protected from your armed parties ;
 ' and farther, to permit me to send a party of
 ' militia to guard the negroes remaining unclaim-
 ' ed to some part of the country where they
 ' could be supplied with provisions. To this
 ' letter I have received no answer, which has
 ' obliged me to use the precaution of giving
 ' flags to all persons who have applied to go to
 ' Accabee, as I could on no principle look on
 ' that ground as neutral until it had been mutu-
 ' ally agreed on as such. Indeed I was left to
 ' conclude the contrary was intended on your
 ' part, both by your tedious silence, and detach-
 ' ments from your army making excursions as
 ' far as Ashley ferry, which was absolutely the
 ' case the morning of the day that the party from
 ' general Greene's army took the soldiers you
 ' so peremptorily demand of me. And, if I am
 ' rightly informed, hostilities were commenced
 ' by your party. But be that as it may, I con-
 ' ceive it of little consequence, as either party
 ' had a right to commence hostilities on hostile
 ' ground, and between enemies every spot must
 ' be considered as such until mutually agreed
 ' upon to be otherwise. Besides, it is a well-
 ' known fact, that there is not a day but some
 ' of your armed parties are on that very ground
 ' which you affect to hold neutral.

' WITH regard to messrs. Fergusson and War-
 ' ing remaining at Accabee unmolested : I hold
 ' myself under no manner of obligation to you
 ' for

‘ for this forbearance, as I informed you they
 ‘ were there under the sanction of a flag—that
 ‘ they were to remain there for the purpose of
 ‘ receiving the negroes sent out by the agents in
 ‘ Charleston. They were therefore authorized
 ‘ to continue there till you signified the contrary
 ‘ to them. Flags from you have remained within
 ‘ half a mile of our lines for several days, even
 ‘ on private business, without the least molestation
 ‘ whatever. Besides, sir, if your reasoning, as
 ‘ far as it applies to those gentlemen, proves any
 ‘ thing, it proves too much, because, on the
 ‘ same principle, the other two commissioners, be-
 ‘ ing in Charleston, ought to make that neutral
 ‘ ground also, notwithstanding no stipulation for
 ‘ that purpose had been entered into. I never
 ‘ interfere with general Greene’s military plans,
 ‘ therefore the paragraph which relates to his
 ‘ operations ought to have been addressed to him ;
 ‘ but I believe he pays as little regard to threats
 ‘ as I do.

‘ I have the honour to be

(Signed)

‘ JOHN MATHEWS.

‘ Lieutenant-general Leslie.’

THIS was the unsuccessful termination of a
 benevolent scheme originally calculated for miti-
 gating the calamities of war. Motives of hu-
 manity, together with the sacred obligation of
 the provisional articles of peace, prevented the
 state of South-Carolina from extending their con-
 fiscation laws. Instead of adding to the list of
 the

the unhappy sufferers on that score, the successive assemblies diminished their number.

THE prospects of gain, from the sale of plundered negroes, were too seducing to be resisted by the officers, privates and followers of the British army. On their departure from Charleston upwards of eight hundred slaves, who had been employed in the engineer department, were shipped off for the West-Indies. It was said and believed, that these were taken by the direction, and sold for the benefit of lieutenant-colonel Moncrieff. The professional abilities of that distinguished officer cannot be too much applauded, nor his rapacity too much detested. The slaves carried off by the chief engineer were but a small part of the whole taken away at the evacuation, but their number is very inconsiderable when compared with the thousands that were lost from the first to the last of the war. It has been computed by good judges, that, between the years 1775 and 1783, the state of South-Carolina was deprived of negroes to the amount of twenty-five thousand.

THE evacuation, though officially announced by general Leslie on the seventh of August, as a measure soon to be adopted, did not take place till the fourteenth of December 1782. On that and the succeeding days the British went on board their shipping, and the town was entered by governor Mathews, and the American army, without

without any confusion or disorder. Those who remained in Charleston felt themselves happy in being delivered from the severities of a garrison life. The exiled citizens experienced sensations more easily conceived than expressed, on returning to their houses and estates. To crown their other blessings provisional articles of peace were soon announced to have been signed at Paris, on the thirtieth of November 1782, by which the King of Great-Britain acknowledged ‘ the United
‘ States of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts, Con-
‘ necticut, Rhode-Island, New-York, New-Jersey,
‘ Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia,
‘ North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia,
‘ to be free, sovereign and independent states ; that
‘ he treated with them as such ; and, for himself,
‘ his heirs and successors, relinquished all claim
‘ to the government, propriety or territorial rights
‘ of the same.’^{ccc} The patriot exulted in the acknowledged independence of his country. The soldier rejoiced that the toils of war were ended, and the objects of it fully obtained. The farmer redoubled his industry, from the pleasing conviction that the produce of his labour would be secured to him without any danger from British bayonets or American impress-warrants. Cheerfulness and good humour took possession of minds that, during seven years, had been continually occupied with anxiety and distress. The army was soon after disbanded. Such, at that time, was the situation of the finances of the United
VOL. II. 3 B States,

^{ccc} See note LIII.

States, that Congress was scarcely able to discharge to that virtuous army, which with the price of their blood had secured their independence, as much of the arrears of many years pay, as was sufficient to defray their expences in returning to their respective habitations. The laurels they had dearly earned, the applause of their countrymen which they had eminently obtained, and the plaudits of their consciences which they honestly possessed, were almost the only rewards they carried home, at the termination of a war in which many had injured their constitutions, and all had diminished their fortunes. Sympathizing with the distresses of their countrymen—sensible of their inability to pay them their stipulated due—and confiding in their justice to make them future retribution, they cheerfully relinquished the uniform of the military for the plain garb of the citizen. The private soldier exchanged his bayonet and firelock for the implements of husbandry, and betook himself to rural occupations. Subalterns, captains, field and general officers returned with pleasure to their ancient civil employments. No man aimed at more than the equal rights of citizenship; and every citizen felt himself free and independent.

A SPIRIT of industry took place. The citizens, instead of repining at their losses, generally set themselves to repair them by diligence and economy. The continental officers who had served

ed in the state, and whose bravery and exertions had rendered them conspicuous, were so well received by the ladies, that several of them had their gallantry rewarded by the possession of some of the finest women and greatest fortunes in South-Carolina. The unfortunate adherents to royal government were treated by those in power with moderation and lenity. In conformity to the treaty of peace, and the recommendation of Congress, the legislature permitted the greater part of the exiles to return. These were divided into three classes. Thirty-one were fully restored to their property and citizenship, thirty-three were disqualified from holding any place of trust within the state for the space of seven years, and they, with sixty-two others, were relieved from total confiscation on the condition of their paying twelve per cent on the equitable value of their property. Though the state laboured under an immense load of publick debt, contracted during the war, it generously restored confiscated property in its actual possession, to the amount of four hundred and fifty-six thousand one hundred and eleven pounds sterling. The blessings of peace were diffused among the people, and nothing is now wanting but the smiles of Heaven, and their own good conduct, to make them a great and a happy republick.

N O T E S.

N O T E S.

N O T E I. P A G E 13.

*A list of the Americans who were killed or wounded
at the action near Beaufort, on the ninth of Fe-
bruary 1779.*

Killed.

Lieutenant Benja-
min Wilkins,
John Frazer,
John Craig,
John Williams,
Alexander Douglass,
Charles Smith,
James Heathcott,
Joseph Solomon.

Wounded.

Honourable captain
Thomas Heyward,
Captain Thomas
M'Laughlin,
Lieutenant Brown,
Lieutenant Sawyer,
John Calvert,
Francis Dearing,
John Righton,
John Lawrence,
John Green,

Wounded.

Wounded.
 John Anthony,
 I. D. Miller,
 Anthony Watts,
 John Collins,
 Stephen Deveaux,
 William Rea,
 John Croskeys,

Wounded.
 Michael Campbell,
 Ephraim Adams,
 Samuel Howard,
 John Graves,
 Thomas Feapue,
 John Oliphant.

THE last-named in the list of the wounded was a private continental foldier—all the others were of the militia.

N O T E II. PAGE 18.

THE territory of the United States contains by computation a million of square miles, in which are

	640,000,000 of acres.
Deduct for water	51,000,000
Acres of land in	<hr/>
the United States,	589,000,000 of ditto.

THAT part of the United States comprehended between the west temporary line of Pennsylvania on the east, the boundary line between Britain and the United States extending from the river St. Croix to the north-west extremity of the Lake of the Woods on the north, the river Mississippi to the mouth of the Ohio on the west, and the river Ohio on the south to the aforementioned bounds of Pennsylvania, contains by computation about

about four hundred and eleven thousand square miles, in which are 263,040,000 acres.

Deduct for water 43,040,000

To be disposed of by order of Congress, 220,000,000 of acres.

THE whole of this immense extent of unappropriated western territory, containing, as above stated, 220,000,000 of acres; has been, by the cession of some of the original thirteen states, and by the treaty of peace, transferred to the federal government, and is pledged as a fund for sinking the continental debt. It is in contemplation to divide it into new states, with republican constitutions similar to the old states near the Atlantick ocean.

Estimate of the number of acres of water, north and westward of the river Ohio, within the territory of the United States.

	Acres.
IN lake Superior, - -	21,952,780
Lake of the Woods, - -	1,133,800
Lake Rain, &c. - -	165,200
Red lake, - -	551,000
Lake Michigan, - -	10,368,000
Bay Puán, - -	1,216,000
Lake Huron, - -	5,009,920
Lake St. Clair, - -	89,500
Lake Erie, western part, -	2,252,800
Sundry small lakes and rivers,	301,000
	<hr/>
	43,040,000

*Estimate of the number of acres of water within
the thirteen United States.*

Brought forward,	43,040,000
IN lake Erie, westward of the line extended from the north-west corner of Pennsylvania, due north to the boundary between the British territory and the United States, -	410,000
In lake Ontario, -	2,390,000
Lake Champlain, -	500,000
Chesapeak bay, -	1,700,000
Albermarle bay, -	330,000
Delaware bay, -	630,000
All the rivers within the thirteen states including the Ohio, - -	2,000,000
	<hr/>
	7,960,000
	<hr/>
Total,	51,000,000

THE above calculations were made from actual
measurement of the best maps, by

THOMAS HUTCHINS,
geographer to the
United States.

NOTE

N O T E III. PAGE 30.

Names of American officers who were either killed or wounded in the attack on the British lines at Stono, June twentieth 1779.

CAPTAIN Hext,	}	Second battalion light infantry.
Lieutenant Fisby,		
Lieutenant Smith,		
Captain Pagget,	}	South-Carolina continental brigade.
Captain Goodwin,		
Lieutenant Fishbourn,		
Lieutenant Hamilton,		
Lieutenant Pollard,		
Lieutenant Deal,	}	South-Carolina militia.
Lieutenant Brown,		
Lieutenant Prince,		
Colonel Roberts,	}	South-Carolina artillery.
Captain Mitchell,		
Colonel Armstrong,	}	North-Carolina continental brigade.
Colonel Little,		
Major Dixon,		
Captain Rhodes,		
Lieutenant Charlton,		
Lieutenant Campbell,		
Captain Sheed,	}	North-Carolina militia.
Captain Camplin,		
Lieutenant Jones,		
Colonel de Laumoy, engineer.		
Lieutenant Davie, militia horse.		
Mr. Witing,	}	Volunteers,
Mr. Ancrum,		

N O T E IV. PAGE 40.

A list of the killed and wounded officers in the attack on the lines of Savannah on the ninth of October 1779.

Killed.

MAJOR Motte,
Major Wife,
Major Beraud,
Captain Shepherd,
Captain Donnou.

Lieutenants,
Hume,
Wickham,
Bush,
Bailey.

Wounded.

Brigadier-general
count Pulaski,
Major L'Enfant.

Wounded.

Captains,
Roux,
Rendelo,
Farrar,
Giles,
Smith,
Warren,
Hogan,
Davis,
Treville.

Lieutenants,

Gray,
Petric,
Gaston,
Defaufure,
Parker,
Walker,
Bonneau,
Wade,
Wilkie,
Vleland,
Parsons.

Volunteers, mr. Jones killed, mr. Loyd and mr. John Owen, wounded.

The following note was intended to be referred to from page 51, line 12, but the reference was omitted by mistake.

THAT the American fleet abandoned the defence of the Bar, has been considered by some as a capital error. The reasons that led to this measure, are laid down in the following letter, written, in answer to sundry requisitions of general Lincoln, by the subscribers, the first four of whom were officers of the continental navy, and the remaining five branch pilots of the harbour of Charleston :

To the honourable major-general Lincoln.

Charleston, February 27, 1780.

Honoured sir,

Your's of yesterday we have received, and, after having carefully considered and attended to the several requisitions therein contained, beg leave to return the following answers : at low water there are eleven feet in the channel from the bar to Five Fathom Hole. Five Fathom Hole is three miles from the bar, where you will have three fathoms at low water. They cannot be anchored until they are at that distance from the bar. In the place where the ships can be anchored, the bar cannot be covered or annoyed. Off the north Breaker Head, where the ships can be anchored, to moor them that they may swing in safety,

safety, they will be within one mile and an half of the shore. If any batteries are thrown up to act in conjunction with the ships, and the enemy's force should be superior, so much as to cause a retreat to be necessary, it will be impossible for us to cover or take them off. Our opinion is, that the ships can do the most effectual service for the defence of the town and its security, to act in conjunction with fort Moultrie, which we think will best answer the purpose of the ships being sent here, and consequently, if so, the views of Congress. Our reasons are, that the channel is so narrow between the fort and the middle ground, that they may be moored so as to rake the channel, and prevent the enemy's troops being landed to annoy the fort. The enemy, we apprehend, may be prevented from founding and buoying the bar by the brig General Lincoln, the state brig Notre Dame, and other small vessels that may be occasionally employed for that purpose. We are, with respect, your honour's most obedient humble servants,

ABRAHAM WHIPPLE,	LUKE SWAIN,
HOYSTED HACKER,	JOHN WHITAKER,
SAMUEL TUCKER,	STEPHEN DUVALL,
THOMAS SIMPSON,	THOMAS TUCKER.
JOHN TARRON,	

N O T E

N O T E V. PAGE 59.

*Copy of the summons sent to major-general Lincoln
the tenth of April 1780.*

Camp before Charleston, April 10, 1780.

SIR Henry Clinton, K. B. general and commander in chief of his majesty's forces in the colonies lying on the Atlantic, from Nova-Scotia, &c. &c. and vice-admiral Arbuthnot, commander in chief of his majesty's ships, &c. in North-America, &c. &c. regretting the effusion of blood, and the distresses which must now commence, deem it consonant to humanity to warn the town and garrison of Charleston of the havoc and desolation with which they are threatened from the formidable force surrounding them by land and sea. An alternative is offered at this hour to the inhabitants of saving their lives and property, contained in the town, or of abiding by the fatal consequences of a cannonade and storm.

SHOULD the place, in a fallacious security, or its commander, in a wanton indifference to the fate of its inhabitants, delay the surrender, or should publick stores or shipping be destroyed, the resentment of an exasperated soldiery may intervene; but the same mild and compassionate offer can never be renewed.

THE

THE respective commanders, who hereby summon the town, do not apprehend so fast a part as further resistance will be taken; but rather that the gates will be opened, and themselves received with a degree of confidence which will forebode further reconciliation.

(Signed)

H. CLINTON,

M. ARBUTHNOT.

Copy of a letter from major-general Lincoln to general sir Henry Clinton and vice-admiral Arbuthnot, dated Charleston, April 10, 1780.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your summons of this date. Sixty days have passed since it has been known that your intentions against this town were hostile, in which time has been afforded to abandon it; but duty and inclination point to the propriety of supporting it to the last extremity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

B. LINCOLN.

Commanding in the south
department.

Copy of a letter from sir Henry Clinton to major-general Lincoln, dated camp before Charleston, May 8, 1780.

SIR,

CIRCUMSTANCED as I now am, with respect to the place invested, humanity only can induce
me

me to lay within your reach the terms I had determined should not again be proffered.

THE fall of fort Sullivan, the destruction on the sixth instant of what remained of your cavalry, the critical period to which our approaches against the town have brought us, mark this as the term of your hopes of succour, could you ever have framed any, and as an hour beyond which resistance is temerity.

By this last summons, therefore, I throw to your charge whatever vindictive severity exasperated foldiers may inflict on the unhappy people whom you devote, by persevering in a fruitless defence.

I SHALL expect your answer until eight o'clock, when hostilities will commence again, unless the town be surrendered.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

H. CLINTON.

IN consequence of this letter, articles of capitulation were proposed by major-general Lincoln, and answered by their excellencies general sir Henry Clinton, knight of the bath, and vice-admiral Arbuthnot; which answers being deemed by general Lincoln to be inadmissible, he proposed that other articles, which he then sent, might be acceded to. Those articles were rejected by sir Henry Clinton and vice-admiral Ar-

buthnot ; and on the eleventh of May major-general Lincoln wrote the following letter :

Copy of a letter from major-general Lincoln to general sir Henry Clinton, dated Charleston, May 11, 1780.

SIR,

THE same motives of humanity which inclined you to propose articles of capitulation to this garrison induced me to offer those I had the honour of sending you on the eighth instant. They then appeared to me such as I might proffer and you receive with honour to both parties. Your exceptions to them, as they principally concerned the militia and citizens, I then conceived were such as could not be concurred with ; but a recent application from those people, wherein they express a willingness to comply with them, and a wish on my part to lessen as much as may be the distresses of war to individuals, lead me now to offer you my acceptance of them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) B. LINCOLN.

His excellency sir Henry Clinton.

Copy of a letter from sir Henry Clinton to major-general Lincoln, dated camp before Charleston, May 11, 1780.

SIR,

WHEN you rejected the favourable terms which

which were dictated by an earnest desire to prevent the effusion of blood, and interposed articles that were wholly inadmissible, both the admiral and myself were of opinion that the surrender of the town at discretion was the only condition that should afterwards be attended to ; but as the motives which then induced them are still prevalent, I now inform you that the terms then offered will still be granted

A COPY of the articles shall be sent for your ratification as soon as they can be prepared ; and immediately after they are exchanged, a detachment of grenadiers will be sent to take possession of the horn work opposite your main gate. Every arrangement which may conduce to good order in occupying the town, shall be settled before noon to-morrow, and at that time your garrison will march out.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

H. CLINTON.

Major-general Lincoln.

S O U T H.

S O U T H - C A R O L I N A.

Articles of capitulation between their excellencies sir Henry Clinton, knight of the bath, general and commander in chief of his majesty's forces in the several provinces and colonies on the Atlantic, from Nova-Scotia to West-Florida inclusive, Mariot Arbuthnot, esquire, vice-admiral of the Blue, and commander in chief of all his majesty's ships and vessels in North-America, and major-general Benjamin Lincoln, commander in chief in the town and harbour of Charleston.

ARTICLE I. That all acts of hostility and work shall cease between the besiegers and the besieged, until the articles of capitulation shall be agreed on, signed and executed, or collectively rejected.

ANSWER. All acts of hostility and work shall cease, until the articles of capitulation are finally agreed to or rejected.

ARTICLE II. The town and fortifications shall be surrendered to the commander in chief of the British forces, such as they now stand.

ANSWER. The town and fortifications, with the shipping at the wharves, artillery, and all other publick stores whatsoever, shall be surrendered in their present state, to the commanders of the investing forces ; proper officers shall attend from the respective departments to receive them.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE III. The continental troops and failors, with their baggage, shall be conducted to a place to be agreed on, where they will remain prisoners of war until exchanged. While prisoners they shall be supplied with good and wholesome provisions in such quantity as is served out to the troops of his Britannick majesty.

ANSWER. Granted.

ARTICLE IV. The militia now in garrison shall be permitted to return to their respective homes, and be secured in their persons and property.

ANSWER. The militia now in garrison shall be permitted to return to their respective homes as prisoners on parole ; which parole, as long as they observe, shall secure them from being molested in their property by the British troops.

ARTICLE V. The sick and wounded shall be continued under the care of their own surgeons, and be supplied with medicines, and such necessaries as are allowed to the British hospitals.

ANSWER. Granted.

ARTICLE VI. The officers of the army and navy shall keep their horses, swords, pistols, and baggage, which shall not be searched, and retain their servants.

ANSWER.

ANSWER. Granted, except with respect to the horses, which will not be allowed to go out of town, but may be disposed of by a person left from each corps for that purpose.

ARTICLE VII. The garrison shall, at an hour appointed, march out with shouldered arms, drums beating, and colours flying, to a place to be agreed on, where they will pile their arms.

ANSWER. The whole garrison shall, at an hour to be appointed, march out of the town to the ground between the works of the place and the canal, where they will deposit their arms. The drums are not to beat a British march, or colours to be uncased.

ARTICLE VIII. That the French consul, his house, papers, and other moveable property, shall be protected and untouched, and a proper time granted to him for retiring to any place that may afterwards be agreed upon between him and the commander in chief of the British forces.

ANSWER. Agreed, with this restriction, that he is to consider himself as a prisoner on parole.

ARTICLE IX. That the citizens shall be protected in their persons and properties.

ANSWER. All civil officers, and the citizens who have borne arms during the siege, must be prisoners

prisoners on parole ; and, with respect to their property in the city, shall have the same terms as are granted to the militia ; and all other persons now in the town, not described in this or any other article, are notwithstanding understood to be prisoners on parole.

ARTICLE X. That a twelvemonth's time be allowed all such as do not choose to continue under the British government to dispose of their effects, real and personal, in the state, without any molestation whatever, or to remove such part thereof as they choose, as well as themselves and families ; and that, during that time, they or any of them may have it at their option to reside occasionally in town or country.

ANSWER. The discussion of this article of course cannot possibly be entered into at present.

ARTICLE XI. That the same protection to their persons and properties, and the same time for the removal of their effects, be given to the subjects of France and Spain, as are required for the citizens in the preceding article.

ANSWER. The subjects of France and Spain shall have the same terms as are granted to the French consul.

ARTICLE XII. That a vessel be permitted to

go to Philadelphia with the general's despatches, which are not to be opened.

ANSWER. Granted; and a proper vessel with a flag will be provided for that purpose.

ALL publick papers and records must be carefully preserved, and faithfully delivered to such persons as shall be appointed to receive them.

Done in Charleston, May 12, 1780.

B. LINCOLN.

Done in camp, before Charleston,

May 12, 1780.

(Signed)

H. CLINTON,

M. ARBUTHNOT.

N O T E VI. PAGE 86.

In Congress, January 2, 1779.

RESOLVED, that whereas many counterfeitse have appeared in circulation, of various denominations, of the emissions of May twentieth, 1777, and April eleventh, 1778, and counterfeitse of these emissions have lately been issued by our enemies at New-York, and are found to be spreading and increasing fast in various parts of these United States, whereby individuals are defrauded, prices enhanced, and the credit

credit of the paper currency greatly injured ; and it is become necessary for the security of individuals; and safety of the publick, that those two emissions should cease to be a circulating medium; and should be called in and exchanged, or otherwise provided for as soon as may be, with convenience to the present holders : Therefore,

RESOLVED, That the following bills be taken out of circulation, namely, the whole emissions of May twentieth, 1777; and April eleventh, 1778.

