

Notes about Scotch-Irish and German Settlers in Virginia and the Carolinas

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Scotch-Irish and German Settlers in Virginia and the Carolinas

Introduction

During the 1700s many Scotch-Irish and German immigrants arrived in America. They and their children settled parts of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and the Carolinas. Today, most of their descendants never think about their heritage. Most live in the present, are working on real-life problems, or planning their future. That attitude was shared by their ancestor immigrants 250 years ago. Nonetheless, I suspect most descendants have at least wondered what the word Scotch-Irish means. All my life, I have heard various facts, but never understood how they fit together. Some facts appeared contradictory. So, I investigated, and discovered a colorful story that far exceeded my expectations.

My principal objectives were to:

- Understand certain comments made by grandparents and other relatives over 40 years ago.
- Understand the confusing adjective Scotch-Irish.
- Understand the confusing cultural icons of bagpipes, kilts, Celtic whistles, etc.
- Understand the history of Moravian, Lutheran, Mennonite, Amish, Dunkards, Presbyterian, Puritanism, Huguenot, Quaker, Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist denominations that have churches in the Carolinas.
- Understand why and when surnames became common.
- Understand ancestor Margaret Moore's recollections of the Siege of Londonderry in 1689.
- Understand motivations of Scotch-Irish and German immigrants during the 1700s and terms of their Carolina land grants.
- Understand relations between early Carolina immigrants and Native Americans.
- Understand why Scotland's heroine Flora Macdonald came to live in North Carolina in 1774.
- Understand Scotch-Irish legacy in Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, North Carolina.
- Understand the controversial *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence*.
- Understand the decisive role Scotch-Irish and Germans settlers played during the American Revolution 1775–1781.
- Understand the sequence of events during 1780–1781 when the American Revolution reached the Carolina Piedmont. It was a civil war between rebel and loyalist neighbors that directly impacted many family members. At least 22 were veterans. For some reason, their story is virtually forgotten. But because war was better documented than ordinary home and farm life, much is recoverable. While a high-school student and cadet at the Citadel, I prepared reports and gave presentations on battles at Moore's Creek, Charlestown siege, and Cowpens. Only recently, I learned details about relatives who participated or were affected by these battles.
- Understand limitations of genealogy. Why do all family-tree branches end in obscurity?

I presume a contemporary American reader who, like myself, is only vaguely familiar with Scotland's history. I relate history to familiar movie films. Also, I show how one can estimate the number of his ancestors and descendants. Mentioned family relationships are those of the author. That allows a family-member reader to quickly calculate his or her own relationship.

Special family history and events appear in paragraphs using this font color. Anderson and Plonk-McGuire data are distinguishable by other font colors.

Anderson family members will be surprised to learn that a 6th great-grandfather from Germany was an indentured servant. A 5th great-granduncle was a North Carolina Continental Army regiment commander during the American Revolution. In the North, he served in General George Washington's army. Later, in the South, he defended Charleston during the 1780 British siege. Although he was well known among his contemporaries, no one has written a comprehensive history of his military career. This document compiles details from many historical sources. Another 5th great-granduncle was a delegate to the 1776 Fifth Provincial Congress that established North Carolina's first constitution. He was also delegate to the 1789 North Carolina convention that adopted the United States Constitution. He was one of 8 commissioners who organized the University of North Carolina and selected its site. In 1792, he was elected United States Congressman. A 3rd cousin 2 generations removed, was the first woman to graduate from the University of North Carolina.

Plonk family members will be surprised to learn that a 5th great-grandmother was abducted by Indians during the French and Indian War and held 3 years. A 5th great-grandfather was a signer of what became known as the 1775 *Tryon County Resolves*. A 4th great-grandfather was a patriot officer at the 1780 Battle of Kings Mountain. He was wounded. His location is known within about 100 feet. His name is on the 83-foot obelisk monument. A 1st cousin 5 generations removed was elected North Carolina Governor in 1840. He had extraordinary accomplishments, and is arguably the state's most significant governor. The oldest Plonk generations spelled their name Plunk. This document spells each individual's name as he or she did during his or her lifetime.

McGuire family members will be surprised to learn that a 3rd great-granduncle participated in little-known but important battle at Musgrove's Mill, South Carolina. Also many 2nd and 3rd cousins 5 generations removed were influential in early Mecklenburg County, and participated in many Revolutionary War battles.

I wrote this document as a tool to understand the above listed objectives, and to collect and organize important or interesting facts. Chronological order is followed closely. Newly added information has made the document rather long. Consequently, I have attempted to make each section self-explanatory by redefining terms and re-identifying individuals. The reader should be able to read only those sections he or she regards as interesting. Of course, this document could be separated into multiple documents, but its present form seems best for inserting and organizing new information.

Since only important and interesting facts are included, content is somewhat anecdotal. It is not comprehensive history. Nonetheless, I am serious that it accurately represents history. Legends are explicitly identified. Sources were carefully selected. Some sources are first-hand accounts of actual participants. Modern references reflect decades of research by professional historians.

Although I have been careful, there may be errors. Please advise me wherever an interpretation can be improved. Ultimately, I hope this document encourages younger people to extend the information in their own way.

Value of Subject

The value of these studies was expressed by Reverend William Henry Foote, the first historian who specialized in this subject matter. In the introduction to his book, he wrote:

The history of principles is the history of States. And the youth of Carolina might study both on one interesting page, were there a fair record of past events presented to their perusal. They might learn at home something better than the histories of Greece and Rome, or the Assyrian and Babylonian, or all the eastern and western empires of the world, have ever taught. They would find examples worthy of all praise, and actions deserving a generous emulation. They would be impressed most deeply with the conviction that people and actions worthy of such examples must be the citizens and the acts of the happiest nation on earth. (Foote 1846, x).

Timeline Format and Citations

This document follows a strict timeline. That format describes the circumstance when a leader made an important decision or took decisive action. The reader can appreciate the drama of events and a leader's courage.

Citations are embedded in the text and appear in the form (author year written, series:volume:page) or some appropriate variation. For example, a quote within a reference is cited as (person quoted year quoted in author year published, series:volume:page). This technique helps evaluate authenticity. It also timestamps voices from the distance past. A list of all sources, articles, and books appears at the end. Place names and an individual's military rank are specified contemporaneous with the event described. For example, Charlestown was the contemporaneous name of present-day Charleston.

A timeline format and embedded citations create a working document from which conjectured scenarios can be tested and into which new evidence can be inserted.

The Word Scotch-Irish

The word *Scotch-Irish* is confusing. It is an American word that probably would not be understood in Scotland or Ireland. It is both correct and misleading. It is correct when understood in the historical context of settlers first leaving Lowland Scotland for Ulster, in northern Ireland during the 1600s, and then younger generations emigrating to North America during the 1700s. In the 1800s, the hyphenated name Scotch-Irish did not mean an ethnic mix. It meant Scots from northern Ireland. It was used to distinguish from Irishmen. The Scotch-Irish were mostly Presbyterian Protestants while the Irishmen were mostly Roman Catholic.

Many readers will be satisfied in understanding the above distinction. But the name Scotch-Irish is even more ironic if considered over the last 2000 years. That is because Scots first lived in Ireland, and migrated to what is now called Scotland. They were pagans with no written language, painted their bodies, and were regarded as barbarians by Romans and other civilized societies. Ironically, after 1000 years, the Scots' name was applied to a Pict-Scot-Angle-Saxon-Norman-Viking-Irish ethnically mixed society with a political system modeled after England, yet fiercely independent.

Today, cultural icons are often confused. The kilt is traditional Celtic clothing. It belongs to Highland Scots. The bagpipe is an ancient instrument. Romans spread its use. Americans are most familiar with the Scottish bagpipe. The modern Irish bagpipe has a bellows that is pressed using the arm and is played in a sitting position. Most Scotch-Irish American heritage started in Lowland Scotland where dress fashion was similar to England, and the fiddle (violin) was the principal folk instrument.

This confusion over Scotch-Irish has some benefits. A Scotch-Irish American can pick and choose whatever he or she likes from Scottish and Irish heritage without contradiction. Also, ignorance spares the United States from strife similar to present-day Northern Ireland. Understanding the name Scotch-Irish requires investigating a long history.

[Both Anderson and Plonk families include Scotch-Irish, English, and German names. Anderson relations have German names Holt, and Ramseur. Plonk relations have Scotch-Irish or English names Espey, Oates, Means, Motley, and Simpson.](#)

400 BC, Pharaoh's Daughter Scotta and a Limitation of Genealogy

A superficial sentiment in genealogy is finding some notable ancestor, either royalty or in the extreme case, a son of Noah. Scots living about 400 BC had such a sentiment. They claimed to be descendants of Egyptian Pharaoh's daughter Scotta and Greek prince Gael. They took Scotta's name, and migrated from the Mediterranean, via present-day Spain, to Ireland, carrying with them the *Stone of Destiny*. This legend probably made them feel important and part of a larger civilized world that they knew about but had never seen. It is mythology and not history. Nonetheless, it invites the curious question of its probability. The surprising fact is that every Scot of 400 BC was probably a descendant of every pharaoh's daughter who had children since 5000 BC. And so was everyone else alive in 400 BC.

Anyone who has tried to maintain an accurate family tree realizes the futility of making it complete beyond a few generations. The author maintains a family tree database that includes only a few ancestors alive during the 1600s although there were actually thousands. Some ancient societies, like the Scots, took their

genealogies seriously. The Bible records many ancient Hebrew genealogies: for example, 1 Chronicles 1–4 and Matthew 1. Saint Paul, a well-educated person, seemed to understand the fallacy without analysis. He wrote, “Neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies.” (KJV 1611, 1 Timothy 1:4) and “Avoid foolish questions, and genealogies, and contentions, and strivings about the law; for they are unprofitable and vain.” (KJV 1611, Titus 3:9).

Note: Mathematics of Generations

Mathematics helps explain this, and consequently, a limitation of genealogical inferences. Everyone has 2 parents, 4 grandparents, 8 great-grandparents, and so on. This relationship is called an exponential function given by the formula $n = 2^g$, where g is the number of generations and n is the number of great ... grandparents. For example, each of us had 1024 great ... grandparents 10 generations older. For a newborn today, that would be approximately the year 1750. A few ancestors might be counted more than once if distant cousins married and had children. In such a case, the number of distinct 10th-generation grandparents would be somewhat less than 1024.

The number of descendants is even more dramatic since parents can have more than 2 children. The formula is $n = c^g$, where c is the number of children in each generation. For example, Mary Louise McGuire, 1895–1988, had 4 children, 11 grand children, and 19 great-grandchildren with more expected. The formula for this is approximately $n = 3^g$. At this rate, she will have over 2 million living descendants in year 2250. That is the sum of the 11th, 12th, and 13th generations. It assumes an average generation length of 25 years. The $g = 0$ generation completed in 1925. The $g = 1$ generation completed in 1950, and so on. Again, since distant cousins may have offspring, some descendants may be counted more than once. Nonetheless, it is clear that her genetic legacy will be dispersed rather quickly throughout the population. Interestingly, such dispersion does not necessarily lead to uniformity of all human characteristics. Due to what geneticists call *genetic drift*, group characteristics can persist. Such analysis has helped anthropologist time human immigration from Asia to North America.

The above formulas can be put to work in other instructive ways. For example, the author knows about 7 great...great-grandfathers and 11 great...great-granduncles who participated in the Revolutionary War. The author was surprised to find so many. But should it be surprising? What is the expected number? The Revolutionary War occurred during years 1775–1783. Most soldiers are from one generation of 20–40 year olds. So, the 8-year Revolutionary War was fought by a generation and a half. Most of the known participants predate the author by 7 generations. So, the expected number of great...great-grandfathers and great...great-granduncles is $\frac{1}{2} c (2^7 + \frac{1}{2} 2^6) = 80 c$. Thus 80 great...great-grandfathers and, assuming an average of 5 children per family, 320 great...great-granduncles had a soldier's eligible age. Of course, even assuming all these men lived in the 13 colonies, not all were soldiers. The 1775 population of the 13 colonies was 2,700,000. In any population, one would expect 1/6 to be males in age range 20–40. So, approximately 450,000 men were eligible. Historical records show that approximately 250,000 actually served. Thus about 1/2 of all eligible males served. This high ratio is consistent with the militia system that, in principle, included all able-bodied men. Thus, the expected number of Revolutionary War participants is 40 4th or 5th great-grandfathers and 160 4th or 5th great-granduncles. Although this result depends on several coarse approximations, it implies that the author and anyone else whose ancestry is limited to the United States for seven generations have many 4th and 5th great-grandfathers and great-granduncles who participated in the Revolutionary War.

Well, if mathematics assures that nearly everyone alive in 400 BC was a descendant of Pharaoh's daughter, why did no legitimate pedigree exist? Even though a significant minority of every generation die young or have no children, one would expect privileged kings and queens to have many descendants. Also, they were more likely to marry across nationalities to achieve political alliances. Surely most people have royalty in their background, but it is difficult to discover because genealogy records are not complete. Illiteracy may be a principal reason. After all, a person who cannot write his own name is not likely to record much about his ancestors. Also, family fortune is rarely transferable beyond a few generations even for the richest, especially during times of political or economic instability. Young individuals selectively remember fortunate ancestors and dismiss others. Also, in modern times, record keeping is biased toward male ancestors for surname continuity. So, virtually every family-tree branch ends obscurity. It is almost hopeless for a Scotch-Irish American to find a royal ancestor since most Scotch-Irish immigrants were poor

common folk. So poor that it probably never occurred to them that someday their descendants might want to know more about their lives. They preserved few records.

Whatever the limitations of genealogies, culture remains remarkably persistent over many human generations. The Old Testament describes the slow cultural transition from cult-based religions to more sophisticated laws and religious beliefs. The Hebrew cultural fight against pagan idol worship took 2000 years to prevail. Even good human behavior becomes persistent after integration into the culture. Today, there is much in American political and social culture that reflects the outlook of Scotch-Irish who emigrated from Ulster during the 1700s.

Before 843, Picts

From 80 AD until 1746, Scotland had the misfortune of being on the border of contending super-powers. Like present-day Balkans, its wars were frequent and bloody. Scotland has contented with Romans, Britons, Saxons, Vikings, Normans, always the English, and internal conflicts between Highlanders and Lowlanders. Throughout these conflicts, Scotland has always maintained a separate identity.

Beginning in year 43, Romans occupied southern Britannia. Their word for present-day Scotland was Caledonia. It was controlled by the Picts, so called by Romans because of their painted bodies. Picts had a culture much like the Celtic tribe Scots who at that time lived in Hibernia, the island now called Ireland. The Romans almost conquered the Picts, and if they had, Scotland may have never evolved. Romans built two defensive walls and a system of forts to stop Pict raids and to tax commerce through gates. Hadrian's Wall was completed in year 122. It was 15 to 20 feet high and 80 miles long, coast to coast. The Pict problem was serious enough in 208 to require the personal attention of Roman Emperor Severus who after 3 years of directing inconclusive fighting died of exhaustion at Eboracum [pronounced E-bore-rock-um], present-day York.

Scotland and Ireland in Gaelic, Latin, and English

Gaelic	Latin	Modern English
Alban	Caledonia	Scotland
Eire	Hibernia	Ireland

The Romans withdrew their military from Britannia in 407 when the weakening Western Empire began to implode. The vacuum induced Picts to raid fellow Celtic Britons whose wealth accumulated during Roman rule. Britons enlisted mercenary Angles and Saxons from mainland Europe to help them fight off the Picts.

In 430, Saint Patrick, a Roman missionary, christianized Hibernia. By legend, he banished all serpents. About the same time, missionary Saint Ninian christianized the Picts.

Meanwhile, Angle-Saxon mercenaries decided to stay. They drove their hosts westward into Strathclyde and Wales, and became the new super power called Northumbria. This conflict produced the legend of King Arthur and his Knights of the Roundtable, although the famous romantic stories were written 1000 years later by Thomas Malory in *Le Morte d'Arthur* and during the 1900s by Alfred Tennyson in *Idylls of the King*. In fact, if Arthur actually existed, it is not certain that he would have been Christian. Angle-Saxons were Christianized in 597 under King Ethelbert by Saint Augustine—not the same saint who wrote *Confessions*. Like the Romans, the Angle-Saxons also tried to conquer the Picts. But a blunder in 685 got their army trapped in a marsh called Nectansmere where Picts destroyed them. This battle allowed Celtic culture to continue until today. In continental Europe, it had been obliterated, beginning with Julius Caesar's Gaul conquest in 52 BC.

Medieval Ireland, 400–700

The culture of Ireland was Celtic. Religion was animism, a primitive form of paganism. Celts attributed spirits to trees, streams, hills, and everything natural. Their rituals included human sacrifice. They had a complex oral tradition that required a young person many years to master. The most successful students achieved priest-class called druid or bard. From this tradition, we have inherited leprechauns, wizards, mistletoe, hidden treasure, and wishing wells (Mebane 1999, 13).

Between 400 and 700, Celtic clans formed a loose defensive alliance. An ancient settlement on a particular hill near present-day Dublin was a gathering place for political and religious ceremonies. It was called *Tara*. This name became part of Americana with Margaret Mitchell's *Gone With The Wind*.

Scots, 843–1066

In 503, the Scottish Dalriada Kingdom extended its domain from the northeastern corner of Hibernia to western islands and coast of Caledonia which is geographically isolated from Pictland to the east. About 560, missionary Saint Columba arrived to serve Scots and Picts. Eventually, Scots would absorb all of Caledonia and assign its modern name Scotland.

In 843, Scottish king Kenneth MacAlpin claimed title to king of the Picts. This was successful even though Picts were far more populous, controlled more land, were more advanced in trade, and were English bilingual in the Lowlands. Modern historians believe Picts accepted peaceful assimilation since they viewed themselves as a Celtic extension, they shared Saint Columba's Christian tradition, and since they had the unusual rule of female-line succession of kings which Kenneth MacAlpin satisfied through his mother. (Cummins 1995) Because Picts were more numerous than Scots, it is reasonable to assume that most latter day Scots have Pict ancestors.

McAlpine Creek is a principal creek in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. Its name origin is lost in obscurity. The most likely origin is a farm family that moved away during the mid 1700s. But direct or indirectly, King Kenneth MacAlpin may be the original source.

An intriguing legend from this era describes how Saint Andrew's bones came to Scotland. Saint Andrew was Christ's second disciple and brother of Saint Peter. He was a missionary to the Black Sea area. He was crucified on a cross lying on it side forming an X. In 330, Roman Emperor Constantine moved relic bones of many saints, including Saint Andrew, to his new city Constantinople. A legend is that some of Saint Andrew's bones were carried on a ship under the care of a man named Regulus. The ship wrecked off Scotland's coast. Regulus was able to carry the bones ashore. Saint Andrew became patron saint of Scotland, eclipsing Saint Columba's cultural traditions. In another legend, a Scottish commander saw a white X in a blue sky before a battle victory (A. B. Anderson 1999). That image is now the flag of Scotland, called the *Saltire*. Interestingly, Saint Andrew's X-shaped cross is on the flag of Charlotte, North Carolina.



The Saltire

In 319, Roman Emperor Constantine made Christianity the state religion of the Roman Empire. In 321, he decreed Sunday as the Christian day of rest. At that time, Christianity had many factions, each led by a bishop at a principal city: Alexandria, Antioch, Rome, Caesarea, and Nicaea. The Alexandria bishop Arius promulgated *Arianism* ideology that denied Christ's divinity. Approximately, half of all Christians held this belief. These factions caused a serious political problem for Constantine who wanted the new state religion to be a unifying force. In 325, to establish a written uniform Christian doctrine, he called all Christian bishops to a council at Nicaea. Beforehand, the only agreed doctrine was the *Apostle's Creed*, which was a compilation of baptismal sayings, none of which were actually attributed to any of Christ's apostles. At Nicaea, Constantine intervened to force a compromise with Arianism bishops by agreeing that Christ and God were different but were "of the same substance." Thus, this phrase appears in the *Nicene Creed* that is often recited during Christian church services. Another curious expression in both Apostle's Creed and Nicene Creed is, "He descended into Hell, and on the third day arose again." That refers to Christ going to Hell after his death and escorting meritorious sinners, including Adam and Eve, to heaven. Even more curious, is that it is not mentioned in the Bible, but in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, a non-canonical gospel popular during years 300–400. Incidentally, Arianism is named after Bishop Arius and should not be confused with completely unrelated Aryanism.

795–1263, Vikings

Beginning in 793, pagan Vikings raided wealthy Christian monasteries and abbeys in Scotland and Ireland. Their longboat invention gave them access to inland areas along rivers. They settled in Orkney, Shetland, Outer Hebrides, and other islands, plus the northernmost parts of Scotland, present-day Caithness and Sutherland. They explored and settled along Russian rivers, Iceland, Greenland, and North America. Viking settlers in northwestern France established a separate identity as French-speaking Normans. How did Vikings achieve this without more sophisticated political or social structures or other advantages? It may have been terrorism on a grand scale. Their boastful and frenzied violence gave us the adjective *berserk*. Most remarkable was their victims' ineffective response. That is evidence of the profound weakness of medieval monarchies. The feudal correction came two centuries later, but by then Vikings were assimilated throughout Europe's population.

Powerful Viking lords had threatening names: Harold Fair Hair, Kentil Flatnose, Godfrey Crovan, Sigurd the Mighty, Maelbrigte Tooth, Brian Boru, Thorfinn the Mighty, Somerled, and Haakon.

1066–1500, Norman Feudalism

In 1066, Normans conquered England and established feudalism, a political system that could muster a large army. Normans weakened England's traditional ties to Saxony and Norway, and strengthened ties with France. Scotland had to adopt feudalism to survive against feudal England. King David I started feudalism by dispossessing landholders and replacing them with imported Angle-Saxon-Norman lords in exchange for absolute loyalty.

Feudal governments throughout Europe made laws requiring individuals to take on surnames to better account for taxes and required military service. In 1053, Scotland's King Malcolm Canmore decreed that each landowner use his property name as a surname. Gradually, this practice applied to everyone. Some people chose a surname describing where he lived, like Brook. Others chose a surname that described his profession, like Taylor, Cooper (barrel maker), Sawyer, Turner (lathe worker), and Smith (hammerer). A popular choice was a variation of Son of Often the meaning was not meant literally, but implied Servant of Saint For example, Anderson could mean Servant of Saint Andrew. This development occurred after the Viking era. So, similar surnames like Scottish Anderson and Scandinavian Andersen developed independently, but concurrently. Until about 1500, an individual could select any surname. That contributed to wide use of Son of ..., since it associated child's legal liabilities with his father. Later, laws made a surname hereditary. These laws did not apply to monarchs. So even today, kings, queens, and the Pope do not have surnames.

The Celtic form of Son of ... is prefix Mac or Mc. The former was more common in Scotland and the latter in Ireland. But they mean the same thing. Less common prefixes were Ma as in Makemie and Me as in Mebane, equivalent of McBane (Mebane 1999, 1).

The genealogical implication is that it is almost impossible to trace a surname before year 1500.

Note: Child Naming Tradition

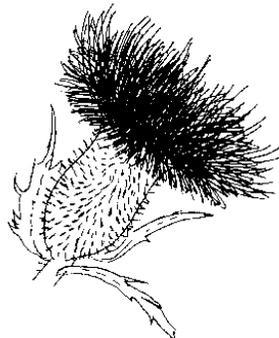
An old Scotch-Irish tradition is to name the first son after his paternal grandfather, the second son after the maternal grandfather, and the third son after the father. If an older cousin already had the grandfather's name, then the new son took the name of an uncle in order of age. Likewise, the first daughter was named after the maternal grandmother, the second daughter after the paternal grandmother, and the third daughter after the mother. If an older cousin already had the name of the grandmother, then the new daughter took the name of an aunt in order of age. The rule was not absolute, but a guideline that was often followed. What is neat about the rule is that sometimes an unknown grandparent's name can be back calculated.

During the feudal period 1066–1500, Scotland had a long succession of kings, regents, and heroes. Notables are: MacBeth, Malcolm Canmore, David I, William the Lion, Alexander III, William Wallace, Robert the Bruce, and Robert Stewart. King William the Lion drove out Viking lords.



King William's Red Lion Rampant

In 1263, Alexander III defeated Norse King Haakon's fleet of 200 ships and 15,000 soldiers by stalling negotiations until the stormy season decimated Norse ships. Haakon withdrew and soon died, ending 400 years of strong Norse influence (Mackie 1978, 44). A legend from this time made the thistle a national icon. When an attacking Norse soldier stepped on a thistle at night, his ouch cry alerted a Scottish sentry spoiling the surprise attack.



Thistle
from clip art

But in 1296, Alexander III stumbled over a cliff and died. During disputes over succession, English King Edward I, nicknamed Longshanks, saw an opportunity to attack Scotland. In 1296, he successfully defeated Scotland. Among his trophies was the Stone of Destiny. But resistance continued, led by William Wallace and Robert the Bruce. They invented creative military tactics against the English Army. To defend against English armored knights, Scottish infantry massed and presented a picket of 12-foot long pikes. All castles in the Borders region were destroyed to deny garrisons. These tactics led to Scottish success at the battle of Bannockburn on 24 June 1314. Events during this time are portrayed in the 1995 movie *Braveheart*. In the 6 April 1320 *Declaration of Arbroath* addressed to the Pope, the Scots warned:

As long as but a hundred of us remain alive, never will we on any conditions be brought under English rule. It is in truth not for glory, nor riches, nor honors that we are fighting, but for freedom—for that alone, which no honest man gives up but with life itself.

This document partly inspired the United States' *Declaration of Independence*. Gradually, Lowland nobility became English-speaking Anglo-Saxon-Norman-Scot while Highland leaders remained Gaelic-speaking Celtic clan chiefs. The Stone of Destiny was not returned to Scotland until 1996.

In Ireland, feudal developments paralleled that of Scotland. Norman influence gradually predominated. One notable difference was that the English monarch remained sovereign over Ireland.

Throughout Europe, the general political trend was ever increasing absolute kings. After kings gained authority to appoint bishops, they could commingle state and church revenues. They could operate unchecked by a parliament. The Pope's corresponding loss of revenue led to corrupt policies like selling indulgences. Church corruption led to the Reformation.