THAT they be brought in for that purpose in the manner hereafter provided, by the first day of June next; and not afterwards redeemable.

THAT they be received for debts and taxes into the continental treasury, and into the state treasuries for continental taxes, until the first day of June next.

THAT they be received until the first day of June next, into the continental loan-offices, either on loan, or to be exchanged at the election of the owners, for other bills of the like tenor, to be provided for that purpose.

THAT the bills lodged in the said offices to be so exchanged, be there registered, and indented certificates thereof given to the owners by the respective commissioners of the said offices.

THAT the commissioners of the loan-offices make returns to the treasury board, immediately after the first day of June next, of the amount of the bills received into their respective offices to be exchanged as aforesaid, and that proper bills to exchange the same be furnished, and ready to be delivered out at their said offices, within sixty days from and after the said first day of June.

THAT the first-mentioned bills, as they are brought into the treasuries and loan-offices, be immediately crossed and struck through with a circular punch of one inch diameter, to be afterwards examined and burned, as Congress shall direct.

Extract from the minutes,

CHA. THOMSON, secretary.

N O T E VII. PAGE 93.

THESE events, though extraordinary, were not without a precedent in the annals of the province, and ought to caution the people of that country against a legal tender of any paper currency. In the narrative of the proceedings of South-Carolina, in the year 1719, by Francis Yonge, printed in London in 1726, page 8, are found the following words : ‘ The publick emergencies, in the year 1715, had occasioned the stamping the aforesaid sum of eighty thousand pounds

‘ pounds in bills of credit, to pay their soldiers
 ‘ and other charges the country was forced to be
 ‘ at; and it was enacted by the assembly they
 ‘ should be current in all payments between man
 ‘ and man. From whence it followed that those
 ‘ who had money owing them on bond or other-
 ‘ wise before the war, and who must have been
 ‘ paid in gold or silver, or its value, if these bills
 ‘ had not been made current in all payments, lost
 ‘ seven-eighths of their money. These losses fell
 ‘ chiefly on the merchants, and such of the inha-
 ‘ bitants of Charleston as were monied men, and,
 ‘ on the contrary, the planters, who were their
 ‘ debtors, were the gainers.’

N O T E V I I I . P A G E 96.

*Circular letter from the Congress of the United States
 of America, to their constituents.*

Friends and fellow-citizens,

IN governments raised on the generous princi-
 ples of equal liberty, where the rulers of the
 state are the servants of the people, and not the
 masters of those from whom they derive authori-
 ty; it is their duty to inform their fellow-citizens
 of the state of their affairs, and by evincing the
 propriety of publick measures, lead them to
 unite the influence of inclinations, to the force
 of legal obligation in rendering them successful.
 This duty ceases not, even in times of the most
 perfect

perfect peace, order and tranquillity, when the safety of the commonwealth is neither endangered by force of seduction from abroad, or by faction, treachery, or misguided ambition from within. At this season, therefore, we find ourselves in a particular manner impressed with a sense of it, and can no longer forbear calling your attention to a subject much misrepresented, and respecting which dangerous as well as erroneous opinions have been held and propagated; we mean your finances.

THE ungrateful despotism and inordinate love of domination, which marked the unnatural designs of the British King and his venal parliament to enslave the people of America, reduced you to the necessity of either asserting your rights by arms, or ingloriously passing under the yoke. You nobly preferred war. Armies were then to be raised, paid and supplied; money became necessary for these purposes. Of your own there was but little; and of no nation in the world could you then borrow. The little that was spread among you could be collected only by taxes, and to this end regular governments were essential; of these you were also destitute. So circumstanced, you had no other resource but the natural value and wealth of your fertile country. Bills were issued on the credit of this bank, and your faith was pledged for their redemption. After a considerable number of these had circulated, loans were solicited, and offices for the purpose

purpose established. Thus a national debt was unavoidably created, and the amount of it is as follows :

	Dollars.
Bills emitted and circulating,	59,948,880
Monies borrowed before the first of March, 1778, the interest of which is payable in France,	7,545,196 67-90
Monies borrowed since the first of March, 1778, the interest of which is payable here,	26,188,909
Money due abroad, not exactly known---the balance not having been transmitted, supposed about	4,000,000

For your further satisfaction we shall order a particular account of the several emissions, with the times limited for their redemption, and also of the several loans, the interest allowed on each, and the terms assigned for their payment, to be prepared and published.

THE taxes have as yet brought into the treasury no more than 3,027,560, so that all the monies supplied to Congress by the people of America, amount to no more than 36,761,665 dollars and sixty-seven ninetieths, that being the sum of the loans and taxes received. Judge then of the necessity of emissions, and learn from whom and from whence that necessity arose.

W E.

WE are also to inform you, that on the first day of September instant, we resolved, ‘ that we ‘ would on no account whatever emit more bills ‘ of credit than to make the whole amount of ‘ such bills two hundred millions of dollars,’ and as the sum emitted and in circulation amounted to 159,648,880 dollars, and the sum of forty millions fifty-one thousand one hundred and twenty dollars remained to complete the two hundred millions above-mentioned, we on the third day of September instant, further resolved, ‘ that we ‘ would emit such part only of the said sum of ‘ 40,051,120 dollars as should be absolutely necessary for publick exigencies before adequate ‘ supplies could otherwise be obtained, relying ‘ for such supplies on the exertions of the several ‘ states.’

EXCLUSIVE of the great and ordinary expences incident to the war, the depreciation of the currency has so swelled the prices of every necessary article, and, of consequence, made such additions to the usual amount of expenditures, that very considerable supplies must be immediately provided by loans and taxes: and we unanimously declare it to be essential to the welfare of these states, that the taxes already called for, be paid into the continental treasury by the time recommended for that purpose. It is also highly proper that you should extend your views beyond that period, and prepare in season as well for bringing your respective quotas of
troops

troops into the field early in the next campaign, as for providing the supplies necessary in the course of it. We shall take care to apprise you from time to time of the state of the treasury, and to recommend the proper measures for supplying it. To keep your battalions full, to encourage loans, and to assess your taxes with prudence, collect them with firmness, and pay them with punctuality, is all that will be requisite on your part. Further ways and means of providing for the publick exigencies, are now under consideration, and will soon be laid before you.

HAVING thus given you a short and plain state of your debt, and pointed out the necessity of punctuality in furnishing the supplies already required, we shall proceed to make a few remarks on the depreciation of the currency, to which we entreat your attention.

THE depreciation of bills of credit is always either natural or artificial, or both. The latter is our case. The moment the sum in circulation exceeded what was necessary as a medium in commerce, it began and continued to depreciate in proportion as the amount of the surplus increased; and that proportion would hold good until the sum emitted should become so great as nearly to equal the value of the capital or stock, on the credit of which the bills were issued. Supposing, therefore, that 30,000,000 was necessary for a circulating medium, and that 160,000,000 had
issued,

issued, the natural depreciation is but little more than five to one : but the actual depreciation exceeds that proportion, and that excess is artificial. The natural depreciation is to be removed only by lessening the quantity of money in circulation. It will regain its primitive value whenever it shall be reduced to the sum necessary for a medium of commerce. This is only to be effected by loans and taxes.

THE artificial depreciation is a more serious subject, and merits minute investigation. A distrust, however occasioned, entertained by the mass of the people, in the ability or inclination of the United States to redeem their bills, is the cause of it. Let us enquire how far reason will justify a distrust in the ability of the United States.

THE ability of the United States must depend on two things : first, the success of the present revolution, and, secondly, on the sufficiency of the natural wealth, value, and resources of the country.

THAT the time has been when honest men might, without being chargeable with timidity, have doubted the success of the present revolution, we admit ; but that period is passed. The independence of America is now as fixed as fate, and the petulant efforts of Britain to break it down are as vain and fruitless as the raging of the
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the waves which beat against their cliffs. Let those who are still afflicted with these doubts consider the character and condition of our enemies. Let them remember that we are contending against a kingdom crumbling into pieces; a nation without publick virtue; and a people sold to, and betrayed by, their own representatives; against a prince governed by his passions, and a ministry without confidence or wisdom; against armies half paid, and generals half trusted; against a government equal only to plans of plunder, conflagration and murder—a government by the most impious violations of the rights of religion, justice, humanity and mankind, courting the vengeance of Heaven, and revolting from the protection of Providence. Against the fury of these enemies you made successful resistance, when single, alone, and friendless, in the days of weakness and infancy, before your ‘hands had been taught to war or your fingers to fight.’ And can there be any reason to apprehend that the Divine Disposer of human events, after having separated us from the house of bondage, and led us safe through a sea of blood, towards the land of liberty and promise, will leave the work of our political redemption unfinished, and either permit us to perish in a wilderness of difficulties, or suffer us to be carried back in chains to that country of oppression, from whose tyranny He hath mercifully delivered us with a stretched-out arm.

IN close alliance with one of the most powerful nations in Europe, which has generously made our cause her own ; in amity with many others, and enjoying the good-will of all, what danger have we to fear from Britain ? Instead of acquiring accessions of territory by conquest, the limits of her empire daily contract ; her fleets no longer rule the ocean, nor are her armies invincible by land. How many of her standards, wrested from the hands of her champions, are among your trophies, and have graced the triumphs of your troops ? And how great is the number of those, who, sent to bind you in fetters, have become your captives, and receive their lives from your hands ? In short, whoever considers that these states are daily increasing in power ; that their armies are become veterans ; that their governments, founded in freedom, are established ; that their fertile country, and their affectionate ally, furnish them with ample supplies ; that the Spanish monarch, well prepared for war, with fleets and armies ready for combat, and a treasury overflowing with wealth, has entered the lists against Britain ; that the other European nations, often insulted by her pride, and alarmed by the strides of her ambition, have left her to her fate ; that Ireland, wearied with her oppressions, is panting for liberty, and even Scotland displeased and uneasy at her edicts—Whoever considers these things, instead of doubting the issue of the war, will rejoice in the glorious, the sure and certain prospect of success.

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THIS point being established, the next question is, whether the natural wealth, value and resources of the country will be equal to the payment of the debt?

LET us suppose, for the sake of argument, that at the conclusion of the war, the emissions should amount to 200,000,000; that exclusive of supplies from taxes, which will not be inconsiderable, the loans should amount to 100,000,000; then the whole national debt of the United States would be 300,000,000. There are at present 3,000,000 of inhabitants in the thirteen states; three hundred million of dollars divided among three million of people would give to each person one hundred dollars; and is there an individual in America unable in the course of eighteen or twenty years to pay it again? Suppose the whole debt assessed, as it ought to be, on the inhabitants in proportion to their respective estates, what would then be the share of the poorer people? Perhaps not ten dollars. Besides, as this debt will not be payable immediately, but probably twenty years allotted for it, the number of inhabitants by that time in America, will be far more than double their present amount. It is well known that the inhabitants of this country increased almost in the ratio of compound interest. By natural population they doubled every twenty years, and how great may be the host of emigrants from other countries cannot be ascertained. We have the highest reason to believe the

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the number will be immense. Suppose that only ten thousand should arrive the first year after the war, what will those ten thousand with their families count in twenty years time? Probably double the number. This observation applies with proportionable force to the emigrants of every successive year. Thus you see great part of your debt will be payable not merely by the present number of inhabitants, but by that number swelled and increased by the natural population of the present inhabitants, by multitudes of emigrants daily arriving from other countries, and by the natural population of those successive emigrants, so that every person's share of the debt will be constantly diminishing by others coming in to pay a proportion of it.

THESE are advantages which none but young countries enjoy. The number of inhabitants in every country in Europe, remains nearly the same from one century to another. No country will produce more people than it can subsist, and every country, if free and cultivated, will produce as many as it can maintain. Hence we may form some idea of the future population of these states. Extensive wildernesses, now scarcely known or explored, remain to be cultivated, and vast lakes and rivers, whose waters have for ages rolled in silence and obscurity to the ocean, are yet to hear the din of industry, become subservient to commerce, and boast delightful villas, gilded spires, and spacious cities rising on their banks.

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THUS much for the number of persons to pay the debt. The next point is their ability. They who enquire how many millions of acres are contained only in the settled part of North-America, and how much each acre is worth, will acquire very enlarged and yet very adequate ideas of the value of this country. But those who will carry their enquiries further, and learn that we heretofore paid an annual tax to Britain of three millions sterling in the way of trade, and still grew rich; that our commerce was then confined to her; that we were obliged to carry our commodities to her market, and consequently to sell them at her price; that we were compelled to purchase foreign commodities at her stores, and on her terms, and were forbid to establish any manufactories incompatible with her views of gain; that in future the whole world will be open to us, and we shall be at liberty to purchase from those who will sell on the best terms, and to sell to those who will give the best prices; that as this country increases in number of inhabitants and cultivation, the productions of the earth will be proportionably increased, and the riches of the whole proportionably greater: whoever examines the force of these and similar observations, must smile at the ignorance of those who doubt the ability of the United States to redeem their bills.

LET it also be remembered that paper money is the only kind of money which cannot ‘ make
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‘unto itself wings and fly away.’ It remains with us, it will not forsake us, it is always ready and at hand for the purpose of commerce or taxes, and every industrious man can find it. On the contrary, should Britain like Nineveh (and for the same reason) yet find mercy, and escape the storm ready to burst upon her, she will find her national debt in a very different situation. Her territory diminished, her people wasted, her commerce ruined, her monopolies gone, she must provide for the discharge of her immense debt by taxes to be paid in specie, in gold or silver, perhaps now buried in the mines of Mexico or Peru, or still concealed in the brooks and rivulets of Africa or Indostan.

HAVING shewn that there is no reason to doubt the ability of the United States to pay their debt, let us next enquire whether as much can be said for their inclination.

UNDER this head, three things are to be attended to :

1st. WHETHER and in what manner the faith of the United States have been pledged for the redemption of their bills.

2d. WHETHER they have put themselves in a political capacity to redeem them—and,

3d. WHETHER, admitting the two former propositions,

positions, there is any reason to apprehend a wanton violation of the publick faith.

1st. IT must be evident to every man who reads the journals of Congress, or looks at the face of one of their bills, that Congress have pledged the faith of their constituents for the redemption of them. And it must be equally evident, not only that they had authority to do so, but that their constituents have actually ratified their acts, by receiving their bills, passing laws establishing their currency, and punishing those who counterfeit them. So that it may with truth be said that the people have pledged their faith for the redemption of them, and that not only collectively by their representatives, but individually.

2d. WHETHER the United States have put themselves in a political capacity to redeem their bills, is a question which calls for more full discussion.

OUR enemies, as well foreign as domestick, have laboured to raise doubts on this head. They argue that the confederation of the states remains yet to be perfected; that the union may be dissolved; Congress be abolished, and each state resuming its delegated powers, proceed in future to hold and exercise all the rights of sovereignty appertaining to an independent state. In such an event, say they, the continental bills
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of credit, created and supported by the union, would die with it. This position being assumed, they next proceed to assert this event to be probable, and in proof of it urge our divisions, our parties, our separate interests, distinct manners, former prejudices, and many other arguments equally plausible and equally fallacious. Examine this matter.

FOR every purpose essential to the defence of these states in the progress of the present war, and necessary to the attainment of the objects of it, these states now are as fully, legally, and absolutely confederated, as it is possible for them to be. Read the credentials of the different delegates who composed the Congress in 1774, 1775, and part of 1776. You will find that they established an union for the express purpose of opposing the oppressions of Britain, and obtaining redress of grievances. On the fourth of July, 1776, your representatives in Congress, perceiving that nothing less than unconditional submission would satisfy our enemies, did, in the name of the people of the Thirteen United Colonies, declare them to be free and independent states; and, ‘ for the support of that declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, did mutually pledge to each other their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honour.’ Was ever confederation more formal, more solemn, or explicit; it has been expressly assented to and ratified by every state in the union. Accordingly,

cordingly, for the direct support of this declaration, that is for the support of the independence of these states, armies have been raised, and bills of credit emitted, and loans made to pay and supply them. The redemption therefore of these bills, the payment of these debts, and the settlement of the accounts of the several states, for expenditures or services for the common benefit and in this common cause, are among the objects of this confederation, and consequently while all or any of its objects remain unattained, it cannot, so far as it may respect such objects, be dissolved, consistent with the laws of God or man.

BUT we are persuaded, and our enemies will find, that our union is not to end here. They are mistaken when they suppose us kept together only by a sense of present danger. It is a fact which they only will dispute, that the people of these states were never so cordially united as at this day. By having been obliged to mix with each other, former prejudices have worn off, and their several manners become blended. A sense of common permanent interest, mutual affection, (having been brethren in affliction) the ties of sanguinity daily extending, constant reciprocity of good offices, similarity in language, in governments, and therefore in manners, the importance, weight, and splendour of the union, all conspire in forming a strong chain of connexion, which must for-ever bind us together.

The United Provinces of the Netherlands and the United Cantons of Switzerland became free and independent under circumstances very like our's: their independence has been long established, and yet their confederacies continue in full vigour. What reason can be assigned why our union should be less lasting? or why should the people of these states be supposed less wise than the inhabitants of those? You are not uninformed that a plan for a perpetual confederation has been prepared, and that twelve of the thirteen states have already acceded to it. But enough has been said to shew that for every purpose of the present war, and all things incident to it, there does at present exist a perfect solemn confederation, and therefore that the states now are and always will be in political capacity to redeem their bills, pay their debts, and settle their accounts.

3d. WHETHER, admitting the ability and political capacity of the United States to redeem their bills, there is any reason to apprehend a wanton violation of the publick faith?

It is with great regret and reluctance that we can prevail upon ourselves to take the least notice of a question which involves in it a doubt so injurious to the honour and dignity of America.

THE enemy, aware that the strength of America lay in the union of her citizens, and the wisdom

wisdom and integrity of those to whom they committed the direction of their affairs, have taken unwearied pains to disunite and alarm the people, to depreciate the abilities and virtue of their rulers, and to impair the confidence reposed in them by their constituents. To this end repeated attempts have been made to draw an absurd and fanciful line of distinction between the Congress and the people, and to create an opinion and a belief that their interests and views were different and opposed. Hence the ridiculous tales, the invidious insinuations, and the whimsical suspicions that have been forged and propagated by disguised emissaries and traitors, in the garb of patriots. Hence has proceeded the notable discovery, that as the Congress made the money they also can destroy it; and that it will exist no longer than they find it convenient to permit it.

It is not surprising, that in a free country, where the tongues and pens of such people are and must be licensed, such political heresies should be inculcated and diffused, but it is really astonishing, that the mind of a single virtuous citizen in America should be influenced by them. It certainly cannot be necessary to remind you, that your representatives here are chosen from among yourselves; that you are, or ought to be acquainted with their several characters; that they are sent here to speak your sentiments, and that it is constantly in your power to remove such

as do not. You surely are convinced, that it is no more in their power to annihilate your money than your independence, and that any act of theirs for either of those purposes would be null and void.

WE should pay an ill compliment to the understanding and honour of every true American, were we to adduce many arguments to shew the baseness, or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it. A bankrupt faithless republick would be a novelty in the political world, and appear among reputable nations, like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons. The pride of America revolts from the idea; her citizens know for what purposes these emissions were made, and have repeatedly plighted their faith for the redemption of them; they are to be found in every man's possession, and every man is interested in their being redeemed; they must, therefore, entertain a high opinion of American credulity, who suppose the people capable of believing, on due reflection, that all America will, against the faith, the honour, and the interest of all America, be ever prevailed upon to countenance, support, or permit so ruinous, so disgraceful a measure. We are convinced, that the efforts and arts of our enemies will not be wanting to draw us into this humiliating and contemptible situation. Impelled by malice, and the suggestions of chagrin
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and disappointment at not being able to bend our necks to their yoke, they will endeavour to force or seduce us to commit this unpardonable sin, in order to subject us to the punishment due to it, and that we may thenceforth be a reproach and a bye-word among the nations. Apprized of these consequences, knowing the value of national character, and impressed with a due sense of the immutable laws of justice and honour, it is impossible that America should think without horror of such an execrable deed.

IF then neither our ability or inclination to discharge the publick debt, are justly questionable, let our conduct correspond with this confidence, and let us rescue our credit from its present imputations. Had the attention of America to this object been unremitted, had taxes been seasonably imposed and collected, had proper loans been made, had laws been passed, and executed for punishing those who maliciously endeavoured to injure the publick credit; had these and many other things equally necessary been done, and had our currency, notwithstanding all these efforts, declined to its present degree of depreciation, our case would indeed have been deplorable. But as these exertions have not been made, we may yet experience the good effects which naturally result from them. Our former negligences therefore should now animate us with hope, and teach us not to despair of removing
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by vigilance and application the evils which supineness and inattention have produced.

It has been already observed, that in order to prevent the further natural depreciation of our bills, we have resolved to stop the press, and to call upon you for supplies by loans and taxes. You are in capacity to afford them, and are bound by the strongest ties to do it. Leave us not, therefore, without supplies, nor let in that flood of evils which would follow from such neglect. It would be an event most grateful to our enemies, and depend upon it, they will redouble their artifices and industry to compass it. Be therefore upon your guard, and examine well the policy of every measure, and the evidence of every report that may be proposed or mentioned to you before you adopt the one or believe the other. Recollect that it is the price of the liberty, the peace and the safety of yourselves and posterity, that now is required ;—that peace, liberty and safety, for the attainment and security of which, you have so often and so solemnly declared your readiness to sacrifice your lives and fortunes. The war, though drawing fast to a successful issue, still rages. Disdain to leave the whole business of your defence to your ally. Be mindful that the brightest prospects may be clouded, and that prudence bids us be prepared for every event. Provide, therefore, for continuing your armies in the field till victory and peace shall lead them home, and avoid the reproach of permitting

mitting the currency to depreciate in your hands, when, by yielding a part to taxes and loans, the whole might have been appreciated and preserved. Humanity as well as justice makes this demand upon you, the complaints of ruined widows, and the cries of fatherless children, whose whole support has been placed in your hands and melted away, have doubtless reached you—take care that they ascend no higher. Rouse, therefore; strive who shall do most for his country; re-kindle that flame of patriotism, which, at the mention of disgrace and slavery, blazed throughout America, and animated all her citizens. Determine to finish the contest as you began it, honestly and gloriously.—Let it never be said that America had no sooner become independent, than she became insolvent, or that her infant glories and growing fame were obscured and tarnished by broken contracts and violated faith, in the very hour when all the nations of the earth were admiring, and almost adoring the splendour of her rising.

By the unanimous order of Congress,

JOHN JAY, president.

Philadelphia, Sept. 13,

1779.

N O T E

N O T E IX. PAGE 110.

Waxhaws, May 30, 1780.

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform you, that yesterday at three o'clock, P. M. after a march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, with the corps of cavalry, the infantry of the legion, mounted on horses, and a three-pounder, at Waxhaws, near the line which divides North from South-Carolina, the rebel force, commanded by colonel Buford, consisting of the eleventh Virginia and detachments of other regiments, from the same province, with artillery, and some cavalry, were brought to action.