Much more could be written about Scotland's feudal kings. However, to understand Scotch-Irish immigration in the 1700s, the important fact was that Scotland remained an independent country with a Lowland population much like the people in England.

1517–1648, Reformation

Roman Catholic Church reform was first advocated in the 1370s by Oxford professor John Wyclif whose followers were called *Lollards*. Wyclif believed: (1) The Church should not own property, (2) An individual can relate to God without the Church, and (3) The number and importance of sacraments should be reduced from seven to two. In the 1450s, professor-priest Jan Hus [pronounced Hoose] linked these ideas with secular interests of Bohemian princes. On 31 October 1517, German priest Martin Luther posted his famous 95 theses, or debating points, on a church door in Wittenberg. Many theses questioned the church's absurd justification of selling indulgences. In addition to Wyclif's reforms, Luther believed: (4) Doctrine of *justification by faith* that did not necessarily require good works, and (5) Eucharist *consubstantiation* instead of Catholic *transubstantiation*. Like Hus, he believed that the state has authority over the church. He encouraged this by writing a public letter to the Christian German nobility. Opportunist princes immediately realized they could stop flow of funds to Rome and confiscate Church property. In 1520, alarmed Pope Leo X sent Luther a bull of excommunication that Luther promptly burned. In April 1521, Luther was summoned before the council of the Holy Roman Empire, called the Diet of Worms. At that decisive meeting, Luther was protected by political nobles. Within 10 years a major political realignment occurred. Northern and western Germany became independent of Rome and was called *Palatinate* [pronounced pa-latin-ate]. The word *Protestant* was applied first to a group of Palatinate princes making a legal complaint. Luther translated the Bible into German and authored hymn *A Mighty Fortress Is Our God*, based on Psalm 46. In 1524, Ulrich Zwingli started the Reformed Church in Zurich. His beliefs were similar to Luther's except he believed the Eucharist was a symbolic ritual, rejecting both consubstantiation and transubstantiation. In 1530, John Calvin in Geneva published a new theology. The leading principle was God's omnipotence implies God knows the future, and thus the predestined salvation of everyone. Predestination believers called others *Armenian*, a name that implied an alien Christian sect. Unlike Luther, Calvin believed in theocracy, the church has authority over the state.

Beginning in 1559, John Knox attempted to reform Scotland's state-supported Church called *Kirk*, a Norse word for church. That church owned half Scotland's wealth. Knox was influenced by John Calvin's philosophy. The backlash of the established church was unbelievably brutal. Some of Knox's associates were burned at the stake on church grounds in the presence of notorious Cardinal Beaton. In reaction, Protestants ransacked churches. In an act of desecration, the ancient bones of Saint Andrew were lost. Religious emotionalism was extreme on both sides.



John Knox
Engraving from *Icones* by T. Beza, 1580

In 1560, the English-language *Geneva Bible* was published. An unintended consequence was that, for the first time, literate people could understand authentic Christian teachings instead of relying on priests. John Knox, in the 1560 *Book of Discipline*, made literacy and compulsory education principal objectives.

The simple outline of religious beliefs above is inadequate for most purposes. For example, consubstantiation is not defined. This document attempts only to place development of denominations into a history timeline. Each denomination is inserted at its approximate founding date along with its distinctive beliefs and characteristics. Such reduction risks triviality. No doubt, the reader knows that religion is a complicated subject, best described in books with extensive commentary.

The church formed by Jan Hus in the 1400s called itself *Unity of the Brethren*. It began as a reform oriented church in Moravia, a region now within the Czech Republic. Hus was burned at the stake for heresy. Immediately after the Thirty Years' War 1618–1648, church members were forced from their homes. When some members settled in Germany, they became known as *Moravians*. Somewhat confusingly, then and now, a Moravian church member can be from anywhere.

In the 1500s, several *Anabaptists* movements began. They believed a person must be baptized only after he or she was old enough to understand its meaning. They rejected Luther's justification by faith. They believed in complete separation between church and state. These included *Mennonites* who were named for leader Menno Simons. Some Mennonites from the Switzerland mountains followed leader Jacob Amman to become *Amish*. They meet in homes rather than churches. Other Anabaptists were quite austere. They removed all religious art, sang hymns without accompanying music, and did not celebrate Christmas since the Bible does not explicitly justify it. Present-day Baptist roots are Anabaptist. However, there is wide diversity among Baptists. Their theology is still in ferment as they debate Calvinist principles like predestination.

Robert C. Carpenter has researched records in Steffisburg, Canton of Bern, Switzerland and records in Alsace, France. The Blancks (Plunks) and Zimmermans (Carpenters) were from the village of Steffisburg. Starting around 1693 some of these families moved to Alsace. The Zimmermans held strong Anabaptist beliefs and some of them became followers of Jacob Ammann, the founder of the Amish sect, in Alsace. Carpenter found references to Blancks in Alsace at the same time Zimmermans were there. They apparently were also Anabaptist because very few of them had children baptized in the Reformed, Lutheran, or Catholic churches in Alsace. (Carpenter 2006–2008)

Calvinism induced several denominations. In England, Puritanism adopted the doctrine of *Company of Saints*. In France, followers of Swiss Besancon Hugues, formed the Huguenot Church. In Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre, 24 August 1572, Catholics massacred over 10,000 Huguenots. Civil war continued until King Henry IV issued the 1598 *Edict of Nantes* that tolerated two religions in France.

Note: Julian and Gregorian Calendars

The present-day calendar is basically the same calendar standardized in 46 BC by Julius Caesar. Originally, years were dated from Rome's mythical founding. That changed in 532, when Dionysius, a monk in Rome, started dating years since Christ's believed Nativity, indicated by *anno Domini*, meaning "in the year of our Lord." Present-day scholars believe the Nativity actually occurred sometime between 7 and 4 BC. In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII instituted a more precise calendar. It removed leap-year day from each century year not divisible by 400. To correct the accumulated 10-day error, Thursday 4 October 1582 was followed immediately by Friday 15 October 1582. Protestant England refused to adopt the new calendar because it was labeled an invention of the Pope. On the other hand, Scotland adopted the new calendar in 1600 to be consistent with its trading partners, especially France. For the next 152 years, calendars of Scotland and England with its colonies differed by 10 days prior to 1 March 1700 and 11 days prior to 14 September 1752. In a family tree database, birthdays and death dates in English colonies prior to 14 September 1752 are obsolete Julian calendar dates. So, for example, on the day George Washington was born, the calendar read 11 February. Later, that day was converted to 22 February, the official commemoration date. In addition, in 1752, New Year's Day was moved from 25 March to 1 January. That is why days between 1 January and 25 March in prior years are written with hyphenated years. For example, today, when we want to write George Washington's Julian calendar birthday, it is best written 11 February 1731–1732. Despite the complicated adjustments to the Gregorian calendar, it is noteworthy that today's calendar differs by only one day per century from the Julian calendar made standard in 46 BC. Moreover, our

alphabet, English language, Christian religion, legal and political system, civil service, military organization, public architecture, and marriage customs are modeled on Roman precedence.

Note: Origin of Weekday Names

Beginning in pre-history antiquity, the full-moon cycle was the obvious time period longer than a day. This cycle divided into four equal parts became the seven-day week. Naturally, each week was associated with a moon phase: new, first-quarter, full, or last-quarter. Interestingly, in Western cultures, the weekday phase has not shifted for at least 3000 years, approximately 150,000 cycles. Weekday names have an astronomical origin: sun, moon, and five known planets. Present-day English names derive from German names.

Roman Name	Meaning	Roman-German God	German Name	English Name
Dies Solis	Day of Sun	Apollo	Sunnandaeg	Sunday
Dies Lunae	Day of Moon	Luna - Mona	Monandaeg	Monday
Dies Martis	Day of Mars	Mars - Tiu	Tiwesdaeg	Tuesday
Dies Mercuri	Day of Mercury	Mercury - Woden	Wodnesdaeg	Wednesday
Dies Iovis	Day of Jupiter	Jupiter - Thur	Thursdaeg	Thursday
Dies Veneris	Day of Venus	Venus - Frigga	Frigedaeg	Friday
Dies Saturni	Day of Saturn	Saturn	Saeterdaeg	Saturday

Note: Christmas and Easter Holidays

Many present-day Christmas traditions have pagan origins. The 25 December date is from the Roman festivals of *Saturnalia* and *Sol Invictus*, meaning Invincible Sun. The Old Testament admonished against the pagan practice of decorating tree (KJV 1611, Jeremiah 10:1–4). But the custom continued especially among Germans. During the Reformation, all Christian celebrations were controversial. In June 1647, Puritans gained control of Parliament. They passed legislation:

For as much as the feast of the nativity of Christ, Easter, and other festivals, commonly called holy days, have been here-to-fore superstitiously used and observed; be it ordained that the said feasts, and all other festivals, commonly called holy days, be no longer observed as festivals.

This law was reversed after the 1660 restoration, but observance was minimal, especially among Presbyterians, until the 1800s. After Queen Victoria erected a Christmas tree for her German-born husband Albert, the English public adopted the same custom. In 1843, Charles Dickens' short book *A Christmas Carol* was extremely popular. It transformed Christmas into a children's day. Today, Christmas is a time to strengthen family bonds. Otherwise, cultural customs are sometimes confused. Some Christians defend pagan symbols in public places against secularists who want to call Christmas and Easter "holidays," which means "holy days."

Beginning 1610, Ulster Plantation

A long-term English goal was to assimilate unruly Scottish Highlanders and Irishmen. During the 1570s, Queen Elizabeth I injected English colonists into occupied Dublin and surroundings, known as the *Pale*. The expression "beyond the Pale" indicated uncivilized territory. Queen Elizabeth I was the first to use the word Scotch-Irish. It appeared in a formal document referring to Scottish settlers in and around Dublin. The present-day word Scotch-Irish, although similar in meaning, originated in America during the 1800s.



Queen Elizabeth I
Attributed to Isaac Oliver.

Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, leaving no heirs. Scotland's King James VI became King James I of England. His hereditary claim was that his 2nd great-grandfather had been former English King Henry VII. He got the crown by creating political alliances during Elizabeth's reign. Stakes of these alliances were so high that he acquiesced to his mother's, Mary Queen of Scots, execution in 1587. A new flag was designed and called *Union Jack* after James' official Latin name *Jacobus Rex*. It contains the white X-shaped Cross of Saint Andrew superimposed on the red cross of Saint George that symbolized England.



Union Flag or Union Jack, 1606–1801

In 1604, King, James commissioned scholars to translate the Bible into English. It was published in 1611 as *King James' Version*. James was also a proponent of colonization. Jamestown Colony in Virginia began in 1607.



King James I

Attributed to John de Critz the Elder.

In 1632 in London, the Baker's edition of the King James' Bible mistakenly misprinted the Seventh Commandment, "Thou shalt commit adultery," leaving out the important "not." It became known as the "Wicked Bible." No doubt some people were amused, but official reaction was severe. Parliament ordered all copies destroyed, fined the printer 3000 pounds, and forbade all further unauthorized printings of the Bible.

In 1610, Irish Earls of Tyrconnell and Tyrone abandoned Ulster under pressure. King James set up Ulster Plantation and invited residents of Scotland and England to settle providing they cultivate land and provide as many jobs as possible exclusively to Scots or Englishmen. Organizational details are in (Foote 1846, 84–90). Since King James was originally Scotland's king, Scots probably got better allotments than they would have otherwise. Most Scot colonists were from western Lowlands and did not have far to go since Ulster and Scotland are only 20 miles apart at their closest points. Scots succeeded in making Ulster farmland productive. Their descendants are still there today. Obviously, native Irishmen resented this.

Hugh Espy, born 1647, and his wife Mary Stewart, born 1649, Plonk-related 8th great-grandparents, were born in Edinburgh, Scotland, but settled and died in County Antrim, Ulster. Joseph Means, a Plonk-related 7th great-grandfather was born in Perthshire, Scotland, about 1653 and died in Belfast, County Antrim, Ulster.

In the 1600s, rent for farmland was called *mail*, and was often paid in cattle and dairy products. *Blackmail* was rent, actually extortion, paid to keep cattle from being stolen.

Quit Rent was a holdover from medieval times. Under the feudal system, a tenant held the land from his lord and usually had sub-tenants. In return, he was required to lend aid to the lord in times of emergency by coming to fight on his behalf and bringing an army of his subtenants. This custom was superseded by an annual money payment, the Quit Rent, which served in place of military service. In the Royal Colony of North Carolina the settlers owned the land "in fee simple" and could sell or dispose of the land any way they wanted. However, they paid annual quit rents to the original grantee who in turn passed these payments up to the King (Mitchell April 1993).

1638–1700, Presbyterian Church

The word Presbyterian implies church governance not by bishops but by church leaders in a hierarchical structure of Session, Presbytery, Synod, and General Assembly. Leaders are both lay and clergy. To provide trained ministers, Presbyterians established many independent colleges.

In the minds of most Europeans during 1600s, religious toleration was not a virtue. Instead, they believed that each nation must share a common religion and celebrate religious events simultaneously. King

Charles I wanted to enforce the Anglican Church liturgy throughout England and Scotland. On Sunday, 23 July 1637, he required that the *Book of Common Prayer* be read during the Sunday service at Saint Giles' Cathedral in Edinburgh, Scotland. Scottish Presbyterians considered such practice as "Popery" and disrupted the service. A local woman Jenny Geddes famously threw a stool and the reader. On 28 February 1638, *Covenanters* tried to reverse state, or established, religion by making Presbyterianism the only religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Its beliefs and policies were codified by *Westminster Assembly* in 1643. The "trespasses" version of the Presbyterian Lord's Prayer is an incidental consequence of the Westminster Assembly. In the King James' Bible, Matthew 6:9–13 uses "debts" and Luke 11:2–4 uses "sins."

During the remainder of the 1640s, other factions took advantage of royal weakness. A three-sided civil war resulted. First, the Scotland Army invaded northern England. To raise funds, Charles I was forced to reconvene what became known as *Long Parliament*. It attempted to destroy Charles I's government. The English Army split between royalist supporters known as *Cavaliers* and Parliament supporters known as *Roundheads*. In 1641, Irish Catholic majority revolted against all Protestants overlords. In 1648, the Army under Oliver Cromwell took virtual custody of King Charles and banished him to Isle of Man. Some Covenanters attempted to deal with the weakened king to realize their goal of universal Presbyterianism. But other armed Covenanters, 6000 strong, marched on Edinburgh in what became known as *Whiggamore's Raid*. That unusual word was a loose variation of "whig a mare" meaning prod a horse. The participants, and later all Presbyterian fighters, became known by the nickname *Whig*. In 1649, they made an alliance with Cromwell that decisively ended the monarchy and put Cromwell in power. On 30 January 1649, Charles I was beheaded. But soon afterwards, the Covenanters felt double crossed, because Cromwell failed to make Presbyterianism the established church. In 1649–1650, Cromwell's Army brutally repressed Irish Catholics. In 1653, Cromwell was named *Lord Protector*. Presbyterians were generally happy when Charles II restored the monarchy on 29 May 1660. But soon thereafter, they felt double crossed when instead of advancing Presbyterianism as he had promised in 1649, he contemptuously said "Presbytery was not a religion for gentlemen," and began to reestablish bishops and formal liturgy, such as kneeling. Such issues mattered deeply to Presbyterians who again decided to fight. Many Presbyterians lost their jobs, property, and lives for their beliefs. Fighting lasted for decades. The 1680s were the worst period. In the end, they failed to establish universal Presbyterianism, but did maintain a separate existence. Fighting radicalized leaders, resulting in dogmatic and austere policies. For example, in 1696 a student was hanged for using profanity. His sadly ironic name was Thomas Aikenhead (Mackie 1978, 253). The degree of religious passions and violence during the 1600s had searing impacts on individuals. It shaped the Presbyterian image as dour, independent, self-reliant, defensive, anti-government, and militant.

Reverend James Alexander, a McGuire-related 8th great-grandfather, was ordained on 12 December 1677 in Raphoe, Donegal, Ulster, Ireland. He was fined £20 and imprisoned 8 months for publicly holding "a day of prayer and fasting," violating the established church laws (Foote 1846, 117). James Alexander is mentioned in minutes of "The General Synod of Ulster."

A few generations later, when opportunity opened in America, Ulster Scots were already predisposed to settle elsewhere. During 1683–1708, Francis Makemie founded America's first Presbyterian churches on Virginia-Maryland Eastern Shore.



Francis Makemie
Makemie Presbyterian Church, Accomac, Virginia (W. M. Plonk 1994–2008)
Copy of statue by Alexander Stirling Calder, 1897
Presbyterian Historical Society, Philadelphia, PA

From 1974–1990s, William McGuire Plonk was minister at the Makemie founded church in Onancock, Virginia.

1688–1690, Siege of Ulster

In France, the 1598 Edict of Nantes had been divisive. After 1650, systematic persecutions of Huguenots increased. Many left France for Geneva, Amsterdam, London, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Ulster. In Ulster, Huguenots integrated well with Presbyterian Scots. Beginning 1669, Huguenots immigrated to Charlestown, Carolina, later South Carolina. More settled west of present-day Richmond, Virginia. In October 1685, French King Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, forcing all remaining Huguenots to convert or depart.

Surname Forney has a Huguenot origin.

Surname Brevard has a Huguenot origin.

In 1685, new King James II was Roman Catholic. Soon he began replacing all Protestant office holders with Catholics. Also, his newborn son was expected to become another Catholic monarch. King James was so unpopular that Parliament invited his Protestant daughter Mary and her husband William of Orange to create an army in Holland and invaded England. King James tried to escape, was caught, and then freed to “escape” again. This so-called *Bloodless Revolution* marked the end of English absolute monarchs and the beginning of Parliament preeminence. The winning political party became known as Whigs, although its support was more diverse than the original Covenanters.

In 1688–1690, James, with French and Irish Catholic soldiers, attempted to regain the crown by attacking Ulster from southern Ireland where the population was mostly Catholic. Londonderry was surrounded. Although city officials advised surrender, residents refused. For fifteen weeks, between March and July 1689, supplies were cut off. Many people starved. Finally, a relief ship broke the harbor blockade. King William ultimately defeated James at River Boyne Battle on 1 July 1690.

Margaret Moore, an Anderson-related 7th great-grandmother, spoke of sickness and suffering the people endured during the siege when she lived in Londonderry. Her husband was a British soldier. (Turner, *The Scott Family of Hawfields* 1971, 62)

During the *War of the League of Augsburg*, 1688–1697, called *King William’s War* in America, the army of French King Louis XIV devastated the Rhineland and Palatinate region of Germany. Thousands of German farms were destroyed and farmers forced off their land. Afterwards, Louis attempted to unite the

monarchies of Spain with France, and thus create a powerful state that would dominate Europe. Other nations allied against this threat and started the *War of Spanish Succession*, 1701–1714, called *Queen Anne's War* in America. As before, German farmers suffered during this unsettled time. No doubt, many Germans sought a better life in America.

1707, Union into Great Britain

There were always some Lowland Scotland leaders who believed closer ties to England were in Scotland's long-term interest. Economic conditions in the early 1700s caused these views to prevail. Integration freed Scotland from England's trade-restrictive Navigation Acts. Also, England got a more stable northern neighbor less influenced by France. In 1707, Scotland's Parliament met to accept terms of union with England, and then permanently disbanded. Thereafter, Scotland sent its Members of Parliament to London. The new country called itself *Great Britain*. Scotland retained an independent church and legal system. Scotland would have preferred a federal form of government. This was achieved in July 1999. Today, Scotland Parliament's powers are limited to regional issues. London continues control of foreign policy, defense, and central bank.

1690–1801, Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland

The 1690 defeat of James II led to Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland with its systematic subjugation of the majority Catholic population. Unlike today, Ireland was not partitioned. It had its own parliament until 1 January 1801, the date that corresponds to Scotland's 1707 event. In the 1700s, various penal laws forbade Catholics from holding public office, owning land or firearms, and educating their children even outside Ireland. Although Ulster Presbyterians were not persecuted as severely, they were forced to pay tithes to the established Anglican Church. Between 1704 and 1719, the Irish Parliament *Test Act Against Popery* excluded all *dissenters*, including Presbyterians, from public office and military careers. It also made non-Anglican marriages technically illegal which threatened children's future. Also, the previous 150 years taught Presbyterians that their liberty and property could disappear anytime government changed. Also English protectionist laws forbade importation of Irish wool and other products. This was the political, religious, and economic environment from which many Scotch-Irish emigrated to North America. But compared to other contemporary immigrants, Scotch-Irish were motivated to own large farms. Reference (Leyburn 1962) contains details.



Authentic 1700s Ulster Farmhouse
Frontier Culture Museum, Staunton, Virginia



Typical 1700s Ulster Clothing
Linen manufactured from homegrown flax.
Frontier Culture Museum, Staunton, Virginia

1681–1756, Pennsylvania

Certainly most departing emigrants never expected to see older family members again, although they could correspond by mail. Ocean passage required tropical easterly trade winds and took from 6 to 10 weeks. This route was known as the *Southern Crossing*. Near Florida, ships turned north, aided by the Gulf Stream. Obviously, such passage was very expensive. Emigrants who could not afford the cost, indentured themselves as farm laborers for 4 to 7 years.

In 1717, an Anderson-related 6th great-grandfather, Michael Holt left Germany for America. During a stop in London, the ship's captain was forced to pay debts by contracting many passengers as indentured servants. Consequently, Michael Holt worked for seven years for Virginia's Lieutenant Governor Alexander Spotswood in a settlement called the Second Germanna Colony (Troxler and Vincent 1999, 48).

On 20 May 1734, William Oates I, a Plonk-related 4th great-grandfather was born on the Atlantic Ocean in a ship headed to Pennsylvania. It is not certain if his parents were emigrating from the United Kingdom or moving from coastal North Carolina (Porter, Herndon and Herndon 1973).

The *Society of Friends*, or *Quaker*, religion began in England in the 1640s. It appealed to Protestants who wanted a more emotional, informal, and engaging debate in the liturgy. Its leaders quickly wrote a complete doctrine that rejected formal sacraments, priesthood, and violence. Quaker William Penn's father had been a British Navy admiral who was owed a large debt by the crown. In 1681, this debt was paid with the landholding call Pennsylvania. The new government set the liberal policy of welcoming all Protestant immigrants. Public morals were proscribed at monthly Friend's Meetings. Men and women met separately.

Cornelius Empson, an Anderson-related 8th great-grandfather, was born in Booth Yorkshire, England, in 1660. He immigrated to America and acquired large landholdings. In 1684, he purchased 1230 acres of land in New Jersey. That same year he purchased land in New Castle County. He named the plantations after his land holdings in England. These were: Wild Hook, Goole Grange, Chestnut Hill on White Clay Creek, and Horse Hook on Brandywine Creek in Pennsylvania, today in Delaware. These were named in his will (Empson 1710, B:1:224). His first wife was Mary Watkins. Their daughter Sarah Empson was born 20 May 1687 at Goole Grange. Mary died soon afterwards. In October 1689, Cornelius and Mary's sister Elizabeth Sanderson indicated to the Friend's Meeting their intentions to marry. Presumably she was a widow. Recorded proceedings from monthly Friend's Meetings describe ordinary marriage approvals and the controversial marriage of Cornelius and Elizabeth.

1689 ___ day 10th mo The monthly Meeting being held at Valentine Hollingsworth appoints a meeting to be held at New Castle ye first day after every Quarter Sessions to be held at Edward Blakes. Cornelius Empson & Elizabeth Sanderson signifying their intentions of marriage to mens & womens meeting which being taken into serious consideration Could in no wise be joynd with by ye meeting by reason of their nearness of kin, she being his former wifes own sister.

1689 4th day 11th mo The Monthly Meeting being held at Cornelius Empsons. said Empson addressing himselfe to ye meeting on account of his intentions of marriage and desireing some assistance from ffreinds to go to ffriends of Upland Meeting to take their advice on ye said matter.

1689 8th day 12th mo The Monthly Meeting being held at Valentine Hollingsworth, Thomas Peirson & Rose Dixon laying their intentions of marriage before this meeting. It's appointed yt George Harlan & Thomas Hollingsworth doe _____ Enquiry concentering ye clearness of ye man & Ann Hollingsworth & Mary Connaway to make Enquiry Concentering ye clearness of ye woman, and give an account thereof to ye next meeting. Michael Harlan & Dinah Dixon laying their intentions of marriage before this meeting, It's appointed yt thos Hollingsworth & nathan Cartmell to make enquiry concerning ye clearness of ye man & Ann Hollingsworth & Mary Connaway to make enquiry of ye clearness of woman & to give an accth thereof to ye next monthly meeting.

1689/90 1st day 1st mo The Monthly Meeting being held at valentine Hollingsworths forasmuch as Cornelius Empson hath proceeded contrary to ye order of Truth & ye advice of ffriends in marrying his late wifes own Sister. It is therefore ye judgment of this meeting yt he ought not be Commeted amoug us any more in our mans meeting untill he give Satisfaction for his so doing & cleareth ye truth & untill then ffriends have with drew the meeting from his house. Morgan Druet & George Harlan are desired by ye meeting to give Cornelius Empsons to give him ye sence of ye meeting and of the proceedings as aforesaid. The Meeting desires Val Hollingsworth to speak to his son. ___ to be as ye next Monthly Meeting. Thomas Pierson & Rose Dixon making their appearance before this meeting in order to their marriage (this being ye second time) Geo. Harl & Thos Hollingsworth having been appointed ye last meeting to make Enquiry Concerning ye Clearness of the man & Ann Hollingsworth & mary Connaway to make Enquiry concentering ye clearness of ye woman, who accordingly have given in the report y t all was clear as far as they can understand. Wherefore ye meeting leaves them to their liberty to take one another according to the good order of Truth

1689/90 ___ day 1 mo Michael Harlan & Dinah Dixon making their appearance before this meeting in order to their marriage (this being ye second time) Thomas Hollingsworth & nathaniel Cartmell being appointed ye last meeting to make Enquiry Concentering ye clearness of ye man and Ann Hollingsworth & Mary Connaway to make Enquiry Concentering ye clearness of ye woman, who accordingly have given in their report y to all was clear as far as they can understand wherefore ye meeting leaves y m to their Liberty to take one another according to the good order of Truth. We likewise of ye womens meeting do unanimously agree to and with ye proceedings of ye mans meeting concerning ye default of Cornelius Empson & we do likewise disown having any unity with his wife in our meeting untill she clear the Truth & acknowledge her error.

1690 7th day 4th mo. The Monthly Meeting being held at Valentine Hollingsworth, Cornelius Empson sent a paper of his condemnation to ye meeting desireing ___ same might be recorded 7 [members voted] as being read the meeting consented thereinto and ordered the same to be done.

1690 5th day 5th mo. The Monthly meeting being held at Valentine Hollingsworth ffreinds having ye last Monthly meeting received a paper from Cornelius Empson & accepted of it, they appointed Valentine Hollingsworth & Ann Sharply to give him an accth thereof.

1690 2nd day 6th mo. The Mo Meeting being at Valentine Hollingsworth, those ffreind which were nominated by ye last mo meeting to spake to Cornelus Empson abt ye meetings accepting his paper, return answer ye having spoaken to him he received their words very gladly & with great contempt. (Quaker 1689)

On 29 July 1685, Cornelius Empson was appointed a justice of the peace in the southern counties of Pennsylvania, a part of present-day Delaware. He was appointed again on 2 January 1689 and a third term on 13 April 1690. He was elected to the Pennsylvania Assembly in 1686, 1693, 1695, 1696, and 1697. During 1698–1701, he was a Puisne (lower, not chief) Justice of the provincial court, the equivalent of today's Pennsylvania Supreme Court. (List of Officers of the Colonies on the Delaware and the Province of Pennsylvania, 1614-1776 in Pennsylvania State Archives n.d., 2:IX:630)

Beginning about 1720, most Scotch-Irish immigrants entered America through ports Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, or New Castle, Delaware, and first settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. In addition, many Amish, Lutherans, Moravians, and Mennonites entered. Many German emigrants were refugees displaced by French King Louis XIV's expansion into Rhineland. They journeyed down the Rhine River to Rotterdam, Holland where they boarded ships. They were often called "Dutch." Unlike today, that name was not specific to Holland. Originally, it was a generic word for German that was equivalent to what the Germans called themselves "Deutsch." Likewise, Scotch-Irish from Ulster were often called "Irish Presbyterians" or simply "Irish." Some Scotch-Irish maintained sentimental attachment to Ireland by established non-religious St. Patrick societies. The imprecise word "Moravian" is described above. Confusion was compounded when these words became adjectives, as in "Dutchman's Creek" and "Moravian band." Of course, only those of us in later generations are confused. The name "Alamance" is a reference to German settlers.



Authentic 1700s German Palatinate Farmhouse
Frontier Culture Museum, Staunton, Virginia

There is a record of a John Anderson entering Pennsylvania in 1722, but it is not known for certain if he was our ancestor. In any event, our John Anderson was born in Ulster. In Pennsylvania, he married Ann Moore, daughter of Margaret Moore. Margaret Moore got word that her British soldier husband was thrown off a horse and died. Because of his military service, she was entitled to land in North Carolina. Ann Moore and her husband John Anderson inherited this claim.

In 1729, William Mebane, an Anderson-related 7th great-grandfather, signed a petition to create Lancaster County, Pennsylvania (Mebane 1999, 64–67).

Robert C. Carpenter, a noted author of the Carpenter Family (Carpenter, Carpenters A Plenty 1982), wrote the following in a 2007 correspondence:

There are lots of connections between the Carpenters and Blancks. Both families came from the same village in Switzerland —Steffisburg, in the Canton of Bern. Both travelled to Alsace in present France. At that time it was a mixed French and German speaking area which had been de-populated as a result of the Thirty Years War. Both had Anabaptist leanings during these years. Both immigrated to Pennsylvania. Some lived in

Berks County and according to Jacob he was born in Lancaster County. The Zimmermans lived in Cocalico Township, Lancaster County. I have spent the last two years reading parish records from Alsace for my Zimmermans. I have found some Blancks and other family connections. I believe that the Blancks came to North Carolina as a result of encouragement, recruitment, of the Zimmermans. Dr. Peter Blanck was the first one here. The brothers Jacob and Peter were here at least by the Revolutionary War.

Jacob Plunk I, a 5th great-grandfather, and Johann Jacob Rudisill, a 6th great-grandfather, emigrated from Germany, probably through Holland. They first settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. There are two conflicting histories that might be resolved by careful investigation. One history is that immigrant Jacob Plunk landed in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on 28 August 1735. The source is a list of immigrant names by Professor I. Daniel Rupp of Pennsylvania, Page 4, Rev. Joshua Kocherthal leader of immigrants. See Broadhead's Documentary History of New York. Names have been preserved and are kept in the archives of the State of New York. An alternative history is that of Dr. Hans Jacob Plonk who emigrated from Germany by way of Amsterdam, Holland, and Krews, England. He landed on 31 August 1749. The name of the ship was "Crown." Dr. Plonk was a herbalist, a doctor who grows and collects herbs. Neither of these histories is entirely consistent with the Plunks who immigrated to North Carolina.

Patrick McGuire, a 4th great-grandfather, emigrated from Ireland in 1775, probably from Ulster County Fermanagh where the McGuire surname was common.

As new farmland was acquired and cleared, the Pennsylvania government paid Indians a fair price. Scotch-Irish newcomers were not generous and had poor relations with Indians. Indians retaliated during French and Indian War 1756–1763.

Note: English Currency, pound sterling

English currency was based on the *pound sterling*, each equal to 20 *shillings*, each equal to 12 *pence*, each equal to 4 *farthings*. Notation was £ pound.shilling.pence. A *guinea* was a pound and a shilling, and thus written £1.1.0. One pound in 1760 equals approximately US\$20 in 2000.

1663–1756, Virginia and Carolinas

On 24 March 1663, King Charles II subdivided land south of Virginia into 8 large landholdings for political cronies who helped restore him to the monarchy in 1660. In the order named in Charles' charter they are: Earl of Clarendon, Duke of Albemarle, Lord Craven, Lord Berkeley, Lord Ashley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir John Colleton. Proprietor George Monck, or Lord Albemarle, was a few years earlier, the Army general that made Charles II restoration possible. Today, the Albemarle name applies to a coastal sound and a city. Other names continue in regional lexicon. These proprietorship grants appear as extravagant gifts, but they were actually charters for financial investors who hoped to profit from colonial development. Collectively, this region was called Carolina, a variation of older name Carolana that honored King Charles I who was beheaded fourteen years earlier during Oliver Cromwell's rule. By claim, Carolina extended westward to the "South Seas," meaning Pacific Ocean, but England had no effective control beyond the Atlantic coast. In 1665, this area was extended northward 30 minutes of latitude to include Albemarle Sound, creating the approximate present-day North Carolina-Virginia boundary. The area was also extended southward to 29 degrees latitude into Spanish Florida near present-day St. Augustine. On 7 December 1710, two political units, North and South Carolina, were established, each with its own colonial governor.

Before bridges were common, coastlines, rivers, and creeks formed the reference system of all locations.



Dugout canoe made in 1700s.
Found in swamp near Camden, South Carolina.

Many Native American tribes inhabited Carolina which was on the frontier of Algonquian culture to the north and Siouan (or Mississippian) culture to the south and west. The latter is studied at Town Creek Indian Mound excavation site in Montgomery County, North Carolina.

Indians established a main trail through the Piedmont called Indian Trading Path. By running along the elevated ridgeline between watersheds it circumvented creeks that were impassable during flood. Of course, major rivers could only be crossed at fords when water level was low. A topological map reveals many old roads that avoid creek crossings. Today's bridges allow shorter routes between towns.

A segment of Indian Trading Path now coincides with Mebane-Rogers Road (Troxler and Vincent 1999, 29). Jacob Holt built his house off that road in 1865. Later, horse or mule teams pulled the house on rolling logs to its present-day site near the road. Nell Aldridge lives there today.

Note: Human pathways before bridges: waterways, fall line, ridgelines, and geodesics

Human pathways are so familiar that it is surprising how complicated they are to define physically. A particular pathway is a compromise between minimizing distance, time, and effort. In America before bridges, human pathways were waterways and ridgelines between watersheds. Since ridgelines are determined by watersheds, rivers and creeks formed the most useful coordinate system. In the Carolina Lowcountry, waterways were the principal paths. A few causeways and bridges crossed expansive marshes. During the Revolutionary War, it was tactically important to control these routes. Military leader called them *passes* since each was analogous to a mountain pass. Above the *fall line*, waterways were not navigable. In fact, most rivers were barriers except at fords or ferries. Some fords were known by their functionality, for example, Trading Ford and Shallow Ford on the Yadkin River. Most creeks were barriers during floods. Consequently, pathways tended to follow ridgelines to avoid blockage. For example, Flat Rock Road, from Hanging Rock to Grannies Quarter Creek, coincides with the ridgeline between the Pee Dee and Wateree Rivers. If all roads simply followed ridgelines, then their paths would be entirely deterministic, and given a topological map, could be plotted by a computer. However, on a smaller scale, a ridgeline is bypassed to avoid a local barrier like a steep hill, stony terrain, dense thicket, property line, etc. What's interesting is that there can be two paths on either side of a barrier that are equivalently optimal. In mathematics, such a path is called a *geodesic*. Along some segments, the ridgeline rule is deliberately broken to reach a point resource, such as pasturage, spring, tavern, inn, courthouse, fence line, prominent citizen's house, or bridge. For example, the main north-south road between Camden and Charlotte deliberately avoided the nearest ridgeline by crossing Clems Branch for the purpose of passing by a campground and market with a clean and "constant" source of water. All this is common sense. The complexity illustrates the impossibility of reducing actual human pathways to deterministic physical land topology.

Note: Can computers rediscover historical road paths?

Can computers rediscover historical road paths using only physical topological data? The impossibility is proven by one counter example. Suppose it is known that an old road connected two points on opposite sides of a mountain. The mountain is symmetrical, so paths on both sides are equal in distance, gradient, curvature, etc. Suppose also that all ground evidence was obliterated. No computer can rediscover the actual historical road path because there are two possible solutions. While this example uses a hypothetical mountain, analogous barriers occur in many problems of this type. This does not say that computers cannot be useful in such problems, it only proves that computers cannot solve every such problem, in particular those with multiple solutions. So what can be inferred from only physical topological data? If a present-day road closely follows a ridgeline, as shown on a topological map, then it is reasonable to assume it is a historical road that predates bridges. One such road is Rehobeth Road, near Waxhaw in Union County, North Carolina.

Catawba Indians moved into the region in approximately 1650 after being driven out of their original home in present-day Ohio by other Indians. Their entire population was approximately 11,000 (Lawson 1709, 43–44). They managed to gain control of the river now known by their name, but only in a constant state of war with Cherokees who resided along and west of Broad River. In a battle at Nation Ford, more than 1000 braves died on each side. That ford was at the present-day *Norfolk & Southern Railroad* bridge northeast of Rock Hill, South Carolina. Actually, the name Catawba originally applied to a sub-tribe. About 1700, the name applied generally to an alliance of Esaw, Sugaree, Shuteree, and Catawba sub-tribes. Their central community was at the confluence of Sugar Creek and Catawba River. Reference (Merrell, *The Indians' New World, Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* 1989, 92) contains details. Waxhaw Indians inhabited land south of Twelve-Mile Creek. Their culture, called Cofitachique, had links to Indians in present-day Mexico (Merrell, *The Indians' New World, Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* 1989, 103). They flattened the skull of each infant child with strapped-on sandbags. The rationale was to spread the eyes to improve hunting skills.

Tribes often fought each other. After large numbers of European colonists settled coastal Virginia, Siouan tribes, Cheraw, Santee, Pee Dee, Waccamaw, and Catawba, aligned with colonists against Algonquian tribes, Tuscarora and Cherokee. On 22 September 1711, Tuscaroras in eastern North Carolina raided colonial villages including New Bern at the Neuse River mouth. That triggered the Tuscarora War. Colonial military leaders organized the Tuscarora's traditional Indian enemies. The war ended in 1713 with a thousand Tuscaroras killed or sold into slavery. The remainder migrated to Iroquois country in present-day New York State. Virginian adventurers and criminals expropriated freed land. The war experience taught all Indians the value of organization and a clearer assessment of their common interest. In May 1715, a local problem with Yamasees in southern South Carolina erupted in a general Indian uprising that included Waxhaws and Catawbas. All marched on Charlestown, seriously threatening the South Carolina government until George Chicken, a colonial military leader with an unlikely name, and a band of colonists attacked undefended Indian villages behind the advancing warriors. The Indian advance collapsed. Catawbas wanted peace and blamed Waxhaws for forcing their involvement. In August 1716, Catawbas destroyed the Waxhaw tribe. Survivors and other vanquished Indians migrated and merged into what became known as *Catawba Nation*. It was in present-day Lancaster and York Counties. Catawbas traded deerskins for manufactured goods, in particular, guns, gunpowder, tools, and textiles. Although Catawbas survived colonial settlers, they had strong Indian enemies. They were subjected to Iroquoian Shawnee raiders from as far away as the Ohio River. For these reasons, Catawbas allied themselves with settlers during the French and Indian War and American Revolution (Merrell, *The Indians' New World, Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* 1989, 161).

Lumbees have a distinctive history. Before modern transportation, their land, in present-day Robeson County, was isolated by swamps from other Indians and Europeans. Nonetheless, as early as 1730, they had an entirely European way of life that included English language, European-style houses, and farming methods. Their surnames included those of Lost Colonists who disappeared sometime between 1587 and 1590. Reference (Dial and Eliades 1996) discusses this evidence. Lumbees have always been self-

sufficient, never subject to federal government Indian-Affairs programs, and vigorously defended themselves against racial prejudice. Today, Lumbees are prominent near Pembroke, North Carolina.

About 1717, Ralph Outlaw and his wife Ann, who are Anderson-related 6th great-grandparents, moved from Surry County, Virginia, to Chowan County, North Carolina. Ralph purchased land on the south side of Catherine Creek, or probably Cashie Creek. He later purchased land near Wildcat Swamp. These sites are now in Bertie County.

The proprietorships were not as profitable as hoped. On 25 July 1729, all except one of the 8 proprietors sold their holdings back to the English government that then began promoting inland settlement. The price was £17,500. Proprietor John Carteret, Lord Granville, kept his landholding that was north of latitude 35 degrees 34 minutes, which was approximately the northern half of North Carolina. Today, that boundary is evident as the northern edge of Moore, Montgomery, Stanly, Cabarrus, Mecklenburg, and Lincoln Counties with slight adjustments. Granville hired private officers to sell land to new immigrants.

Note: North Carolina — South Carolina boundary

On 24 March 1663, King Charles II organized the land south of Virginia. It was called Carolina. By claim, it extended westward to the “South Seas,” meaning Pacific Ocean, but England had no effective control beyond the Atlantic coast. In 1665, this area was extended northward 30 minutes of latitude to include Albemarle Sound, creating the approximate present-day North Carolina-Virginia boundary. The area was also extended southward to 29 degrees latitude into Spanish Florida near present-day St. Augustine. On 7 December 1710, two political units, North and South Carolina, were established, each with its own colonial governor. A 1734 agreement specified rules that would determine the North and South Carolina boundary. From the coast, the boundary started 30 miles south of the Cape Fear River mouth. It then ran along a straight line that could never be closer than 30 miles from the Cape Fear River. This boundary line was to stop at latitude 35 degrees, but the surveyors stopped short of that latitude because of working “with Extraordinary fatigue Running the said Line most of that time thro’ Desart and uninhabited woods...” (L. Pettus n.d., 3). In 1759, surveyors were to continue westward along latitude 35 degrees, but by confusion began from the last measurement at latitude 34 degrees 48 minutes, about 11 miles south of the intended latitude. They were instructed to terminate the survey at Salisbury Road, a principal backcountry road that may have connected the natural fords of Lands Ford on the Catawba River and Trading Ford on the Yadkin River. After the boundary was set, it was too late to correct. North Carolina acquired about 600 square miles originally intended for South Carolina. During the French and Indian War 1756–1763, Catawba Indians supported European settlers against other tribes. In the 1763 Treaty of Augusta, they secured a 15-mile square area known as the Catawba Nation (L. Pettus 2005). Two corners of that square are evident in the boundary today. In 1772, to compensate South Carolina, an equal area was taken from North Carolina west of Catawba River beginning at the South Fork confluence (Salley 1929, 29). The South Carolina Head Commissioner was William Moultrie (Davis 1942), who wrote:

“They had tents and a wagon to carry their baggage; after the usual compliments and a glass or two of wine we proceeded immediately to business, by each party showing his commission and instructions to the other. We agreed that a surveyor from each Province should attend the Compass every day and that the chain should be carried alternately, and two blazers from each side to follow the Surveyors. We waited at the old corner tree till 12 o’clock to take an observation. Sun’s altitude 75—35 latitude 34.48. After dinner we proceeded and encamped at a Run about 4 ½ miles, we took the various courses along the Salisbury road, which made it very tedious.” The next day the surveyors had a good day and made 11 ½ miles. The following day it was 8 miles. On Sunday they took a break and went into Charlotte Town in Mecklenburg County. “The town has a tolerable Court house of wood about 80 by 40 feet, and a jail, a store, a Tavern and several other houses say 5 or 6, but very ordinary built of logs. From here we went to Capt. Polks, about a mile, spent the day agreeable and returned to camp about 12 miles off.” (L. Pettus 1992)

In South Carolina, the region was called *New Acquisition District* (Robinson 1957, 315). That adjustment accounts for the stair-step state border and the southern boundary of York County, South Carolina. It new state line not well received in Mecklenburg, Tryon, and the New Acquisition District since it arbitrarily

separated settlers with common heritage (Robinson 1963, 66). In 1785, South Carolina established Lancaster and York Districts.

Since 1665, only Englishmen were allowed to own land in British American colonies. The *Colonial Naturalization Act of 1740* was enacted by King George II to enable those foreigners who were already in the colonies to take an oath of allegiance to the British government and thereby be granted land in areas which the British government desired to develop, for example North Carolina. This right was granted to foreign Protestants and others residing seven years in America who should take the oath of abjuration, made the declaration of fidelity, and receive the sacraments. A foreign born Protestant simply had to go before Chief Judge or another judge in the colony and take the prescribed oaths and proved through the testimony of two witnesses and a certificate from his minister that he had received the sacrament within the last three months.

Before 1763, France claimed the entire Mississippi River watershed. Its Fort Duquesne, present-day Pittsburgh, blocked English settlement west of Pennsylvania. Because of that, Indian conflicts, and rising Pennsylvania land prices, younger Scotch-Irish and Germans moved south. Beginning in 1730, Scotch-Irish and Germans settled Virginia's Shenandoah Valley and then the Carolina Piedmont. They traveled along what was called *Great Wagon Road*. At that time, a wagon road meant a good road wide enough for a wagon and better than a typical unimproved trading path. A desirable wagon type, named Conestoga for the Pennsylvania town where it was manufactured, had a sunken floor for high capacity and stability. Moving occurred after autumn harvest and before spring planting.



Great Wagon Road
From Rowan County Information Web Site.

Note: Indian Old Fields

Beforehand, Indians used fire to maintain wide fields as habitat for buffalo, elk, and deer in Shenandoah Valley and Carolinas. Settlers assigned names like "Old Fields" and "Haw Fields." Already free of trees, these fields were quickly converted to farmland. Each settler family selected a home site near a spring or creek. A typical first house was a log cabin of hewn logs chinked with mud. The front door faced south for

maximum sunlight. It had at most one window.

One of the early Scotch-Irish settlements occurred on the Eno River. William Few, 1748–1828, later wrote:

[About 1740, my father] halted in order to explore the country, and being pleased with the soil and climate, purchased lands on the banks of the river Eno, in the county of Orange. Those lands were in their natural state. Not a tree had been cut. . . . In that country, at that time, there were no schools, no churches or parsons, or doctors or lawyers; no stores, groceries or taverns. (Few 1820 in Dula 1979)

John Anderson, a 6th great-grandfather, and his wife Ann Moore moved to North Carolina during 1738–1739 winter. Their plan was to settle near either Yadkin or Catawba River. In progress, they learned of a smallpox outbreak at those locations. Consequently, they moved east and settled where the two forks of Eno River combine. Eno River was named for local Oenock Indians. Being one of the first settlers in that area, John Anderson became a prominent resident. Eno Presbyterian Church was established in his home (Ellis, Ellis and Hughes 1955).

Alexander Mebane I, an Anderson-related 6th great-grandfather, moved his family from Pennsylvania to North Carolina about 1748. His brother William Mebane II moved his family further west to Buffalo Creek in present-day Guilford County (Mebane 1999, 80). Additional information about Mebane and Anderson families is in (Holmes n.d.) and (Mebane 1999).

Note: County government, Sheriff

Local governments were modeled on English county government. Freemen voted for justices of the peace among candidates selected by the colonial Assembly, or legislature. These justices of the peace selected one of themselves as sheriff, subject to the Assembly’s approval. The sheriff was the county’s chief executive and had wide authority. His principal responsibility was to enforce justice of the peace rulings as warrant and summons officer with power to appoint armed deputies. He was also jailer, tax collector, elections supervisor, and militia leader. This collusion between Assemblymen and local officials led to oligarchy. Two-thirds of Assemblymen were also justices of the peace. The corrupting system was called “courthouse ring.” (Robinson 1963, 55).

On 31 March 1752, Orange County was established. It was named for William of Orange, the liberator of Ulster in 1689. The new country extended to the Virginia border.

In 1751, Alexander Mebane I was an Anson County justice of the peace. In 1752, he was appointed Orange County’s first sheriff.

Note: Roadside Inns called “Ordinaries”

County government licensed roadhouse inns, each called an “ordinary” since it was regulated by ordinance. Fixed prices for lodging, dinners, liquor, horse stabling, and pasturage protected new immigrants from price gouging. But prices were high enough to make ownership very profitable. Guests, although strangers, might share the same room and bed.

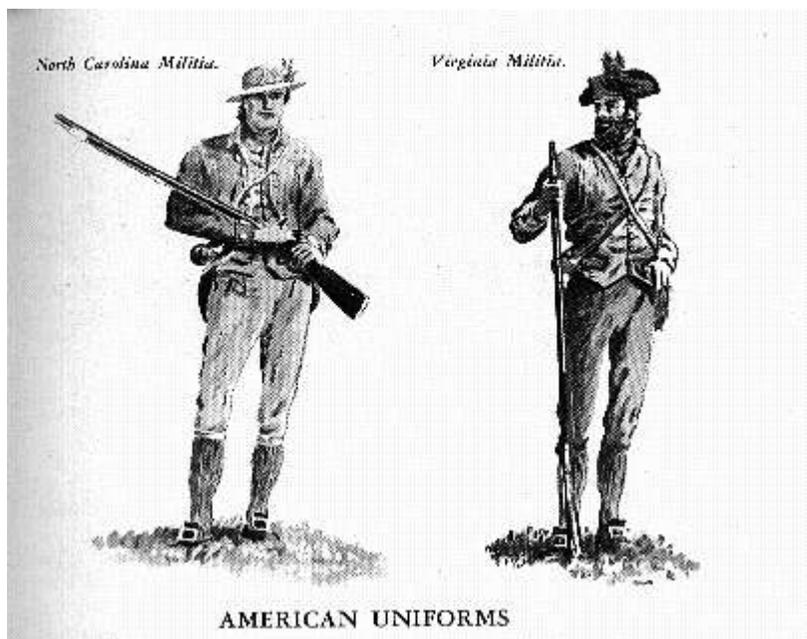
In 1752, Moravian Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg explored the Piedmont for a suitable community site. Because this trip was commissioned, he wrote a detailed log. In 1753, Moravians purchased and settled on 100,000 acres that they called Wachovia, the Latin word for the Wachau Valley, the homeland of their leader Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760) in present-day Austria. The first village was Bethabara [pronounced Beth-thab-bar-ra]. Soon afterwards, Salem was established along a major tributary of Yadkin River. Moravians stressed community and cooperation. Their good deeds were highly respected by other immigrants.

While in route in 1752, Bishop Gottlieb Spangenberg, stopped at Alexander Mebane I’s Hawfields roadhouse inn, then called an “ordinary.” His expenses were 10 shillings and 6 pence (Troxler and Vincent 1999, 45).

In 1918, Mary Louise McGuire was a teacher at Salem School. She described how Salem church bells ran on World War I Armistice Day, 11 November 1918.

Note: Militia

The militia was a local defense system based on an English feudal tradition that began with the 1181 *Assize of Arms*. It required service of every able-bodied male age 16–60. Each man kept a musket, balls, and gunpowder. The local militia unit drilled a few times each year. During times of alarm, some militiamen drilled frequently and maintained a heightened state of readiness. They were called *Minutemen*. Typically, militiamen elected their officers, whose names were submitted to the Assembly and finally the Governor for commissions. Militia rank did not necessarily imply special military training or experience. A civic leader who could assemble militia soldiers or had special business skills was assigned rank. Militia leaders studied published British Army drill manuals. Reference (Wilbur 1993) illustrates life of a typical militiaman. He did not wear a uniform, but his own leather hunting coat over cotton or wool clothing that included a loose-fitting shirt, knee britches, leggings, and round hat with brim pinned on one side so as not to interfere with a shoulder-carried musket or rifle. In addition, he carried a cartridge box, leather or wood canteen, blanket, and haversack. The standard military weapon was the 9.5-pound *Brown Bess* musket. That nickname arose in the early 1700s when it replaced an older musket with stock painted black. Musket use created the expressions “lock, stock, and barrel,” “half-cocked,” and “flash in the pan.” However, many militia armories had fewer muskets than militiamen. So, a militiaman might use his hunting rifle. The American-made Deckard rifle was the best at that time. Its nickname was Kentucky long rifle. While in the field, militiamen cooked their own meals in small groups. They ate two meals a day, breakfast and dinner, unless marching when they pre-cooked food for several days. They typically ate corn meal, beans, and chicken, beef, or pork cooked on a skewer.