AFTER the summons, in which terms similar to those accepted by Charleston were offered and positively rejected, the action commenced in a wood ; the attacks were pointed at both flanks ; the front and reserve by two hundred and seventy cavalry and infantry blended ; and, at the same instant, all were equally victorious, few of the enemy escaping, except the commanding officer by a precipitate flight on horseback.

It is above my ability to say any thing in commendation of the bravery and exertion of officers
and

and men. I leave their merit to your lordship's consideration.

I have the honour to be, &c.

BAN. TARLETON,
Lieutenant-colonel comm. B. legion.
Lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis.

*Return of rebels killed, wounded and taken, in the
affair at Waxhaws, the twenty-ninth of May,
1780.*

ONE lieutenant-colonel, three captains, eight subalterns, one adjutant, one quartermaster, ninety-nine serjeants and rank and file, killed.

THREE captains, five subalterns, one hundred and forty-two serjeants and rank and file, wounded, unable to travel, and left on parole.

Two captains, one subaltern, fifty serjeants and rank and file, prisoners.

TAKEN, three stand of colours, two brass six-pounders, two royals, two waggons with ammunition, one artillery forge-cart, fifty-five barrels of powder, twenty-six waggons loaded with new clothing, arms, musket-cartridges, new cartridge-boxes, flints, and camp equipage.

(Signed) BAN. TARLETON,
Lieutenant-colonel comm. B. legion.

*Return of British killed and wounded in the affair
at Waxhaws, the twenty-ninth of May, 1780.*

CAVALRY. Two privates, eleven horses killed ; one subaltern, eight privates, nineteen horses, wounded.

INFANTRY. Two subalterns, one private, killed ; three privates, wounded.

N. B. LIEUTENANT Pateschall, seventeenth dragoons, wounded ; lieutenant Lauchlin M'Donald, of the legion infantry, killed ; ensign Campbell, of the legion infantry, serving with the cavalry, killed.

(Signed)

B. TARLETON.

Lieutenant-colonel comm. B. L.

N O T E X. PAGE 110.

Camden, June 2, 1780.

SIR,

IN my letter of the thirtieth of last month, I enclosed a note from lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, wrote in great haste from the field of action, and I explained my reasons for sending the detachment under his command in pursuit of the enemy.

I HAVE now the honour of transmitting to you his account of the march and engagement, with the loss on both sides.

I CAN only add the highest encomiums on the conduct of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. It will give me the most sensible satisfaction to hear that your excellency has been able to obtain for him some distinguished mark of his majesty's favour.

I have the honour to be, &c.

CORNWALLIS.

His excellency sir Henry
Clinton, K. B. &c.

N O T E X I . P A G E I I O .

S O U T H - C A R O L I N A .

By his excellency sir Henry Clinton, knight of the most honourable order of the bath, general commander in chief of all his majesty's forces within the colonies lying on the Atlantic ocean, from Nova-Scotia to West-Florida inclusive.

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

WHEREAS, notwithstanding the gracious offers, which have been made to receive to his majesty's peace and protection, with pardon and oblivion for their past offences, all those his deluded and infatuated subjects, who should return to their duty, and a due obedience to the laws ; yet there are some wicked and desperate men, who, regardless of the ruin and misery in which the country will be involved, are still endeavouring to support the flame of rebellion, and,
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under pretence of authority derived from the late usurped legislatures, are attempting, by enormous fines, grievous imprisonments, and sanguinary punishments, to compel his majesty's faithful and unwilling subjects to take up arms against his authority and government; and it is therefore become necessary, as well for the protection of the loyal subjects, as to procure the establishment of peace and good government in the country, to prevent, by the terror of example, such enormous offences being committed in future; I have therefore thought fit to issue this my proclamation to declare, that if any person shall hereafter appear in arms, in order to prevent the establishment of his majesty's government in this country, or shall, under any pretence or authority whatsoever, attempt to compel any other person or persons to do so, or who shall hinder or intimidate, or attempt to hinder or intimidate, the King's faithful and loyal subjects from joining his forces, or otherwise performing those duties their allegiance requires, such person or persons so offending shall be treated with that severity so hardened and criminal an obstinacy will deserve, and his or their estates will be immediately seized in order to be confiscated. And for the encouragement of the King's faithful and peaceable subjects, I do again assure them, that they shall meet with effectual countenance, protection and support; and whenever the situation of the country will permit of the restoration of civil government and peace, they will, by the commissioners appointed

pointed by his majesty for that purpose, be restored to the full possession of that liberty in their persons and property, which they had before experienced under the British government. And that so desirable an event may be the more speedily accomplished, I do hereby, in his majesty's name, require and command all persons whatsoever to be aiding and assisting to his forces, whenever they shall be required, in order to extirpate the rebellion, and thereby restore peace and prosperity to this, at present, desolated and distracted country.

Given under my hand, at headquarters, in Charleston, the 22d day of May, 1780.

(Signed)

H. CLINTON.

By his excellency's command,

(Signed)

Nathaniel Philips,
Assisting secretary.

N O T E

N O T E XII. PAGE III.

S O U T H - C A R O L I N A.

By sir Henry Clinton, knight of the bath, general of his majesty's forces, and Mariot Arbuthnot, esquire, vice-admiral of the Blue, his majesty's commissioners to restore peace and good government in the several colonies in rebellion in North-America.

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

HIS majesty having been pleased by his letters patent, under the Great Seal of Great-Britain, to appoint us to be his commissioners, to restore the blessings of peace and liberty to the several colonies in rebellion in America, we do hereby make publick his most gracious intentions, and in obedience to his commands, do declare, to such of his deluded subjects, as have been perverted from their duty by the factious arts of self-interested and ambitious men, that they will still be received with mercy and forgiveness, if they immediately return to their allegiance, and a due obedience to those laws and that government which they formerly boasted was their best birthright and noblest inheritance, and upon a due experience of the sincerity of their professions, a full and free pardon will be granted for the treasonable offences which they have heretofore committed, in such manner and form as his majesty's commission doth direct.

NEVERTHELESS,

NEVERTHELESS, it is only to those, who, convinced of their errors, are firmly resolved to return and to support that government under which they were formerly so happy and free, that these gracious offers are once more renewed, and therefore those persons are excepted, who, notwithstanding their present hopeless situation, and regardless of the accumulating pressure of the miseries of the people, which their infatuated conduct must contribute to increase, are nevertheless still so hardened in their guilt, as to endeavour to keep alive the flame of rebellion in this province, which will otherwise soon be re-instated in its former prosperity, security and peace.

NOR can we at present resolve to extend the royal clemency to those who are polluted with the blood of their fellow-citizens, most wantonly and inhumanly shed under the mock forms of justice, because they refused submission to an usurpation, which they abhorred, and would not oppose that government with which they deemed themselves inseparably connected: and in order to give quiet and content to the minds of his majesty's faithful and well-affected subjects, we do again assure them, that they shall have effectual countenance, protection and support, and, as soon as the situation of the province will admit, the inhabitants will be re-instated in the possession of all those rights and immunities which they heretofore enjoyed under a free British government,

ment, exempt from taxation, except by their own legislature: and we do hereby call upon all his majesty's faithful subjects, to be aiding with their endeavours, in order that a measure so conducive to their own happiness, and the welfare and prosperity of the province, may be the more speedily and easily attained.

Given under our hands and seals,
at Charleston, the first day of
June, in the twentieth year of
his majesty's reign, and in the
year of our LORD, 1780.

H. CLINTON,
M. ARBUTHNOT.

By their excellencies command,

JAMES SIMPSON, secretary.

N O T E

N O T E XIII. PAGE 116.

S O U T H - C A R O L I N A.

By his excellency sir Henry Clinton, knight of the most honourable order of the bath, general and commander in chief of all his majesty's forces within the colonies lying on the Atlantic ocean, from Nova-Scotia to West-Florida inclusive, &c. &c.

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

WHEREAS, after the arrival of his majesty's forces under my command in this province in February last, numbers of persons were made prisoners by the army, or voluntarily surrendered themselves as such, and such persons were afterwards dismissed on their respective paroles: and whereas, since the surrender of Charleston, and the defeats and dispersion of the rebel forces, it is become unnecessary that such paroles should be any longer observed; and proper that all persons should take an active part in settling and securing his majesty's government, and delivering the country from that anarchy which for some time past hath prevailed; I do therefore issue this my proclamation to declare, that all the inhabitants of this province, who are now prisoners upon parole and were not in the military line (those who were in fort Moultrie and Charleston at the times of their capitulation and

VOL. II. 3 I surrender,

surrender, or were then in actual confinement, excepted) that, from and after the twentieth day of June instant, they are freed and exempted from all such paroles, and may hold themselves as restored to all the rights and duties belonging to citizens and inhabitants.

AND all persons under the description before-mentioned, who shall afterwards neglect to return to their allegiance, and to his majesty's government, will be considered as enemies and rebels to the same, and treated accordingly.

Given under my hand, at headquarters in Charleston, the third day of June, 1780, and in the twentieth year of his majesty's reign.

(Signed)

H. CLINTON.

By his excellency's command,

(Signed)

PETER RUSSEL,
Assisting secretary.

N O T E

N O T E XIV. P A G E 118.

To their excellencies sir Henry Clinton, knight of the bath, general of his majesty's forces, and Mariot Arbuthnot, esquire, vice-admiral of the Blue, his majesty's commissioners to restore peace and good government in the several colonies in rebellion in North-America.

The humble address of divers inhabitants of Charleston.

THE inhabitants of Charleston, by the articles of capitulation, are declared prisoners on parole; but we the under-written, having every inducement to return to our allegiance, and ardently hoping speedily to be re-admitted to the character and condition of British subjects, take this opportunity of tendering to your excellencies our warmest congratulations on the restoration of this capital and province to their political connexion with the crown and government of Great-Britain; an event which will add lustre to your excellencies characters, and, we trust, entitle you to the most distinguishing mark of the royal favour. Although the right of taxing America in parliament, excited considerable ferments in the minds of the people of this province, yet it may, with a religious adherence to truth, be affirmed, that they did not entertain the most distant thought of dissolving the union that so happily subsisted between them and their
parent

parent country ; and when, in the progress of that fatal controversy, the doctrines of independency (which originated in the more northern colonies) made its appearance among us, our nature revolted at the idea, and we look back with the most painful regret on those convulsions that gave existence to a power of subverting a constitution, for which we always had, and ever shall retain, the most profound veneration, and substituting in its stead a rank democracy, which however carefully digested in theory, on being reduced into practice, has exhibited a system of tyrannick domination, only to be found among the uncivilized part of mankind, or in the history of the dark and barbarous ages of antiquity.

WE sincerely lament, that after the repeal of those statutes, which gave rise to the troubles in America, the overtures made by his majesty's commissioners, from time to time, were not regarded by our late rulers. To this fatal inattention are to be attributed those calamities which have involved our country in a state of misery and ruin, from which, however, we trust, it will soon emerge, by the wisdom and clemency of his majesty's auspicious government, and the influence of prudential laws, adapted to the nature of the evils we labour under ; and that the people will be restored to those privileges, in the enjoyment whereof their former felicity consisted.

ANIMATED with these hopes, we entreat your excellencies

excellencies interposition in assuring his majesty, that we shall glory in every occasion of manifesting that zeal and affection for his person and government, with which gratitude can inspire a free and joyful people.

Charleston, June 5, 1780.

[SIGNED by two hundred and ten of the principal inhabitants.]

N O T E X V . P A G E 120.

S O U T H - C A R O L I N A .

By the right honourable Charles earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, &c.

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

WHEREAS it hath been represented unto me, that some of the inhabitants of this province have endeavoured to dispose of great part of their property, and intended to remove with their effects out of the limits of his majesty's government, whereby the merchants in Great-Britain, and other lawful creditors, may be greatly injured and defrauded of the just debts which are due to them; and, for many other reasons, the same ought not at present to be permitted: I do therefore, by this my proclamation, strictly forbid all persons whatever, from selling or disposing of, or from offering to sale or disposal, any
lands,

lands, houses or negroes, without having first obtained a license so to do from the commandant of Charleston, who, in fit and reasonable cases, will grant the same; and all houses, lands or negroes, which shall hereafter be sold or otherwise disposed of, without such license, will be seized and sequestered. And whereas the privileges and advantages incident to the trade and commerce which is carried on in this province, are by law limited to, and ought to be exclusively enjoyed by, his majesty's liege and faithful subjects; yet, nevertheless, persons who are prisoners have presumed to interfere therein, and have opened shops for the purpose of carrying on trade and commerce in Charleston; all such persons are hereby cautioned against continuing such practices, and if, in future, they do not desist therefrom, their goods and merchandize will be seized and forfeited; and all auctioneers and vendue-masters, or other persons, are hereby strictly enjoined from carrying on any trade, or selling or disposing of any goods, wares or merchandize, on account of, or for the benefit of such persons, upon pain of having their license taken from them, or being otherwise dealt with, according to the nature of the case. Provided nevertheless, that nothing is hereby to be construed to extend to prevent bakers, butchers, or any handicraft tradesman, manufacturer, or labourer, from exercising or carrying on their usual and accustomed occupations and employments. And as sundry persons may clandestinely withdraw themselves
from

from this province, to the prejudice of his majesty's service, and injury of their lawful creditors, I do hereby, in the most strict manner, prohibit and forbid all masters of transports, or other vessels employed in his majesty's service, from receiving on board, or carrying away any persons whatever, either white or black, except the crew they brought with them, unless they shall receive a written passport or permission from the commandant at Charleston for that purpose. And the more effectually to prevent the same being done in the vessels employed in the trade and commerce of the country, the masters of all such vessels are hereby ordered to comply with the directions specified in two acts of the general assembly of this province, the one entitled, ' An act for the entry of vessels ;' and the other, ' An additional act to an act for the entry of vessels,' upon pain of being prosecuted for the penalties inflicted by the said acts, in case of their neglect or refusal.

Given under my hand at Charleston, the twenty-fifth day of July,
Anno Dom. one thousand seven
hundred and eighty, and in the
twentieth year of his majesty's
reign.

CORNWALLIS.

By his lordship's command,
A. Ross, aid-de-camp.

N O T E

N O T E XVI. PAGE 121.

Philadelphia, August 12.

In Congress, June 25, 1780.

WHEREAS it has been reported, in order to seduce the states of South-Carolina and Georgia from their allegiance to these United States, that a treaty of peace between America and Great-Britain was about to take place, in which those two states would be ceded to Great-Britain;

RESOLVED unanimously, that the said report is insidious, and utterly void of foundation; that this confederacy is most sacredly pledged to support the liberty and independency of every one of its members, and, in a firm reliance on the Divine blessing, will unremittingly persevere in their exertions for the establishment of the same, and for the recovery and preservation of any and every part of these United States, that has been, or may hereafter be invaded or possessed by the common enemy.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, secretary.

N O T E

N O T E X V I I . P A G E 145.

Charleston, August 29.

*Copy of a proclamation issued by general Gates, at
Peedee, the fourth instant.*

By Horatio Gates, esquire, major-general and commander in chief of the army of the United States in the southern department of America, &c. &c. &c.

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

THE patriotick exertions of the virtuous citizens of the United States having enabled me, under the protection of Divine Providence, to vindicate the rights of America in this state, and by the approach of a numerous, well-appointed, and formidable army, to compel our late triumphant and insulting foes to retreat from their most advantageous posts, with precipitation and dismay; I have judged it most expedient, at this period of my progress, to give assurances of forgiveness and perfect security to such of the unfortunate citizens of this state, as have been induced by the terror of sanguinary punishments, the menace of confiscation, and all the arbitrary measures of military domination, apparently to acquiesce under the British government, and to make a forced declaration of allegiance and support to a tyranny, which the indignant souls of
citizens

citizens resolved on freedom, inwardly revolted at, with horror and detestation.

AND in order to afford an opportunity to the real friends of America to testify their affection and attachment to the cause of liberty, an invitation is hereby held out to them to assert that rank among the free and independent citizens of America, in which their former exertions and zeal had deservedly placed them, and to join heartily, when called upon, in rescuing themselves and their country from an opposition of a government imposed on them by the russian hand of conquest. Nevertheless, I cannot at present resolve to extend these offers of pardon and security to such, as in the hour of devastation, have exercised acts of barbarity and depredation on the persons and property of their fellow-citizens; nor to such, as being apprized of the security afforded to them by the army under my command, shall be so lost to a sense of honour and the duty they owe to their country, as hereafter to give countenance and support to that enemy, who, but for the disaffection of many of the apostate sons of America, had long ere this been driven from the continent.

THE inhabitants of this state may rely on the assurance that an army composed of their brethren and fellow-citizens cannot be brought among them with the hostile vices of plunder and depredation. Such triumphs, under the colour

lour of protection and support, are left to grace the British arms alone: but they may rest satisfied, that the genuine motive which has given energy to the present exertions, is the hope of rescuing them from the iron rod of oppression, and restoring to them those blessings of freedom and independence which it is the duty and interest of the citizens of these United States, jointly and reciprocally, to support and confirm.

Given at head-quarters, on the river Peedee, this fourth day of August, in the year of our LORD one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and in the fifth year of our independence.

HORATIO GATES.

By the general's command,

CHRIST. RICHMOND, secretary.

N O T E XVIII. PAGE 149.

*A copy of a letter to generals Smallwood and Gist,
from the chevalier Du-Buysson.*

Charlotte, August 26, 1780.

Dear generals,

HAVING received several wounds in the action of the sixteenth instant, I was made prisoner with the honourable major-general the
Baron

Baron de Kalb, with whom I served as aid-de-camp and friend, and had an opportunity of attending that great and good officer during the short time he languished with eleven wounds, which proved mortal on the third day.

It is with pleasure I obey the baron's last commands, in presenting his most affectionate compliments to all the officers and men of his division; he expressed the greatest satisfaction in the testimony given by the British army of the bravery of his troops, and he was charmed with the firm opposition they made to superior force, when abandoned by the rest of the army. The gallant behaviour of the Delaware regiment and the companies of artillery attached to the brigades afforded him infinite pleasure, and the exemplary conduct of the whole division gave him an endearing sense of the merit of the troops he had the honour to command.

I am, dear generals,
with regard and respect,
your most obedient humble servant,

LE CHEVALIER DU-BUYSSON.

To brigadier-generals
Smallwood and Gist.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of Congress be given to the brigadiers Smallwood and Gist, and to the officers and regular troops of Maryland and Delaware; to the different corps of light infantry, under colonel Porterfield and major Armstrong,

Armstrong, and to the cavalry under colonel Armand, for the bravery and good conduct which they displayed in the action of the sixteenth of August last, near Camden, in the state of South-Carolina.

N O T E XIX. P A G E 150.

CONGRESS having resumed the consideration of the report of the committee to which general Gates's letter had been referred, for the purpose of decreeing the honours due to the memory of major-general Baron de Kalb, and the other officers and soldiers, it was

RESOLVED, that a monument be erected to the memory of the deceased major-general Baron de Kalb, in the town of Annapolis, in the state of Maryland, with the following inscription :

‘ SACRED to the memory of the Baron de Kalb,
 ‘ knight of the royal order of military merit, brigadier of the armies of France, and major-general in the service of the United States of America. Having served with honour and reputation for three years, he gave a last and glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties of mankind, and to the cause of America, in the action near Camden, in the state of South-Carolina, where, leading on the regular troops of Maryland and Delaware against superior forces,

‘ forces, and animating them by his example to
 ‘ deeds of valour, he was wounded in several
 ‘ places, and died the nineteenth of August fol-
 ‘ lowing, in the forty-eighth year of his age. The
 ‘ Congress of the United States of America, in
 ‘ acknowledgment of his zeal, of his services, and
 ‘ of his merit, hath erected this monument.’

N O T E XX. PAGE 153.

*List of continental officers killed, captivated, wound-
 ed and missing, in the actions of the sixteenth and
 eighteenth of August, 1780.*

KILLED. The honourable major-general
 the Baron de Kalb ; captain Williams, sixth
 Maryland regiment ; captain Duvall, second do.
 lieutenant Donovan, sixth ditto ; lieutenant and
 adjutant Coleman, artillery.

WOUNDED. Captain Somervell, sixth Mary-
 land regiment ; Gibson, fifth ditto ; Roan, Vir-
 ginia state artillery ; lieutenant Duvall, third
 Maryland regiment ; Sears ditto ; ensign Fickle,
 seventh.

PRISONERS. Lieutenant-colonel Woolford, fifth
 Maryland regiment, wounded ; lieutenant-colonel
 Vaughan, Delaware ; lieutenant-colonel Porter-
 field, Virginia state, wounded ; lieutenant-colo-
 nel Du-Buysson, aid-de-camp to general de Kalb,
 ditto ; majors Winder, first Maryland regiment ;
 Penton,

Penton, Delaware regiment; Pinckney, aid-de-camp to general Gates, wounded; captains Brice, third Maryland regiment; Hoops, fifth ditto; Lynch, fifth, Hamilton, fifth, Hardman, second, wounded; Smith, third ditto; Dorset, artillery, ditto; lieutenant Brune, legion, ditto; Rhoads, Delaware regiment; Lamout, ditto; captain-lieutenant Waters, artillery; lieutenant Shoemaker, fourth, Maryland regiment, wounded; Hanson, fourth, ditto ditto; Norris, sixth ditto ditto; Wallace, artillery; Foot, legion; Mosely, artillery; Doll, Delaware regiment; Skillington, ditto; lieutenant and adjutant Penvie, ditto; ensigns, Burgis, fourth Maryland regiment; Roach, Delaware regiment; volunteers, Nelson, sixth Maryland regiment, wounded; Rutledge, fourth ditto.

MISSING. Captains Morris, seventh Maryland regiment, wounded; Gaffay, second ditto; lieutenant Gaffaway, second ditto; captain Meredith, artillery, captain-lieutenant Blair, ditto.

SIR,

THE above is the most accurate return at present—those who have received slight contusions, which do not hinder their doing duty, are not included.

Your most obedient humble servant,

O. H. WILLIAMS.

Hillsborough, August 29, 1780.

Major-general Gates.

N O T E

*Copy of general Gates's orders.
After orders.*

Camp, at Rugely's, 15th Aug. 1780.

THE sick, the extra artillery stores, the heavy baggage, and such quartermasters stores as are not immediately wanted, to march this evening under a guard to Waxhaws; to this order the general requests the brigadier-generals to see that those under their command pay the most exact and scrupulous obedience.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL Edmonds, with the remaining guns of the park, will take post, and march with the Virginia brigade under general Stevens; he will direct, as any deficiency happens in the artillery affixed to the other brigades, to supply it immediately; his military staffs, and proportion of his officers, with forty of his men, are to attend him and wait his orders.