From Guilford Courthouse National Military Park Web Page

Although Catawba and other Piedmont Indian tribes were allied with colonists, their condition deteriorated, especially by smallpox. Epidemics in 1738 and 1759 reduced Catawba Indian population to less than 1000 with only 200 fighting braves. In 1759, to avoid smallpox at the Sugar Creek village, Catawba King Haigler established a new village where Twelve-Mile Creek joins the Catawba River (Merrell, *The Indians' New World, Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* 1989, 195). In 1760, he skillfully negotiated with both North and South Carolina colonial governments to legally establish the Catawba Nation boundary on a 15-mile square. Catawbas became landlords collecting rents from settlers. A fort was built at present-day Fort Mill, South Carolina, for protection against other Indians

and to free braves for soldier duty. By agreement, Catawba Nation was to remain entirely in South Carolina. A corner of this square is evident today in a right-angle notch along the state boundary immediately west of Pineville, North Carolina. After King Haigler was killed by Shawnee raiders in 1763, no effective Catawba leadership emerged. In 1840, all but 600 acres of the Nation were sold to the South Carolina government (Merrell, *The Indians' New World, Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* 1989, 249).

During the early 1900s, the father of Dr. Robert Ashe Moore, uncle of Chris Evans Folk, Sr., established Ashe Brick Company near this Twelve-Mile Creek site.

The *Dunkards* religious sect arose in Germany in 1708. They practiced triple total immersion baptism to imitate original Christians. They were pacifists to the extent that they rejected courts to settle disputes. Later, they merged with Moravians.

In the 1730s, Englishman John Wesley, influenced by Moravian beliefs and policies, appealed to middle-class workers alienated by Anglican Church formalities. During 1736–1737, he was rector of Christ Episcopal Church in Savannah, Georgia. There he instituted Sunday school and published the first hymnal in the colonies. In the 1790s, his followers formed the *Methodist Church*. Using similar methods, Jonathan Edwards formed the *Congregationalist Church* in America.



Christ Episcopal Church
Savannah, Georgia
John Wesley rector 1736–1737.

Similarly, during mid 1700s, the Presbyterian *New Side* movement appealed to rural less-educated churchgoers. The newly published *Watts Hymnal* contained hymns not based on psalms. This disturbed traditional Presbyterians. For example, about 1800, in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, traditionalists departed Providence Presbyterian Church and formed Sardis Presbyterian Church (Foote 1846, 249). Even today, Presbyterian hymnbooks reflect this history. A large section contains psalm-based hymns that predate 1800.

In 1754, Arthur Dobbs, an Ulster politician, was appointed North Carolina colonial governor. He encouraged settlement by more Ulstermen. His residence and seat of government was Brunswick Town near the Cape Fear River mouth.



Original Saint Philip's Anglican Church
Governor Arthur Dobbs' burial site.
Brunswick Town, North Carolina

In 1754, where the Indian Trading Path crosses the Eno River, William Churton surveyed 400 acres for a new town in the newly established Orange County. It became the capital of the backcountry. It was called Corbintown, and later Hillsborough. (Dula 1979, 15)

On 1 October 1754, in court held at Eno, “Grand Jury Impannelled and sworn to wit – John Anderson, ... John Tinnen, Cairns Tinnen ...” (Orange County Inferior Court 1756–1758, 21:41)

The 1755 Orange County Tax List shows John Anderson household with 4 White males and no slaves. Presumably, these 4 were father John and three sons age 21 or older: William, James, and David. (Orange County 1755)

On 10 June 1755, in court held at house of James Watson, “John Anderson was appointed Constable in the room of Thomas Wilkinson” (Orange County Inferior Court 1756–1758, 30:60)

During 1755–1756, Presbyterian minister Hugh McAden toured much of settled North Carolina and South Carolina. He wrote a detailed journal.

On Friday 8 August 1755, Hugh McAden stopped at John Anderson’s home. On Sunday 10 August, he preached “to a set of pretty regular Presbyterians,” who appeared to him to be in a cold state of religious feeling. “In the evening returned to Mr. Anderson’s; here I tarried till Tuesday, the 12th of August; preached again to the same company.” On Wednesday 20 August 1755, after a side trip, Hugh McAden returned to John Anderson’s home. On Friday 22 August, he rode “to the Hawfield’s, where I preached the fourth Sabbath in August, to a considerable large congregation, chiefly Presbyterians, who seemed highly pleased and very desirous to hear the word. Preached again on Tuesday; the people came out to hear quite beyond expectation. Wednesday, set out upon my journey, and came to the Buffalo Settlement, about thirty-five miles; lodged at William Mebane’s till Sabbath day; then rode to Adam Michel’s where I preached;” (McAden 1755 in Foote 1846, 166). McAden’s diary allegedly indicates that he baptized the children of Alexander Mebane I on 19 August 1755 at Hawfields.

On Sunday 12 October 1755, Hugh McAden rode seven miles to Justice [William] Alexander’s, “when I preached in the afternoon, a considerable solemnity appeared.” On Friday 17 October, he preached at David Caldwell’s, about five or six miles, to a small congregation, and went on to William Alexander’s, and tarried till Sunday 19 October, and then rode about twelve miles to James Alexander’s, on Sugar Creek, and preached—“where there are some pretty serious, judicious people—may the Lord grant his blessing!” (McAden 1755 in Foote 1846, 168). Then McAden traveled to Broad River in South Carolina. On Sunday 30 November, during his return, he stopped at James Alexander’s and preached. He then proceeded twelve miles to Justice [William] Alexander’s on Rocky River (McAden 1755 in Foote 1846, 170).

On Thursday 22 April 1756, Hugh McAden returned to Eno River and home of John Anderson, “who seemed very joyful to see me returned so far back again.” McAden tarried till Sunday and preached. He preached Tuesday 27 April at Hawfields and Wednesday 28 April at Eno (McAden 1756 in Foote 1846, 174). John Anderson died later that year (Orange County Inferior Court 1756–1758, Fol47p94). In September 1757 and again on 12 December 1758, Orange County renewed his wife, Ann Moore’s, license to operate a roadside inn, called an ordinary (Orange County Inferior Court 1756–1758, Fol61p122, Fol16p169).

Apparently, John Anderson died before December 1756 when in court held at Courthouse in Corbintown, “Ann Anderson and [son] John Anderson, Administrators of John Anderson, dec., filed an Inventory of the estate.” (Orange County Inferior Court 1756–1758, 47:94)

In September 1757, in Orange County Court, “Mrs. Ann Anderson’s license to run an Ordinary in Corbintown renewed. Her securities: Thomas Lapsley [Lapsley] and James Taylor.” (Orange County Inferior Court 1756–1758, 61:122) Thomas Lapsley was her son-in-law. Did Ann Moore leave her farm to open an “ordinary” business in Corbintown after her husband died and when she was in her 50s? She must have been land-rich. Her land was probably not at risk during the French-Indian War. Was hard-currency “ordinary” business too good to pass up? It would be complicated to set up an “ordinary” inn business in town since it required excess rooms, beds, access to food produce, livestock, stables and forage for travelling horses, etc. She would have to pay for all that in town. On the other hand, if she already had an established farm and a good location along a principal highway, she could have easily

set up an ordinary business at no extra cost. On 12 December 1758, at the Courthouse in Corbintown, “Ann Anderson’s Ordinary license renewed. Securities: Alex. Mebane, Wm. Reed, Esq.’s.” (Orange County Inferior Court 1756–1758, 16:169) This was the last court entry for Ann Moore. She may have died in 1759 or soon afterwards.

Since 1663, Carolina colonial governments tolerated any religion since the primary objection was to encourage immigration. The earliest Scotch-Irish settlements in the Piedmont were too isolated to be influenced by the coastal established Anglican Church. Presbyterians built churches and actively sought trained preachers. As the Piedmont became better organized, the established church attempted to assert its authority. Marriages had to occur in an established church. In reaction, many Presbyterians signed *anti-vestry petitions* arguing that rules were too burdensome and illegitimized existing churches.

In 1756, Alexander Mebane I, William Anderson, and other Presbyterians signed Orange County Anti-Vestry Petition. This petition’s text is in (Mebane 1999, 88).

In September 1759, an Orange County Court fined John Tinnin, an Anderson-related 6th great-granduncle, 5 shillings for “contempt of Authority.” (Shields 1990, 56)

1745–1770, Highlander Persecutions

In 1690, King James II lost any chance of regaining the English crown. The main issue was that he was Roman Catholic. His claim was recognized by the Vatican, powerful France, and many British conservatives, including Highland Scots. His Protestant daughters Mary and Anne ruled after him. Although Queen Anne had seventeen children, none survived her. In 1701, the Whig dominated Parliament, fearing that James II’s son James Edward could become king, passed the *Act of Settlement* that made the next monarch German Protestant Electress Sophia of Hanover, a granddaughter of James I. Anne outlived Sophia by 6 weeks. So, on 1 August 1714, the next monarch was Sophia’s son, George. He could not speak English, and relied on translators for his entire reign. Since that time to the present, English monarchs have been from the so-called House of Hanover. During World War I, 1914–1918, the name was changed to House of Windsor to avoid German connotations.

In 1745, Highland Scots opposed to the 1707 union rallied behind Bonnie Prince Charles, grandson of James II, who would otherwise be King of Scotland. Within weeks, Charles gathered up to 8000 soldiers, completely surprising the English. His force was enough to march towards London, but hopelessly inadequate to effect concessions. The English defeated this force on 16 April 1746 at Battle of Culloden. For a few months afterwards, Charles was the target of a large manhunt. A £30,000 reward was offered (Foote 1846, 128). Flora Macdonald, age 24, helped him escape between islands in a rowboat while he was disguised as Flora’s maidservant. Ultimately, Charles got to safety in France. Flora was arrested, taken to London, and questioned about her involvement. She told the Prince of Wales that she would do the same for him had she found him in like distress. In the public’s perception, she was innocent and the only redeeming personality in the national tragedy. She cultivated that celebrity status.



Flora Macdonald
Painted by Allan Ramsay, 1749.

King George II pardoned many rebels on condition that they take an oath of allegiance and emigrate to colonial plantations. Among these were the first Highlanders to settle near Cross Creek, present-day Fayetteville, North Carolina (Foote 1846, 129).

After Culloden, firearms were confiscated. Highland culture was curtailed by the *Act of Proscription*. From 1747 until 1781, it was unlawful to wear a kilt or play a bagpipe. On 15 November 1746, James Reid, an unfortunate piper soldier, was executed after a judge accepted the argument that a bagpipe was a weapon. New laws and higher rents cleared Highlanders off their land. They were replaced with sheep, bitterly called “four-legged clansmen.” Affected families were devastated. On the other hand, clearances resulted in better land management. It ended the centuries-old practice of denuding forests, an environmental disaster that remains evident today.

After Culloden, the British Army formed its famous Highland Regiments partly to relieve unemployment. The 42nd Highland Regiment, also known as the Black Watch, attacked Fort Ticonderoga in 1758. It participated at Harlem Heights during the American Revolution in 1776. The 71st Highland Regiment, also known as Fraser Highlanders, was under Cornwallis’ command during 1780–1781 (Brander 1971, 164).

1750–1770, Carolina Piedmont

In February 1764, Orange County Court ordered construction a new road by jurors including 5th great-granduncles James Anderson, David Anderson, Thomas Lapslie, and George Allen. That road may have been 15 miles long. These assignees did the work personally or hired crews.

Ordered that a road from Isaac Lowe’s mill to Alexander Mebane’s mill and from thence to Woody’s Ferry on Haw River be opened ... by the following jurors ... James Anderson, David Anderson, Francis Wilkinson, Thomas Lapsey [Lapslie], James McGown, Thomas Cate, Sr., Thomas Cate, Jr., Robert Cate, Robert Tinnen, George Allen, and Cairns Tinnen, ... (Orange County Court 1777–1788, III:149)

Many Scotch-Irish and Germans settled in the Catawba River valley.

Probably during the 1760s, Jacob Plunk II, a 4th great-grandfather, settled in Catawba River South Fork watershed along with many other German-speaking immigrants. The original Plunk home site was on present-day Old Lincolnton Crouse Road. There is no remaining evidence on the ground. Today, that site is in the yard of 4th-cousin Gary Chapman’s house.



Jacob Plunk II home place site

Plunk Family Cemetery is 0.3 miles away on a picturesque knoll overlooking Indian Creek. It is just north of highway NC150 bridge over Indian Creek near present-day Crouse, North Carolina. A 1930 stone monument commemorates Jacob Plunk II. Its bronze plate was lost and replaced in 2006. In 2007, the cemetery and surrounding property was purchased and donated to the Lincoln County Historic Properties Commission. The original Old Crouse Road is discernable between the graveyard and creek.



Jacob Plunk II Marker, 4 feet high, Crouse, North Carolina

After 1750, new immigrants settled South Carolina Piedmont, especially near Waxhaws and Longs Canes, present-day Abbeville. By 1775, approximately 200,000 Scotch-Irish lived in Virginia or the Carolinas. There were an equal number of Germans. Together, these were approximately half the total populations.

Virginia and Carolina Settlement Approximate Timeline

Starting Year	Cluster Location	State	Group
1663	Pennsylvania	PA	Quakers, Scotch-Irish, German, Amish
1670	Edenton, Halifax, Brunswick	Carolina	English
1670	Charlestown	Carolina	English
1680	New Bern	Carolina	German-speaking Swiss
1714	Germana	VA	German
1730	Shenandoah Valley	VA	Scotch-Irish, German, Mennonite
1735	Upper Pee Dee	SC	Welsh Baptist
1740	Eno River	NC	Scotch-Irish
1750	Hawfields	NC	Scotch-Irish
1750	New Garden, Stinking Quarter Creek	NC	Quaker
1750	Upper Cape Fear River	NC	Highland Scotch
1750	Alamance Creek	NC	German
1750	Waxhaws	NC, SC	Scotch-Irish
1753	Bethabara	NC	Moravian
1760	Mecklenburg	NC	Scotch-Irish
1760	South Fork Catawba River	NC	German
1760	Williamsburg County	SC	Scotch-Irish
1760	Purrysburgh, Savannah River	SC	German-speaking Swiss
1760	Saxe Gotha	SC	German
1760	Dutch Fork	SC	German
1760	Newberry	SC	German
1765	Long Canes	SC	Scotch-Irish
1770	South of Congaree-Santee River	SC	German
1780	Healing Springs	SC	Mennonite

Family ancestors were active in the following churches:

Eno Presbyterian began about 1740 in Orange County. Tradition indicates it was founded in John Anderson's home. In 1754, Thomas Thompson deeded land to John Anderson to erect the first church structure.

It was said that Mr. Thompson wanted to give the land for the church, but [John] Anderson had a knowledge of the law that there must be a consideration of money in the transfer of real estate, so he paid the money and the Deed was made out in his name. (J. H. Anderson 1898, 3)



Eno Presbyterian Church
Original-site marker indicates land deeded to John Anderson in 1754.
Present-day site in Cedar Grove, North Carolina.

Hawfields Presbyterian began in 1755 in Orange County. Mebane family attended. The original site was about three miles east of the current site. It can be seen on the south side of highway I-85 midway between mile marker 155 and 156 as a grove of trees just east of a cell-phone tower. Its cemetery is the burial site of Alexander Mebane I family. Sometime during the 1800s, farmer A. Wilson removed all gravestones and plowed over the graveyard. He was prosecuted (Mebane 1999, 117). The new cemetery is across from the present-day church. It is the burial site of 4th great-grandparents James Anderson and his wife Martha Jane Murray. In 2008, James Anderson's gravestone was attached to a granite base. Their daughter Margaret Anderson and her husband John Scott were buried in this cemetery. William Allen, son of Elizabeth Anderson and George Allen, and his wife Letitia Tate are buried in this cemetery. William Allen is a 1st cousin 6 generations removed.



Hawfields Presbyterian Church
Original-site marker and present-day site. Mebane, North Carolina.

Cross Roads Presbyterian began in 1783. Anderson, Roney, Aldridge families attended. Its cemetery is the burial site of the families of William Anderson, William James Anderson, James Anderson, and William Lee Anderson. These are 3rd great-grandfather through grandfather.



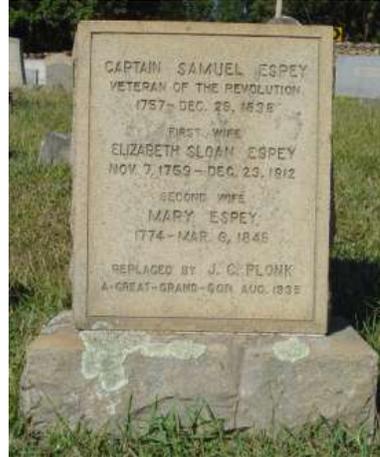
Cross Roads Presbyterian Church
James and Nannie Anderson stain-glass window
Alamance County, North Carolina

Sugaw Creek Presbyterian began in 1755 in Anson County, later Mecklenburg County. Alexander family attended. At that site, the minister directed Sugaw Creek Academy.



Sugaw Creek Presbyterian Church and Academy

Long Creek Presbyterian began in 1780 in Lincoln County, later Gaston County. Espey, Oates, and Plonk families attended. The cemetery contains graves of Samuel Espey, William Oates II, Joseph Calvin Plonk and their families.



Long Creek Presbyterian Church and Captain Samuel Espey grave marker
Gaston County, North Carolina

Saint Mark's Lutheran began in 1805 in Lincoln County, later Gaston County. Plonk and Rudisill families attended.



St. Mark's Lutheran Church
Gaston County, North Carolina

Beginning September 1766, itinerant Anglican clergyman Charles Woodmason served an area within about 40 miles of Camden. He was the first clergyman to preach in that area. Nonetheless, because he was Anglican, some Presbyterians insulted him and annoyed his attempts to hold services. He wrote a private journal. In a January 1767 entry, he described the Waxhaws as fine land, "But it is occupied by a Sett of the most lowest vilest Crew breathing—Scotch Irish Presbyterians from the North of Ireland" (Woodmason 1767, 14). In other journal entries, Woodmason described backcountry settlers in extremely derogatory terms: "the worst Vermin on Earth," "They delight in their present low, lazy, sluttish, heathenish, hellish Life," and "these People despise Knowledge ..." (Woodmason 1767, 50,52). He accused Presbyterians of many tricks: hiring bums to harass him, intoxicating churchgoers before his sermons, bringing 57 fighting dogs to church, stealing the church-door key, terminating his job using a paper note stuck in the pulpit, refusing to sell him food, defaming him by giving his stolen night robe to a prostitute, and without notice, scheduling his appearance at remote sites (Woodmason 1767, 30,45,49). In this private journal, Woodmason had a habit of exaggeration, since most characters he describes were either fine persons or the worst possible. It is possible that his entertaining writing style was modeled on Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*. Most likely, Woodmason saw redeeming qualities in backcountry people since for two years he traveled nearly 6000 miles on horseback to preach, perform communion, marry, and baptize. He even purchased land near Hanging Rock, South Carolina, and planned to retire among these people.

In the 1770s, iron ore was discovered in a deposit that extended from present-day Kings Mountain to eastern Lincoln County. Surface mining extracted iron ore that was used to make tools, household goods, and munitions.



Ormand Iron Furnace, predates 1788
Gaston County, North Carolina

The Plonk-related Oates, Sloan, and Ramseur-related Forney families developed iron foundries.

1754–1763, French and Indian War

During the spring of 1754, Virginians begin to build a trading post near French Fort Duquesne [pronounced Dū·cane], present-day Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In May 1754, 22-year old Captain George Washington's unit of Virginia militiamen attacked a French diplomatic party, killing a French officer. Immediately afterwards, the French sent out a retaliatory force. At a place called the Meadows, Washington had his men build a rude fort, called Fort Necessity. The Americans were outnumbered. A heavy rain disabled all muskets. After Washington signed a surrender agreement, he and his men were allowed to return to Virginia. This event precipitated the *French and Indian War*, or the *Seven Years' War* as it was called in Europe. Britain fought France and Spain. In 1755, Britain sent Major General Edward Braddock into western Pennsylvania to capture Fort Duquesne. Pioneers cut a road through the wilderness to move artillery, equipment, and a four-mile baggage train. Over 200 women cooks, laundresses, and nurses accompanied the army. But French soldiers and their Indian allies ambushed the British. Many British were killed. Washington led a successful withdrawal. When Braddock died a few days later, his body was hidden under the road his men built earlier.



Major General Edward Braddock buried in road.
Colonel George Washington reads from Book of Common Prayer.
Engraving. Artist unknown.

Captain Joseph Motley III, a Plonk-related 5th great-grandfather, was one of the Virginia soldiers under Washington's command at Braddock's defeat (Morehead in Hurt 1976, 98,218).

Braddock's defeat greatly emboldened Indian tribes aligned with France and spread terror among settlers on the frontier from New York to South Carolina. Delaware Indians in Pennsylvania and Shawnees in Ohio retaliated against settler encroachment. In Indian culture, a killed tribesman might necessitate a spiritual replacement, achieved by capturing an individual from the enemy and absorbing him or her into Indian life.

In central Pennsylvania, a Plonk-related 5th great-grandmother Nancy (Ann) Means' second husband was killed and she was held hostage for three years 1756–1759. The *Pennsylvania Gazette*, reported:

On Wednesday 26th May 1756, They [the Indians] came to the Plantation of John Wasson in Peters Township, Cumberland County, whom they killed and mangled in so horrible and cruel manner, that a regard to decency forbids describing it, and afterwards burned his house and carried off his wife. A party of Steele's and Peters' men went out after the enemy, but to no purpose. (Pennsylvania Gazette 1756, 108).

After the Indian raid, authorities were notified. John Potter, Sheriff of Cumberland County, learning from the older children of an uncle, a brother of Nancy Means, living near Newton, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, notified him as follows:

Mr. Robert Means-

These are to certify to you, your brother [in-law], John Wasson, last Wednesday was barbarously killed by the Indians and his wife carried captive, and as the time is so exceedingly dangerous in these parts and no relatives of the orphans here to take care of them, the children desires to go to you; and all things considered, it appears to us most advisable; and with them we send you an account of his estate as it is now situate, his crops in the ground, the young lads can tell you best. His debts appears to be near fifty pounds, and if you incline to administer, send word to come up with the young lads yourself, you being the highest relative. This 29th of May 1756.

John Potter
Will Maxwell
Hez Alexander

William Dunwoddy
Moses Thomson

One of these officials was Hezekiah Alexander who later moved to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, and became a justice of the peace. He is a McGuire-related 2nd cousin 7 generations removed. He is mentioned again in this document.

Pennsylvania Lieutenant Governor James Hamilton negotiated with Delaware Indian Chief Teedyuscung [pronounced Tē·dē·us·kung] to release her and three other hostages.

In November 1951, while digging a ditch along the South Penn railroad on his farm, one and a half miles northwest of Williamson, Pennsylvania, Elmer C. Myers uncovered the skeleton of a man, believed to be that of John Wasson. Dr. William E. B. Hall, Chambersburg Hospital pathologist, who examined the remains immediately after they were found, reported that the man was brutally attacked with both a tomahawk and war clubs. Marks on the skull and other indications pointed to a violent death; ribs were fractured by blows to the body, and one of the skeleton's arms was broken by twisting. The discovery of the skeleton prompted research into the life of John Wasson and it was learned that he had taken up residence on the farm in Peters Township during the period of the French and Indian Wars. The farm was located only a few miles from the Rev. John Steele's church at Church Hill, near the present village of Lemasters.

We descend from Nancy Means' daughter Jane Sloan, 1744–1818, from her first marriage to William Sloan who died before 1744.

Iroquois Indians aligned with Britain and attempted to strengthen their nation at the expense of other tribes. But except for the Mohawks, their support was weak after British defeats. In 1756, the French, under General Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, captured Fort Oswego. In August 1757, he captured Fort William Henry and renamed it Fort Ticonderoga. On 8 July 1758, Britain lost 2000 soldiers in a failed attack on Fort Ticonderoga. Three years of dreadful British defeats forced a new government. The new Prime Minister William Pitt began massive military spending. He partly justified policies as benefiting the world by spreading the ideals of British *Liberty* and constitutional government.



Prime Minister William Pitt
Painted by William Hoare, 1756.

In 1759, Britain war success exceeded all expectations. On 18 September, at Quebec, Major General James Wolfe drove French soldiers from Canada. Many other victories occurred around the world. The year 1759

became known as “annus mirabilis,” year of miracles. Incidentally, Queen Elizabeth II used the opposite expression “annus horribilis,” when she described 1992.

In this hopeful time, George III, at age 23, became king when his grandfather George II died on 25 October 1760. Both he and his recently married Queen Charlotte were coronated on 22 September 1761. A golden gilded carriage built for his coronation is used today by the monarch to open Parliament and other state ceremonies.



King George III
Painted by Allan Ramsay, about 1761.

War reached South Carolina in January 1760, when Cherokees, urged by the French, attacked backcountry settlements, killing and mutilating adults and scalping children. South Carolina House of Commons set bounties on Cherokee scalps. The 10 November 1763 *Treaty of Augusta* pushed the Cherokee boundary westward.

At war’s end in 1763, Spanish Florida became a British possession. In an attempt to resolve the Indian land problem, George III announced the *Proclamation of 1763*. It prohibited further settlement west of the Alleghenies.

Ironically, Britain’s success undermined its influence among North Americans. The departure of French and Spanish soldiers made North Americans less dependent on Britain’s military protection. Indians that aligned with France were marginalized. The younger generation who wanted to acquire large farms resented the restrictive Proclamation of 1763. Military experiences of young Americans, like George Washington, provided a cadre of trained officers. The war’s heavy debt forced Britain to search for ways to raise revenue by taxing colonists.

[The French and Indian War affected most lives in North America. The following table lists family relations with known military service or impact.](#)

French and Indian War Impact

Name	Relation	Service and Notes
Joseph Motley III	5GGFather	Captain, George Washington's Virginia militia, Braddock's Defeat
Nancy Means	5GGMother	Abducted by Indians for 3 years.
Hezekiah Alexander	2 nd cousin 7x removed	Forced to abandon home in western Pennsylvania.

1763–1770, Mecklenburg and Tryon Counties

Large concentrations of Scotch-Irish settled in part of Anson County that became Mecklenburg County. One community positioned itself on a hilltop ridge between two parallel creeks, later named Irwin Creek and Little Sugar Creek. The latter was named for Sugaree Indians. The road to Anson County courthouse was called Lawyers Road. After 11 December 1762, when Mecklenburg County was formed, Thomas Polk promoted his community as the new county seat. A courthouse and jail was quickly constructed. The name Charlotte was selected to solicit favorable recognition from the colonial government. Princess Charlotte Sophia, from Mecklenburg-Strelitz, Germany, became King George III's wife in 1761. Their recent coronation and youth made them popular. The name Charlotte was thought to be "pretty and euphonious."



Queen Charlotte, Age 17

The History of Vandalia, volume 3, plate after page 52, Thomas Nugent, London, 1766–1773.

Land disputes occurred throughout the backcountry. On 6 March 1765 in Mecklenburg County, a severe riot resulted in injuries. It became known as the *Sugar Creek War*. (Blackwelder 2005). The altercation may have occurred on the headwaters of McMullen Creek near present-day Sharon Memorial Park.

On 22 May 1767, North Carolina colonial governor William Tryon passed through Charlotte on the way to negotiate a boundary treaty with Cherokee chief *Jud's Friend* on the Tyger River in South Carolina (Davidson 1951, 22).

Lieutenant Colonel Moses Alexander, a McGuire-related 5th great-granduncle, commanded the Mecklenburg County militia. He and some of his men accompanied Governor Tryon (Preyer 1987, 54). Also, Lieutenant William Lee Davidson from Rowan County militia participated. Later that year, on 10 December 1767, he married Mary Brevard, a McGuire-related 5th cousin 4 generations removed (Davidson 1951, 22).

On 7 November 1768, Charlotte was incorporated after Lord George August Selwyn sold 360 acres to trustees Abraham Alexander, Thomas Polk, and John Frohook. This property was divided into half-acre lots for homes. In August 1769, when colonial governor William Tryon visited Charlotte, the local segment of Great Wagon Road was named *Tryon Street*. The perpendicular Indian trading path was named Trade Street. The original log courthouse was in the intersection of Tryon and Trade Streets. Its ground floor was a community market place. In 1774, a more permanent courthouse replaced it. In 1771, *Queens College* was constructed two blocks away at the southeast corner of Tryon and Third Street, presently occupied by *Two Wachovia Center* building. It was the first college south of Virginia. Trustees were educated or capable individuals like Hezekiah Alexander and Abraham Alexander. The new college had Alexander MacWhorter as president. Dr. Ephraim Brevard taught science and medicine. Trustees applied for a charter from the government in London with colonial governor Josiah Martin's support. The application stated that the college president must be Anglican, but the 3 or less teachers need not be. Several months later, London denied the charter, fearing the college would encourage Presbyterian dissent. The decision was unworkable since no Anglican teachers were available. The college continued to operate without a charter under the name *Queens Museum* until 1776 when it was renamed *Liberty Hall Academy*. It had approximately 80 students.



Opposite sides of Liberty Hall Monument
Trustees listed include Isaac Alexander, Thomas Polk, Abraham Alexander, Ephraim Brevard, and John McKnitt Alexander.

Abraham Alexander and John McKnitt Alexander are McGuire-related 2nd cousins 7 generations removed. Ephraim Brevard is a McGuire-related 5th cousin 4 generations removed. Thomas Polk is 7th great-granduncle of Arabelle Boyer.

On 10 April 1769, Tryon County was formed from Mecklenburg County, separated by the Catawba River. Life on the frontier was rough. In 1910, historian Alfred Nixon wrote:

At July Term, 1770, “Thomas Camel came into court and proved that the lower part of his ear was bit off in a fight with Steven Jones, and was not taken off by sentence of law; certified by whom it may concern.” At a later term, “James Kelly comes into open Court of his own free will and in the presence of said court did acknowledge that in a quarrel between him and a certain Leonard Sailor on the evening of the 2nd day of June, 1773, he did bite off the upper part of the left ear of him, the said Leonard Sailor, who prays that the same be recorded in the minutes of the said court.” This confession gave James Kelly such standing in the esteem of his Majesty's Justices that at the same term it was “ordered by the Court that James Kelly serve as constable in the room [instead] of George Trout and that he swear in before Thomas Espy, Esq.” (Nixon 1910).

Justice Thomas Espy is a Plonk-related 5th great-grandfather.

1768–1771, Regulator Rebellion

During the 1760s, abusive Granville officials charged exorbitant fees for land transactions.



John Carteret, Lord Granville
Painted by William Hoare, circa 1750.

Powerful colonial Assemblymen colluded with them. In reaction, some backcountry settlers planned to “regulate” their own affairs. In 1768, they established a *Regulator Association*. Its written agreement states, “An officer is a servant of the publick, and we are determined to have the officers of this county under a better and honester regulation than any have been for some time.” (Hatch 1969, 3). They attempted to work within the government by electing new Assembly representatives, but Governor Tryon frustrated corrective reform. Soon all officials associated with the Assembly, including appointed justices of the peace, were suspect. In addition, backcountry men resented a special tax to construct a lavish governor’s palace in New Bern. On 22 September 1770, rioters interrupted a Hillsborough trial and whipped several justices of the peace.

Orange County justice of the peace Michael Holt II, an Anderson-related 5th great-granduncle, was whipped (Troxler and Vincent 1999, 74).

This rebellion led to Battle of Alamance on 16 May 1771. Governor Tryon was present and read the Riot Act, a 1715 British law that formally notified insurgents to disperse within one hour or be fired on. He also demanded that Regulators turn over their leaders for arrest. After a full day of negotiations, Tryon personally killed one Regulator negotiator, Robert Thompson. A general engagement followed. Regulators were dispersed. What started as a legitimate grievance against venal officials ended with several deaths. On

9 June, Tryon overreacted by hanging six Regulator leaders in Hillsborough (Dula 1979, 16). Some Regulators escaped over the mountains to western North Carolina, present-day Tennessee. Resentment made the Piedmont a region of rebellion. Three months later, Tryon became New York Governor. The new North Carolina Governor, Josiah Martin, tried to reconcile differences. Five years later, many Regulators were leaders on both sides of the Revolutionary War. Of 883 known Regulators, 289 became Whigs, 34 became Tories, and 560 are unknown (Robinson 1963, 64).

John Tinnin, an Anderson-related 6th great-granduncle, supplied the Governor’s forces with a wagon and 4 horses (Conolly 2008).

Adam Alexander, a McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, of Mecklenburg was a prominent anti-Regulator. He commanded a company under General Hugh Waddell in supporting Governor Tryon (Alexander 1902, 104).

William “Black Billy” Alexander, a McGuire 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, was a fanatic Regulator. He led 9 fellow Rocky River Presbyterian Church members who painted their faces black and then intercepted wagons of gunpowder heading for General Waddell at Salisbury. They destroyed this gunpowder in a tremendous explosion. Because of this exploit, he got the nickname “Black Billy.” (Hunter 1877, 115). Later, during the Revolutionary War, he became a prominent patriot military leader. He is Arabelle Boyer’s 1st cousin 8 generations removed.

The following table lists family relations with known Regulator Rebellion participation. Mebane information is from (Mebane 1999, 90–94).

Regulator Rebellion Participants

Name	Side	Relation	Activities and Notes
William Mebane	Reg	6GGUncle	
Alexander Mebane I	Anti	6GGFather	Colonel
William Mebane	Anti	5GGUncle	Broken gun at Alamance
Alexander Mebane II	Anti	5GGUncle	Captain. Public debt for wagons.
Michael Holt II	Anti	5GGUncle	Justice of peace. Whipped.
John Tinnin	Anti	6GGUncle	Provided wagon and 4 horses
Abraham Alexander	Anti	2 nd cousin 7x removed	
Moses Alexander	Anti	5GGUncle	Colonel. Commanded Mecklenburg militia.
Hezekiah Alexander	Anti	2 nd cousin 7x removed	
Adam Alexander	Anti	3 rd cousin 6x removed	
William “Black Billy” Alexander	Reg	3 rd cousin 6x removed	Blew up gunpowder wagons.

Interestingly, Hermon Husband, one the Regulator leaders fled to western Pennsylvania where his name reappeared in 1794 as a rebel during the Whiskey Rebellion. He was tried for treason and sentenced to death, but pardoned by President Washington.

Concurrently, South Carolina had a backcountry Regulator movement, but it was independent and did not share leadership with Regulators in North Carolina. It was a law-and-order reaction to widespread lawlessness during 1767–1768. The South Carolina colonial government was ineffective in providing security. So, using vigilante methods, backcountry settlers took control and drove criminals away. Afterwards, these Regulators overreacted against all perceived “lower sorts.”

Neither North Carolina nor South Carolina Regulator movement was about representation or independence, the issues that induced the Revolutionary War 1775–1783. Nonetheless, allegiance oaths and personal animosities did persist into the American Revolution.

1770–1775, Highlander Immigration

During persecutions and clearances, Highlanders had good reason to emigrate to the relative freedom of America. They entered at Wilmington, North Carolina, and settled along the upper Cape Fear River, but downstream of the Piedmont. So ironically, Scotland's Lowlander descendants and Scotland's Highlanders exchanged relative elevations in the Carolinas. Both groups were Presbyterian.

During 1770–1775, Highlander emigrants included *tacksmen*, farm overseers whose status was immediately below clan chief. They reluctantly left Scotland because of economic necessity and intended to maintain strong ties with their homeland. Most families had long military traditions. Thus, they were naturally loyal to Britain. They certainly underestimated the dangerous place they entered. This group included Flora Macdonald and her husband Allan Macdonald. In 1774, they settled along Cheek Creek on present-day Loving Hill Road in Montgomery County, North Carolina. She and her husband were active loyalists during the American Revolution. For their stand, their property was confiscated and she went into hiding. Two sons died while serving in the British military. Eventually, she returned to Scotland, where she and her husband lived with relatives until their deaths in the early 1790s. She was a quixotic character and personification of the doomed Highlander (Celtic vestige) way of life. Her gravestone inscribes Dr. Samuel Johnson's epitaph, "Her name will be mentioned in history, and if courage and fidelity be virtues, mentioned with honor."

Flora Macdonald College in Red Springs, North Carolina, was named for her in 1914. In 1961, it was incorporated into Saint Andrews Presbyterian College in Laurinburg, North Carolina. Reference (MacLeod 1995) contains details.



Flora Macdonald College
Red Springs, North Carolina

[Relatives Caroline Edith Roney, Caroline Mae Roney, and Ruth Plonk attended Flora Macdonald College.](#)

When Highland culture prohibitions were lifted in 1781, even Lowland Scots reacted by accepting kilt and bagpipe as cultural icons. A dance called *Seann Triubhas* (Kicking Off Old Trousers) was created to celebrate this event.

Today, *Seann Triubhas* is used in Scottish dance competition. Daughters of Ray and Nancy Kimsey are champion Scottish dancers who compete across the United States and Canada. Megan Kimsey competes now. Her older sister Erin Kimsey competed in prior years.

1765–1766, Stamp Act

The Seven Years' War left Britain in deep debt. Consequently, it raised taxes. It felt that Americans should share these taxes since they benefited greatly from the war's victory.

On 22 March 1765, Parliament passed the Stamp Act, a fee tax on many legal documents. It was extremely unpopular in the colonies. After Secretary of State William Pitt managed its repeal on 18 March 1766, South Carolina erected a statue in Charlestown. Its inscription reads:

In Grateful Memory of His services to His country in General And to America in particular, The Commons House of Assembly of South Carolina unanimously voted This Statue of The Right Hon. William Pitt, Esq. Who gloriously exerted himself In Defending the Freedom of America, The True Sons of England, By Promoting a Repeal of the Stamp Act in the year 1766. Time Will sooner Destroy This mark of their esteem Than Erase from their minds their just sense Of His Patriotic Virtue.

The statue, less both arms, stands today. Charles Pratt, Lord Camden, also worked to repeal the Stamp Act. For him, the town Pine Tree Hill, South Carolina, was renamed Camden.

In 1766, Corbintown, North Carolina, changed its name to Hillsborough, in recognition of Wills Hills, Lord Hillsborough, the head of British Board of Trade and soon afterwards, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

1775–1783, American Revolution

Conditions that induced the American Revolution developed over many years. Beginning 7 September 1774, the First Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia to deliberate relations with Great Britain. Reconciliation was the first objective. In England, William Pitt attempted reconciliation. On 20 January 1775, Pitt, while sick, pleaded in the House of Lords,

I contend not for indulgence, but justice to America. ... Let the sacredness of their property remain inviolate; let it be taxable only by their own consent, given in their provincial assemblies, else it will cease to be property. ... [American] resistance to your acts was necessary as it was just; and your vain declarations of the omnipotence of Parliament, and your imperious doctrines of the necessity of submission, will be found equally impotent to convince, or to enslave your fellow-subjects in America. ... Look at the papers transmitted [to] us from American; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. ... For solidity of reasoning ... and wisdom of conclusion ... no nation, or body of men, can stand in preference to the general Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your Lordships that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be in vain, must be fatal. We shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract when we can, not when we must.

This exhausting speech caused Pitt to collapse (Beloff 1960, 189–190,194). The 19 April 1775 British raid on Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts outraged most Americans. The Second Continental Congress convened on 10 May 1775. It directed each state to contribute regiments of soldiers for the war effort. The army outside Boston was called *The Army of Observation*.

It is convenient to separate American Revolutionary War into North and South because of the 1778 shift in Britain's strategy. At first, Britain attempted to suppress rebellion in the North by controlling the Hudson River and thereby divide the colonies. But after that strategy resulted in a stalemate, Britain tried to reestablish loyalist governments in the South.

Veteran Pension Applications

On 7 June 1832, United States Congress passed a law awarding pensions to all living Revolutionary War veterans. Each applying veteran testified in court about his service, including details about time, place, battles, officers, units, commissions, and discharges. Collaborating witnesses testified. Excerpts from these applications appear throughout this document.

1775, Scotch-Irish Sentiment, Mecklenburg Resolves

Of all groups, Scotch-Irish were the strongest supporters of the American Revolution. In some respects, the war was a continuation of anti-government tension between Scotland and England. Even nicknames *Whig* and *Tory* transferred. Originally, Whig meant a Presbyterian guerrilla fighter, and Tory meant an Irish bandit, or worse, king supporter. However, American Whigs should not be confused with the British Whig Party, which ironically was the party in power at the time of the American Revolution.

Many Scotch-Irish were former soldiers or at most two generations removed from conflicts in Ireland or Scotland. All landholders wanted legal protection for their property and also lower taxes. On 19–20 May 1775, a group of Mecklenburg's most prominent residents met in Charlotte and signed the *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence*. It was a spontaneous reaction to news of the 19 April British attack on Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts. Allegedly, the declaration was read in public on 20 May 1775, but there was no contemporaneous newspaper report. However, 11 days later, some of the same signers met as a Committee of Public Safety to write the *Mecklenburg Resolves* which was published in the 13 June 1775 edition of Charlestown's *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* and the 23 June 1775 edition of Wilmington's *Cape Fear Mercury*. The Mecklenburg Resolves established a temporary county government. It argued creatively that since the King of England had characterized colonies in a state of rebellion, then local officials were required to establish a new government that could protect lives and property. This legalism provided sufficient cover for those who had taken an oath of allegiance to the King. Either or both documents were taken to North Carolina delegates at Continental Congress in Philadelphia for consideration by all 13 colonies. North Carolina delegates replied that the resolutions were "premature." They were not entered into the proceedings. The 19–20 May 1775 meeting notes were destroyed in a house fire on 6 April 1800, leaving no hard evidence. Modern historical judgment is that, while it may have been a serious proposal by its signers on 20 May 1775, it quickly became a draft resolution. Controversy began in 1819 when Thomas Jefferson called the document "spurious." The still-living signers defended its existence and were consistent on sequence of events. These signers were respected citizens. The controversy distracts from the incontrovertible fact that the 1775 Mecklenburg citizens were extraordinary courageous and serious in effecting independence from Great Britain. Reference (Blythe and Brockman 1961) contains details.

Prominent among signers were several Mecklenburg County Alexanders, including Abraham Alexander, Ezra Alexander, Adam Alexander, Charles Alexander, and Hezekiah Alexander. Samuel Alexander, a 3rd great-grandfather, is related to these Alexanders, but exactly how is a mystery. One family tradition is that his father was Elias Alexander, son of Arthur Alexander who was a contemporary of the signers. Recently, the author found a will of an Arthur Alexander that is consistent with family tradition. Arthur Alexander was the brother of both Abraham and Ezra Alexander and cousin of Hezekiah Alexander. The will indicates that Arthur Alexander died when his children, Elias, Mary, and Ann, were young. He entrusts their care to his widow and two brothers. Some family trees of Alexanders omit Arthur Alexander, but that may be because he died young. Abraham Alexander had a son Elias who lived out his life as a farmer in Mecklenburg County. His birth and death years are identical with Arthur's son Elias in our family tradition. It is not clear if these two Elias' were the same person or if dates were assigned by someone who confused two individuals. In July 2001, Mary Manning Boyer discovered the likely source of this tradition. The writing of Miss Hattie Alexander and Mr. McWhorter says Samuel and Lawson Alexander were sons of Elias Alexander but offers no evidence. Mary Manning Boyer is cited in (Preyer 1987, xii) and recently co-authored a Charlotte history book (Kratt and Boyer 2000).

Another independent source shows Samuel's father as James Alexander II from Spartanburg, South Carolina. He too was related to Mecklenburg Alexanders, but as second cousin. This information is from Alice Grubb who lives on the Roane County, Tennessee, farmland once owned by Samuel Alexander. What is known for certain is that Samuel married Elizabeth Hinton on 22 April 1808 in Logan County, Kentucky and later moved to Roane County, Tennessee, where he lived near other Alexanders, including James Alexander II and his son Lawson Alexander. Samuel's father might be confirmed by investigating Spartanburg County or Logan County records. What evidence exists makes this Alexander connecting more plausible than the above. It is assumed throughout the remainder of this document. However, even this evidence is not conclusive. It is possible that our Alexanders ancestors were not related to the colorful Alexanders from Mecklenburg County.

Mary Louise McGuire in her 1979 "Twigs of the McGuires and Plonks," (L. M. Plonk 1979), was careful not to specify Samuel Alexander's father. She wrote that Samuel, his wife Elizabeth, and daughter Sarah moved from Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, to Roane County, Tennessee, but does not mention her source. The author is sure her knowledge was no more precise, because during the 1950s when her DAR chapter restored the Hezekiah Alexander home, she took the author there and told him there was "some family connection" with Hezekiah Alexander.

Major General William Alexander, one of George Washington top generals, was also related to these Alexanders (Foote 1846, 198) (Hunter 1877, 60). This William Alexander was also known as Lord Sterling, a pre-Revolution title he claimed but could not establish legally.

After the 31 May 1775 Mecklenburg Resolves, colonial governor Josiah Martin abandoned New Bern and resided at Fort Johnston in present-day Southport, North Carolina. A few weeks later, because of danger, he moved offshore onto British warship *Cruizer* anchored in the Cape Fear River. Rebels burned the fort to prevent its reuse. The Assembly declared the Governor abdicated and established, in his place, an emergency executive branch of government named *Provincial Council*. It was a committee. It oversaw and directed all county committees of safety. That included power to activate the militia and commission officers.

Similarly, on 14 June 1775, South Carolina First Provincial Congress creates a Council of Safety. It also directs William Henry Dayton, Richard Richardson, Joseph Kershaw, William Tennent, and Oliver Hart to tour the backcountry to persuade key leaders to support the rebel government.

1775, Tryon County Resolves

Whigs in Tryon County, North Carolina established a *Committee of Safety* on 26 July 1775. It met on 14 August to write an *Association Oath*, sometimes called *Tryon County Resolves*. Like the Mecklenburg Resolves, it empowered an independent local militia. It was not a declaration of independence. Instead, it was conditional, “til a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and American.” It was a test oath that all Tryon County inhabitants were to sign, in effect endorsing the legitimacy of the Committee of Safety.

Resolved, That this Association be signed by the inhabitants of Tryon County, viz:

An Association

The unprecedented, barbarous and bloody actions committed by the British troops on our American brethren near Boston, on the 19th of April and 20th of May, last, together with the hostile operations and traitorous designs now carrying on by the tools of ministerial vengeance and despotism for the subjugating of all British America, suggest to us the painful necessity of having recourse to arms for the preservation of those rights and liberties which the principles of our constitution and the Laws of God, Nature and Nations have made it our duty to defend.

We therefore, the subscribers, freeholders and inhabitants of Tryon County, do hereby faithfully unite ourselves under the most sacred ties of religion, honor and love to our country, firmly to resist force by force in defense of our natural freedom and constitutional rights against all invasions; and at the same time do solemnly engage to take up arms and risk our lives, and fortunes, in maintaining the freedom of our country whenever the wisdom and counsel of the Continental Congress or our Provincial Convention shall declare it necessary; and this engagement we will continue in and hold sacred till a reconciliation shall take place between Great Britain and America on Constitutional principles which we most ardently desire. And we do firmly agree to hold all such persons inimical to the liberties of America who shall refuse to subscribe to this association.

[Signed] John Walker, Charles McLean, Andrew Neel, Thomas Beatty, James Coburn, Frederick Hambricht, Andrew Hampton, Benjamin Hardin, George Paris, William Graham, Robert Alexander, David Jenkins, Thomas Espey, Perrygreen Mackness (Magness), James McAfee, William Thompson, Jacob Forney, Davis Whitesides, John Beeman, John Morris, Joseph Hardin, John Robison, James McIntyre, Valentine Mauney, George Black, Jas. Logan, Jas. Baird, Christian Carpenter, Abel Beatty, Joab Turner, Jonathan Price, James Miller, John Dellinger, Peter Sides, William Whiteside, George Dellinger, Samuel Carpenter, Jacob Mooney, Jr., John Wells, Jacob Costner, Robert Hulclip, James Buchanan, Moses Moore, Joseph Kuykendall, Adam Simms, Richard Waffer, Samuel Smith, Joseph Neel, Samuel Loftin. (Griffin 1937, 17)

In 1919, a monument commemorating the Tryon County Resolves was erected at the site of the original Tryon County Court House. That location is on highway NC274 about 4 miles south of Cherryville, North Carolina. Before 1779, Tryon County included present-day Lincoln, Gaston, Cleveland and Rutherford Counties.



Tryon County Resolves Historical Marker

Thomas Espey was a Tryon County justice of the peace during 1772–1775. He was a member of the Tryon County Committee of Safety that decreed the Association Oath. Reference (Griffin 1937, 21) indicates he was brother of Captain Samuel Espey who participated in Kings Mountain battle. But that Thomas Espey was at most 16 years old in 1772. His 43-year-old father Thomas Espey was the more likely justice of the peace and signer. He is a Plonk-related 5th great-grandfather.

Jacob Forney I, George Shuford Ramseur, Sr.'s 3rd great-grandfather, was a member of the Tryon County Committee of Safety that decreed the Association Oath.

1775, Committees of Safety members

The following table lists family relations who were members on a Committee of Safety during 1774–1776.

Committee of Safety Participants

Name	Relation	County
Abraham Alexander	2 nd Cousin 7x removed	Mecklenburg, NC
Hezekiah Alexander	2 nd Cousin 7x removed	Mecklenburg, NC
Ephraim Brevard	5 th Cousin 4x removed	Mecklenburg, NC
William Lee Davidson	Husband of 5 th Cousin 4x removed	Rowan, NC
Thomas Espey	5GGFather	Tryon, NC

1775, Boston, George Washington

Outside Boston, on 2 July 1775, George Washington took command of the assembled militia. Patriotism was extremely high. It waned in subsequent years as the war costs increased.



General George Washington
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1780.

1775, Snow Campaign, Norfolk

As in many southern towns, Charlestown, South Carolina, was governed by a rebel committee of safety. Colonel William Moultrie defended Charlestown harbor. Britain provided loyalists and Cherokees with weapons. In November 1775, South Carolina royal governor, William Campbell, incited backcountry loyalists to capture gunpowder supplies at Ninety Six. The attack occurred 19 November. These Tories were derisively called *Scovellites*, named after one of their leaders Joseph Coffel who was regarded as a criminal since the 1767 Regulator movement. In November–December 1775, Scotch-Irish militiamen campaigned against them. These included the Mecklenburg and Rowan County militias led by Colonel Thomas Polk and Colonel Griffith Rutherford respectively. Captain William Lee Davidson led a company of Rowan minutemen as well as served as Rutherford's adjutant. The *South Carolina and American General Gazette* issue of February 1776 reported: "The young ladies of the best families of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, have entered into a voluntary association that they will not receive the addresses of any young gentlemen of that place, except the brave volunteers who served in the expedition to South Carolina, and assisted in subduing the Scovalite insurgents." During this campaign, on 23 December, an extraordinary 2-foot snow fell. So, it became known as the "Snow Campaign."

Captain Adam Alexander, McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, served in Snow Campaign against Scovellites. Private Thomas Alexander, another McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, participated (Hunter 1877, 113). William Polk, son of Colonel Thomas Polk and 1st cousin 8 generations removed of Arabelle Boyer, was an officer in a South Carolina regiment. He was wounded in a skirmish (Rankin 1971, 23).

Since neither patriot nor loyalist militiamen wore uniforms, it became customary for patriots to attach a scrap of white paper to their hats and loyalists to attach an evergreen twig.

In late 1775, Virginia royal Governor Earl of Dunmore encouraged loyalists and slaves to resist. Like the North Carolina royal governor, he took refuge on a British warship. North Carolina Colonel Robert Howe

marched his militia unit to Norfolk, Virginia. On 1 January 1776, British soldiers landed and burned parts of Norfolk.

January–February 1776, Moore's Creek Bridge

Since the summer of 1775, North Carolina colonial governor Josiah Martin planned the recapture of North Carolina. He persuaded British military planners to send a large invasion force to the Cape Fear River. On 10 January 1776, he ordered loyalist militia to march to Wilmington to meet the expected British Navy. Scotland's heroine Flora Macdonald used her social prestige and Gaelic public speaking skills to actively recruit Highland Scot immigrants for the British military. Flora's husband Captain Alan Macdonald was a prominent loyalist militia officer. Only 500 of the 1600 Highlanders had firearms, a residual effect of Scotland's 1746 Act of Proscription. On 27 February, Whigs blocked this march at Moore's Creek Bridge. During the preceding night, Whigs removed approximately half the bridge flooring and greased the remaining with soap and tallow. Without many firearms, Highlanders planned to attack using double-edged broadswords. This ancient tactic failed miserably against muskets and small artillery. The battle was over in 3 minutes.