THE troops will be ready to march precisely at ten o'clock, in the following order, viz. colonel Armand's advance, cavalry commanded by colonel Armand: colonel Porterfield's light infantry on the right flank of colonel Armand's, in Indian file, two hundred yards from the road; major Armstrong's light infantry in the same order as colonel Porterfield's on the left flank of
the

the legion ; advance guard of foot, composed of the advanced picquets, first brigade of Maryland, second brigade of Maryland, division of North-Carolina, Virginia division ; rear-guard volunteers, cavalry on the right and left of the baggage, equally divided ; in this order the troops will proceed this night ; in case of an attack by the enemy's cavalry in front, the light infantry on each flank will instantly march up, and give, and continue the most galling fire upon the enemy's horse ; this will enable colonel Armand's not only to support the enemy's charge, but finally rout them ; the colonel will therefore consider the orders to stand the attack of the enemy's cavalry, be their numbers what they may, as positive : general Stevens will immediately order one captain, two lieutenants, one ensign, three serjeants, one drum, and sixty rank and file, to join colonel Porterfield's infantry ; these men are to be taken from the most experienced woodsmen, and men every way fittest for the service.

THE general will likewise complete Armstrong's light infantry to their original number, those must be immediately marched to the advanced post of the army. The troops will preserve the profoundest silence on the march, and any soldier who offers to fire, without the command of his officer, must be instantly put to death.

WHEN the ground will admit of it, and the near approach of the enemy renders it necessary,

the army will, when ordered, march in columns ; the artillery at the head of their respective brigades, and the baggage in the rear. The guard of the heavy baggage will be composed of the remaining officers and soldiers of the artillery. One captain, two subalterns, four serjeants, four drums, and sixty rank and file, and no person whatever is to presume to send any other soldier upon that service.

ALL batmen, waiters, &c. who are soldiers taken from the line, are forthwith to join their respective regiments, and act with their masters, while they are upon duty. The tents of the whole army to be struck at tattoo.

N O T E XXII. PAGE 161.

THE names of the other gentlemen were messrs. Edward Blake, John Budd, Robert Cockran, John Edwards, Thomas Ferguson, George Flagg, William-Hasel Gibbs, William Hall, Thomas Hall, Thomas Hayward, jun. Isaac Holmes, Richard Hutson, William Johnson, rev. John Lewis, William Livingston, John Loveday, Richard Lushington, William Massey, Edward M'Cready, Alexander Moultrie, John Mouatt, John Neufville, Edward North, Joseph Parker, John-Ernest Poyas, Jacob Read, Hugh Rutledge, Edward Rutledge, John Sanfum, Thomas Savage, Thomas Singleton, Josiah Smith, James-Hamden

Hamden Thomson, Peter Timothy, John Todd and Anthony Toomer.

N O T E XXIII. P A G E 169.

A SECOND cargo of the citizens who still remained prisoners on parole were shipped off on the seventeenth of November following. Their names were as follows: messrs. Joseph Bee, Richard Beresford, John Berwick, Benjamin Cudworth, Henry Crouch, John-Splatt Cripps, Edward Darrell, Daniel Deffaussure, George A. Hall, Thomas Grimbball, Noble-Wimberley Jones, William Lee, William Logan, Arthur Middleton, Christopher Peters, Benjamin Rostell, Samuel Prioleau, Philip Smith, Benjamin Waller, James Wakefield, Edward Weyman, Morton Wilkin-son. In addition to these citizens of South-Carolina, most of whom were entitled to the benefits of the capitulation of Charleston, general Rutherford and colonel Isaacs, of the state of North-Carolina, who had been taken near Camden in August 1780, were at the same time shipped off for St. Augustine—these were treated with more politeness.

N O T E

N O T E XXIV. P A G E 169.

S O U T H - C A R O L I N A.

*By the right honourable Charles earl Cornwallis,
lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, &c.*

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

WHEREAS, notwithstanding the moderation of the British government, and his majesty's unparalleled clemency to those of his deluded subjects, who, from a sense of their errors, have returned to their duty and allegiance, there are several persons of property in this province, who obstinately persist in their guilty and treasonable practices, and are either in the service or acting under the authority of the rebel Congress; or by abandoning their plantations, to join the enemies of Great-Britain; or by an open avowal of rebellious principles, and other notorious acts, do manifest a wicked and desperate perseverance, in opposing to the utmost of their power, the re-establishment of his majesty's just and lawful authority: and whereas it is a duty incumbent upon me to take all due precaution to secure the tranquillity of his majesty's government, and the peace and liberties of his faithful and loyal subjects in this province, and to prevent the wicked designs of such ill-disposed persons, as are above described, from taking effect: and whereas it might be of dangerous consequence
to

to suffer such persons to possess and make use of their estates in this province, thereby furnishing them with the means of carrying on their malicious and traitorous designs more effectually into execution ; and as it likewise appears to me both just and expedient, that the property which they have voluntarily staked in support of rebellion, should now be applied, on our part, to defray a portion of the expences occasioned by the obstinate delinquency of their faction. I have therefore thought fit to issue this proclamation, to notify to all persons concerned, that I have ordered the estates, both real and personal, in this province, belonging to the wicked and dangerous traitors above described, to be sequestered ; and I have constituted and appointed John Cruden, esquire, to be commissioner to execute the purposes of this proclamation, with full power and authority, on receipt of an order or warrant under my hand, or the hand of the officer commanding the British forces in this province, or of the commandant of Charleston, and not otherwise, to take into his charge, custody and possession, the estates, both real and personal, of those who have abandoned their plantations, to join the enemies of Great-Britain ; and of the estates, both real and personal, not included in the capitulation of Charleston, of those in the service, or acting under the authority of the rebel Congress ; and of the estates, both real and personal, of those persons, who, by an open avowal of rebellious principles, or by other notori-

ous

ous acts, do manifest a wicked and desperate perseverance in opposing, to the utmost of their power, the re-establishment of his majesty's just and lawful authority : and the said commissioner shall, within the term of twenty-one days after execution of every such order or warrant above mentioned, by seizure of the estates or property therein described, cause notice thereof to be published in three successive news-papers, that no person concerned may plead ignorance of the same ; and the like term is allowed for the removal of possessors from the premises so seized. And to the end, that this trust of so great importance be duly and faithfully administered for the publick benefit, I do hereby strictly require and enjoin, that the said commissioners do, in every case of the seizure of property, whether real or personal, forthwith take upon the spot, if in the country, in presence of two persons acting either as field officers, or captains of militia under his majesty's government, and, if in town, in presence of two creditable freeholders, an exact inventory of the property so seized, which they are hereby required to sign, and it is to be kept and produced by the commissioner, as a voucher on the exhibition of his accounts. And whereas it is dictated by humanity and compassion, that due and reasonable consideration be had for the families of the traitorous offenders, whose property is necessarily become the object of this proclamation, I have authorized and directed the said commissioner to pay, for the support and maintenance

maintenance of families, consisting of a wife and children, one fourth part of the net annual product of the seized estates respectively, and one sixth part where there is a wife and no children, as the case may be; provided they are resident, and continue to be resident, within this province; and the receipts and acquittances of the parties shall be, and are hereby directed to be, considered sufficient vouchers to the said commissioner at the settlement of his accounts. And it being highly expedient, that accounts of all personal property, and of the issues and produce of all estates, consisting of land, negroes, cattle, and of every species of property, seized by virtue of this proclamation, be kept in the most clear and distinct manner possible: I do hereby direct, that the said commissioner do keep particular and separate accounts of all property, real and personal, under the names of the persons who were supposed and acknowledged to be the proprietors at the time of seizure: and I do hereby further direct and require the said commissioner to make up a general account of the expence of management, and of the amount of the sale and disposal of all property whatsoever, that shall come into his hands; which is to be laid before the commandant and board of police of Charleston, every six months, or oftener, if it shall appear necessary and practicable; and he shall be thereunto required, during such time as the said estates shall remain under sequestration: and the commandant and board of police are hereby directed and

required

required to inspect the said accounts with all convenient dispatch ; and if they appear to them to be just and right, to grant a certificate thereof to the said commissioner ; and the said commissioner is hereby further required, upon such certificate being granted, to pay the balance arising from the above described estates, into the hands of the paymaster-general of his majesty's forces, or his deputy, to be applied to the purpose before-mentioned, or in any other manner that may be directed by his majesty's commissioners for restoring peace to America, or the commander in chief. And I do hereby declare, that any person or persons obstructing or impeding the said commissioner in the execution of his duty, by concealment or removal of any property he may be authorized to seize, or otherwise, shall, on conviction, be punished as aiding and abetting rebellion ; and if any person or persons shall make discovery where any effects are concealed, or attempted to be carried away, or shall give any necessary information to the said John Cruden, esquire, so that effects belonging to a person whose estate is sequestered, may be secured, the person or persons giving such information shall be most liberally rewarded : and all officers, civil and military, and all other persons whatsoever, are strictly enjoined and required to aid and assist the said John Cruden and his deputies, in the execution of the trust reposed in him. And whereas certain limited orders and powers have been given by me to colonels and commanding officers
of

of militia, in some few of the districts of this province, to seize the horses, cattle, negroes, and provisions of persons concerned in the late revolt, more particularly described in the said orders, and to apply the same, under certain regulations and restrictions, to the indemnification of the King's loyal and faithful subjects in the respective districts, who had suffered by the depredations of the rebels : and whereas the colonels and commanding officers of militia were, by the said orders, directed to report to me, at the headquarters of the army, the property they should seize, by virtue of the same, specifying clearly its nature and value, and the application thereof, towards the relief and indemnity of his majesty's faithful subjects, who have suffered as aforesaid ; I do now hereby require and command them, instead of reporting to me their proceedings, as above directed, to transmit to the commandant of Charleston, within the term of fourteen days after the distribution of the property seized, particular accounts of all such property seized, and of its application and distribution, in writing, which are to be signed by the colonel or commanding officer of the militia, and by the twelve men of the neighbourhood who condemned the property, and ordered distribution of the same ; and that they do transmit exact duplicates of the said accounts, signed in the manner above directed, at the same time, to John Cruden, esquire, the commissioner named in this proclamation, to be lodged in his office at Charleston,

to the end that it may appear and be ascertained how the property seized, under the above-recited orders, hath been applied and distributed.

Given under my hand and seal, at head-quarters, in the district of Waxhaws, in the said province, the sixteenth day of September, anno Domini 1780, and in the twentieth year of his majesty's reign.

CORNWALLIS.

By his lordship's command,
J. Money, aid-de-camp.

N O T E XXV. PAGE 172.

To the right honourable Charles earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, &c. &c. &c.

The humble address of divers loyal inhabitants of Charleston.

WE, his majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, inhabitants of Charleston, finding ourselves disappointed in the expectation we entertained of your lordship's returning shortly to this capital, whereby we are precluded of personal access to your lordship, take this opportunity, through the intervention of the commandant, of tendering to your lordship our joyful congratulations

lations on the total defeat and dispersion of the rebel army, by his majesty's forces under your command.

WHEN we reflect on the desolation and ruin with which this province was threatened by the unrelenting cruelty of a formidable and menacing enemy, we think ourselves fortunate that we had no idea of our danger, until we were effectually relieved from it by the glorious victory obtained by your lordship, wherein the interposition of a protecting Providence is evident; which inspires us with gratitude to the Supreme Ruler of the universe; and at the same time excites in our minds a due sense of the manifold obligations we have to your lordship, for your distinguished conduct and courage, so eminently conspicuous in the accomplishment of that great event, which has rescued this province from impending destruction, and is no less advantageous to our most gracious sovereign and the British empire, than honourable to your lordship; and which fame will transmit to the latest posterity, with that tribute of praise and admiration your lordship has so justly merited on this important occasion.

ALTHOUGH a prevailing faction subverted our excellent constitution, and established a democratic kind of government in its stead, yet, as that arbitrary system of rule was annihilated by the surrender of this capital, and submission of the
country,

country, every member of the community had an indubitable right to consult his own happiness; and as the people in general, induced by their predilection and veneration for the old constitution, have made an explicit declaration of their allegiance, and availed themselves of the protection of that government under which they formerly enjoyed the highest degree of civil and political liberty, as well as security in their properties, we cannot but consider the late attempt of Congress to subjugate the freemen of this province to their tyrannical domination, an additional proof of their restless ambition, and of the wicked machinations of the contemptible remains of that expiring faction, who have so recently exercised a despotick and lawless sway over us; and we trust that every other hostile experiment, by the goodness of God, and your lordship's vigilance and animated endeavours, will be rendered equally futile.

THAT Heaven, propitious to your lordship's active zeal in the service of your King and country, may crown your future exertions with success, and incline our deluded sister colonies to partake of those blessings of which we have so fair a prospect, are the sincere and ardent wishes, not only of us, but we are persuaded of every other loyal inhabitant of Charleston.

September 19, 1780.

[SIGNED by one hundred and sixty-four persons.]

N O T E

N O T E XXVI. PAGE 189.

Saturday, January 13, 1781.

THE committee, to whom was referred the letter of December seventh from major-general Greene, delivered in a report ; whereupon,

CONGRESS taking into consideration the eminent services rendered to the United States by brigadier-general Sumpter, of South-Carolina, at the head of a number of volunteer militia, from that and the neighbouring states, particularly in the victory obtained over the enemy at the Hanging-Rock, on the sixth of August ; in the defeat of major Weyms and the corps of British infantry and dragoons under his command, at Broad river, on the ninth day of November, in which the said major Weyms was made prisoner ; and in the repulse of lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, and the British cavalry and infantry under his command, at Black-Stocks, on Tyger river, on the twentieth day of November last ; in each of which actions the gallantry and military conduct of general Sumpter, and the courage and perseverance of his troops, were highly conspicuous :

RESOLVED, therefore, that the thanks of Congress be presented to brigadier-general Sumpter, and the militia aforesaid, for such reiterated proofs of their patriotism, bravery and military conduct,

conduct, which entitle them to the highest esteem and confidence of their country; and that the commanding officer of the southern department do forthwith cause the same to be issued in general orders, and transmitted to general Sumpter.

N O T E XXVII. PAGE 199.

In Congress, March 1781.

Friday, March 9, 1781.

ON the report of a committee, consisting of mr. Burke, mr. Varnum and mr. Bee, to whom were referred fundry letters from major-general Greene and brigadier-general Morgan, the following resolutions were passed:

THE United States in Congress assembled, considering it as a tribute due to distinguished merit to give a publick approbation of the conduct of brigadier-general Morgan, and of the officers and men under his command, on the seventeenth day of January last; when, with eighty cavalry and two hundred and thirty-seven infantry of the troops of the United States, and five hundred and fifty-three militia from the states of Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, he obtained a complete and important victory over a select and well-appointed detachment of more than eleven hundred British troops, commanded by

by lieutenant-colonel Tarleton ; do therefore resolve :

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be given to brigadier-general Morgan and the officers and men under his command, for their fortitude and good conduct displayed in the action at the Cowpens, in the state of South-Carolina, on the seventeenth day of January last :

THAT a medal of gold be presented to brigadier-general Morgan, and a medal of silver to lieutenant-colonel Washington, of the cavalry, and one of silver to lieutenant-colonel Howard, of the infantry, of the United States, severally, with emblems and mottos descriptive of the conduct of those officers respectively on that memorable day :

THAT a sword be presented to colonel Pickens, of the militia, in testimony of his spirited conduct in the action before mentioned :

THAT major Edward Giles, aid-de-camp of brigadier-general Morgan, have the brevet commission of a major ; and that baron de Glasbeck, who served with brigadier-general Morgan as a volunteer, have the brevet commission of captain in the army of the United States, in consideration of their merit and services.

ORDERED, that the commanding officer in the
southern

southern department communicate these resolutions in general orders.

N O T E XXVIII. PAGE 199.

A list of the commissioned officers who fought in the action of January seventeenth, 1781, under general Morgan, and defeated lieutenant-colonel Tarleton.

Of the light infantry :

J OHN Howard, lieutenant-colonel, commandant,

Benjamin Brooks, captain, and major of brigade,
Captain Robert Kirkwood, Delaware,

Captain Anderfon,

Dobson,

Lieutenant Ervine,

Watkins,

Houston,

} Maryland.

Lieutenant Barnes,

Miller,

Ensign King,

Ensign Dyer,

Smith,

} Virginia.

} Maryland.

Lieutenant Andrews, Delaware.

Of the third regiment of dragoons :

Lieut. colonel William Washington, }

Major Richard Call, }

Captain Bennett, }

Lieutenant Bell, }

} Virginia.

Cornet Simons, South-Carolina.

Of the Maryland state regiment :

Edward Giles, major and aid-de-camp.

Of the Virginia militia :

Major Triplet,

Captain Buchanan,

Captain Tate,

Captain Gilmore,

Ensign Combs,

Ensign M·Corkill,

Ensign Wilfon.

THE Baron de Glasbeck served as a volunteer in general Morgan's family, and mr. Andrews with lieutenant-colonel Washington's regiment.

COLONEL Pickens, and all the officers in his corps, behaved well ; but, from their having so lately joined the detachment, it has been impossible to collect all their names and rank, so that the general is constrained not to particularize any, lest it should be doing injustice to others.

By order of general Morgan,

EDWARD GILES, A. D. C.

January 17, 1781.

N O T E XXIX. PAGE 213.

*By the right honourable Charles earl Cornwallis,
lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces, &c.*

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

WHEREAS it has pleased the Divine Providence to prosper the operations of his majesty's arms in driving the rebel army out of this province: and whereas it is his majesty's most gracious wish to rescue his faithful and loyal subjects from the cruel tyranny under which they have groaned for several years: I have thought proper to issue this proclamation to invite all such faithful and loyal subjects to repair, without loss of time, with their arms and ten days provisions, to the royal standard now erected at Hillsborough, where they will meet with the most friendly reception; and I do hereby assure them, that I am ready to concur with them in effectual measures for suppressing the remains of rebellion in this province, and for the re-establishment of good order and constitutional government.

Given under my hand at head-quarters, at Hillsborough, this 20th day of February, in the year of our LORD 1781, and in the 21st year of his majesty's reign.

CORNWALLIS.

By his lordship's command,
H. BRODRICK, aid-de-camp.

G O D save the KING.

Extract from earl Cornwallis's 'answer to the narrative of sir Henry Clinton.'

Page 3, 4. **O**UR hopes of success in offensive operations were not founded only on the efforts of the corps, under my immediate command, which did not much exceed three thousand men, but principally upon the most positive assurances given by apparent credible deputies and emissaries, that, upon the appearance of a British army in North-Carolina, a great body of inhabitants were ready to join and co-operate with it, in endeavouring to restore his majesty's government.

PAGE 5. The unexpected failure of our friends rendered the victory at Guilford of little value. I know it has been asserted, or insinuated, that they were not sufficiently tried upon this occasion: but can any dispassionate person believe, that I did not give every encouragement to people of all descriptions to join and assist us, when our own reputation, the safety of the army, and the interests of my country, were so deeply concerned in that junction and assistance? All inducements in my power were made use of without material effect; and every man in my army must have been convinced, that the accounts of our emissaries had greatly exaggerated the number

ber of those who had professed friendship for us ; as they must have observed, that a very considerable part of them could not be prevailed on to remain with us, or to exert themselves in any form whatever.

THIS disappointment, and the wants and distresses of the army, compelled me to move to Cross Creek ; but meeting there no material part of the promised assistance and support, I was obliged to continue my march to Wilmington.

PAGE 15. That our failure in North-Carolina was not occasioned by our want of force, to protect the rising of our friends, but by their timidity and unwillingness to take an active and useful part.

A letter from the board of loyalists to earl Cornwallis.

MY LORD,

March 5, 1783.

WE, the board of agents for the American loyalists, beg leave to address a few lines to your lordship, with all possible respect, on a subject which we feel ourselves, and those we represent, so deeply interested in, that we cannot remain silent without neglecting the trust reposed in us.

WHILST in reading your lordship's late publication, we entertain the highest admiration of your character, and are conscious that your humanity

manity equals that intrepidity and perseverance, that have marked the whole of your conduct in America, and accompanied your lordship's march through wild extents of North-Carolina into Virginia ; we cannot but observe, with extreme regret, some passages that have dropped from your lordship's pen, relative to the conduct of the loyalists in North-Carolina, which, without some explanation, may make impressions never intended by your lordship, to the disadvantage of a body of men, who have sacrificed their all, by steadily persevering in their allegiance to their sovereign, and by maintaining, at every risk, and with the utmost constancy and unremitted exertions, his authority and just rights in America.

THE favourable opinion your lordship has so frequently expressed of this body of men will, we hope, be our excuse for troubling your lordship on this occasion.

THE very high esteem so justly entertained of your lordship in this kingdom, gives great weight to every thing coming from you ; and we are apprehensive, lest the enclosed extracts from the introduction to your lordship's letters, by being either misunderstood, or maliciously misrepresented, may be detrimental to our intended application to parliament.

PEOPLE in this country are in general ignorant
of

of the state of North-Carolina, its extent, and the scattered scarcity of its inhabitants, and, of course, from that ignorance, are easily led to form hasty opinions of the practicability of things, in their nature impossible.

WE humbly conceive, we have only to suggest these our apprehensions to your lordship's humanity and candour, on which we rely with perfect confidence, that they will dictate to your lordship such measures as are best adapted to prevent any possible mischief, which, we are well assured, was never designed on your lordship's part. In this reliance, we have the honour of subscribing ourselves, with the highest respect,

Signed on behalf of the board,

J. WRIGHT, president.

A letter from earl Cornwallis to the board of loyalists.

Mansfield-Street, March 8, 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received the honour of your letter on the fifth instant, and am extremely concerned to learn, that some expressions in my answer to sir Henry Clinton's narrative, have given pain to a body of men so respectable, and so peculiarly circumstanced, as the unfortunate American loyalists.

MY

My services in North-America gave me numberless opportunities to observe the undoubted loyalty of a great body of people ; and, I hope, that the whole tenor of my conduct has proved, not only that I was even sensible of their merits, but that, if at any time my friendship and protection has not come up to their expectations, the want of power has been the sole cause of their disappointment.

WHEN I found myself called upon, by Sir Henry Clinton's narrative, to publish a vindication of my own conduct during the campaign of 1781, it was as far from my intention, as it would have been cruelly unjust, to convey a doubt of the loyal disposition of a great number of the inhabitants of North-Carolina : convinced of their loyalty, it was with reluctance, even when disappointed, that I complained of their inactivity ; as it proceeded from causes which will save them from censure with all generous minds.

NORTH-CAROLINA being in proportion to its immense extent but thinly inhabited, and our friends being not only much dispersed, but mixed in every district with people of opposite principles, who had possessed themselves of the power of government, their efforts to manifest their loyalty had been made under great disadvantages, and had been attended with many fatal consequences, previous to our march into that province. Many had lost their lives, and numbers
had

had long languished in confinement, or had been driven out of the country, in consequence of the rising in the year 1776.

THE premature rising at Ramsour's, colonel Bryan's junction with us in South-Carolina, both directly contrary to my recommendation, and colonel Ferguson's defeat on King's Mountain, in the year 1780, had occasioned the ruin of many families, and had furnished pretexts to exercise cruelties upon individuals, to a degree neither believed nor conceived in this country ; those rigours, joined to a long series of former oppressions, had, in my opinion, totally broke the spirits of the greatest number of our friends before our arrival among them.

HOPE of relief naturally induced their emissaries (perhaps not sensible of it) to conceal this from me, and I could only discover it from experience, when I called upon them for assistance. I will freely confess, that I was then convinced that we had been too sanguine on both sides ; our expectations had been too high of co-operation and assistance, and our friends had expected too much from the appearance of a British army in the province.

To account for some parts of my own conduct, it was necessary to state this disappointment ; but when the situation of these unfortunate people is fairly considered, I am persuaded that I cannot
have

have excited any emotion but compassion for them, in the breasts of all liberal men. The characters and principles of a great body of loyalists, at present in this country, or with our army in North-America, can be still less affected by misconstructions of any expressions of mine. Many, by gallantly taking arms in the common cause, some, by acting in civil capacities, and others, by abandoning their families and properties in America, have proved their loyalty and attachment to this government beyond all possibility of being controverted; and have, therefore, the best founded claims for compensation, upon the generosity and justice of Britain. I beg leave to assure the board of agents, that I am truly sensible of the high value of the favourable opinion that they have been pleased to express of my conduct during this calamitous war; and I shall ever lament that my endeavours were so ineffectual to promote the interest of individuals, and the re-union of the British empire.

I HAVE the honour to be, with great respect,
gentlemen,

your most obedient, and
most humble servant,

CORNWALLIS.

Sir James Wright, bart. president, and
the other members of the board of
agents for the American loyalists.

N O T E X X X I . P A G E 2 2 2 .

*By Charles earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of
his majesty's forces, &c.*

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

WHEREAS by the blessing of Almighty God, his majesty's arms have been crowned with signal success, by the complete victory obtained over the rebel forces on the fifth instant, I have thought proper to issue this proclamation, to call upon all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring good order and government: and whereas it has been represented to me, that many persons in this province, who have taken a share in this unnatural rebellion, but having experienced the oppression and injustice of the rebel government, and having seen the errors into which they have been deluded by falsehoods and misrepresentations, are sincerely desirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, I do hereby notify and promise to all such persons (murderers excepted) that if they will surrender themselves, with their arms and ammunition, at head-quarters, or to the officer commanding in the district contiguous to their respective places of residence, on or before the twentieth day of April next, they will be permitted to return to their homes, upon giving a military parole; and shall be protected in their persons and properties from all sorts of violence
from

from the British troops ; and will be restored, as soon as possible, to all the privileges of legal and constitutional government.

Given under my hand at headquarters, this eighteenth day of March, A. D. 1781, and in the twenty-first year of his majesty's reign.

(Signed)

CORNWALLIS.

N O T E XXXII. PAGE 224.

Extract of brigadier-general Arnold's letter to sir Henry Clinton.

Peterburg, May 12, 1781.

SIR,

I AM extremely sorry to inform your excellency, that major-general Philips is reduced so low by a fever, which seized him on the second instant, that he is incapable of business, and the physicians are not without fears for his safety. In this situation I think it my duty to transmit to your excellency by express a detail of the proceedings of the army under the orders of major-general Philips, since they left Portsmouth, which his indisposition prevented him from doing as he intended.

ON the eighteenth of April the light infantry,
part

part of the seventy-sixth and eightieth regiments, the queen's rangers, yagers, and American legion, embarked at Portsmouth, and fell down to Hampton road ; on the nineteenth, proceeded up James river to Burwell's ferry ; on the twentieth lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, with the light infantry, proceeded up the Chickahomany in boats ; lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, with a detachment, to York ; lieutenant-colonel Dundas, with another detachment, landed at the mouth of the Chickahomany ; and major-general Philips and myself landed with part of the army at Williamsburg, where about five hundred militia were posted, who retired upon our approach. The militia at York crossed the river before the arrival of lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, who made a few prisoners, spiked and destroyed some cannon, and next day returned to Williamsburg.

On the twenty-second the troops marched to Chickahomany. We were met on the road, five miles from the mouth of the river, by lieutenant-colonel Dundas, with his detachment : this evening the troops, cavalry, artillery, &c. were re-embarked. The next morning we were joined by lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, with the light infantry, who had been ten or twelve miles up the Chickahomany, and destroyed several armed ships, the state ship-yards, ware-houses, &c. &c.

At ten o'clock the fleet weighed and proceeded

ed up the James river, within four miles of West-over.

THE twenty-fourth weighed anchor at eleven o'clock, and run up to City Point, where the troops, &c. were all landed at six o'clock in the evening.

THE twenty-fifth marched at ten o'clock for Petersburg, where we arrived about five o'clock P. M. We were opposed, about one mile from town, by a body of militia, under the orders of brigadier-general Muhlenburgh, supposed to be about one thousand men, who were soon obliged to retire over the bridge, with the loss of near one hundred men killed and wounded, as we have since been informed; our loss only one man killed and ten wounded. The enemy took up the bridge, which prevented our pursuing them.

TWENTY-SIXTH. Destroyed at Petersburg four thousand hogsheds of tobacco, one ship, and a number of small vessels on the stocks and in the river.

TWENTY-SEVENTH. Major-general Philips, with the light-infantry, part of the cavalry of the queen's rangers, and part of the yagers, marched to Chesterfield courthouse, where they burned a range of barracks for two thousand men, and three hundred barrels of flour, &c.

THE same day I marched to Osborn's, with the seventy-sixth and eightieth regiments, queen's rangers, part of the yagers, and American legion, where we arrived about noon. Finding the enemy had very considerable force of ships four miles above Osborn's, drawn up in a line to oppose us, I sent a flag to the commodore, proposing to treat with him for the surrender of his fleet, which he refused, with this answer, ' That he was determined to defend it to the last extremity.' I immediately ordered down two six and two three-pounders, brass field-pieces, to a bank of the river, nearly level with the water, and within one hundred yards of the Tempest, a twenty-gun state-ship, which began immediately to fire upon us, as did the Renown of twenty-six guns, the Jefferson, a state brigantine of fourteen guns, and several other armed ships and brigantines; about two or three hundred militia, on the opposite shore, at the same time kept up a heavy fire of musketry upon us. Notwithstanding which, the fire of the artillery, under the direction of captain Fage and lieutenant Rogers, took such place, that the ships were soon obliged to strike their colours, and the militia drove from the opposite shore. Want of boats, and the wind blowing hard, prevented our capturing many of the seamen, who took to their boats, and escaped on shore; but not without first scuttling and setting fire to some of their ships, which could not be saved.

Two ships, three brigantines, five sloops, and two schooners, loaded with tobacco, cordage, flour, &c. fell into our hands.

FOUR ships, five brigantines, and a number of small vessels, were sunk and burned. On board the whole fleet, none of which escaped, were taken and destroyed about two thousand hogheads of tobacco, &c. &c. and very fortunately we had not a man killed or wounded this day; but have reason to believe the enemy suffered considerably. About five o'clock P. M. we were joined by major-general Philips, with the light infantry.

TWENTY-EIGHTH. The troops remained at Osborn's, waiting for boats from the fleet; part of them were employed in securing the prizes, and carrying them to Osborn's, as a place of safety.

TWENTY-NINTH. The boats having arrived, the troops were put in motion. Major-general Philips marched with the main body; at the same time I proceeded up the river, with a detachment in boats, and met him between Cary's mills and Warwick.

THIRTIETH. The troops marched to Manchester, and destroyed twelve hundred hogheads of tobacco. The marquis de la Fayette having arrived with his army at Richmond, opposite to Manchester,

Manchester, the day before, and being joined by the militia drove from Petersburg and Williamsburg, they were spectators of the conflagration, without attempting to molest us. The same evening we returned to Warwick, where we destroyed a magazine of five hundred barrels of flour, and colonel Cary's fine mills were destroyed in burning the magazine of flour. We also burned several warehouses, with one hundred and fifty hogsheds of tobacco, a large ship and a brigantine afloat, and three vessels on the stocks, a large range of publick rope-walks and store-houses, and some tan and bark-houses full of hides and bark.

MAY first. Marched to Osborn's, and dispatched our prizes and boats down the river; and in the evening marched to Bermuda Hundreds, opposite City Point.

MAY second. Embarked the troops, &c. &c.

MAY third. Fell down the river to Westover.

MAY fourth. Proceeded down to Tappahannock.

FIFTH and sixth. Part of the fleet fell down to Hog-Island.

SEVENTH. Major-general Philips having received a letter from lord Cornwallis, orders were given for the fleet to return up the river again.

We

We arrived at Brandon about five o'clock, and most of the troops, cavalry, &c. were landed this evening, though it blew a gale of wind.

MAY eighth. Remained at Brandon. Major-general Philips being very ill, and unable to travel on horseback, a post-chaise was procured for him.

MAY ninth. The light infantry, and part of the queen's rangers, in boats, were ordered, with the Formidable and Spitfire, to proceed to City Point, and land there. The rest of the army were put in motion for Petersburg, where they arrived late in the night, having marched near thirty miles this day.

ON our leaving Bermuda Hundred, and going down the river, the marquis de la Fayette, with his army, moved towards Williamsburg, and by forced marches had crossed the Chickahomany at Long Bridge, when our fleet returned to Brandon, which retrograde motion of ours occasioned him to return as rapidly by forced marches to Osborn's, where he arrived the eighth, and was preparing to cross the river to Petersburg when we arrived there, which was so unexpected, that we surprized and took two majors, one of them aid-de-camp to Baron Steuben, the other to general Smallwood; one captain and three lieutenants of dragoons; two lieutenants of foot, a commissary, and a surgeon: some of these gen-

tlements arrived only two hours before us, with an intention of collecting the boats for the marquis to cross his army.

ON the tenth the marquis made his appearance on the opposite side of the river with a strong escort, and having stayed some time to reconnoitre our army, returned to his camp at Osborn's; and we are this day informed he is marched to Richmond, where it is said Wayne, with the Pennsylvania line, has arrived; this is however uncertain, but he is certainly expected there.

AN express passed through this place the day before our arrival here, who left Halifax on the seventh, and informed, that the advance of lord Cornwallis's arrived there that morning: this report we have from several quarters, and I am inclined to believe it is true. Several expresses have been sent to his lordship, informing him of our being here ready to co-operate with his lordship. We are in anxious expectation of having particular intelligence from him every minute.

As soon as it is reduced to a certainty that lord Cornwallis has crossed the Roanoke, and is on his march for this place, the army will advance one or two days march from hence to meet his lordship, and carry a supply of provisions for his army.

A considerable magazine of flour and bread has fallen into our hands near this place, and the country abounds with cattle.

MAJOR-GENERAL Philips is so weak and low, that it will be some considerable time before he can go through the fatigue of business. In this critical situation, I am happy to have the assistance of so many good and experienced officers with me, commanding corps. If joined by lord Cornwallis, or the reinforcement said to be coming from New-York, we shall be in force to operate as we please in Virginia or Maryland.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

B. ARNOLD.

Adjutant-general's office, New-York, July 15,
1781.

SIR,

I AM directed by the commander in chief to send you the following account of the operations of the army in Virginia, under the command of lieutenant-general the earl Cornwallis, which you will please to publish in your Gazette.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant,

A. DELANCY, Ad. Gen.

To mr. James Rivington.

HIS lordship, after passing James river, at West-
over

over, moved to Hanover courthouse, and crossed the South-Annæ: the marquis de la Fayette keeping about twenty miles distant from him. From this place his lordship detached lieutenant-colonels Tarleton and Simcoe, the former of which took some members of the assembly at Charlotte Ville, and destroyed there, and on his return, one thousand stand of good arms, some clothing, and other stores, and between four and five hundred barrels of powder without opposition. Baron Steuben, who commanded about eight hundred twelve months men and militia, retired with great precipitation, from the Point of Fork, before lieutenant-colonel Simcoe, who, after using every operation to attack the rear-guard, destroyed there, and at the places adjacent, about three thousand three hundred stand of arms, (then under repair) some salt, harness, &c. and about one hundred and fifty barrels of powder. His lordship then moved by Richmond, and arrived at Williamsburg on the twenty-fifth of June, having, in addition to the articles already mentioned, destroyed, on this expedition, in different places, above two thousand hogsheads of tobacco, a great number of iron guns, ten brass French twenty-four-pounders, and brought off four thirteen-inch brass mortars, five brass eight-inch howitzers, four long brass nine-pounders, all French, and a considerable quantity of shot and shells. On the twenty-sixth, as lieutenant-colonel Simcoe was returning with his corps and the yagers, from the destruction of some boats and
horses

horses on the Chickahomany, he was attacked by a much superior force of the enemy, who were repulsed with a considerable loss, and three officers, and twenty-eight privates taken prisoners.

HIS lordship having an intention to cross James river, marched on the fourth instant, to a camp near James-Town, and made his arrangements accordingly.

ON the sixth, information was brought him about noon of the approach of the enemy, and about four in the afternoon attacked his out-posts, but concluded that the enemy would not bring a considerable force within his reach, unless they supposed that nothing was left but a rear-guard. His lordship took every means to convince them of his weakness, which had the desired effect; for about sun-set, a body of troops with artillery, began to form in front of his camp. He then put the troops under arms, and ordered the army to advance in two lines.

THE attack was begun by the first line with great spirit, there being nothing but militia opposed to the light infantry; the action was soon over on the right, but lieutenant-colonel Dundas's brigade, consisting of the forty-third, seventy-sixth and eightieth regiments, which formed the left wing, meeting the Pennsylvania line, and detachment of the marquis de la Fayette's continentals,

tinentials, with two four pounders, a smart action ensued for some minutes, when the enemy gave way, and abandoned their cannon. The cavalry were ready to pursue, but the darkness of the evening prevented his lordship making use of them.

HIS lordship commends the spirit and good behaviour of the officers and soldiers of the whole army, but the seventy-sixth and eightieth regiments, on whom the brunt of the action fell, had an opportunity to distinguish themselves particularly; and his lordship says, that lieutenant-colonel Dundas's conduct and gallantry deserve the highest praise. The force of the enemy in the field was about two thousand continentals and militia, and their loss, he believes, between two and three hundred, and that half an hour more day-light would probably have given him the greatest part of the corps.

N O T E XXXIII. P A G E 231.

List of American officers killed or wounded at the battle near Camden, on the twenty-fifth of April, 1781.

LIEUTENANT-colonel Ford, Maryland, dangerously wounded in the elbow.

LIEUTENANT-colonel Campbell, Virginia, a slight contusion on the thigh.

CAPTAIN

CAPTAIN William Beatty, Maryland, killed.

CAPTAIN J. Smith, third Maryland, taken prisoner.

CAPTAIN Dunholm, Virginia, slight contusion.

CAPTAIN-lieutenant Bruff, Maryland, wounded in both ancles, and prisoner on parole.

LIEUTENANT M. Gallaway, Maryland, wounded slightly. Lieutenant Ball, Virginia, ditto, dangerously in the leg.

Non-commissioned officers and soldiers, killed, wounded and missing.

ONE serjeant, seventeen rank and file killed.

SEVEN serjeants, one hundred and one rank and file wounded.

THREE serjeants, one hundred and thirty-three rank and file missing.

N O T E XXXIV. PAGE 239.

The following is general Pickens and lieutenant-colonel Lee's report of the capitulation of fort Cornwallis.

No. I.

SIR, Augusta, May 31, 1781.

THE usage of war renders it necessary that we present you with an opportunity of avoiding

avoiding destruction, which impends your garrison.

WE have deferred our summons to this late date, to preclude the necessity of much correspondence on the occasion. You see the strength of the investing forces, the progress of our works, and you may inform yourself of the situation of the two armies, by enquiries from captain Armstrong, of the legions, who has the honour to bear this.

We have the honour to be, sir,
your most obedient servants,

ANDREW PICKENS, B. G. Mil.

HENRY LEE, jun. Lieut. Col.

commanding continental troops.

Lieut. Col. Brown.

No. II.

GENTLEMEN,

WHAT progress you have made in your works I am no stranger to. It is my duty and inclination to defend this post to the last extremity.

I have the honour to be,
gentlemen,

your most obedient,
humble servant,

THOMAS BROWN, Lieut. Col.

commanding King's troops at Augusta.

To B. G. Pickens, and

Lieut. Col. Lee.

Articles

Articles of capitulation proposed by lieutenant-colonel Brown, and answered by general Pickens and lieutenant-colonel Lee.

ARTICLE I. That all acts of hostilities and works shall cease between the besiegers and besieged, until the articles of capitulation shall be agreed on, signed and executed, or collectively rejected.

ANSWER. Hostilities shall cease for one hour, other operations to continue.

ARTICLE II. That the fort shall be surrendered to the commanding officer of the American troops, such as it now stands. That the King's troops, three days after signing the articles of capitulation, shall be conducted to Savannah with their baggage, where they will remain prisoners of war until they are exchanged; that proper conveyances shall be provided by the commanding officer of the American troops for that purpose, together with a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provisions, till their arrival at Savannah.

ANSWER. Inadmissible. The prisoners to surrender field prisoners of war. The officers to be indulged with their paroles; the soldiers to be conducted to such place as the commander in chief shall direct.

ARTICLE III. The militia now in garrison shall

be permitted to return to their respective homes, and be secured in their persons and properties.

ANSWER. Answered by the second article, the militia making part of the garrison.

ARTICLE IV. The sick and wounded shall be under the care of their own surgeons, and be supplied with such medicines and necessaries as are allowed to the British hospitals.—Agreed.

ARTICLE V. The officers of the garrison, and citizens who have borne arms during the siege, shall keep their side arms, pistols and baggage, which shall not be searched, and retain their servants.

ANSWER. The officers and citizens who have borne arms during the siege, shall be permitted their side arms, private baggage, and servants; their side arms not to be worn; and the baggage to be searched by a person appointed for that purpose.

ARTICLE VI. The garrison, at an hour appointed, shall march out with shouldered arms and drums beating, to a place to be agreed on, where they will pile their arms.

ANSWER. Agreed. The judicious and gallant defence made by the garrison, entitles them to every mark of military respect. The fort to be delivered up to captain Rudolph at twelve o'clock, who will take possession with a detachment of the legion infantry.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE VII. That the citizens shall be protected in their persons and property.

ANSWER. Inadmissible.

ARTICLE VIII. That twelve months shall be allowed to all such as do not choose to reside in this country, to dispose of their effects, real and personal, in this province, without any molestation whatever, or to remove to any part thereof, as they may choose, as well themselves as families.

ANSWER. Inadmissible.

ARTICLE IX. That the Indian families now in garrison shall accompany the King's troops to Savannah, where they will remain prisoners of war, until exchanged for an equal number of prisoners in the Creek or Cherokee nations.

ANSWER. Answered in the second article.

ARTICLE X. That an express be permitted to go to Savannah, with the commanding officer's despatches, which are not to be opened.

ANSWER. Agreed.

ARTICLE XI. Additional. The particular attention of colonel Brown is expected towards the just delivery of all publick stores, monies, &c. and that no loans be permitted to defeat the spirit of this article.

SIGNED

SIGNED at head-quarters, Augusta, June 5,
1781, by

ANDREW PICKENS, B. G. Mil.

HENRY LEE, jun. Lieut. Col. Com.

THOMAS BROWN, Lieut. Col.

commanding King's troops at Augusta.

N O T E XXXV. PAGE 245.

*Return of the killed, wounded and missing, of the
continental forces, during the siege of Ninety-Six,
in South-Carolina.*

NON-Commissioned officers and rank and
file : Virginia brigade, killed, forty-one ;
wounded, thirty-three ; missing, sixteen.

MARYLAND brigade, killed, twelve ; wounded,
twenty-four ; missing, three.

LIGHT infantry, killed, one ; wounded, nine ;
missing, one.

LEGION infantry, killed, two ; wounded, two.

VIRGINIA militia, killed, one ; wounded, two.

TOTAL. Killed, fifty-seven ; wounded, seventy ;
missing, twenty.

CAPTAIN Armstrong, of the Maryland line,
killed ; captain Benson, and lieutenant Duvall,
wounded.

CAPTAIN

CAPTAIN Bentley, of the Virginia line, prisoner; lieutenants Evans, Miller, and Selden, wounded.

COLONEL Koscuilzko, chief engineer, was slightly wounded.

O. H. WILLIAMS, D. A. G.

Published by order of Congress,

CHARLES THOMSON, secretary.

N O T E XXXVI. PAGE 254.

Names of the continental commissioned officers killed and wounded in the action of Eutaw the eighth of September 1781.

MARYLAND BRIGADE.

CAPTAIN Dobson,	}	killed,
Edgerly,		
Lieutenant Dewall,		
Gould,	}	wounded.
Lieut. col. Howard,		
Captain Gibson,		
Captain lieut. Hugon,	}	wounded.
Lieutenant Ewing,		
Woolford,		
Lynn,	}	
Ensign Moore,		

VIRGINIA BRIGADE.

Lieutenant-col. Campbell,	}	killed.
Captain Oldham,		
Lieutenant Wilson,		

Captain

Captain Edmonds,	}	wounded.
Morgan,		
Lieutenant Miller,		
Jonitt,		

NORTH-CAROLINA BRIGADE.

Captain Goodman,	}	killed.
Goodwin,		
Potterfield,		
Lieutenant Dillon,	}	
Captain Hadley,	}	wounded.
Lieutenant Dixon,		
Andrews,		
Dudley,		
Ensign Lamb,	}	
Moore,		

SOUTH-CAROLINA LINE.

Lieutenant-colonel Henderson, wounded.

CAVALRY.

Lieutenant-col. Washington, wounded,
and prisoner of war.

Captain Watts,	}
Lieutenant Gordon,	
Simons,	
King,	
Steward,	

Mr. Carlisle, volunteer, killed.

ARTILLERY.

Captain-lieutenant Finn, wounded.

Lieutenant Carson, do. mortally.

 Drew, wounded.

 M'Gurrie, do. and prisoner of
 war.

LEGION

LEGION INFANTRY.

Lieutenant Manning, wounded.

Mr. Carrington, volunteer, wounded.

O. H. WILLIAMS, D. A. G.

SOUTH-CAROLINA STATE-OFFICERS.

Major Rutherford,

Lieutenant Polk,

Adjutant Lush,

} killed.

Lieut. col. Henderson, com. brigade,
wounded.

Lieutenant-colonel Middleton, wounded.

Captain Moore, do.

Giles, do.

N. Martin, do.

Cowan, do.

Lieutenant Erskine, do.

Culpeper, do.

Hammond, do.

Spragins, do.

SOUTH-CAROLINA MILITIA.

Brigadier-general Pickens, wounded.

Lieutenant-colonel Horry, do.

Captain Gee, do.

Pegee, do.

Lieutenant Boon, do.

Holmes, killed.

Simons, do.

N O T E

N O T E XXXVII. P A G E 255.