Reconstructed Moore's Creek Bridge
Near Wilmington, North Carolina

After the battle, escaping Highlanders proceeded towards their homes near Cross Creek, North Carolina, present-day Fayetteville. But in their absence, piedmont Whigs, led by Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Martin and Colonel James Thackston, occupied that town. As many as 500 Highlanders then marched northward along the Cape Fear River eastside. At Black Mingo Creek they were surrounded by mounted Whig militiamen and surrendered. These captives were marched to nearby Smith's Ferry on Cape Fear River. There even more Whigs arrived. All Highlanders were disarmed. Ordinary soldiers took an oath of neutrality and got paroles. Officers, including Captain Alan Macdonald, were arrested and confined at Halifax. For the next two weeks, Whig bands rounded up suspected Highlander loyalists (Hatch 1969, 44–45).

Although Moore's Creek Bridge battle was small and short, it and its aftermath intimidated loyalists throughout both Carolinas. It allowed Whigs to consolidate control of local and state governments. Unchallenged for the next four years, Whigs were strong enough to resist the British Army when it returned in 1780.

Captain Robert Mebane, an Anderson-related 5th great-granduncle, led a militia company of riflemen to Cross Creek and then to Wilmington. Mebane's company was under militia Lieutenant Colonel John Williams of Hillsborough. This unit may have been in Colonel James Thackston's command. Robert Mebane may have participated in capturing escaping Tories at Smith's Ferry where his brother John Mebane was at that time. A John Williams, but not necessarily the same person, was on Colonel Richard Caswell's list of participants at Moore's Creek (Hunter 1877, 125).

In 1832, [Richard Allen testified](#) in his pension application:

On the 13th day of February following, they set out upon their march to Cross Creek or Fayetteville, having understood that the Scotch Tories were committing great depredations in the country round about that place. On their way, they were joined by Col Martin Armstrong with the Surry militia at a place called old Richmond. After joining Col Armstrong, they continued their march until they reached Randolph County where they were joined by Col Alexander Martin of the Continental line, with a small body of troops under his command from thence they pursued their march direct to Cross Creek or Fayetteville. The day before their arrival at that place, a battle had been fought between the Tories under Genl McDonald and the Whig militia under Genl Moore, in which the former were defeated with considerable loss and a great number taken prisoners. The prisoners taken in this engagement were delivered over to Captain Jesse Walton; and his company who were ordered as a guard to convey them to Hillsborough. They immediately set out with the prisoners for that place, but before they reached it, they were met by two companies of Light Horse under the command of Captains Mebane & Shepherd, who took charge of the prisoners, when Captain Walton and his company were discharged and returned home, where they arrived about the 29th of March, having been gone near two months. (Allen, Richard 1832)

Private John Mebane, Robert's younger brother, an Anderson-related 5th great-granduncle, was also in John Williams' unit. His 30 March 1833 [pension application](#) (Mebane, John 1833) indicates that this unit intercepted Tories at Smith's Ferry as they escaped from Moore's Creek. About 300 Tories were captured. Smith's Ferry was on the Cape Fear River just downstream of where Lower Little River joins. Today, Linden, Cumberland County, North Carolina, is the nearest town. Smith's Ferry was later named Dawson's Ferry.

Michael Holt II, an Anderson-related 5th great-granduncle, organized loyalist militiamen in Orange County to support Governor Martin. He was leading these men to Wilmington at the time of Moore's Creek Bridge Battle. Afterwards, he was arrested and held in Halifax. In May 1777, he and about 30 principal Tories were sent to a Philadelphia prison. Holt contrived to make interest with Congress. He was released along with most native-born Americans (Symth in Hatch 1969, 86). By 1780, Holt was home again and cooperated with local Whigs (Troxler and Vincent 1999, 86).

Captain William Bethell, a Motley-related 4th great-grandfather, was in the Guilford County militia and participated in the Moore's Creek Bridge campaign. He was probably in the general activation and not in the actual battle (Rodenbough 1983, 332).

Militia Colonel Adam Alexander, McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, is credited with quelling the February 1776 Highlander uprising. He was probably among the Salisbury District Whigs under Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Martin that occupied Cross Creek.

May 1776, Norfolk

In May 1776, Captain Robert Mebane was in Norfolk protecting that town from British naval attack (NCSR 1896, XXII:114) (Russell 2000, 62–77).

March–May 1776, North Carolina Fourth Provincial Congress

On 12 March, British Navy arrived in the Cape Fear River. For a while, hundreds of British soldiers disembarked on Battery Island, beyond the range of patriot weapons. There they practiced amphibious attacks on Fort Sullivan and Fort Johnson that protected Charlestown's harbor (Rankin 1971, 58).

Battery Island is still uninhabited. It is a large nesting site for seabirds. There, during the early 1960s, William Lee Anderson, Jr. banded young herons and egrets on their nests.

On 26 March 1776, South Carolina Provincial Congress adopted a state constitution ending emergency Committees of Safety. This constitution was not permanent; it would be effective "until an accommodation of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and America can be obtained." John Rutledge was South Carolina's first President.

On 12 April 1776, delegates to the *Fourth Provincial Congress*, meeting in Halifax, unanimously authorized North Carolina's three *Continental Congress* delegates to vote for independence. This was the *Halifax Resolves*. The state flag of North Carolina includes this date and the earlier 20 May 1775 date of the *Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence*.



North Carolina State Flag

Martha Jane Murray, an Anderson-related 4th great-grandmother, was born four days after the *Halifax Resolves*. That made her one of the first Americans who was never a British subject.

Similarly, on 15 May 1776, Virginia Provincial Congress authorized its delegates to vote for independence. The Second Continental Congress voted for independence on 2 July 1776. Two days later on 4 July, it voted to approve the document *The Declaration of Independence of the Thirteen United States*. Formal copies were prepared. Most delegates signed the copies on 2 August 1776. It contains a justification similar to the argument in *Mecklenburg Resolves*, "He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us." Almost half the signers were of Scottish descent. They understood the enemy's language, culture, and military methods. They started this awesome task with resolve and confidence. Most men followed the decisions of their local militia leader.



Lord Frederick North
Prime Minister during American Revolution.
Painted by Nathaniel Dance, 1775.

German immigrants were divided about independence. Some felt compelled to choose a side. Their land titles were contracts with the British government. Recent German immigrants had taken an oath of allegiance. Many had blind trust in their newly adopted and relatively liberal government. They reasoned that King George III was a German, born into the House of Hanover, who made it possible for them to come to America, and he would protect them. Ultimately, many Germans did fight for independence. Quakers, Moravians, and Dunkards had a pacifist tradition that was respected.

July 1776, Declaration of Independence, Continental Army structure

On 2 July 1776, the Continental Congress voted for independence from Great Britain. On 4 July, it approved the *Declaration of Independence*.



Declaration of Independence
Painted by John Turnbull, 1818.

On 9 July, General George Washington ordered his officers to read the Declaration of Independence to all soldiers. He wrote, “that the peace and safety of his Country depends (under God) solely on the success of our arms.” (Fitzpatrick 1932, 3:308). On 16 September 1776, Continental Congress, in its *88 Battalion Resolves*, directed each state to establish, equip, and train a number of regiments proportional to its population. South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia were to raise 6, 9 and 15 regiments respectively (Peterson 1968, 258). These professional soldier units complemented the citizen-soldier militia system. In the Continental Army, the words regiment and battalion were equivalent. By design, each regiment was to have 8 companies, a total of 728 men, but during the war, most regiments were not at full strength, and could function with as few as 150. Each regiment had a chaplain, surgeon, and musicians, especially drummers. By law, each soldier’s ration included 1 pound of beef per day. Each private was paid 6 2/3 dollars per month. Reference (Peterson 1968) displays relics of Continental soldier muskets, rifles, bayonets, swords, cannons, fortification tools, tents, medical tools, music instruments, saddles, and other horse equipment. Reference (Martin 1830) is a well-written diary of an ordinary Continental soldier.

July–October 1776, Campaign against Cherokees

In July 1776, Cherokees, who were encouraged by the British and led by Dragging Canoe, raided throughout western Carolinas, including present-day Tennessee, killing at least 44 settlers. In retaliation, each of the four southern states organized an expeditionary army. Colonel Griffith Rutherford organized a 2000-man army of North Carolinians. This army used no wagons; all provisions were carried by packhorse (Hunter 1877, 177). During September 1776, it destroyed the Cherokee Middle Towns with their crops. That location was between the present-day towns of Cherokee and Murphy, North Carolina. Most Cherokees fled the attack. Some who were captured were sold into slavery (Hatley 1995, 194–197). In early 1777, Cherokees attacked again, but by May, their resistance collapsed. In a 20 July 1777 treaty, Cherokees relinquished most of their lands in the Carolinas. British support of this Indian uprising alienated many backcountry settlers, especially Germans, who otherwise would have been loyalists.

Captain Robert Mebane participated in the Rutherford campaign. He led a company from Charlotte to Quaker Meadows, present-day Morganton, North Carolina (Hunter 1877, 91, 125, 280). Reference (USNC n.d., 74) (Mebane 1999, 124) records his pay.

On 20 August 1776, Major Hugh Tinnin, an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, marched off with Colonel Ambrose Ramsey's First Battalion of Orange County Militia to join Colonel Griffith Rutherford's campaign against the Cherokees (Conolly 2008).

In 1833, [James Jack testified](#) in his pension application:

on the 22nd of next June — that in the spring of the year 1776 he entered the service of the United States at the town of Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, under Captain Robert Mebane [spelled throughout as “Mabin”], commander of a troop of light horse attached to a regiment commanded by Colonel Thomas Polk [spelled throughout as “Poke”] (that Mebane he believes was the son of Colonel Mebane of Hillsboro North Carolina) and came to Charlotte for volunteers; that he with 63 others turned out in one day; that they each found their own horse, saddle and bridle — that from Charlotte, Captain Mebane marched his company and crossed the Catawba [River] and joined six or 700 men at Dutchman's Creek in South Carolina under the command of Major Sumter [spelled “Sumpter” throughout]; that from thence we crossed Board River at Tuckaseegee Ford and from thence we marched to the Golden Grove, where we had an engagement with the Tories and probably some Cherokee Indians. In this engagement we succeeded under the command of Sumter. Immediately after this engagement we marched to the Chalk Bluff on the Savannah River where we remained until the British landed at Savannah. (Jack, James 1833).

In 1832, [Jacob Plunk II testified](#) that he served as a militia private on three occasions for three months each. His first term started about June 1776 in Captain Robert Alexander's company against Cherokees (Plunk, Jacob 1832). That company marched to Monfort's Cove (Hunter 1877, 297). That site is in present-day Rutherford County, North Carolina.

Corporal Samuel Espey, a Plunk-related 4th great-grandfather, volunteered as a ranger against Cherokees. Beginning 10 July 1776, for about one month, he remained at McFadden's Fort. On 19 August, at Moses Moore's home 6 miles from present-day Lincolnton, he joined Captain Peter Carpenter's company in Colonel William Graham's regiment. For there he marched to Pleasant Gardens, on the Catawba River headwaters, and joined Colonel Rutherford's expedition. It crossed the French Broad River and advanced as far as the Little Tennessee River and then returned. Espey was discharged on 6 October. On 6 May 1833, William Graham testified in a Rutherford County court that Espey was a pack horseman in this expedition.

Hezekiah Alexander, a McGuire-related 2nd cousin 7 generations, was a commissary officer during the Cherokee campaign (Preyer 1987, 118).

Colonel Adam Alexander, McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, was ordered by the Mecklenburg Committee of Safety to march the county militia to the Catawba River headwaters (Preyer 1987, 117). William “Black Billy” Alexander, McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, was in Adam Alexander's unit (Hunter 1877, 115). William's brother, Private Thomas Alexander participated (Hunter 1877, 113).

November–December 1776, North Carolina Fifth Provincial Congress

On 24 November 1776, the *Fifth Provincial Congress* in Halifax created three new Continental regiments.

On 27 November 1776, Robert Mebane, an Anderson-related 5th great-granduncle, was commissioned lieutenant colonel in the newly created North Carolina Seventh Regiment (NCSR 1896, X:941). He was second in command under Colonel James Hogun. Reference (Rankin 1971, 87) indicates his rank was major, but does not provide a source.

On 16 December 1776, the Fifth Provincial Congress adopted the first *North Carolina Constitution*. This ended the Provincial Congress and emergency Provincial Council along with all county committees of safety. The new constitution created a bicameral legislature, the office of Governor, Council of State, and judiciary. The lower house was called *House of Commons*, a name that mistakenly suggests pre-Revolution to modern readers. The constitution included a *Bill-of-Rights*. Every free man, who was a resident for at least one year and paid taxes, was entitled to vote. This constitution was not revised until 1835 (Rankin 1959, 23). Section 41 provided “that a School or Schools shall be established by the Legislature for the convenient Instruction of Youth, with such Salaries to the Masters paid by the Public, as may enable them to instruct at low Prices; and all useful Learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more Universities.” Actual establishment occurred later during 1789–1794.

It took considerable courage to participate in creating a new government in December 1776 when the war's outcome was uncertain. At that time, a federal government was not contemplated. So, creating an

independent state government was a final irreversible affront against Britain authority. Creators of the government realized every part of their personal future was at risk.

Alexander Mebane II, a 5th great-granduncle, was an Orange County delegate in the Fifth Provincial Congress. At that time he was a justice of the peace. In 1777, he was Orange County sheriff, the same office his father held in 1752. During the Revolutionary War, he was Hillsborough District militia commissary officer. In 1767, he married Mary Armstrong, a Whitted-Bird-Armstrong-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed. Thus Mary is both a cousin and a 5th great-grandaunt by marriage.



Alexander Mebane II and wife Mary Armstrong
Photographs of original portraits, Holmes Papers #4587, Southern Historical Collection,
Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Used with permission.
Images provided by Robert M. Mebane (Mebane 1999).

Hezekiah Alexander, a McGuire-related 2nd cousin 7 generations removed, was a Mecklenburg County delegate in the Fifth Provincial Congress (Preyer 1987, 130–135).

August–September 1776, New York

During 1775–1776, Britain concentrated the war effort against New England colonies that it regarded as the most rebellious. First, it captured Boston, but then abandoned it in favor of New York City. During the summer and autumn 1776, Washington attempted to hold Long Island, New York City, and the lower Hudson River.

On 27 August 1776, Private Patrick McGuire, a Pennsylvania Continental soldier, participated in the Battle of Long Island. He was in Captain Francis Murray's company, Colonel Samuel Atlee's "Musketry Battalion." After the battle about a third of his unit was listed missing. A few days later, he was in a hospital at King's Bridge, the north end of Manhattan Island (Pennsylvania State Archives n.d., 5:II:477–480). He may be the same Patrick McGuire of Pennsylvania, a 4th great-grandfather, who had immigrated to America only one year earlier. McGuire-Family genealogist Burris McGuire makes this association (McGuire 1961, 4). However, this Patrick McGuire was probably the Pennsylvania 5th Regiment soldier who died 25 December 1777 at Valley Forge (Valley Forge Muster Roll n.d.). Our ancestor was almost certainly the Patrick McGuire listed with Rangers on the Frontier 1778–1783, Joseph Beckett's Company (Pennsylvania State Archives n.d., 3:XXIII:323). His name appears on the 1788 Huntingdon County tax rolls. Interestingly, the same roll includes Joseph Prigmore, father of Patrick's wife Catherine Prigmore (Pennsylvania State Archives n.d., 3:XXII:330).

After Washington retreated from Manhattan Island, he devised a new strategy. On 8 September, he described it in a letter to Continental Congress. It was:

- Avoid a decisive battle, called at that time a “general action.” Instead the American Army would fight a defensive war. In his words, “we should on all occasions avoid a general action or put anything to the risk, unless compelled by necessity, into which we ought never to be drawn.”
- However, Washington ruled out a pure partisan war. He insisted on maintaining a professional core called *Continental Army*. It bolstered the international status of Continental Congress. It was an entity that Britain would have to destroy to claim victory. It also helped rally less reliable militiamen.

Spring 1777, Quankey Creek

During spring 1777, North Carolina Continental soldiers gathered near Halifax along Quankey Creek. In May, Brigadier General Francis Nash marched most soldiers north to join George Washington’s army. On 21 May, at Alexandria, Virginia, all soldiers who had not had smallpox were inoculated. This treatment transferred pus from a nearly recovered smallpox victim onto a healthy person’s skin. This procedure gave the recipient a mild case of smallpox that lasted 3–4 weeks, and afterwards, lifetime immunity. The regiments then marched to Philadelphia where they were assigned to Major General Nathanael Greene’s division. From there, they were assigned to various camps in New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania. Some officers continued recruiting new soldiers at Quankey Creek during the summer under command of Colonel John Williams (Davidson 1951, 43).

Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane, second-in-command of North Carolina Seventh Regiment, continued recruitment at Quankey Creek during the summer. On 17 July 1777, he wrote a letter to North Carolina Governor Richard Caswell. As might be expected in a letter to a superior, it describes problems and possible solutions.

HALIFAX, July 17th 1777

SIR:—

A return of the success of the 7th Battalion your Excellency will have in the General return from the Commanding Officer, the chief reason given by most of the officers upon the recruiting service for their bad success is want of money, in which I am persuaded there may be some justice. We have numbers of deserters, who I think it will be impossible ever to have brought in, unless officers are sent on purpose after them; as they generally live too obscure for proclamations or any other offered clemency to reach them, even if we could suppose they were determined to return to their duty. I have, (with the leave of the commanding officer) sent several officers from the 7th Battalion in quest of them. As some officers had not discharged their duty, and in some measure disobeyed orders upon hearing the instructions given by your Excellency (to the Commanding Officer) they beg leave to resign; this indulgence I think may be granted them without any injury to the service. I should be glad, in making future appointments in this Battalion, if agreeable to your Excellency, that Commissions may be granted conditionally, according to the number they recruit. I should also be glad that I may be ordered to march with the first that goes from this place.

I am, Sir, with all possible deference and respect

Your very h^{ble}. serv^t.,

ROBT. MEBANE.

His Excellency Governor Caswell. (Mebane 1777 in NCSR 1896, XI:521).

August–October 1777, Philadelphia, Brandywine, Georgetown

On 22 August when British intentions to attack Philadelphia became clear, Continentals were again united in that city. On 24 August, 16,000 paraded through the city. The next day, they moved to Wilmington, Delaware, to block the British disembarking from the Chesapeake Bay (Rankin 1971, 92–99). The American Army established a defensive position north of Brandywine Creek, Pennsylvania, and met the British Army there on 11 September. The North Carolina Brigade, commanded by Brigadier General Francis Nash, was just upstream of Chadd’s Ford. It formed a reserve behind Nathanael Greene’s division. During the morning hours, Washington expected the British to attack across Chadd’s Ford. But in the afternoon, he discovered the surprising British flanking maneuver occurred on the opposite end. To meet

this threat, Washington ordered Nathanael Greene's division to reposition 4 miles away. Reference (Battle of Brandywine 2002) indicates that this maneuver was executed in 45 minutes. The North Carolina Brigade participated in this maneuver, and met the enemy. However, (Rankin 1971, 105) indicates that it did not participate in direct fighting. The American Army retreated to north of Philadelphia.

Captain James Cox, husband of Mary Alexander, a McGuire-related 5th great-granddaughter, was killed at Brandywine.

On 1 September, from Quaqueen Creek near Halifax, all remaining Continental officers and soldiers, including Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane, began to march north. They joined George Washington's army after Brandywine (Davidson 1951, 44).

George Washington withdrew to a camp northwest of Philadelphia. Continental Congress moved to York, Pennsylvania. On 26 September, British occupied the city, and established its main camp at Germantown. George Washington devised a plan to attack this camp with four independent troop columns that were to converge simultaneously at daybreak 4 October. At first, success appeared likely. But foggy conditions prevented the four American columns from seeing each other. About 120 British soldiers took shelter in a fortress-like stone house. Washington decided to subdue the house rather than bypass it. That wasted valuable time. The delay caused other American officers to believe they were surrounded, and they ordered a withdrawal. Soon all Americans withdrew. Nathanael Greene wrote, Americans "fled from Victory." Nonetheless, British suffered high losses and withdrew from Germantown. Charles Stedman, British officer and later historian, wrote:

It was the general opinion of the officers of both armies, that, had the Americans advanced immediately, instead of attacking the fortieth regiment, the total defeat of the British must have ensued. But the delay occasioned by the several attempts to reduce Chew's House afforded time for the British line to get under arms; and that circumstance was justly considered as the salvation of the royal army. (Stedman 1794, 1:300).

At Germantown, the North Carolina Brigade was in a central attacking column, following Generals Sullivan and Wayne's soldiers (Commager and Morris 1975, 626). It saw heavy fighting when Americans withdrew. Brigade commander Brigadier General Francis Nash was mortally wounded. Later, Georgia Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh assumed temporary command until replaced by North Carolinian Colonel Thomas Clark. No specifics about Robert Mebane's participation are known. His immediate superior, Colonel James Hogun, "behaved with distinguished intrepidity." (Rankin 1971, 168). That evidence helped promote Hogun to brigadier general and brigade commander on 9 January 1779.

Major Thomas Polk II, son of Colonel Thomas Polk and 1st cousin 8 generations removed of Arabelle Boyer, was shot through both jaws, but recovered (Rankin 1971, 118).

Late in 1777, France recognized United States independence and entered the war against Britain. American soldiers camped that winter at Valley Forge, Pennsylvania (Rankin 1971, 90–123). Soldier privations and suffering were astonishing. For example, in late December 1777, of the 1051 North Carolina Continentals, 327 were sick and 164 were unfit for duty for want of clothing (Rankin 1971, 138). While at Valley Forge Washington requested the Continental Congress appoint Major General Marquis de Lafayette commander of a division. Because of Lafayette's heroism at Brandywine and his exemplary character, his appointment was popular among American officers and men. Lafayette was likewise impressed with his Continentals at Valley Forge. He wrote, "The patient fortitude of the officers and soldiers was a continual miracle that each moment renewed." More Valley Forge details are in (Bill 1952).



Major General Marquis de Lafayette
Engraved by George E. Perine.

During December 1777–May 1778, the North Carolina Brigade was at Valley Forge under the American division commanded by Lafayette. Its camp was close to Washington’s headquarters. Since Robert Mebane’s responsibilities were two levels below division level, he did not take orders directly from Lafayette or Washington. But during his long service, he likely interacted with most principal military leaders.

January–May 1778, Oath of Allegiance, French Alliance, Barren Hill

On 3 February 1778, the Continental Congress, having taken into consideration the report of the special committee appointed to devise effectual means to prevent persons disaffected to the interest of the United States from being employed in any of the important offices thereof, resolved, That every officer who held or should thereafter hold a commission or office from Congress, should subscribe the oath or affirmation of allegiance. These oaths or affirmations the commander-in-chief or any major or brigadier-general was authorized and directed to administer to all officers of the army or of any of the departments thereof. (Barrie 1890). Washington delayed administering this oath until Congress clarified long-term pay commitments to his officers.

On 6 February 1778, France signed a treaty of alliance with United States.

On 28 March 1778, the South Carolina General Assembly passes an oath of allegiance law for all residents. Many loyalists fled to British Florida.

On 6 May 1778, a *Grand Review* parade at Valley Forge celebrated the new alliance with France. The French ambassador attended.

After France entered the war, Philadelphia became vulnerable to the French Navy blockading the Delaware River. During May 1778, British intentions to evacuate Philadelphia became clear. Before or on 19 May, Washington ordered Lafayette to move about 3000 troops towards Philadelphia. Lafayette crossed Schuylkill River at Matson’s Ford and established a position on Barren Hill. During the night of 19–20 May, 5000 British soldiers marched by a circuitous route to the rear of the Americans, blocking the road. At the same time, another strong British detachment under General Charles Grey marched more directly towards Barren Hill and took control of a downstream Schuylkill ford. When the Americans realized their severe predicament, they hurriedly withdrew directly to Matson’s Ford avoiding the road. General Washington, who was a few miles away, thought Lafayette’s position was hopeless. It was reported that Washington was so alarmed that he destroyed an intervening bridge to save his remaining troops. The British had sufficient time to control Matson’s Ford, and if they had, Barren Hill would be known as a significant British victory. Fortunately, Lafayette’s troops did cross at Matson’s Ford and stabilized the situation by quickly securing high ground on the opposite bank. (Stedman 1794, 1:376–379).

Since Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane's unit was in Major General Lafayette's division, he likely participated in these events near Barren Hill and Matson's Ford.

In late May, while at Valley Forge, all officers pledged their allegiance by signing individual certificates (PNG 1980, II:398).

Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane's signed an oath of allegiance certificate. He indicated that he was still in Seventh Regiment. (PNG 1980, II:398).

In June 1778, Hardy Hurdle Jr., an Anderson-related 4th great-grandfather, took the oath of allegiance in Chowan County, North Carolina.

May–July 1778, Regiment consolidation, Monmouth Courthouse

On 27 May 1778, Congress, with General Washington's consultation, reorganized the Continental Army. The number of regiments was reduced from 88 to 80 with South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia supplying 6, 6 and 11 respectively. Each new regiment was to add a new company of light infantry drawn from the other 8 companies. No officer was to be promoted to colonel, instead a lieutenant colonel must advance directly to brigadier general. Each regimental field officer was to command a company in addition to his regimental duties (Peterson 1968, 258). The 9 North Carolina regiments in the North were consolidated into 3 regiments. This created an excess of officers. These so-called supernumerary officers returned to North Carolina.

On 1 June, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane was reassigned as a company commander in First Regiment. Its 8 September muster roll was recorded (NCSR 1896, XV:724).

Until October 1778, North Carolina Continental soldiers wore personal hunting coats, although most officers probably purchased uniforms.



Private North Carolina Third Regiment in 1778.
Painted by Charles M. Lefferts. (Lefferts 1926).

On 18 June 1778, British Army evacuated Philadelphia and moved by land towards New York City. General Washington ordered his army to follow the British column. On 24 June, the entire region witnessed a predicted total solar ellipse. On 28 June, at Monmouth Courthouse, New Jersey, Washington ordered an attack. The initial attack was led by Lafayette, Wayne, and Scott. Both Wayne and Scott believed they near "obtained a most glorious and decisive victory." But Major General Charles Lee ordered a withdrawal. Shortly afterwards, Washington countermanded the withdrawal. Fighting lasted from sunup to sundown in

extremely hot weather. After suffering heavy losses, British pulled away during the night (Rankin 1971, 154).