*By the United States in Congress assembled, October
29, 1781.*

RESOLVED, that the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, be presented to major-general Greene, for his wise, decisive and magnanimous conduct in the action of the eighth of September last, near the Eutaw Springs, in South-Carolina; in which, with a force inferior in number to that of the enemy, he obtained a most signal victory.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to the officers and men of the Maryland and Virginia brigades, and Delaware battalion of continental troops, for the unparalleled bravery and heroism by them displayed, in advancing to the enemy through an incessant fire, and charging them with an impetuosity and ardour that could not be resisted.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to the officers and men of the legionary corps and artillery, for their intrepid and gallant exertions during the action.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to the brigade of North-Carolina, for their resolution and perseverance in attacking the enemy, and sustaining a superior fire.

THAT

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to the officers and men of the state corps of South-Carolina, for the zeal, activity and firmness by them exhibited throughout the engagement.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to the officers and men of the militia, who formed the front line in the order of battle, and sustained their post with honour, propriety, and a resolution worthy of men determined to be free.

RESOLVED, that a British standard be presented to major-general Greene, as an honourable testimony of his merit, and a golden medal emblematical of the battle and victory aforesaid.

THAT major-general Greene be desired to present the thanks of Congress to captains Pierce and Pendleton, major Hyrne and captain Shubrick, his aids-de-camp, in testimony of their particular activity and good conduct during the whole of the action.

THAT a sword be presented to captain Pierce, who bore the general's despatches, giving an account of the victory, and that the board of war take order herein.

RESOLVED, that the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to brigadier-general Marion, of the South-Carolina

militia, for his wife, gallant and decided conduct, in defending the liberties of his country, and particularly for his prudent and intrepid attack on a body of the British troops, on the thirtieth day of August last, and for the distinguished part he took in the battle of the eighth of September.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMSON, secretary.

NOTE XXXVIII. PAGE 271.

SOUTH-CAROLINA.

By his excellency John Rutledge, esquire, governor and commander in chief of the said state.

A PROCLAMATION.

WHEREAS many persons taking advantage of the late disturbed and unsettled condition of the state, and hoping in the confusion and disorder occasioned by the calamities of war to escape punishment, have committed the most wanton and rapacious acts of plundering; some under colour of indemnifying themselves for losses which they have sustained; others, under pretence that the persons to whom such property belonged are tories or enemies of the state; and others, from a wicked and inordinate desire of acquiring wealth by any means, however unjustifiable, and from any persons, whether friends or foes: and whereas the publick safety requires that

that the most effectual measures should be taken for suppressing such an unwarrantable and pernicious practice, inasmuch as good and faithful subjects should be secured and protected in the full and free enjoyment of their property, and no man, although criminal, should be despoiled of his estate but by due course of law: I have therefore thought fit to issue this proclamation, strictly forbidding all persons from plundering, taking, or holding the property of others under any pretence, or for any cause whatever; warning persons possessed of such property, of the danger which they will incur by continuing to withhold it, and charging them immediately to restore such property to the owners of it, unless such owners are with the enemy; and in that case, to deliver it to the brigadier-general of the district in which it is, as they will answer the contrary at their peril; for speedy and effectual punishment shall be inflicted on the offenders: and I do direct all justices of the peace diligently and faithfully to execute their office, and to use all lawful means that may be necessary for apprehending, securing, and bringing to justice such persons as are or may be accused of the above-mentioned, or any other criminal offence. I do moreover command all military officers of this state to give such aid and assistance to the civil magistrates, as they may require for that purpose: and I do exhort all those who know, or have reason to believe, where any plundered property is concealed or secreted, or by whom it is possessed,

to

to make discovery and give information touching the same to the nearest magistrate, in order that proper steps may be taken for the recovery thereof.

Given under my hand and the
Great Seal, at the High Hills of
Santee, this fifth day of August,
1781, and in the sixth year of
the independence of America.

JOHN RUTLEDGE.

By his excellency's command,

JOHN-SANDFORD DART, pro secretary.

N O T E XXXIX. P A G E 282.

Ladies' petition for colonel Isaac Hayne.

To the right honourable lord Rawdon, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in South-Carolina, and to colonel Balfour, commandant at Charleston.

My lord and sir,

WE should have reason to reproach ourselves of having omitted a proper occasion of manifesting the tenderness peculiarly characteristick of our sex, if we did not profess ourselves deeply interested and affected by the imminent and shocking doom of the most unfortunate mr. Hayne, and if we did not entreat you
in

in the most earnest manner graciously to avert, prolong or mitigate it. We do not even think, much less do we intend to imply, in the remotest degree, that your sentence is unjust; but we are induced to hope, that every end it proposes may be equally answered, as if carried into execution; for to us it does not appear probable that any whom it is intended to influence and deter from similar delinquency, will be encouraged with the hope of impunity, by reason of any favour shewn him, as they must surely reflect that it was owing to certain causes and circumstances that will not apply to them. We presume to make this intercession for him, and to hope that it will not prove fruitless, from the knowledge of your dispositions in particular, as well as from the reflection in general, that humanity is rarely separable from courage, and that the gallant soldier feels as much reluctance to cause, by deliberate decrees, the infliction of death on men in cold blood, as he does ardour in the day of battle and heat of action to make the enemies of his country perish by the sword. He may rejoice to behold his laurels sprinkled with the blood of armed and resisting adversaries, but will regret to see them wet with the tears of unhappy orphans, mourning the loss of a tender, amiable and worthy parent, executed like a vile and infamous felon.

To the praises, that men who have been witnesses and sharers of your dangers and services in
the

the field, may sound of your military virtues and prowess, we trust you will give the ladies occasion to add the praises of your milder and softer virtues by furnishing them with a striking proof of your clemency and politeness in the present instance. May the unhappy object of our petition owe to that clemency and politeness, to our prayers and to his own merits in other respects, what you may think him not entitled to if policy and justice were not outweighed in his behalf. To any other men in power than such as we conceive you both to be, we should employ on the occasion more ingenuity and art to dress up and enforce the many pathetick and favourable circumstances attending his case, in order to move your passions and engage your favour, but we think this will be needless, and is obviated by your own spontaneous feelings, humane considerations and liberal reasonings. Nor shall we dwell on his most excellent character, the outrages and excesses, and perhaps murders prevented by him, to which innocent and unarmed individuals were exposed in an extensive manner ; nor shall we here lay any stress on the most grievous shock his numerous and respectable connexions must sustain by his death, aggravated by the mode of it ; nor shall we do more than remind you of the complicated distress and sufferings that must befall his young and promising children, to whom perhaps death would be more comfortable than the state of orphanage they will be left in. All these things we understand have
been

been already represented, and we are sure will have their due weight with men of your humane and benevolent minds. Many of us have already subscribed to a former petition for him, and hope you will regard our doing it again not as importunity, but earnestness; and we pray most fervently that you will for-ever greatly oblige us by not letting us do it in vain.

We are, my lord and sir,
with all respect your very anxious
petitioners and humble servants.

N O T E XL. PAGE 283.

No. I.

To mr. Hayne.

SIR, 26th July, 1781.

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 province, to try you.

I am, &c.

C. FRASER,
major of the town.

No. II.

To mr. Hayne.

Thursday evening, 27th July, 1781.

SIR,

I AM ordered by the commandant to acquaint
you,

you, that instead of a council of general officers, as is mentioned in my letter of this morning, a court of enquiry, composed of four general officers and five captains, will be assembled to-morrow at ten o'clock, in the province hall, for the purpose of determining under what point of view you ought to be considered.

You will immediately be allowed pen, ink and paper; and any person that you choose to appoint, will be permitted to accompany you as your council, at the same hour and place.

I am, &c.

C. FRASER,
major of the town.

No. III.

To mr. Hayne, in the provost's prison.

M E M O R A N D U M.

Sunday, 29th July, 1781.

THE adjutant of the town will be so good as to go to colonel Hayne in the provost's prison, and inform him, that, in consequence of the court of enquiry held yesterday, and the preceding evening, on his account, lord Rawdon, and the commandant, lieutenant-colonel Nesbit Balfour, have resolved upon his execution on Tuesday the thirty-first instant, at six o'clock, for having been found under arms, and employed in
raising

raising a regiment to oppose the British government, though he had become a subject, and had accepted the protection of that government, after the reduction of Charleston.

(Signed)

C. FRASER,
major of the town.

*A letter from colonel Hayne to lord Rawdon, and
colonel Balfour.*

In the provost's prison, 29th July, 1781.

My lord, and sir,

ON Thursday morning I had the honour of receiving a letter from major Frazer, by which he informed me, ‘ that a council of general officers ‘ would be assembled the next day for my trial,’ and, on the evening of the same day, I received another letter from the same officer, acquainting me, ‘ that instead of that, a court of enquiry ‘ would sit, for the purpose of deciding under ‘ what point of view I ought to be considered.’— It was also told, ‘ that any person whom I should ‘ appoint would be permitted to accompany me ‘ as my counsel.’ Having never entertained any other idea of a court of enquiry, nor heard of any other being formed of it, than of its serving merely to precede a council of war, or some other tribunal for examining the circumstances more fully, excepting in the case of a spy; and

mr. Jarvis, lieutenant marshal to the provost, not having succeeded in finding the person whom I named for my counsel, I did not take the pains to summon any witnesses, though it would have been in my power to have produced many ; and I presented myself before the council without any assistance whatever. When I was before that assembly, I was farther convinced that I had not been deceived in my conjectures ; and I found that the members of it were not sworn, nor the witnesses examined upon oath ; and all the members, as well as every other person present, might easily have perceived, by the questions which I asked, and by the whole tenor of my conduct, that I had not the least notion that I was tried or examined upon an affair on which my life and death depended. Neither do I believe that the members themselves had an idea of that sort.

IN the case of spies, a court of enquiry is all that can be necessary, because the simple fact, whether the person is, or is not a spy, is all that can be the object of their researches, and his having entered the lines of the enemy's camp, or the garrison, subjects him to military execution. As that accusation neither is, nor ever has been brought against me, I humbly conceive that the information which I received, namely, that the court would make enquiry concerning what point of view I ought to be considered under, could not be taken as a sufficient notice of their having an intention to try me then, but could only be
thought

thought to signify that they were to take it into consideration whether I ought to be looked upon as a British subject, or as an American; that in the first case I should undergo a legal and impartial trial; in the second, I should be set at liberty on my parole.

JUDGE then, my lord, and sir, of the astonishment I must have been in, when I found that they had drawn me by surprize into a procedure tending to judgment, without knowing it to be such, and deprived me of the ability of making a legal defence, which it would have been very easy for me to have done, founded both in law and in fact; when I saw myself destitute of the assistance of counsel or of witnesses; and when they abruptly informed me, that after the procedure of that court I had been condemned to die, and that in a very few days. Immediately upon receiving this notice, I sent for the lawyer whom I had originally chosen for my counsel. I here enclose his opinion concerning the legality of the process held against me; and I beg that I may be permitted to refer myself to him. I can assure you with the utmost truth, that I both had, and have many reasons to urge in my defence, if you will grant me the favour of a regular trial; if not, (which I cannot however suppose from your justice and equity) I earnestly entreat that my execution may be deferred, that I may at least take a last farewell of my children, and prepare myself for the dreadful change.

I HOPE that you will return me a speedy answer ; and am, with respect, &c.

ISAAC HAYNE.

No. V.

Answer of lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour to my letter of the twenty-ninth of July, and delivered on the thirtieth, at one o'clock, into the hands of the town-major (Frazer.)

‘ I HAVE to inform you, that your execution is
 ‘ not ordered in consequence of any sentence from
 ‘ a court of enquiry, but by virtue of the autho-
 ‘ rity with which the commander in chief in South-
 ‘ Carolina and the commanding officer in Charle-
 ‘ ton are invested. And their resolves on this
 ‘ subject are fixed and unchangeable.’ I then beg-
 ged major Frazer that he would seriously entreat
 the abovesaid officers to grant a respite, that I
 might have time to send for my children, and
 take of them the last farewell. At three o'clock,
 the town-adjutant (Cooper) brought me for an-
 swer, that my request was rejected. On Tuesday,
 July thirty-one, at one in the morning, the de-
 puty provost, (Marshall) brought me information
 —‘ that it was time for me to prepare for death,
 ‘ as he had just received orders to that effect, and
 ‘ that I was to leave my apartment at five o'clock.’

IN less than half an hour major Frazer came in
 and delivered the following message :

‘ COLONEL

‘ 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 shewn by you to the British prisoners who fell into your hands, you are respited for forty-eight hours.’ I thanked the commanding officer for this respite : this gave me an opportunity of seeing my children.

THE major had been gone but a few minutes, when he returned to tell me that he had forgot part of his message : this was, ‘ that if general Greene should offer to expostulate in my favour, with the commanding officer, from that instant the respite would cease, and I should be ordered for immediate execution.’

No. VI.

AUGUST 1, 1781, three o’clock, A. M. Mr. Cooper, the town-adjutant, came in and read to me the following written message : ‘ Lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour have consented to grant to mr. Hayne a respite for forty-eight hours.’ My answer was, ‘ that I thanked them.’

No. VII.

CONSULTATION on the case of colonel Hayne, enclosed in his letter to lord Rawdon and colonel Balfour.

COLONEL

COLONEL Hayne being detained in the provost's prison, and taken, as it is given out, in arms against his majesty, received from major Frazer, on Thursday night, a notice in these words : ' A court of enquiry, composed of four staff-officers and five captains, will assemble to-morrow, at ten in the morning, in the province hall, in order to determine under what point of view you ought to be considered.' The court met at the time appointed, and the prisoner made his appearance. Neither the members nor witnesses were upon oath. The prisoner considering it only as a court of enquiry, which was held previous to a formal trial, did not avail himself of the liberty granted him to employ counsel, nor did he produce any witness to ascertain a great number of facts tending to his defence, for which, indeed, he was allowed but a very short time. He was apprized this morning, that the said lord and colonel, on the rising of the said court of enquiry, came to the resolution of having the said Hayne executed on Thursday, July thirty-first. Query from the prisoner : ' Are such proceedings authorized by any law, and is the subsequent sentence lawful ?'

A N S W E R.

I. IN the notice given you, that the intention was to examine you before a court of enquiry, there is not, even according to the rules of martial law, a sufficient certainty, nor any express accusation

accusation which might be the object of the court's enquiry, or of your defence.

II. No enemy can be sentenced to death in consequence of any military article, or any other martial process that I know of, without a previous trial, except spies, who, by the articles of war, are expressly debarred from that right.

III. No subject whatever can or ought to be deprived of his life, liberty or fortune, unless it be by the unanimous award of his peers, and according to the laws of the country. And, to my knowledge, there is not a law which can authorize a judgment and sentence like that which they have taken upon themselves to pronounce in this affair. It is an invariable rule, established by law, that every man is to be deemed innocent till his guilt is proved; that being found or taken in arms does not argue criminality so far as to hinder the culprit from making his defence, either by proving a commission, or upon any other ground; and that many of those who had taken up arms have been acquitted upon such proofs.

IV. In consideration of the principles above adduced, I am positively of opinion, ' that taking you in the light of an enemy, (not of a ' spy) the process carried on against you is not ' lawful; but if you are to be considered as a
' subject,

‘ subject, such proceedings militate against, and
 ‘ are diametrically contrary to all laws.’

(Signed)

JOHN COLCOCK.

Charleston, July 29, 1781.

N O T E XLI. PAGE 285.

Extract of a letter from N. Balfour to major-general Greene, dated Charleston, September 3, 1781.

I COME now to that part which has respect to the execution of colonel Hayne, on which head I am to inform you it took place by the joint-order of lord Rawdon and myself, in consequence of the most express directions from lord Cornwallis to us, in regard to all those who should be found in arms, after being at their own requests received as subjects, since the capitulation of Charleston and the clear conquest of the province in the summer of 1780; more especially such as should have accepted of commissions, or might distinguish themselves in inducing a revolt of the country. To his lordship therefore, as being answerable for this measure, the appeal will more properly be made, and on such appeal I must not doubt, every fit satisfaction will be tendered; but as the threat in your letter is of a nature which may extend its consequences to the most disagreeable and serious lengths, I cannot dismiss this subject without some general remarks, still referring for the particular justification to the
 opinion

opinion and decision of lord Cornwallis, immediately under whom I have the honour to act.

AND first I must conceive, without adverting to the particular cause of dispute between Great-Britain and this country, that, on the subjection of any territory, the inhabitants of it owe allegiance to the conquering power (in the present case a voluntary acknowledgment was given, and consequent protection received;) and that, on any account to recede from it, is justly punishable with death, by whatever law, either civil or military, is then prevalent.

To justify retaliation I am convinced you will agree a parity of circumstances in all respects is required; without such every shadow of justice is removed, and vengeance only points to indiscriminate horrors.

N O T E XLII. PAGE 285.

Camp, southern army, High Hills of Santee,
20th August, 1781.

THE subscribers, commissioned officers serving in the southern army, beg leave to represent to the honourable 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 twelfth 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 third 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 troops in Charleston, regardless of the principles, and even the express tenor 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 Hayne, of the militia of the state of South-Carolina, a gentleman amiable in character, respectable in his connexions, 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 of what is called a protection from the British government.

If every inhabitant of this country who, being bound by the tender ties of family-connexions, and fettered by domestick embarrassments, is
forced

forced to submit to the misfortune of falling into the hands of the enemy, must therefore become a subject of such inhuman authority, and if such subjects are liable to be tried by martial law for offences against the said civil government of the British nation, their situation is truly deplorable ; but we conceive forms of protection which 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 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 the severities and indulgences to prisoners of war ought to be reciprocal. We therefore, with submission, beg leave to recommend that a strict enquiry 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 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

than prosecute this just and necessary war upon terms so unequal and so dishonourable.

We are, sir, with the greatest regard,
and most respectful sentiments of esteem,
your most obedient
and most humble servants.

[Signed by all the officers of the army.]

The honourable major-
general Greene.

N O T E XLIII. PAGE 285.

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

By NATHANIEL GREENE, *esquire, major-general, commanding the American army in the southern department.*

WHEREAS colonel Isaac Hayne, commanding a regiment of militia in the service of the United States, was taken prisoner by a party of British troops, and after a rigorous detention in the Provost's prison at Charleston, was condemned and executed on the 4th of this month, in the most cruel and unjustifiable manner, in open violation of the cartel agreed upon between the two armies, for the release and exchange of all prisoners of war; and it being no less the duty than the inclination of the army to resent every violence offered to the good citizens of

of America, to discountenance all those distinctions which they have endeavoured to establish, in making a difference in various orders of men, found under arms for the support of the independence of the United States; and further considering that these violences are committed with a view of terrifying the good people, and by that means preventing them from acting in conformity with their political interests and private inclinations; and that this method of trying and punishing, in consequence of those distinctions, is no less opposite to the spirit of the British, than it is inclusive of an unwarrantable infringement of all the laws of humanity, and the rights of the free citizens of the United States; from these considerations I have thought proper to issue the present proclamation, expressly to declare, ‘ that it is my intention to make reprisals for all such human insults, as often as they shall take place.’ And whereas the enemy seems 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 that have stood forth in defence of our cause; I farther declare, ‘ that it is my intention to take the officers of the regular forces, and not the seduced inhabitants who have joined their army, for the objects of my reprisals.’— But while I am determined to resent every insult that may be offered to the United States for having maintained our independence, I cannot but lament the necessity I am under of having recourse

course to measures so extremely wounding to the sentiments of humanity, and so contrary to the liberal principles upon which I wish to conduct the war.

Given at the head-quarters at Camden, 26th of August, 1781, in the sixth year of American independence.

(Signed) NATHANIEL GREENE.

N O T E XLIV. PAGE 288.

The treatment of the prisoners of war taken by the British in South-Carolina, in the year 1780, is more particularly stated in the two following letters ; the first of which was written by doctor Olyphant, director of the American hospitals in the southern department, on the 7th of May 1781, to general Moultrie, in the following words :

‘ YOU will observe by this month’s return
 ‘ the number of sick among our people continues great, especially as this is a healthy season of the year ; but when the reasons of it are
 ‘ considered, it is not much to be wondered at.
 ‘ Men sent immediately from a sick hospital on
 ‘ board of prison-ships, and confined to a salt diet, cannot possibly recover their health and
 ‘ vigour. This likewise accounts for the many
 ‘ deaths.

‘ I AM farther to acquaint you of our convalescents

‘scents being discharged before they are thought
 ‘fit by our physicians to be dismissed under such
 ‘circumstances. This is directed by doctor Hayes,
 ‘the director-general of the British hospitals, who
 ‘is commanded, as he informs me, to do so by
 ‘the commandant.’

The same subject is more particularly stated in a letter addressed to the author of this history by the honourable Peter Fayffoux, M. D. member of the council of the state of South-Carolina, who served his country during the late war in the character of chief physician to the American hospitals in the southern department, which was in the following words :

‘Charleston, March 26, 1785.

‘SIR,

‘IN compliance with your request, I now send
 ‘you some of the most remarkable facts relative to
 ‘the treatment the American prisoners, the sick in
 ‘particular, received, during their captivity in
 ‘Charleston, from the British. The director-general having been confined by the British, the immediate charge of the American hospital devolved
 ‘on me, I can therefore answer for the truth of
 ‘this account, as every circumstance was within my
 ‘own knowledge. From the surrender of Charleston to the period of general Gates’s defeat, I do
 ‘not think we had any material cause of complaint,

‘THE

‘ THE regulations for the government of the hospital, the supplies of medicine and diet, were in general prescribed by ourselves and acceded to by the British.

‘ AFTER the defeat of general Gates our sufferings commenced. The British appeared to have adopted a different mode of conduct towards their prisoners, and proceeded from one step to another until they fully displayed themselves, void of faith, honour or humanity, and capable of the most savage acts of barbarity.

‘ THE unhappy men who belonged to the militia, and were taken prisoners on Gates’s defeat, experienced the first effects of the cruelty of their new system.

‘ THESE men were confined on board of prison-ships, in numbers by no means proportioned to the size of the vessels, immediately after a march of one hundred and twenty miles, in the most sickly season of this unhealthy climate.

‘ THESE vessels were in general infected with the small-pox; very few of the prisoners had gone through that disorder. A representation was made to the British commandant of their situation, and permission was obtained for one of our surgeons to inoculate them—this was the utmost extent of their humanity—the wretched objects were still confined on board of the prison-ships,

‘ ships, and fed on salt provisions, without the
 ‘ least medical aid, or any proper kind of nourish-
 ‘ ment. The effect that naturally followed, was a
 ‘ small-pox with a fever of the putrid type ; and
 ‘ to such as survived the small-pox, a putrid dy-
 ‘ sentery—and, from these causes, the deaths of at
 ‘ least one hundred and fifty of the unhappy vic-
 ‘ tims. Such were the appearances, and such was
 ‘ the termination of the generality of the cases
 ‘ brought to the general hospital after the erupti-
 ‘ on of the small-pox—before the eruption, not a
 ‘ single individual was suffered to be brought on
 ‘ shore. If any thing can surpass the above rela-
 ‘ tion in barbarity, it is the following account :—

‘ THE continental troops, by the articles of ca-
 ‘ pitulation, were to be detained prisoners in some
 ‘ place contiguous to Charleston ; the barracks
 ‘ were pitched on as the proper place ; this was
 ‘ agreed to by both parties.—The British, in vio-
 ‘ lation of their solemn compact, put these people
 ‘ on board of prison-ships.—Confined in large
 ‘ numbers on board of these vessels, and fed on
 ‘ salt provisions in this climate in the months of
 ‘ October and November, they naturally gene-
 ‘ rated a putrid fever from the human miasma.
 ‘ This soon became highly contagious. The sick
 ‘ brought into the general hospital from the pri-
 ‘ son-ships, generally died in the course of two or
 ‘ three days, with all the marks of a highly sep-
 ‘ tick state. Application was made to mr. de
 ‘ Rosette, the British commissary of prisoners ; the

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‘ vast increase of the numbers of deaths was
 ‘ pointed out, and he was requested to have pro-
 ‘ per steps taken to check the progress of a dis-
 ‘ order that threatened to destroy the whole of
 ‘ the prisoners.