North Carolina First Regiment participated at Monmouth Courthouse. It may have participated in the initial attack under command of General Scott. During the late afternoon hours, the North Carolina Brigade again moved to the front (Rankin 1971, 158). During 12–19 July, George Washington’s headquarters ordered Robert Mebane to preside over a court martial of prisoners (NCSR 1896, XII:501). That typically included trials of all American soldiers currently in prison accused of petty crimes, neglect of duty, and desertion.

October 1778–July 1779, Encirclement of New York City, King’s Ferry

With the British back in New York City, Washington began to encircle it. In October 1778, new Continental uniforms arrived from France. North Carolina Continentals were given blue coats faced in blue (Rankin 1971, 163).

Robert Mebane may have commanded First Regiment in late 1778 when Colonel Thomas Clark assumed temporary command of the North Carolina Brigade. For certain, Mebane commanded 200 North Carolina Continental soldiers at King’s Ferry along the major north-south road. King’s Ferry crosses the Hudson River between Stony Point and Verplanck’s Point. This defense protected American commerce as well as prevented British use of the upper Hudson River as a supply line into occupied New York City (Rankin 1971, 166).



King’s Ferry across Hudson River
Revolutionary War era map
From Stony Point Park, New York, web site.

On 4 and 7 December 1778, George Washington issued the following orders to Colonel Thomas Clark, commander of the North Carolina Brigade. The second order refers to the first. Both orders were combined and dispatched to Clark on 7 December.

Elizabeth Town, December 4, 1778.

Sir: As the Convention Troops [British captives being marched to a Virginia prison] will have passed above you by the time this reaches you, the object of your Station at the [Smith’s] Clove will have been effected. You will therefore be pleased to move down to Paramus with the [North] Carolina Brigade and quarter your Men in as compact a manner as the situation of the Buildings will permit. You shall, upon my arrival at Middle Brook receive more particular instructions. I would recommend it to you, as soon as you have taken post, to make yourself acquainted with the Roads leading to the North [Hudson] River and have pickets established upon them at proper distances from you. You are in no danger from any other quarter. Should the Enemy move up the River in any considerable force, you are immediately to fall back to your former position at Sufferan’s and send your Baggage to Pompton. Colo. Morgan furnished Mr. Erskine at Ringwood Iron Works with a guard of a serjeant and 12. be pleased to send the like number to relieve them.

They are to remain there during the Winter, as Mr. Erskine will be completing some valuable surveys for the public.

Be pleased to make use of all means to cut off the intercourse between the Country and New York [City]. You are upon no account to permit any inhabitant of the States of New York or New Jersey to pass to New York [City] without permissions under the hands of their respective Governors. Upon your arrival at Paramus you are to send the inclosed to Colo. Febiger at Hackinsack. It directs him to join his Brigade, as soon as you have taken post. I am &ca.

Paramus Decemr. 7.

The Enemy having gone down the [Hudson] River, you will immediately proceed to put the foregoing into execution. Be pleased to let the 200 Men under Colo. Mabane, if they are not already withdrawn, remain near Kings ferry until they are relieved by a party, which will be sent over by Genl. McDougal. I must beg you to be particularly careful to prevent the Soldiers from burning the fences of the farmers and committing other disorderly acts. I am etc.

[P.S.] If Colo. Mabane should have been withdrawn from Kings ferry, be pleased to leave an officer and 50 Men at Kakiate until you receive further orders. (Fitzpatrick 1932, 13:377).

On 9 January 1779, Colonel James Hogan was promoted to brigadier general and commander of the North Carolina Brigade. Thomas Clark resumed his former position as commander of First Regiment. Mebane remained in First Regiment. Reference (NCSR 1896, XVI:1113) states that on 9 February 1779, Robert Mebane's status was "Coll." It is not certain if this was a promotion. Beginning March 1779, North Carolina Third Regiment strength dropped due to enlistment expirations (Rankin 1971, 167). In the February 1779 Continental Army strength return (Lesser 1976, 104), these expirations may be indicated as sick absent.

February 1779 North Carolina Regiments Strength Return

		First	Second	Third
Fit for Duty	Commissioned Officers	18	12	16
	Noncommissioned Officers	38	39	15
	Staff Officers	4	5	4
	Rank & File	302	223	35
	Total	362	279	70
Sick & Furlough	Sick Present	28	44	62
	Sick Absent	35	16	263
	On Command, Extra Service	125	127	64
	On Furlough	1	7	
Grand Total	551	473	459	
Alterations	Deaths		10	24
	Deserted	2	3	
	Joined, Enlisted, Recruited	3	3	

On 4 April 1779, in a report to Continental Board of War, George Washington recommended that Robert Mebane assume command of Third Regiment, exchanging responsibilities with Lieutenant Colonel William Lee Davidson.

... If Lieutenant Colo. Mebane was the Oldest Lieutenant Colonel in the North Carolina line when Colo. Hogan was promoted to the rank of a Brigadier, he unquestionably, according to the principles of rank recomd. should be appointed Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, and Lt. Colo. Davidson should remove to the Regiment in which the former served. ... (Fitzpatrick 1932, 14:331).

On 17 April 1779, Continental Board of War ordered Robert Mebane to return Third Regiment to North Carolina for recruitment and to counter the growing British threat from Savannah, Georgia. The Board of War Office informed North Carolina Governor Richard Caswell.

WAR OFFICE, April 17th, 1779

SIR:

The time of service of the non-commissioned officers and privates of the Third North Carolina Regiment being expired, all the officers belonging to it are to return home to the State, as they may do service in the Southern Army, if furnished with men. We have given orders to Lieut. Col. Mebane, who has the command of the Regiment, to apply to the Government of your State to form a Regiment, to be employed at the Southward during the continuance of the Enemy in that quarter, the Regiment to be raised in such manner as the Government shall think fit, only, if engaged on the continental establishment, the Regiment must, of course, be liable to serve where the exigency of the States shall call them. Of this matter we judged it expedient to inform your Excellency, and to request that as those officers continue in pay they may be furnished with the means of serving the United States.

We have the honor to be,
Very respectfully, your Mo. Ob. Servt.,
TIM PICKERING.

By order of the Board.

Gov. Caswell. (Pickering 1779 in NCSR 1896, XIV:70)

Reference (Heitman 1914) states Mebane transferred to Third Regiment on 7 June, but that maybe an administrative delay. As a regimental commander, Mebane was directly answerable to North Carolina Governor Caswell. In a 10 May letter, he wrote about recruitment problems and officer discontent.

HALIFAX, May 10th, 1779

SIR:

The enclosed is a return of the Regiment which marched from this place under the command of Genl. Hogun, which, I think, is sufficient to convince the Assembly of the impropriety of raising Troops for so short a time, and the necessity of having them supplied with clothing and other necessaries when raised.

I have dismissed the officers with orders to meet agreeable to your orders, which Major Hogg (the bearer of this) waits on your Excellency for, but am almost convinced if the Assembly does not do something for the support of the officers they will not all meet. There has been several applications made to me already, and from I think, the best of my officers, to receive their commissions, but have prevailed on them to keep them until the Assembly rises. The officers to the Northward are much dissatisfied with the treatment they have received from the State. Capt. McRee, came from the Brigade a few days before I left Philadelphia, says that the officers were then met in order to inform the State if there was not something done immediately for them they would resign to a man; from what I heard before I left there am convinced they will.

My bad state of health will not permit my waiting (agreeable to orders) on the Governor and council, wish the Major to receive the orders respecting the Regiment.

I am, with esteem,
Your Ob. humb. Servt.,
ROBERT MEBANE (Mebane 1779 in NCSR 1896, XIV:80)

In response, North Carolina General Assembly resolved that Continental officers who did not resign should receive half pay for life after the war, and such pay was transferable to their wives if they died in service (Davidson 1951, 55).

The famous Stony Point Battle occurred the night of 15–16 July 1779. Selected North Carolina Continentals participated. They probably included men in Mebane's previous regiment. At that time, Mebane had already departed with Third Regiment for North Carolina.

Late 1778, Southern Strategy

At the end of 1778, the British Army was back in New York City, in essentially the same strategic position held in 1776. Thus, war in northern states reached a stalemate. In addition, Britain was at war with France and needed relocate troops to secure all its colonies, especially in the West Indies. This manpower shortage caused Britain to change its strategy by focusing on southern states where it believed loyalist militia, such as Highland immigrants, could be recruited. Former royal North Carolina Governor Josiah Martin made such optimistic projections. Britain's planners mistakenly assumed that most backcountry men were loyalists. They did not consider likely Scotch-Irish reaction. The regular British Army objective was to suppress rebellion enough to reinstate loyalist control of local governments. If successful, the American Army would be proven ineffective in supporting rebel local governments. So, the British Army searched for ways to engage rebel forces while the American Army countered this goal by merely maintaining a respectable force.

December 1778–March 1779, Savannah, Brier Creek

Beginning 29 December 1778, British controlled Savannah, then capital of Georgia. Soon afterwards it captured Augusta, Georgia. The American Army encamped across the Savannah River at Purrysburgh, South Carolina. There on 3 January 1779, Major General Benjamin Lincoln took command from Brigadier General Robert Howe.



American Army Encampment Site on Savannah River
Purrysburgh, South Carolina

Nancy Morgan Hart is a McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed. Her husband Benjamin Hart, and sons Morgan, John, and Thomas, are said to have participated in Kettle Creek battle, 14 February 1779 where Colonel Andrew Pickens defeated North Carolina loyalists marching to join the British. The incident described below occurred after that battle. This description is from L. Parker, a distant Alexander-family relative.

King's men had captured Savannah and Augusta, and the loyalists and rebel guerillas were engaged in savage raids. One day five or six Tories invaded Nancy Hart's cabin after murdering a militia colonel, John Dooly, in his bed. They had killed her last turkey gobbler, and ordered her to cook it. Nancy, called the "War Woman" by the local Indians for her ferocity against local Tories, now turned to apparent guile. While pretending to cooperate, she sent her daughter Sukey to summon her father. She then was caught slipping guns through a chink in the cabin wall, as the Tories were becoming jovial over

flowing liquor. In the next moments, she had killed one of the Tories, and wounded another who was misled, perhaps, by her crossed eyes. She then held them all until her husband and others arrived and captured the startled Tories. The men proposed shooting the Tories, but Nancy argued that such a death was too good for Dooly's murderers, whereupon they were hanged in the Hart's backyard. She was also credited with pretending insanity to learn of war plans in British occupied Augusta. Another story tells of her crossing the Savannah River on a raft to gather secret information for Georgia patriots.

It is difficult to separate fact from legend. Credibility increased in 1912 when a railroad crew discovered graves of six men near what was the Hart property. Hart County, Georgia, was named for her when it was created in 1853. There is also a Nancy Hart Highway in Georgia.



Nancy Morgan Hart holding Tories at gunpoint.
Painted by Louis S. Glanzman, National Geographic, October 1975.



Nancy Morgan Hart Monument
Constructed by United States Government. Unveiled 11 November 1931.
Near highway US29, Hartwell, Georgia.

On 3 March 1779, highly exposed North Carolina soldiers under Colonel John Ashe were defeated at Brier Creek, Georgia.

April–June 1779, Prevost's attack on Charlestown, Stono Ferry

In April 1779, Major General Benjamin Lincoln and Colonel Griffith Rutherford were heroes among the Whigs. Both were containing British forces within Savannah, Georgia. In North Carolina, the local Tryon County Whig government separated and renamed their county Lincoln and Rutherford Counties.

Beginning 23 April 1779, American commander Major General Benjamin Lincoln invaded Georgia to dislodge the British. In a daring countermove, British General Augustine Prevost with 2400 men invaded South Carolina and advanced to the gates of Charlestown. Prevost negotiated with South Carolina Governor John Rutledge, and foolishly rejected the Governor's offer of South Carolina neutrality for the remainder of the war. A few days later, the approach of Lincoln's 4000-man army forced Prevost to withdraw to John's Island. Lincoln was harshly criticized for leaving Charlestown exposed. On 20 June, Lincoln challenged and lost a battle at Stono Ferry.



Major General Benjamin Lincoln
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1781–1783.

Colonel James Armstrong commanded the North Carolina Fourth Regiment at Stono Ferry. He was wounded. Apparently, he was from Pitt County and not related to Mary Armstrong who married 5th great-granduncle Alexander Mebane II.

Colonel Hugh Tinnin, an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, participated at Stono Ferry (Conolly 2008).

Because of the growing British threat on Savannah, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane, an Anderson-related 5th great-granduncle, marched North Carolina Third Regiment from New Jersey back to North Carolina during late April through early May 1779. He and his officers recruited to bring the regiment to full strength. In a 30 June letter to Governor Richard Caswell, he said poor health would prevent him from performing his duties.

HILLSBOROUGH, June 30th, 1779

SIR:

As opportunity offers I think it my duty to inform you that I am in a very low state of health; without an alteration must of consequence leave the service. I am sorry to inform you that there are but few Soldiers raised in this District. I have not as yet heard what they are doing in the District of Salisbury. Genl. M. Ramsey informs me that he is to write to you this day; therefore I only inform you that there is not one Continental officer in this district or the district of Salisbury as I know of.

I am, with due esteem,
Your Excellency's ob. humb. Serv't.,
ROBT. MEBANE. (Mebane 1779 in NCSR 1896, XIV:136)

Either Mebane's resignation request was refused or his illness was temporary. No doubt, recruitment continued. In August 1779, Third Regiment had 171 soldiers (Rankin 1971, 167).

David Motley, a Plonk-related 4th great-granduncle, was a Continental soldier who marched to Savannah in Captain Thomas Scott's Company. He also was in Virginia 3rd Regiment under Colonel McEntush (Hurt 1976, 191).

September–October 1779, Siege of Savannah

During September 1779, a joint American and French force assembled to dislodge the British from Savannah. A 800-man British force at Port Royal Island rapidly moved to reinforce Savannah. Using small boats, they found a little-known waterway called Wall's Cut that evaded French warships anchored off the

Savannah River mouth. A portion of their path can be viewed today from the Hilton Head Harbour Town lighthouse. On 9 October, the British successfully defended Savannah.

Folk Family tradition indicates that John Benedict Folk, half 3rd great-granduncle of Chris Evans Folk, Sr., died at Savannah on 1 December 1779. He was listed on the roll of Captain John Murphy's South Carolina Loyalists.

A strength report on 23 October indicates that Third Regiment was in Charlestown under acting command of Major Thomas Hogg. It also indicates that Colonel Mebane was on duty in North Carolina (Lincoln 1779–1780). On 27 October, Mebane was in Charlestown when he signed a weapons report. He signed his rank as colonel (Lincoln 1779–1780). On 8 November, Mebane was ordered to preside over a court martial of prisoners. However, apparently he was relieved of this duty since on 12 November, Colonel Peter Horry presided (Grimke 1779–1780).

October 1779–February 1780, Charlestown

On 19 November, George Washington ordered all other North Carolina regiments at West Point, New York, and Philadelphia to march south. Frustrated by weather and many delays, they did not arrive in Charlestown until 3 March 1780 (Davidson 1951, 57).

In November 1779, a limited smallpox epidemic erupted in Charlestown, South Carolina. Rumors of its continuance lasted for several months and dissuaded many South Carolina militiamen from entering the town.



View of Charles Town

Painted by Thomas Leitch, 1774.

Prominent Saint Michael's Anglican Church steeple and Exchange Building stand today.

Collection of Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

On 27 November 1779, Colonel Mebane was ordered to sit on a court of inquiry into the “Cause of the Deficiency in the Supply of Wood & Forage at Fort Moultrie & in Town.” On 1 December, this court was ordered to investigate a complaint that “Sick and wounded were neglected on their passage from Savannah to Charles Town.” On 7 December, this court reported its findings. (Grimke 1779–1780).

John Moor is a Moore-related 4th great-grandfather who lived near Bethel Presbyterian Church in the New Acquisition District, later York County, South Carolina. In 1779 or early 1780, his militia unit was marched to Four-Hole Bridge to guard that crossing on the road between Charlestown and Dorchester (Moore, John 1845) (Sutton 1987, 360). That bridge was at or near the present-day highway US78 bridge over Four-Hole Swamp River.

On 7 December, a court martial found Thomas Wilson, a private in North Carolina Third Regiment, guilty of desertion and sentenced him to “receive 100 Lashes on the bareback with a Cat o’ nine Tails, but from his former good Character & behavior & this being his first offence, they recommend him to the General to have it mitigated or omitted.” However, Lincoln ordered, “The Gen^l. approved the Sentence & directs it to

be executed tomorrow Morning at Guard mounting, as the reason assigned by the Court would not in his Opinion justify a Remission or mitigation of the Sentence.” (Grimke 1779–1780).

On 17 December, Colonel Mebane ordered a board of officers to settle the ranks of all officers in Third Regiment (Lincoln 1779–1780).

On 1 January 1780, an abstract of Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane's Third Regiment muster roll was submitted to Major General Lincoln. It reports 5 companies with a total strength of 202 men (Lincoln 1779–1780). A report of horse forage consumption indicates that Mebane drew forage for 4 horses during 14–18 January (Lincoln 1779–1780).

Charlestown defense depended on Fort Moultrie control of the harbor entrance and a massive fortification against land assault. The latter extended across a peninsula neck between tidal creeks of the Ashley River and Cooper River. Today, this neck is unrecognizable due to land fill, but since the 1750s a fortification wall extended for about a mile from present-day Smith Street along Vanderhorst Street, across King Street and Marion Square, along Charlotte Street, turning northward towards Chapel Street (Borick 2003, 42). During 1779–1780, the fortification was strengthened under the direction of French engineers Colonel Laumoy and Lieutenant Colonel Cambray-Digny. The major earthen wall, or *parapet*, average height was 10 feet. In front of the wall were two lines of *abatis*, cut treetops planted with sharpened branches facing outward that functioned like present-day barbed wire. Deep holes, called “wolf-traps,” were hidden in the abatis (Rankin 1971, 222) (Borick 2003, 116). In front of the abatis was a groundwater *canal*, 12 feet wide and 6 feet deep. Centralized behind the parapet was a hardened fort, called *hornwork*. It was made with masonry and *tabby*: a lime, oyster-shell, and sand cement. It had two bastions connected by a *curtain wall* that included a double gate where it crossed King Street. Today, a curtain wall segment remains at Marion Square. During the defense, several temporary mini-forts, called *redoubts* and *redans*, were built.



Hornwork curtain wall remnant in front of 1842 Citadel.
Marion Square, Charleston

Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane’s regiment probably assisted in strengthening the fortification. On 6 February 1780, Mebane commanded a fatigue party to support the military engineers (Grimke 1779–1780).

February–May 1780, British Landing, Siege of Charlestown

On 11 February 1780, the British Army disembarked from North Edisto River inlet onto Simmons Island, present-day Seabrook Island. They advanced across John’s and James’ Islands. The South Carolina General Assembly adjourned after granting Governor John Rutledge near dictatorial powers. During February, Americans defended Ashley River Ferry, 13 miles upstream of Charlestown near Drayton Hall and also Bacon Bridge, the closest Ashley River bridge, near present-day Summerville, South Carolina.

American Major General Benjamin Lincoln's daily orders were recorded and posted by staff member Lieutenant Colonel John Faucherand Grimke (Grimke 1779–1780). These orders assigned alarm posts to all units. They also specified guard Officers-of-the-Day. Such guard duty superseded ordinary duties and lasted 24 hours beginning and ending in the morning. An Officer-of-the-Day was required to check all sentry positions, conduct special patrols, as well as visit the hospital and prison. Lincoln's daily orders also assigned soldiers to special fatigue or guard duty. On 14 February, the one North Carolina regiment was ordered to join the Virginia Brigade under Colonel Parker (Grimke 1779–1780).

On 15 February, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane was a guard Officer-of-the-Day. On 24 February, Mebane was a guard Officer-of-the-Day. He was ordered to assemble 175 men with 4-days provisions. The next day, these men were transferred to Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens (Grimke 1779–1780) and probably marched to Ashley River Ferry.

On 3 March, Brigadier General James Hogun arrived in Charlestown with North Carolina First and Second Regiments. On 6 March, Mebane's Third Regiment was ordered to rejoin the North Carolina Brigade (Grimke 1779–1780). On 8 March, Mebane was a guard Officer-of-the-Day (Grimke 1779–1780). On 9 March, Private George McCarty, in Mebane's regiment, was judged guilty of desertion and sentenced to "100 lashes on his bare back with switches." Despite the serious offense, court martial officers and Major General Lincoln remitted his sentence (Grimke 1779–1780). On 22 March, Mebane was a guard Officer-of-the-Day (Grimke 1779–1780).

At 4:00 a.m. 10 March, the British Army crossed Wappoo Cut onto the mainland. Artillery batteries were quickly built to exclude American ships from the Ashley River, prevent a waterborne counterattack, and threaten the town with canon fire. Lincoln considered challenging the British west of the Ashley, but was unwilling to risk losing soldiers needed inside the fortifications (Borick 2003, 66–68).

On 20 March, during a spring tide and with an east wind, 7 British Navy warships crossed the most significant sandbar barrier into Five Fathom Hole, a deepwater holding area off Morris Island. This action greatly weakened American strategic defense since the British Navy could support land operations and inevitably force Americans to defend the entire Charlestown perimeter. American warships became useless and many were scuttled in the Cooper River to support a chain and log boom. (Borick 2003, 71–85)

On 21 March, North Carolina Brigade was posted on the right, or Cooper River, side of the fortification line (McIntosh 1780, 99) (Moultrie 1802, II:72). Its camp was probably near present-day Charleston County Public Library on Calhoun Street. As an officer, Mebane probably roomed in a nearby house. On 22 March, Mebane was guard Officer-of-the-Day (Grimke 1779–1780).

Lincoln ordered measures to protect against a sudden attack. On 28 March, he ordered Saint Michael's Church bell rung every quarter hour throughout each night. Immediately after the ring, each sentry was to call aloud "All's well," beginning at the hornwork and proceeding to the right (Grimke 1779–1780).

During the night of 28–29 March, British sailors rowed flatboats 13 miles upstream to Drayton Hall. There, they rendezvoused with the British Army. Beginning at dawn, using the flatboats, the army crossed the river and quickly advanced along Dorchester Road towards Charlestown. By late 30 March, they secured Gibbes' Landing only 2 miles from the American fortifications and immediately north of present-day Citadel campus. At that crossing, heavy cannons and equipment were transported to the peninsula.

On 31 March, Lincoln ordered that at each daybreak, an Officer-of-the-Day conduct a patrol 300 to 400 yards towards the enemy (Grimke 1779–1780).

During 1 April–12 May 1780, the British Army applied a classic siege on the Charlestown fortification. That included digging approach trenches, called *saps*, and three successively closer parallel trenches. Combat engineers called *sappers* and 1500 workmen dug these trenches continuously, day and night (Borick 2003, 121). Sapper duty was so hazardous they were traditionally paid in advance. Hessian riflemen called *jaegers* protected them (Uhlendorf 1938). Military engineers recalculated the best positions for cannons, transported them, built platforms, and redoubts. The British first parallel lay along present-day Spring Street (Borick 2003, 280). American artillery bombarded these works in progress. British had 14,000 professional soldiers and sailors. American defenders continued to grow, but were at most 2000 Continentals plus 4000 militia.

On 7 April, Virginia Continental reinforcements arrived after a long march from the North (Borick 2003, 129).

On 8 April, 11 British Navy warships passed by Fort Moultrie's firing guns and entered Charlestown harbor (Borick 2003, 133). 27 British sailors were killed.

After completion of the first parallel on 10 April, British commander Major General Henry Clinton opened negotiations with American Major General Benjamin Lincoln. These negotiations followed formal 1700s diplomatic rules understood by all commanders, but appear strange today. First, Clinton sent a *summons* pointing out the futility of defense and honorable terms of surrender, and warned that continued defense could result in a *storm* attack with unrestrained "effusion of blood" among both soldiers and civilians. The summons read:

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 to [Florida] and Vice Admiral Arbuthnot[,] Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships in North America[,] regretting the effusion of Blood and distress which must now commence[,] deem it conformant to humanity to warn the Town and Garrison of Charlestown of the havock and devastation with which they are threatened from the formidable force surrounding them by Sea and Land.

An alternative is offered at this hour 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 a Surrender or should the public Stores or Shipping be destroyed[,] the resentment of an exasperated Soldier may intervene[,] but the same mild and compassionate Offer can never be renewed. The respective Commanders who hereby summon the Town do not apprehend so rash a [path] as farther resistance will be taken, but rather that the Gates will be opened and themselves received with a degree of Confidence which will forebode further reconciliations. (Borick 2003, 136).



Sir Henry Clinton
British Commander in Chief. Directed Charlestown Siege.
Engraved by A. H. Ritchie, 1777.

Lincoln replied:

Gentlemen, I 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. (Borick 2003, 138).

On the morning of 13 April, Lincoln convened a council of general officers to discuss the prospects of their defense (Borick 2003, 138). During that meeting, at about 10:00 a.m., British artillery began bombarding the American fortification.

On 13 April, Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane was a guard Officer-of-the-Day (Grimke 1779–1780).

Before daybreak 14 April, British cavalry and infantry surprised and dispersed the American cavalry at Biggin's Bridge over the West Cooper River. That location was just south of present-day highway US52 bridge over Tail Race Canal below Lake Moultrie dam. That loss exposed the land area east of the Cooper River that was vital to American re-supply and possible escape.

Beginning 14 April, the North Carolina and Virginia brigades rotated 3 days on and 3 days off duty along the main defensive wall (Grimke 1779–1780).

On 15 April, British hauled gunboats from Ashley River to Town Creek, a Cooper River branch. Two boats with brass cannons fired on American ships *Ranger* and *Adventure* (McIntosh 1780, 101).

On 16 April, the British completed their second parallel approximately along present-day Morris and Mary Streets (Borick 2003, 288). That same day, the right arm of William Pitt's statue was clipped by a British cannon ball fired from James Island. Years later, further damage occurred during relocation.



Britain's Secretary of State William Pitt
Erected after 1766 Stamp Act repeal.
Partially damaged during 1780 Charlestown siege.
Charleston Museum

On 22 April, because of shortages, Lincoln ordered meat rations reduced to 3/4 pound per soldier (Grimke 1779–1780).