‘ IN consequence of this application mr. Fisher,
 ‘ our commissary of prisoners, and mr. Frazer,
 ‘ who formerly practised physick in this country,
 ‘ but then acted as a British deputy commissary,
 ‘ were ordered to inspect the state of the prisoners
 ‘ in the vessels. This report confirmed the truth
 ‘ of what had been advanced—this can be proved
 ‘ by a very particular circumstance.—My hopes
 ‘ were very sanguine that something would be
 ‘ done for the relief of those unhappy persons, but
 ‘ they were entirely frustrated by a person from
 ‘ whom I did not, and ought not to have ex-
 ‘ pected it. Dr. John M‘Namara Hays, phyfi-
 ‘ cian to the British army, a person who had been
 ‘ taken by the Americans on the capture of Bur-
 ‘ goyne, who had received the politest treatment
 ‘ from the Americans when a prisoner, and who
 ‘ had the generosity to acknowledge the usage
 ‘ he had met with—this person was ordered to
 ‘ report on the state of the prisoners—to my asto-
 ‘ nishment, I was informed his report was, that
 ‘ the prison-ships were not crouded, perfectly
 ‘ wholesome, and no appearance of infectious dis-
 ‘ orders amongst the prisoners.

‘ I THEN determined to make one more effort
 ‘ for

‘ for the relief of these unhappy persons—for this
 ‘ purpose I had two of the dead bodies kept in
 ‘ the area of the hospital, and, upon doctor Hays’s
 ‘ daily visit to our hospital, I marked to him the
 ‘ appearances of the subjects, whose bodies were
 ‘ highly tinged with a yellow suffusion, petechied
 ‘ over the breast and trunk, with considerable ec-
 ‘ chymosis from extravasated or dissolved blood
 ‘ about the neck, breast and upper extremities. I
 ‘ inquired if it was possible a doubt could remain re-
 ‘ specting the nature of their disorder, and express-
 ‘ ed my surprise at the report he had made. The
 ‘ words of his reply were, ‘ that the confinement
 ‘ of the prisoners in prison-ships was the great eye-
 ‘ sore, and there was no help for that, it must be
 ‘ done.’ The disorder in consequence continued
 ‘ until the cold weather; the number of deaths,
 ‘ joined with the number that were compelled by
 ‘ this treatment to enlist with the British, removed
 ‘ in a great measure the cause. Hitherto a num-
 ‘ ber of our prisoners who were tradesmen had
 ‘ been permitted to remain in the barracks, or in
 ‘ the city, where they were employed by the Bri-
 ‘ tish—about the month of January 1781, they
 ‘ were all confined to the barracks, and there
 ‘ British emissaries were very busy amongst them,
 ‘ to persuade them to enlist in their new corps.
 ‘ About the same time a supply of clothing, and
 ‘ some money to procure necessaries, arrived from
 ‘ the Congress for the use of the prisoners.

‘ Mr. Fisher, our commissary, was prevented
 ‘ from

‘ from distributing the clothing, and the prison-
 ‘ ers were informed it was a deception, for no
 ‘ supplies had arrived for their use. Their motive
 ‘ was, that by the complicated distress of naked-
 ‘ ness and imprisonment, their patience would be
 ‘ exhausted, and enlistment with them would
 ‘ ensue.

‘ To prevent this, means were found to have
 ‘ several bales of the clothing brought to the pic-
 ‘ quets which inclosed the barracks, and in sight
 ‘ of our soldiers ; this measure established the fact.

‘ DISAPPOINTED from this quarter, the British
 ‘ commandant or his ministers determined to ob-
 ‘ serve no measures but what would accomplish
 ‘ their own purposes. All the soldiers in the bar-
 ‘ racks, including the convalescents, were parad-
 ‘ ed, and harangued by Frazer, the British de-
 ‘ puty commissary, and one Low, a recruiting
 ‘ officer for one of the British corps. The con-
 ‘ clusion of the affair was, that such as chose to
 ‘ enlist with the British should leave the ranks, and
 ‘ the remainder go on board of the prison-ships.
 ‘ A few who had been previously engaged with-
 ‘ drew from the ranks ; the large majority that
 ‘ stood firm, after three different solicitations
 ‘ without effect, had this dreadful sentence pro-
 ‘ nounced by Frazer, ‘ that they should be put
 ‘ on board of the prison-ships, where they could
 ‘ not expect any thing more but to perish misera-
 ‘ bly ; and that the rations hitherto allowed for
 ‘ the

‘ the support of their wives and children, from
 ‘ that day should be withheld ; the consequence
 ‘ of which would be, they must starve in the
 ‘ streets.’

‘ HUMAN nature recoiled from so horrid a de-
 ‘ claration—for a few seconds the unhappy vic-
 ‘ tims seemed stupified at the dreadful prospect ; a
 ‘ gloomy and universal silence prevailed.—This
 ‘ was followed by a loud huzza for general Wash-
 ‘ ington ; death and the prison-ships was the una-
 ‘ nimous determination.

‘ THE hospital at this time was reduced to the
 ‘ greatest distress imaginable—the sick without
 ‘ clothing, covering, or any necessary but one
 ‘ pound of beef and bread—very little sugar, no
 ‘ wine, and rarely a small allowance of rum.

‘ WE had no resources, and the British would
 ‘ only furnish the absolute necessities of life.
 ‘ The officers of the hospital, on the mildest re-
 ‘ presentation, were threatened and insulted, fre-
 ‘ quently prohibited from visiting the sick, once
 ‘ I remember for three days.

‘ IT was scarcely possible for men to support
 ‘ such an accumulated load of misery ; but when
 ‘ least expected, a relief was administered to us.
 ‘ A subscription for the support of the sick was
 ‘ filled by people of every denomination with amaz-
 ‘ ing rapidity. Several of the ladies of Charles-
 ‘ ton,

‘ ton, laying aside the distinction of whig and tory,
 ‘ were instrumental and assiduous in procuring and
 ‘ preparing every necessary of clothing and pro-
 ‘ per nourishment for our poor, worn-out and de-
 ‘ sponding soldiers.

‘ THUS, sir, I have furnished you with some of
 ‘ the most material occurrences of that unhappy
 ‘ time. I have not exaggerated or written a sin-
 ‘ gle circumstance from hatred or prejudice. I
 ‘ could furnish you with a long detail of cruelty
 ‘ and distress exercised on individuals.—Major
 ‘ Bocquet’s case, exposed in an open boat for
 ‘ twelve hours in a violent fever, with a blister-
 ‘ ing plaster on his back, extended at length in
 ‘ the bottom of the boat, then put into the dun-
 ‘ geon of the provost with the vilest felons and
 ‘ murderers, left to languish under his complaint
 ‘ until his death seemed morally certain, only re-
 ‘ leased from his confinement from the dread of
 ‘ a just retaliation—the moment his recovery seem-
 ‘ ed probable, again hurried back to the provost,
 ‘ there to remain until the general exchange re-
 ‘ leased him from their power.

‘ THIS instance of severity exercised on an in-
 ‘ dividual, whose only crime was a steady attach-
 ‘ ment to the cause of his country, and a deter-
 ‘ mined resolution to keep sacred the solemn oath
 ‘ he had taken in its cause, would appear as no-
 ‘ thing, were I to enumerate the scenes of woe
 ‘ and distress brought on many citizens of this
 ‘ once

‘ once happy country, by British cruelty and
‘ unnecessary severity. I am sure every breast
‘ would be softened, even tears would fall from
‘ British eyes.

‘ I am, sir, with esteem, yours, &c.

‘ P. FAYSSOUX.’

N O T E XLV. PAGE 297.

Charleston, May 17, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

SEVERAL prisoners on parole, having been
this day taken up, and sent on board ship,
the motives for which are explained in the enclosed
copy of a letter to them; I am directed by
the commandant to desire you will insert the same
in your next paper, for the information of the
publick.

I am, gentlemen,

your most obedient servant,

H. BARRY, secretary, and D. A. general.

Messrs. Wells and son, printers to the King’s
most excellent majesty.

Charleston, May 17, 1781.

GENTLEMEN,

MANY have been the representations which the
outrages committed by the American troops, and
their violations of all the humaner principles of war,
have

have compelled me to make to such of their officers as commanded parties in this province : but more particularly have I been obliged to remonstrate against the rigorous treatment, in many cases extending to death, which the loyal militia, when made prisoners, most invariably experience.

THESE representations, gentlemen, having been grounded on the truest principles of benevolence, and which it behoves each side equally to have advanced, I was as much surprized as I was mortified, to find them in all cases practically disregarded, and in many, wholly neglected. It is therefore become my duty, however irksome to myself, to try how far a more decided line of conduct will prevail, and whether the safety of avowed adherents to their cause, may not induce the American troops to extend a proper clemency to those whose principles arm them in defence of British government.

INDUCED by these motives, I have conceived it an act of expediency to seize on your persons, and retain them as hostages for the good usage of all the loyal militia who are, or may be made prisoners of war, resolving to regulate, in the full extent, your treatment by the measure of theirs, and which my feelings make me hope may hereafter be most lenient.

AND as I have thought it necessary that those
persons

persons, who some time since were sent from hence to St. Augustine, should, in this respect, be considered in the same point of view as yourselves, I shall send notice there, that they be likewise held as sureties for a future propriety of conduct towards our militia prisoners.

REASONS so cogent, and which have only the most humane purposes for their objects, will, I doubt not, be considered by every reasonable person as a sufficient justification of this most necessary measure, even in those points where it may militate with the capitulation of Charleston; though indeed the daily infractions of it, by the breach of paroles, would alone well warrant this procedure.

HAVING been thus candid in stating to you the causes for this conduct, I can have no objections to your making any proper use of this letter you may judge to your advantage, and will therefore, should you deem it expedient, grant what flags of truce may be necessary to carry out copies of it to any officer commanding American troops in these parts, and in the mean time the fullest directions will be given, that your present situation be rendered as eligible as the nature of circumstances will admit.

I am, gentlemen,

your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed)

N. BALFOUR.

To the militia prisoners of war late on parole in Charleston, now on board a prison-ship.

Prison-ship, Torbay, Charleston harbour,
May 18, 1781.

IN conformity to your letter of yesterday, we embrace your offer of forwarding a copy of the same, together with a roll of the prisoners on board this ship, and a letter addressed to major-general Greene, all which are enclosed. We could wish one of our number might be suffered to attend the flag of truce.

We are, sir,

your most obedient humble servants,

STEPHEN MOORE, lieut. col.

JOHN BARNWELL, major.

In behalf of ourselves and one hundred and thirty other prisoners.

Lieut. col. Nesbit Balfour.

Torbay prison-ship, off Charleston, May 19, 1781.

S I R,

YESTERDAY we transmitted to you a letter, enclosing a copy of yours, with a list of one hundred and twenty-nine prisoners of war, confined on board this ship, which we hope is forwarded to major-general Greene, agreeable to your promise, and make no doubt but that your feelings as a gentleman will, upon this occasion, induce you to do every thing in your power to liberate, from a most injurious and disagreeable confinement, those against whom there can exist no charge of dishonour, and whose only crime, if such it can possibly

possibly be termed by men of liberal ideas, is an inflexible attachment to what they conceive to be the rights of their country, and who have scorned to deceive you by unmeaning professions. In justice to ourselves we must say, that if the Americans have at any time so far divested themselves of that character of humanity and generosity, which have ever distinguished them, we feel ourselves most sensibly mortified, but are induced, from the generous treatment of colonels Lechmere, Rugely, Fenwicke and Kelfall, and their parties, and from a number of other instances which might be easily adduced, to believe, that the outrages which you complain of, must be the effect of private resentment (subsisting between British subjects and those who, after having availed themselves of the royal proclamation, have resumed their arms, in opposition to that government) and totally unfashioned by any American officer, and which we are well convinced they would reprobate and would punish in the most exemplary manner, could the perpetrators of such horrid acts be detected.

IN a war, circumstanced as the present, there will be some instances of enormities on both sides. We would not wish to particularize, but doubt not there are acts of cruelty frequently committed by the irregulars of your army, and are convinced, that on your part, as well as our own, they are generally to be attributed to an ignorance of the rules of warfare, and a want of discipline ;

cipline ; but the idea of detaining in close custody as hostages a number of men, fairly taken in arms, and entitled to the benefits of a solemn capitulation, is so repugnant to the laws of war, and the usage of civilized nations, that we apprehend it will rather be the means of increasing its horrors, than answering those purposes of humanity you expect.

As a most strict adherence to the terms of our paroles, and a firm reliance on your honour, have been the only reasons of our being in your power at present, we trust, that upon equitable proposals being made for our exchange by general Greene, no objections will be raised, but every thing done to bring the matter to the most speedy issue.

As you have thought proper to publish your reasons for seizing upon our persons, we request our answer may also be inserted in the next gazette.

We are, sir,
 your most obedient humble servants,
 (Signed) STEPHEN MOORE,
 JOHN BARNWELL,
 SAMUEL LOCKHART,
 JOHN BADDELEY,
 BENJAMIN GUERARD,
 CHARLES PINKNEY, jun.
 in behalf of the whole.

Lieut. col. Balfour, com.
 of Charleston.

Prison-

Prison-ship, Torbay, Charleston harbour,
May 18, 1781.

WE have the honour of enclosing you a copy of a letter from colonel Balfour, commandant of Charleston, which was handed us immediately on our being put on board this ship ; the letter, speaking for itself, needs no comment ; your wisdom will best dictate the notice it merits. We would just beg leave to observe, that should it fall to the lot of all, or any of us, to be made victims, agreeably to the menaces therein contained, we have only to regret that our blood cannot be disposed of more to the advancement of the glorious cause to which we have adhered. A separate roll of our names attend this letter.

With the greatest respect we are,
sir, your most obedient and
most humble servants,

STEPHEN MOORE, lieut. col.
North-Carolina militia.

JOHN BARNWELL, major,
S. Carolina militia, for ourselves and 130 prisoners.
Major-general Greene.

On board the prison-ship Torbay.

WILLIAM AXON, Samuel Ash. George Arthur,
John Anthony, Ralph Atmore, John Baddeley,
Peter Bonnetheau, Henry Benbridge, Joseph Ball,
Joseph Bee, Nathaniel Blundell, James Bricken,
Francis Bayle, William Basquin, John Clarke, jun.
Thomas

Thomas Cooke, Norwood Conyers, James Cox, John Dorfius, Joseph Dunlap, revd. James Edmonds, Thomas Elliot, Joseph Elliot, John Evans, John Eberley, Joseph Glover, Francis Grott, Mitchell Gargie, William Graves, Peter Guerard, Jacob Henry, David Hamilton, Thomas Harris, William Hornby, Daniel Jacoby, Charles Kent, Samuel Lockhart, Nathaniel Lebby, Thomas Lifter, Thomas Legare, John Lessesne, Henry Lybert, John Michael, John Minott, sen. John Moncrief, Charles M'Donald, John Minott, jun. Samuel Miller, Stephen Moore, George Monck, Jonathan Morgan, Abraham Mariette, Solomon Milner, John Neufville, jun. Philip Prioleau, James Poyas, Job Palmer, Joseph Robinson, Daniel Rhody, Joseph Righton, William Snelling, John Stevenson, junior, Paul Snyder, Abraham Seavers, Ripley Singleton, Samuel Scottowe, Stephen Shrewsbury, John Saunders, James Touffiger, Paul Taylor, Sims White, James Wilkins, Isaac White, George Welch, Benjamin Wheeler, William Wilkie, John Welch, Thomas You.

On board the schooner Pack-Horse.

JOHN Barnwell, Edward Barnwell, Robert Barnwell, William Branford, John Blake, Thomas Cochran, Joseph Cray, Robert Dewar, William Defaussure, Thomas Eveleigh, John Edwards, jun. John W. Edwards, William Elliot, Benjamin Guerard, Thomas Grayson, John Gibbons, Philip Gadsden, John Greaves, William H. Hervey,

vey, John B. Holmes, William Holmes, Thomas Hughes, James Heyward, George Jones, Henry Kennon, John Kean, Stephen Lee, Philip Meyer, George Mosse, William Neufville, John Owen, Charles Pinkney, jun. Samuel Smith, William Wigg, Charles Warham, Thomas Waring, sen. Richard Waring, John Waters, David Warham, Richard Yeadon,

Published by order of Congress,

CHARLES THOMSON, secretary.

N O T E XLVI. PAGE 303.

Charleston, June 2.

By the right honourable FRANCIS lord RAWDON, colonel, commanding a corps of his majesty's forces in South-Carolina, &c. and NESBIT BALFOUR, esq. lieutenant-colonel and commandant of Charleston, &c.

ALTHOUGH attention to the general security of the province has obliged his majesty's troops, for the present, to relinquish some of the upper parts of it, we trust, that it is unnecessary for us to exhort the loyal inhabitants of those districts to stand firm in their duty and principles ; or to caution them against the insidious artifices of an enemy, who must shortly abandon to their fate, those unfortunate people whom they have deluded into revolt.

BUT

BUT being well informed, that many persons, sincerely attached to his majesty's cause, have, notwithstanding, been forced to join the enemy, as the only means of preserving themselves and their families from the savage cruelty of the rebel militia, until escape should be practicable ; we desire all such to be confident, that they run no risk of suffering from us, through indiscriminate vengeance ; reminding them, that the British government never extends its hand to blood, without the most convincing proofs of intentional guilt.

AND we advise all persons in the above predicament, as likewise those who, from the oppressions of the enemy, have been obliged to quit their possessions, to take the earliest opportunity of coming in, with their arms, to any post or detachment of the royal army. We give them assurances of every support, and of every endeavour on our part, to mitigate their present sufferings : further declaring to them, that we shall feel ourselves no less bound to reward the fidelity of those who have remained unshaken in their allegiance, than to inflict the punishment due to reiterated perfidy. Nor should we give them this invitation, were we not certain that, in conjunction with the army, daily expecting powerful reinforcement, their exertions will very shortly re-instate them in the full and peaceable possession of that property, which they will thus have only yielded

yielded for a time, to receive again with confirmed security.

Given under our hands in camp, at Monk's Corner, the twenty-fourth day of May, 1781, and in the twenty-first year of his majesty's reign.

RAWDON,

N. BALFOUR.

By order of his lordship and the commandant,
H. BARRY, dep. adj. general.

NOTE XLVII. PAGE 327.

ARTICLES of CAPITULATION settled between his excellency general Washington, commander in chief of the combined forces of America and France ; his excellency the count de Rochambeau, lieutenant-general of the armies of the king of France, great cross of the royal and military order of St. Louis, commanding the auxiliary troops of his most christian majesty in America ; and his excellency the count de Grasse, lieutenant-general of the naval armies of his most christian majesty, commander of the order of St. Louis, commanding in chief the naval army of France in the Chesapeake, on the one part : and the right honourable earl Cornwallis, lieutenant-general of his Britannic majesty's forces, commanding the garrisons of York and Gloucester ; and Thomas Symonds, esquire, commanding his Britannic majesty's naval forces in York river in Virginia, on the other part.

ARTICLE I. **T**HE garrisons of York and Gloucester, including the officers and
VOL. II. 3 X seamen

seamen of his Britannic majesty's ships, as well as other mariners, to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the combined forces of America and France ; the land troops to remain prisoners to the United States, the navy to the naval army of his most christian majesty.

ARTICLE I. Granted.

ARTICLE II. The artillery, arms, accoutrements, military chest, and publick stores of every denomination, shall be delivered, unimpaired, to the heads of departments appointed to receive them.

ARTICLE II. Granted.

ARTICLE III. At twelve o'clock this day the two redoubts on the left flank of York to be delivered, the one to a detachment of American infantry ; the other to a detachment of French grenadiers. The garrison of York will march out to a place to be appointed, in front of the posts, at two o'clock precisely, with shouldered arms, colours cased, and drums beating a British or German march ; they are then to ground their arms, and return to their encampment, where they will remain until they are dispatched to the places of their destination. Two works on the Gloucester side will be delivered at one o'clock to detachments of French and American troops appointed to possess them ; the garrison will march out at three o'clock in the afternoon ; the cavalry with
their

their swords drawn, trumpets sounding ; and the infantry in the manner prescribed for the garrison of York : they are likewise to return to their encampment, until they can be finally marched off.

ARTICLE III. Granted.

ARTICLE IV. Officers to retain their side-arms : both officers and soldiers to keep their private property of every kind ; and no part of their baggage or papers to be at any time subject to search or inspection ; the baggage and papers of officers and soldiers, taken during the siege, to be likewise preserved for them. It is understood, that any property obviously belonging to the inhabitants of these states, in the possession of the garrison, shall be subject to be reclaimed.

ARTICLE IV. Granted.

ARTICLE V. The soldiers to be kept in Virginia, Maryland, or Pennsylvania, and as much by regiments as possible, and supplied with the same rations of provisions as are allowed to soldiers in the service of America ; a field-officer from each nation, to wit, British, Anspach, and Hessian, and other officers on parole, in the proportion of one to fifty men, to be allowed to reside near their respective regiments, to visit them frequently, and to be witnesses of their treatment ; and that these officers may receive and deliver clothing and other necessaries ; for which passports are to be granted when applied for.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE V. Granted.

ARTICLE VI. The general, staff, and other officers not employed as mentioned in the above article, and who choose it, to be permitted to go on parole to Europe, to New-York, or to any other American maritime posts, at present in the possession of the British forces, at their own option, and proper vessels to be granted by the count de Grasse to carry them under flags of truce to New-York, within ten days from this date, if possible ; and they to reside in a district, to be agreed upon hereafter, until they embark. The officers of the civil departments of the army and navy to be included in this article ; passports to go by land to be granted to those to whom vessels cannot be furnished.

ARTICLE VI. Granted.

ARTICLE VII. Officers to be allowed to keep foldiers as servants, according to the common practice of the service. Servants, not foldiers, are not to be considered as prisoners ; and are to be allowed to attend their masters.

ARTICLE VII. Granted.

ARTICLE VIII. The Bonetta sloop of war to be equipped and navigated by its present captain and crew, and left entirely at the disposal of lord Cornwallis from the hour that the capitulation is signed, to receive an aid-de-camp to carry despatches

spatches to sir Henry Clinton, and such soldiers as he may think proper, to be permitted to sail without examination when his despatches are ready; his lordship engaging on his part, that the ship shall be delivered to the order of the count de Grasse, if she escapes the dangers of the seas; that she shall not carry off any publick stores. Any part of the crew that may be deficient on her return, and the soldiers, passengers, to be accounted for on her delivery.

ARTICLE VIII. Granted.

ARTICLE IX. The traders are to preserve their property, and to be allowed three months to dispose of or remove it; and those traders are not to be considered as prisoners of war.

ARTICLE IX. The traders will be allowed to dispose of their effects; the allied army having the right of pre-emption. The traders to be considered as prisoners of war on parole.

ARTICLE X. Natives or inhabitants of different parts of this country, at present in York or Gloucester, are not to be punished on account of having joined the British army.

ARTICLE X. This article cannot be assented to, being altogether of civil resort.

ARTICLE XI. Proper hospitals to be furnished for the sick and wounded; they are to be attended

tended by their own surgeons on parole ; and they are to be furnished with medicines and stores from the American hospitals.

ARTICLE XI. The hospital stores now in York and Gloucester shall be delivered for the use of the British sick and wounded ; passports will be granted for procuring them further supplies from New-York, as occasion may require ; and proper hospitals will be furnished for the reception of the sick and wounded of the two divisions.

ARTICLE XII. Waggon to be furnished to carry the baggage of the officers attending the foldiers, and to surgeons, when travelling, on account of the sick, attending the hospitals, at publick expence.

ARTICLE XII. They will be furnished if possible.

ARTICLE XIII. The shipping and boats in the two harbours, with all their stores, guns, tackling and apparel, shall be delivered up in their present state to an officer of the navy appointed to take possession of them, previously unloading the private property, part of which had been on board for security during the siege.

ARTICLE XIII. Granted.

ARTICLE XIV. No article of the capitulation to be infringed on pretext of reprisal ; and if
there

there be any doubtful expressions in it, they are to be interpreted according to the common meaning and acceptations of the words.

ARTICLE XIV. Granted.

Done in the trenches before York,
October 19, 1781.

(Signed) G. WASHINGTON,
Le Cte. de ROCHAMBEAU,
Le Cte. de BARRAS, en n'ou
nom, et celui du Cte. de
GRASSE,
CORNWALLIS,
THO. SYMONDS.

N O T E XLVIII. PAGE 329.

*By the United States in Congress assembled, October
29, 1781.*

RESOLVED, that the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his excellency general Washington, for the eminent services which he has rendered to the United States, and particularly for the well-concerted plan against the British garrisons in York and Gloucester; for the vigour, attention, and military skill with which the plan was executed; and for the wisdom and prudence manifested in the capitulation.

THAT

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his excellency the Count de Rochambeau, for the cordiality, zeal, judgment and fortitude, with which he seconded and advanced the progress of the allied army against the British garrison in York.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his excellency count de Grasse, for his display of skill and bravery in attacking and defeating the British fleet off the bay of Chesapeake; and for his zeal and alacrity in rendering, with the fleet under his command, the most effectual and distinguished aid and support to the operations of the allied army in Virginia.

THAT the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to the commanding and other officers of the corps of artillery and engineers of the allied army, who sustained extraordinary fatigue and danger, in their animated and gallant approaches to the lines of the enemy.

THAT general Washington be directed to communicate to the other officers and the soldiers under his command the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled, for their conduct and valour on this occasion.

RESOLVED, that the United States in Congress assembled will cause to be erected at York, in
Virginia,

Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most christian majesty; and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of earl Cornwallis to his excellency general Washington, commander in chief of the combined forces of America and France, to his excellency the count de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his most christian majesty in America, and his excellency the count de Grasse, commanding in chief the naval army of France in the Chesapeake.

RESOLVED, that two stands of the colours, taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented to his excellency general Washington, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled.

RESOLVED, that two pieces of field ordnance, taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented by the commander in chief of the American army to count de Rochambeau; and that there be engraved thereon a short memorandum, that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender.

RESOLVED, that the secretary of foreign affairs be directed to request the minister plenipotentiary of his most christian majesty, to inform his majesty, that it is the wish of Congress that

count de Graffe may be permitted to accept a testimony of their approbation, similar to that to be presented to count de Rochambeau.

RESOLVED, that the board of war be directed to present to lieutenant-colonel Tilghman, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled, a horse properly caparisoned, and an elegant sword, in testimony of their high opinion of his merit and ability.

NOVEMBER 7, 1781. Resolved, that the secretary of foreign affairs be directed to prepare a sketch of emblems of the alliance between his most christian Majesty and the United States, proper to be inscribed on the marble column to be erected in the town of York, under the resolution of the twenty-ninth day of October last.

RESOLVED, that an elegant sword be presented, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled, to colonel Humphrey, aid-de-camp of general Washington, to whose care the standards, taken under the capitulation of York, were consigned, as a testimony of their opinion of his fidelity and ability; and that the board of war take order therein.

Extract from the minutes,

CHA. THOMSON, secretary.

N O T E

N O T E XLIX. P A G E 329.

Head-quarters, near York, Oct. 31, 1781.

S I R,

I DO myself the honour of transmitting to your excellency a letter from brigadier-general Du-Portail, in which he explains the motives of an intended application to Congress for permission to go to France, and for the promotion of himself, and other officers of his corps.

I SHOULD conceal sentiments with which I am very strongly impressed, and do injustice to very conspicuous merit, if I did not, upon the present occasion, offer my testimony of the distinguished abilities and services both of general Du-Portail and lieutenant-colonel Gouvion; their claim to the particular attention of Congress at this juncture, is founded upon the practice of Europe; a siege being considered as the particular province of the corps of engineers, and as entitling them, when attended with a success important in itself and its consequences, to the greatest military rewards. These officers, besides, are supported by a series of conduct in the line of their department, which makes them not depend merely upon the present circumstances. For these reasons I am induced to recommend general Du-Portail's memorial to Congress for the grades which he specifies, and the leave of absence; the latter being by no means incompatible with the good of the
service

service at the present period, as I am reduced, notwithstanding all my efforts, to the necessity of retiring into winter-quarters.

THE same principles as those above-mentioned forbid me to be silent on the subject of general Knox, who is closely united with general Du-Portail in the merits of the siege, being at the head of the artillery, which is the other principal instrument in conducting attacks, the resources of his genius have supplied on this and many other interesting occasions the defect of means. His distinguished talents and services, equally important and indefatigable, entitle him to the same marks of approbation from Congress as they may be pleased to grant to the chief engineer.

With sentiments of respect
and esteem, I have the honour to be
your excellency's, &c.

(Signed) GEO. WASHINGTON.

By the United States in Congress assembled, November 16, 1781.

RESOLVED, that brigadier-general Du-Portail, commanding officer of the corps of engineers, in consideration of his meritorious services, and particularly of his distinguished conduct in the siege of York, in the state of Virginia, be, and he is hereby promoted to the rank of major-general.

RESOLVED,

RESOLVED, that lieutenant-colonel Gouvion, of the corps of engineers, receive the brevet of colonel.

RESOLVED, that captain Rochefontaine, of the corps of engineers, receive the brevet of major.

March 22, 1782.

BRIGADIER-general KNOX, commanding officer of the artillery, being recommended by the commander in chief, by his letter of the thirty-first day of October last, to be appointed a major-general in the army of the United States, on account of his special merit, and particularly for his good conduct at the siege of York-Town, in the state of Virginia ;

RESOLVED, that brigadier-general Knox be, and he is hereby promoted to the rank of major-general in the line of the army, and that he take rank from the fifteenth day of November last.

N O T E L. P A G E 332.

S O U T H - C A R O L I N A.

By his excellency John Rutledge, esquire, governor and commander in chief of the said state.

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

WHEREAS the forces of the United States having compelled the troops of his

his Britannic majesty to surrender or evacuate the several strong posts which they held in the upper and interior settlements, and retreat to the vicinity of Charleston; and the enemy, being therefore unable to give that protection and support which they promised to their adherents, left many inhabitants of this state, who had taken up arms with them, induced so to do by their artful representations, to become victims to their injured country; whereupon such persons, to escape or avoid the effects of its just resentment, followed and remain with the British army, or lurk and conceal themselves in secret places: and whereas the commandant of Charleston having sent beyond sea the wives and families, which were in the said town, of all the avowed friends of America; the several brigadiers of militia were ordered, as a retaliation of such treatment, to send the wives and families, within their respective districts, of all persons who had joined or adhered to, and remained with the enemy, into their lines: and whereas it is represented to me, in behalf of the unhappy men who are with the British troops, or secreting themselves as aforesaid, that they are now convinced, being reduced with their families to great distress and poverty, that they relied on false and specious engagements, and were flattered with vain expectations and delusive hopes, and that they are therefore anxious, if they may be admitted, to return to their allegiance, and use their utmost exertions to support American independence. On duly weighing and considering

considering the premises, I have thought fit, by and with the advice and consent of the privy-council, to issue this proclamation, offering, and I do hereby offer, to all persons who have borne arms with the enemy, and who now adhere to or are with them in this state, or are lurking or concealing themselves in secret places in any part of the state, a FULL and FREE PARDON and OBLIVION, for such their offence of having borne arms with, or adhered to, the enemy, upon the conditions following; that is to say, that such persons do, and shall, within thirty days after the date hereof, surrender themselves to a brigadier of the militia of this state, and engage to perform constant duty as privates, in the militia, for six months next ensuing the time of such surrender, and that they actually perform such duty. And I do further offer to the wives and children of such persons, upon their husbands or parents complying with the condition first above-mentioned, license and permission, to return to their habitations, and to hold and enjoy their property in this state without molestation or interruption. Provided always, that if such persons shall desert from the militia service within the time above-limited, their families shall be immediately sent into the enemy's lines, and neither they or their husbands or parents, suffered to return to, or reside in this state. Nevertheless, I do except, from the pardon hereby offered, and from every benefit of this proclamation, all such persons, as having gone over to,

or

or joined the enemy, were called upon by me in and by two several proclamations, to surrender themselves to a magistrate within forty days after the respective dates of those proclamations, in pursuance of an ordinance, entitled, ‘ An ordinance to prevent persons withdrawing from the defence of this state, to join the enemies thereof :’ all such as were sent off or obliged to quit the state for refusing to take the oath required of them by law, who have returned to this country ; all those who subscribed a congratulatory address, bearing date on or about the fifth day of June, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, to general sir Henry Clinton, and vice-admiral Arbuthnot, or another address, bearing date on or about the nineteenth day of September, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, to lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis ; all such as hold or have held any commission, civil or military, under the British government, and are now with the enemy ; and all those whose conduct has been so infamous, as that they cannot, consistently with justice or policy, be admitted to partake of the privileges of Americans. Notwithstanding which last-mentioned exception, such persons, if they should be deemed by me, or the governor and commander in chief for the time being, inadmissible to the rights and privileges of subjects, will not be detained as prisoners, but shall have full and free liberty, and a pass or permit to return. At a juncture, when the force of the enemy in this state, though lately

lately considerable, is greatly reduced by the many defeats which they have suffered, and particularly in the late important action at Eutaw; when they are dispossessed of every post and garriſon, except Charleſton; when the formidable fleet of his moſt chriſtian majeſty, in Cheſapeak bay, and the combined armies of the King of France and of the United States, under the command of his excellency general Waſhington, in Virginia, afford a well-grounded hope, that, by the joint efforts of their armies, this campaign will be happily terminated, and the Britiſh power in every part of the confederate ſtates, ſoon totally annihilated; it is conceived, that the true and real motive of the offer hereby made, will be acknowledged. It muſt be allowed to proceed, not from timidity, to which the enemy affect to attribute every act of clemency and mercy on our part, but from a wiſh to impreſs, with a ſenſe of their error, and to reclaim miſguided ſubjects, and give them once more an opportunity of becoming valuable members of the community, inſtead of baniſhing them, or for-ever cutting them off from it; for even the moſt diſaffected cannot ſuppoſe that the brave and determined freemen of this ſtate have any dread of their arms.

WITH the perſons to whom pardon is thus offered the choice ſtill remains, either to return to their allegiance, and, with their families, be reſtored to the favour of their country, and to

their possessions, or to abandon their properties in this state for-ever, and go with their wives and children, whither, for what purpose, on whom to depend, or how to subsist, they know not—most probably to experience, in some strange and distant country, all the miseries and horrors of beggary, sickness and despair—This alternative is now, for the last time, submitted to their judgment—It will never be renewed.

Given under my hand and the great seal, at the High Hills of Santee, this twenty-seventh day of September, in the year of our LORD, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one, and in the sixth year of the independence of America.

J. RUTLEDGE.

By his excellency's command,

JOHN SANDFORD DART, sec'ry.

N O T E L I. P A G E 371.

Articles of treaty between general Marion, in behalf of the state of South-Carolina, and major Ganey, and the inhabitants under his command, which were included in the treaty made the seventeenth day of June, 1781.

ARTICLE I. **M**AJOR Ganey and the men under his command to lay down their arms, as enemies to the state, and are
not

not to resume them again until ordered to do so, in support of the interest of the United States, and of this state in particular.

II. WE will deliver up all negroes, horses, cattle, and other property that have been taken from this or any other state.

III. WE will demean ourselves as peaceable citizens of this state, and submit ourselves to be governed by its laws, in the same manner as the rest of the citizens thereof.

IV. WE do engage to apprehend and deliver up all persons within our district, who shall refuse to accede to these terms, and contumaciously persist in rebellion against this state.

V. WE will deliver up, as soon as possible, every man who belongs to any regular line in the American service, and every inhabitant of North-Carolina, of this, or any other state, who have joined us since the seventeenth of June 1781, when the former treaty was made, or oblige them to go out of the district, and whenever they return, to take and deliver them into safe custody in any gaol within the state.

VI. EVERY man is to sign an instrument of writing, professing his allegiance to the United States of America, and the state of South-Carolina in particular; and to abjure his Britannic majesty, his heirs, successors and adherents, and
promise

promise to oppose all the enemies of the United States, and the state of South-Carolina in particular.

VII. ALL arms, ammunition, and other war-like stores, the property of the British, to be delivered up.

VIII. THE above seven articles being agreed on, they shall have a full pardon for treasons committed by them against the state, and enjoy their property, and be protected by the laws thereof.

IX. SUCH men who do not choose to accede to these articles, shall have leave to go within the British lines, and to march by the twenty-fifth instant, and be safely conducted with such of their wives and children as may be able to travel, and carry or sell their property, except cattle, sheep and hogs, which they may dispose of, but not carry with them. Such women and children who cannot be removed, may remain until the first day of September next. The officers to keep their pistols and side-arms; all other arms to be disposed of, and not carried with them. Each field officer and captain to retain one horse, not exceeding twelve in the whole, and no other person to take with him any more horses that may be fit for dragoon service within the British lines.

WE

WE have agreed to the before-mentioned nine articles, and have signed the same at Birch's mill, on Peedee, this eighth day of June, 1782.

FRANCIS MARION, brig. gen.
state of South-Carolina.

MICAJAH GANEY,
maj. loyalists, Peedee.

N O T E LII. P A G E 372.

SIR, Head-quarters, August 13.

THE measure which I lately adopted, of sending a force to collect provisions on the Lower Santee, for the use of this garrison, was a necessary consequence of the conduct your party had thought proper to observe, in the prohibitions which prevented our receiving supplies of the kind from the country.

FROM the respect which I owe to the sentiments which appear to govern the present conduct of Great-Britain towards America, I should have given a willing preference to any means, less distressful to the country, by which this necessary purpose might have been obtained; I am equally desirous to forbear the further prosecution of these measures; and am ready to enter with you into any composition to that effect, which may, I think, be established on terms to the mutual advantage of both parties, affording
to

to us a supply to our future necessities, and to you security from further depredation, and a voluntary compensation for what the force of arms has already given us in possession; the success which has attended this enterprize must convince you, that principles of benevolence and humanity are the true motives of a conduct, the moderation of which must appear striking to you.

I HOPE these considerations will induce you to accept a proposal so evidently advantageous to the interests of your own party; and that you will in consequence order rice and other provisions to be sent into town, in quantities proportioned to our demand, which will be considerable, from the necessity of supplying the King's subjects who may think proper to remove from hence to the province of East-Florida.

IF, notwithstanding these offers, you think proper to adhere to your former line of conduct, the necessity which constrains will justify the measures which I shall be forced to take.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ALEX. LESLIE.

To major-general Greene, &c.

N O T E

N O T E LIII. PAGE 385.

Provisional articles, signed at Paris the thirtieth of November, 1782, by the commissioner of his Britannic majesty, and the commissioners of the United States of America.

Articles agreed upon by and between Richard Oswald, esquire, the commissioner of his Britannic majesty for treating of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America, in behalf of his said majesty, on the one part ; and John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay and Henry Laurens, four of the said commissioners of the said states for treating of peace with the commissioner of his said majesty, on their behalf, on the other part : to be inserted in, and to constitute the treaty of peace proposed to be concluded between the crown of Great-Britain, and the said United States ; but which treaty is not to be concluded until terms of a peace shall be agreed upon between Great-Britain and France, and his Britannic majesty shall be ready to conclude such treaty accordingly.

WHEREAS reciprocal advantages and mutual convenience are found by experience to form the only permanent foundation of peace and friendship between states ; it is agreed to form the articles of the proposed treaty on such principles of liberal equity and reciprocity, as that partial advantages (those seeds of discord)
being

being excluded, such a beneficial and satisfactory intercourse between the two countries may be established, as to promise and secure to both perpetual peace and harmony. .

ARTICLE I. His Britannic majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz. New-Hampshire, Massachusetts-Bay, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent states; that he treats with them as such; and for himself, his heirs and successors, relinquishes all claims to the government, propriety and territorial rights of the same, and every part thereof; and that all disputes which might arise in future, on the subject of the boundaries of the said United States may be prevented, it is hereby agreed and declared, that the following are, and shall be their boundaries, viz.

ARTICLE II. From the north-west angle of Nova-Scotia, viz. that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north, from the source of Saint Croix river to the Highlands, along the said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the river Saint Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic ocean, to the north-western-most head of Connecticut river; thence down along the middle of that river to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude; from thence by

a line due west on said latitude until it strikes the river Iroquois or Cataraquy; thence along the middle of said river into lake Ontario; through the middle of said lake, until it strikes the communication by water between that lake and lake Erie; thence along the middle of said communication into lake Erie; through the middle of said lake, until it arrives at the water-communication between that lake and lake Huron; thence along the middle of said water-communication into the lake Huron; thence through the middle of said lake to the water-communication between that lake and lake Superior; thence through lake Superior, northward of the isles Royal and Phe-lipeaux, to the Long Lake; thence through the middle of said Long Lake, and the water-communication between it and the Lake of the Woods, to the said Lake of the Woods; thence through the said lake to the most north-western point thereof, and from thence on a due west course to the river Mississippi; thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi, until it shall intersect the northernmost part of the thirty-first degree of north latitude.—South by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last-mentioned, in the latitude of thirty-one degrees north of the equator, to the middle of the river Apalachicola or Catahouche; thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint river; thence straight to the head of St. Mary's river, and thence down along the middle of St. Mary's river, to the

Atlantic ocean. East by a line to be drawn along the middle of the river St. Croix from its mouth in the bay of Fundy to its source ; and from its source directly north to the aforesaid Highlands, which divide the rivers that fall into the Atlantic ocean, from those which fall into the river St. Lawrence ; comprehending all islands within twenty leagues of any part of the shores of the United States, and lying between lines to be drawn due east from the points where the aforesaid boundaries between Nova-Scotia on the one part, and East-Florida on the other, shall respectively touch the bay of Fundy, and the Atlantic ocean ; excepting such islands as now are, or heretofore have been, within the limits of the said province of Nova-Scotia.

ARTICLE III. It is agreed, that the people of the United States shall continue to enjoy, unmolested, the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank ; and on all other banks of Newfoundland ; also in the gulf of St. Lawrence, and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countries used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of the United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part of the coast of Newfoundland, as British fishermen shall use, but not to dry or cure the same on that island, and also on the coasts, bays, and creeks of all other of his Britannic majesty's dominions in America ; and that the American fishermen shall have liberty

ty to dry and cure fish in any of the unfettled bays, harbours, and creeks of Nova-Scotia, Magdalen islands, and Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unfettled ; but so soon as the same, or either of them, shall be fettled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agreement for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors or possessors of the ground.

ARTICLE IV. It is agreed, that creditors on either side shall meet with no lawful impediment to the recovery of the full value in sterling money of all bonâ fide debts heretofore contracted.

ARTICLE V. It is agreed, that the Congress shall earnestly recommend it to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects : and also of the estates, rights and properties of persons resident in districts in the possession of his majesty's arms, and who have not borne arms against the said United States : and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights and properties, as may have been confiscated : and that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states a reconsideration
and

and revision of all acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation, which, on the return of the blessings of peace, should universally prevail.

AND that Congress shall also earnestly recommend to the several states, that the estates, rights and properties of such last-mentioned persons shall be restored to them, they refunding to any persons who may be now in possession, the bonâ fide price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights or properties, since the confiscation.

AND it is agreed, that all persons who have any interest in confiscated lands, either by debts, marriage settlements or otherwise, shall meet with no lawful impediment in the prosecution of their just rights.

ARTICLE VI. That there shall be no future confiscations made, nor any prosecutions commenced against any person or persons, for or by reason of the part which he or they may have taken in the present war, and that no person shall on that account, suffer any future loss or damage, either in his person, liberty or property; and that those who may be in confinement on such charges at the time of the ratification of the treaty

treaty in America, shall be immediately set at liberty, and the prosecutions so commenced be discontinued.

ARTICLE VII. There shall be a firm and perpetual peace between his Britannic majesty and the said states, and between the subjects of the one and the citizens of the other, wherefore all hostilities both by sea and land shall then immediately cease : all prisoners on both sides shall be set at liberty, and his Britannic majesty shall with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes, or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons and fleets from the said United States, and from every port, place, and harbour within the same ; leaving in all fortifications the American artillery that may be therein : and shall also order and cause all archives, records, deeds and papers belonging to any of the said states, or their citizens, which in the course of the war may have fallen into the hands of his officers, to be forthwith restored and delivered to the proper states and persons to whom they belong.

ARTICLE VIII. The navigation of the river Mississippi, from its source to the ocean, shall for-ever remain free and open to the subjects of Great-Britain, and the citizens of the United States.

ARTICLE

ARTICLE IX. In case it should so happen that any place or territory belonging to Great-Britain, or to the United States, should be conquered by the arms of either, from the other, before the arrival of these articles in America, it is agreed that the same shall be restored without difficulty, and without requiring any compensation.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of
November, in the year one
thousand seven hundred and
eighty-two.

RICHARD OSWALD,	(L. S.)
JOHN ADAMS,	(L. S.)
B. FRANKLIN,	(L. S.)
JOHN JAY,	(L. S.)
HENRY LAURENS,	(L. S.)

Witness,

CALEB WHITEFOORD, secretary to the
British commission.

W. T. FRANKLIN, secretary to the
American commission.

F I N I S.