By 23 April, British completed their third parallel in two unconnected segments approximately along present-day Radcliffe, Ann, and Judith Streets (Borick 2003, 291). From there a sap was dug towards the canal. At daybreak 24 April, about 300 Continentals silently sallied forth surprising the British and killing about 20 (Borick 2003, 177). Because of the worsening strategic position, Lincoln and almost all subordinate officers advised evacuation of Continental soldiers, but civilian authorities pleaded for continued defense (Moultrie 1802, II:77).



Siege of Charlestown, view from British line
Engraving from painting by Alonzo Chappel, 1860.
Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection, Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island.
Shows American fortification across peninsula and sunken boom blocking Cooper River.

On 27 April, American troops evacuated their redoubt at Lampriers Point, east of Cooper River (Borick 2003, 189). That severed all outside communication. The Americans were surrounded. Lincoln planned to protect his army in the event of a British storm by enclosing the hornwork into a *citadel*. To build this, he ordered every soldier to collect as many as 15 fence pickets or wood panels from private property in Charlestown (Grimke 1779–1780).

Beginning the night of 28 April, Lincoln ordered the Officer-of-the-Day responsible to ignite turpentine barrels to illuminate the ground between the lines to discourage a British attack (Grimke 1779–1780).

On 29 April, Lincoln ordered all soldiers to remain at their posts and not enter town. He further ordered officers “without the most pointed necessity” to remain in camp with their men (Grimke 1779–1780). The bombardment ordeal affected soldiers and civilians. General William Moultrie wrote, “The fatigue in that advance redoubt, was so great, from want of sleep, that many faces were so swelled they could scarcely see out of their eyes.” (Moultrie 1802, II:83).

On 29 April, Robert Mebane was a guard Officer-of-the-Day (Grimke 1779–1780).

On 1 May, British sappers breached the American canal and began to drain it. On 4 May, Lincoln ordered meat rations reduced to 6 ounces of pork per soldier (Grimke 1779–1780).

Circumstanced as I now am with respect to the place invested[,] Humanity only can induce me to lay within your reach the Terms I determined should never again be proffered.

The fall of Fort Sullivan [Moultrie,] The destruction on the 6th 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 have framed any) and an hour beyond which resistance is temerity.

By this last Summons therefore I throw to your Charges whatever vindictive Severity exasperated Soldiers may inflict on the unhappy people whom you devote by persevering in a fruitless defence.

I shall expect your Answer untill 8 o'clock when hostilities will again commence unless the Town shall be surrendered. (Borick 2003, 207).

Under a cease-fire, Lincoln and Clinton negotiated surrender terms. Lincoln called a council of general and field officers. They met in the hornwork and voted 49 to 12 to accept terms (Borick 2003, 209).

On 8 May, Robert Mebane was a guard Officer-of-the-Day (Grimke 1779–1780). He participated in this council and voted to accept terms (Lincoln 1779–1780).

May 1780, Surrender of Charlestown, Prisoners of War

By 11 May, the inevitable defeat was clear to everyone. Lincoln accepted British terms. At 11:00 a.m. 12 May, Continental and militia soldiers filed out of the city gate and stacked their arms (Moultrie 1802, II:108). This location was probably west of King Street between present-day Vanderhorst and Warren Streets (Borick 2003, 300). Americans conducted a 42-day honorable defense against an overwhelming 14,000-man professional army and navy. Although only 1500–1600 Continentals participated in the surrender ceremony, a total of 3465 Continental officers and men were captured. That was virtually the entire Continental Army Southern Department.

Continental soldier prisoners were first held in barracks inside Charlestown. However, because their internment required hundreds of British guards, in October 1780, these prisoners were moved to prison ships in the harbor. Continental Army officers were held at Haddrell's Point in present-day Old Village in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina (Borick 2003, 287). They were permitted "to go to the extent of six miles from the barracks, but to pass no river, creek, or arm of the sea." (Moultrie 1802, II:105). They could receive visitors, and were allowed to grow small gardens and to fish for personal sustenance. Militiamen were released on parole, a promise that they would remain neutral for the remainder of the war. In the 1700s, such a promise was self-enforcing by a sense of personal honor as well as the threat of retaliation against fellow parolees. Nonetheless, some important militia leaders, like Andrew Pickens, believed Britain violated these terms on 3 June when General Clinton ordered militiamen to take up arms against rebels (Tarleton 1787, 73–74).

When Charlestown fell, Robert Mebane became a prisoner of war. From his Third Regiment, 162 Continental soldiers, excluding officers, became prisoners. He along with other Continental Army officers were held at Haddrell's Point (Rankin 1971, 232). During the siege, one of Mebane's associates was Colonel Francis Marion, commander of South Carolina Second Regiment. Marion avoided capture by being outside Charlestown recuperating from a debilitating ankle injury. During the following year, Marion became known as the *Swamp Fox*. Francis Marion details are in (Rankin 1973). Similarly, Lieutenant Colonel William Lee Davidson avoided capture while on leave (Davidson 1951, 58).

Dr. Ephraim Brevard, a McGuire-related 5th cousin 4 generations removed, joined the American Army in Charlestown as a surgeon. On 12 May, he was captured and held prisoner. He died of sickness contracted as a prisoner (Preyer 1987, 165).

Note: Why was Charlestown lost?

Why did this tragic loss of Continental soldiers occur? Earlier in New York and Philadelphia, George Washington saved his Continentals by evacuation. Many officers at Charlestown had experience near these northern cities, and must have understood Washington's strategic defense policy. Nonetheless, on 21 April

1780, these officers voted that it was too late to evacuate (Moultrie 1802, II:77). Americans might have inflicted higher British costs by contesting each natural barrier along the British route from its North Edisto River landing site. Those barriers are: Stono River, Wappoo Cut, and Ashley River. However, these barriers can be crossed at many locations, and thus, defenders would run the risk of being flanked and captured. But even such half-measures would have been a difficult political decision. Non-military authorities had the impression that Charlestown was defensible due to Fort Moultrie victory in June 1776 and withdrawal of General Augustine Prevost in May 1779. To defend and withdraw from natural barriers outside the city appeared inconsistent with these earlier victories. Moreover, each of these defenses would have been perceived as a defeat with final loss of Charlestown. That result looks good only in hindsight when compared to something worse—what actually happened. The principal decision-maker was Major General Benjamin Lincoln, and he had had a bad year. On 3 March 1779, he allowed highly exposed North Carolina soldiers under Colonel John Ashe to be defeated at Brier Creek, Georgia. In 23 April 1779, when he invaded Georgia, Augustine Prevost embarrassed him with a flanking maneuver that nearly captured Charlestown. On 20 June 1779, he lost Stono Ferry battle. In October 1779, he failed to recapture Savannah even with assistance of 4000 French soldiers. He knew General Robert Howe was dismissed for losing Savannah in December 1778. Thus, Lincoln's reputation could not afford another defeat. It was difficult to abandon months of planning and labor invested in the fortification. Also, delay appeared justified since reinforcements were expected from Washington's Army, and possibly the French or Spanish Navy. Once the decision to defend Charlestown was made, Lincoln's problems increased. Technically, he did not command the South Carolina militia, many of whom did not report to duty because of a smallpox rumor. Lincoln had to consult with city and state civilian authorities in every decision. In short, Lincoln should have evacuated Continental soldiers from Charlestown to a safe place such as Round-O where Major General Nathanael Greene encamped a year later.

Over a year later, in a 10 August 1781 letter (Clark 1981, I:480), Robert Mebane asserted, as an aside, that Charlestown fell because of exhausted provisions. Unfortunately, his complete insights are unknown.

After Americans surrendered Charlestown on 12 May 1780, the British could begin to consolidate their control. On 23 May 1780, Lieutenant Anthony Allaire wrote in his diary, "About three o'clock in the afternoon returned [to Fort Moultrie] in a six-oared boat, and had the pleasing view of sixty or seventy large ships coming into the harbor." (Allaire 1780)

May–June 1780, Carolina Upcountry, Cornwallis, Tarleton

Note: Tactics of military movements.

Rivers, horses, and grist mills had an important impact on military movements. Transportation constraints during this era are not obvious to modern readers accustomed to automobile travel.

- Major rivers were significant natural barriers and good defensive locations. They were crossed at fords or for a fee at ferries. After a heavy rain, a swollen river was impassable, usually for several days. The weapons of that time made a river-crossing army very vulnerable. When divided, it could be attacked piecemeal and pinned against the river edge. Thus, a crossing army attempted to conceal the location until the last moment and then cross as quickly as possible. The best tactic was for cavalry to first cross at an undefended location and then race to secure the opposite bank of the main crossing.
- Horses were a scarce commodity. Wartime demand and the inability to quickly produce more meant there never enough. A horse was certainly the quickest way to travel a few miles. But for the individual traveler, a horse had inconveniences. It needed frequent rests and many hours each day to feed itself. It and its equipment were expensive, requiring protection. On the road it could presented control problems. Consequently, a typical traveler either took a stage or walked. Of the available horses, only the biggest were suitable for cavalry.
- When an infantry regiment was ordered to a new location, the few available horses pulled wagons or artillery. The typical infantryman walked, even if the destination was 500 miles away. He carried 50 pounds of supplies plus a heavy musket or rifle. At night, he camped on the ground with one blanket. Shoe technology was still primitive and expensive. Accounts of barefoot soldiers during the winter are not exaggerations. The concept of separate right and left shoes did not evolve

- until early 1800s. The average physical exertion of healthy young people was much higher than today. Everyone valued the personal description of being “indefatigable.”
- Military officers separated by distance communicated by express horse riders. During important times, such express riders arrived and departed every few hours. Every officer learned the importance of writing quickly and clearly. In hazardous regions, several horsemen escorted the express rider. Most messages were not encrypted.
 - All armies in the 1700s collected food supplies and animal forage from the countryside. Meat was delivered live and butchered on site. Supplies were often confiscated from the plantations of known enemies. A commissary officer directed this procurement.
 - Grist mills and iron works were strategically important facilities. Each was located along a dammed creek for water power. At iron works, water power drove bellows necessary to raise fire temperature high enough to work iron. Iron manufacturing required charcoal. That produced a secondary cottage industry of charcoal makers who cut and burned prodigious numbers of trees using grossly inefficient methods.

After loss of Charlestown, Governor John Rutledge moved to Rugeley’s [pronounced Rūg-lē] Fort 14 miles north of Camden. The only free North Carolina Continentals were newly-hired former militia and previous deserters collected by Major General Jethro Sumner. They were not an official regiment since they were enroute to join regiments in Charlestown.

The British Army operated from its base in Charlestown, South Carolina, under command of 42-year-old Lieutenant General Charles Cornwallis. Within a month, it consolidated its control of South Carolina by establishing or strengthening principal forts at Georgetown, Camden, Ninety Six, and Augusta. These controlled the major rivers: Wateree (Catawba), Congaree (Saluda, Broad), and Savannah Rivers. It also established secondary outposts at Cheraw, Hanging Rock, Waxhaws, and Rocky Mount.



Lieutenant General Charles Cornwallis
Painting by Thomas Gainsborough, 1783,
National Portrait Gallery, London.

The organizational capabilities of the British Army were impressive. It could move over 1000 soldiers more than 20 miles a day. It included field artillery and as many as 50 wagons of gunpowder, a portable forge, medical equipment, musical instruments, gold coins, and baggage of personal belongings. Its commissary system supplied food and horse forage as it moved. Its entourage included independent traders, supporting the commissary, and women cooks and seamstresses. Terrain, vast distances, and American elusive tactics were suited to the British Legion, a mix of several hundred cavalymen, mounted infantry, and light cannon. Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, age 25, led the Legion. He had remarkable success

during spring and summer of 1780. While in pursuit of Americans forces, Tarleton's Legion began moving at 2:00 a.m. to arrive at a battlefield at daybreak. Such capabilities and tactics were designed to intimidate rebels. But ultimately, it was counterproductive because it provoked widespread resentment throughout the Piedmont and mountains.



Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton
Bear-pelt helmet designed to absorb saber blows.
Painted by John Raphael Smith and Joshua Reynolds, 1782.

29 May 1780, Tarleton, Buford's Defeat

The American defenders of Charleston, after a six-week siege, surrendered the city on 12 May 1780. To extend British control over South Carolina, Lieutenant General Charles Lord Cornwallis and his army crossed Santee River and proceeded towards Camden. He dispatched the mobile British Legion to pursue the withdrawing 350 men of the Virginia Third Regiment of Continental soldiers who missed the Charleston siege and who were escorting South Carolina Governor John Rutledge to Salisbury, North Carolina. (Rutledge's actual official title was President of South Carolina.) The British Legion was led by 26-year-old Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton. Colonel Thomas Sumter, the former commander of South Carolina Sixth Continental Regiment, knew he was a likely target. He moved his family from his primary home just north of Nelson's Ferry on Santee River to his second home in the High Hills of the Santee. On 28 May, as the British Legion approached, Sumter left his family and escaped north. A few hours later, British soldiers burned his home (Bass 1961, 52).



Brigadier General Thomas Sumter
Painted by Rembrandt Peale, 1796.

Up the road, 14 miles north of Camden, Rutledge was a guest at the home of Colonel Henry Rugeley [pronounced Rūg·lē] on the hilltop just north of Grannies Quarter Creek (Landers 1929, 20). Sumter was on the same road at the same time, but it is not known if Sumter conferred with Rutledge. That night, the British Legion bivouacked for a few hours in Camden, allowing just enough time for Rutledge to learn of the threat and evade capture. In the morning, the Legion continued to move quickly (Tarleton 1787, 28).

Tarleton sent a summons to the American commander Colonel Abraham Buford using Captain Kinlock under a flag of truce (Tarleton 1787, 28).

Wacsaws, May 29, 1780

Sir,

Resistance being vain, to prevent the effusion of human blood, I make offers which can never be repeated: — You are now almost encompassed by a corps of seven hundred light troops on horseback; half of that number are infantry with cannon, the rest cavalry: Earl Cornwallis is likewise within a short march with nine British battalions.

I warn you of the temerity of farther inimical proceedings, and I hold out the following conditions, which are nearly the same as were accepted by Charles town: But if any persons attempt to fly after this flag is received, rest assured, that their rank shall not protect them, if taken, from rigorous treatment.

1st Art. All officers to be prisoners of war, but admitted to parole, and allowed to return to their habitations till exchanged.

2^d Art. All continental soldiers to go to Lamprie's point, or any neighbouring post, to remain there till exchanged, and to receive the same provisions as British soldiers.

3^d Art. All militia soldiers to be prisoners upon parole at their respective habitations.

4th Art. All arms, artillery, ammunition, stores, provisions, wagons, horses, &c. to be faithfully delivered.

5th Art. All officers to be allowed their private baggage and horses, and to have their side arms returned.

I expect answer to these propositions as soon as possible; if they are accepted, you will order every person under your command to pile his arms in one hour after you receive the flag: If you are rash enough to reject them, the blood be upon your head.

I have the honour to be,
[signed] Ban. Tarleton
Lieutenant colonel, Commandant of the British legion. (Tarleton 1780 in Tarleton 1787,
77–78)

Buford replied:

Waccasaw, May 29, 1780

Sir,

I reject your proposal, and shall defend myself to the last extremity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

[signed] Abr. Buford, Colonel (Buford 1780 in Tarleton 1787, 79)

At 3:00 p.m., after a 54-hour chase, the British Legion caught the Virginians along Salisbury Road in Waxhaw region, 30 miles southeast of Charlotte at the present-day intersection of highways SC9 and SC522. Buford, on a disadvantageous open field, seriously miscalculated. He made tactical errors in arranging his soldiers and ordering them to hold their fire (Tarleton 1787, 31). Tarleton's Legion, using a cavalry column, charged the Continental line formation, breaking it immediately. When Tarleton's horse was disabled, he lost effective command for 15 minutes during which surrendering Continentals were killed without quarter (mercy). Tarleton attributes his soldier's actions, "to a report amongst the cavalry, that they had lost their commander officer, which stimulated the soldiers to a vindictive asperity not easily restrained." (Tarleton 1787, 30–31). In total, 113 Continentals were killed and over 150 were wounded, mostly with saber-slashed skull and shoulder injuries. The horrible character of these wounds is described in the ordeal of Captain John Stokes (Buchanan 1997, 84), who later became a federal judge and for whom Stokes County, North Carolina, was named. Tarleton credits his victory to Buford's mistakes (Tarleton 1787, 31). Written on the battlefield monument is a quote of Charles Stedman, British commissary officer and later historian, "The king's troops were entitled to great commendation for their activity and ardour on this occasion, but the virtue of humanity was totally forgot." (Stedman 1794, 2:193). This shocking event induced widespread resentment among residents of the Carolina upcountry. Soon the slogan "Tarleton's quarter" meant wanton cruelty. It was effective anti-British propaganda for the remainder of the war. Even today, a few Charlotteans still hold a grudge. They object to any new Charlotte street being named Tarleton. Buford was court-martialed, but exonerated.



Buford's Massacre, 29 May 1780
Reprint from Harper's Weekly, 29 May 1858.

David Motley, a Plonk-related 4th great-granduncle, was a Continental soldier. Sometime, probably after his tour in Savannah, he was in Virginia 3rd Regiment under Colonel McEntush (Hurt 1976, 191). He may have been at Buford's Defeat.

On 14 June 2006, at a *Sotheby's* auction, an anonymous buyer purchased Buford's three regimental flags from one of Tarleton's direct descendants. The price was \$5.056 million (Associated Press 2006).



Regimental flag entitled "Perseverando" (Associated Press 2006)

Local Scotch-Irish took American wounded to Waxhaw Presbyterian Church for treatment. Among the caregivers were 13-year-old Andrew Jackson, his mother Elizabeth, and his brother Robert. Years later, Jackson wrote that the church floor was made into beds by removing pews and covering the floor with straw (James 1938, 19). The Virginia Continentals who died at the church were buried in the cemetery, but it is not known exactly where (D. L. Pettus 2008).



Old Waxhaw Presbyterian Church
Treatment site of Buford Massacre wounded.
Grave site of Andrew Jackson's father.
Memorial to Andrew Jackson's mother.
Grave site of William Richardson Davie.

On 5 June 1780, from British warship *Romulus*, off Charlestown bar, Clinton accessed the military situation in the Carolinas. That dispatch arrived at Whitehall, London, on 5 July (Tarleton 1787, 79–84). Aside from commending Tarleton, Clinton expressed what he knew about North Carolina loyalists.

I have also the satisfaction to receive corresponding accounts, that the loyalists in the back parts of North Carolina are arming. I dare entertain hopes that Earl Cornwallis's presence on that frontier, and perhaps within the province, will call back its inhabitants from their state of error and disobedience. If a proper naval force can be collected, I purpose sending a small expedition into Cape-fear river, to favour the revolution I look for higher in the country. (Tarleton 1787, 81)

At this time, William Oates I, a Plonk-related 4th great-grandfather, made munitions for American forces at his iron foundry business. He worked near Long Creek in what is now western Gaston County. He was also enlisted as a militia private.

The date of the following event is not known exactly. “J. [James] G. Beatty married Miss Ann Graham, daughter of Archibald Graham, of Virginia, and sister of Col. Wm. Graham. He settled on Buffalo creek, now owned by Rev. Thos. Dixon. He became such a terror to the American Cause that Col. Wm. Graham sent a squad of soldiers, under command of Captain Isaac White and Lieut. Espy [Samuel Espey], to arrest him. They found him at home. Some of the soldiers were so enraged at his political principles that they killed him in his own house.” (Beam 1898).

Sumter at Salisbury, North Carolina

In reaction to Buford’s defeat, Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford called up the North Carolina Western (Salisbury) District militia. Lieutenant Colonel William Lee Davidson volunteered to serve under Rutherford as second in command. On 3 June, 900 men assembled near Charlotte (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 212) (Robinson 1957, 42). Included were South Carolina refugees driven from their farms by loyalists emboldened by the advancing British Army. When it was learned that Tarleton had returned to Camden, Rutherford dismissed the militia with orders to have their arms “in good repair and be in readiness for another call.” (Hunter 1877, 101) (Robinson 1957, 42).

In a 1 November 1832 pension application (Plunk, Jacob 1832), Jacob Plunk II, a 4th great-grandfather, [testified](#) that he served three months in Captain George Taylor's company under the command of Major William Lee Davidson. During this tour, he was ordered to make soldier shoes at his home. This tour began “Shortly before the Battle of Ramsour” as revealed in Christian Arney’s 1832 and 1833 [pension application](#) (Arney, Christian 1832-1833) for which Jacob Plunk II testified. In 2006, Pat Caswell Cloninger discovered the tradition:

Jacob Plunk II was a shoe-maker and carried a drawing of each man’s feet so he could make shoes for them. All they had to do was to tell Jacob they needed a new pair of shoes. He would pull the pattern out of his saddle bag along with some leather and make the shoes.

Sumter visited Governor Rutledge in Salisbury. Four months earlier, the South Carolina General Assembly delegated to Rutledge sweeping emergency powers. Sumter got 19 certificates worth \$1,000 each (Bass 1961, 54).

Meanwhile, Cornwallis captured Camden and began erecting a strong fort. He established outposts at Cheraw, Hanging Rock, Waxhaws, and Rocky Mount. The Waxhaw camp was led by Lieutenant Colonel Francis Lord Rawdon and is believed to be where present-day highway US521 crosses Waxhaw Creek.

The day after Lord Rawdon reached Waxhaw, he with a life guard of twenty cavalry, visited the Catawba Indian towns, six or eight miles distance from his encampment. These towns are situate above the mouth of Twelve Mile Creek, on the east bank of the Catawba River. The warriors, headed by their General New River had left their towns on the preceding evening to join the troops under General Rutherford. Curiosity alone seemed to have induced Lord Rawdon to visit the towns; but his approach frightened the Indians, who fled from their houses. His Lordship discovered two white men and four or five Indians, armed, moving briskly down the bank of the river, and thinking it to be a movement to intercept his return, he hastened at full gallop to his encampments. (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 213).

Rawdon sent a commissioner to meet local citizens at Colonel William Hill’s Iron Works on Big Allison Creek. The commissioner demanded their signed submissions for British protection. He proclaimed that the Continental Congress had decided to forfeit both Georgia and South Carolina and that General Washington’s army had fled to the mountains (Hill 1815, 6). These falsehoods were refuted by William Hill (Hill 1815, 7). Hill and Andrew Neel assembled the local militia and soon moved to Tuckasegee Ford on Catawba River in Mecklenburg County. Tarleton later wrote:

In the beginning of June Colonel Lord Rawdon, with the volunteers of Ireland and a detachment of legion cavalry, made a short expedition into a settlement of [Scotch] Irish, situated in the Wacsaws : The sentiments of the inhabitants did not correspond with his lordship's expectations : He there learned what experience confirmed, that the [Scotch] Irish were the most averse of all other settlers to the British government in America. (Tarleton 1787, 86)

Because of Rawdon's proximity to Mecklenburg County, on 8 June, Rutherford recalled the Mecklenburg militia, which assembled on 10 June at Reese's plantation 18 miles northeast of Charlotte. On 12 June, these 800 men moved to Mallard Creek. A battalion of 300 light infantry was formed and assigned to Lieutenant Colonel William L. Davidson, an experienced Continental Army officer. The remaining 500 militiamen were directly commanded by Rutherford (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 213). North Carolina Governor Abner Nash commissioned William Richardson Davie a major and appointed him commander of North Carolina cavalry (Hamilton and Battle 1907, 7). Davie was a 1776 graduate of the College of New Jersey, now Princeton (Hamilton and Battle 1907, 5). He was active partisan, located at New Providence where his uncle, William Richardson, had been minister of the Presbyterian Church ten years earlier (Matthews 1967, 46). Davie raised 65 cavalymen that he helped equip using much of his inheritance (Hamilton and Battle 1907, 7).



William Richardson Davie

Patriot Officer. North Carolina Governor 1798–1799. Special envoy to France 1799–1800.
Buried in Old Waxhaw Presbyterian Church cemetery.
Painted by John VanderLyn in Paris, France, 1800.

Meanwhile, on 10 June 1780, Colonel John Moore held a secret meeting of 40 loyalists “in the woods on Indian Creek seven miles from Ramsour’s [Mill]” (Schenck 1890, 53). Seven miles from Ramsour’s Mill would be near where present-day Shoal Road crosses Indian Creek. Other traditions indicate that the location was at the home of John Moore’s father Moses Moore. These loyalists conspired to call out more loyalists and embody at Ramsour’s Mill a few days later.

The location of this meeting could have been close to the Plonk Family Cemetery.

On 14 June, Rutherford learned that Tories were embodying at Ramsour’s Mill, in present-day Lincolnton, North Carolina. Rutherford ordered Colonel Francis Locke, commander of Rowan County militia, to disperse these Tories. On 15 June, Rutherford moved his force to a location 2 miles south of Charlotte to better counter any further advance by Rawdon. As it turned out, on 10 June, Cornwallis had recalled Rawdon back towards Camden (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 214) (Robinson 1957, 43). Cornwallis strengthened Rocky Mount by sending a detachment of 150 British Legion dragoons under Captain Christian Huck.

11 June 1780, Rocky Mount and Fishing Creek Presbyterian Churches

The newly established British outpost at Rocky Mount greatly disturbed members of Rocky Mount Presbyterian Church. Their minister, William Martin, preached, “My hearers, talk and angry words will do no good. We must fight!” Alluding to Declaration of Arbroath, he said Americans had been “forced to the declaration of their independence. Our forefathers in Scotland made a similar one and maintained that declaration with their lives; it is now our turn, brethren, to maintain this at all hazards.” (Ellet, *Domestic History of the American Revolution* 1850, 179).

On 11 June, from Rocky Mount, a detachment of Tarleton’s Legion led by Captain Christian Huck attempted to arrest Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church minister John Simpson. Not finding Simpson, Huck’s men looted and burned the parsonage.

Sumter at Tuckasegee Ford

Colonel William Hill wrote to Sumter in Salisbury describing his men’s intention of joining Rutherford (Hill 1815, 8). Sumter joined the South Carolina refugees at Tuckasegee Ford on Catawba River. On 15 June, Sumter was selected to lead these South Carolina militiamen. They recognized him as a brigadier general (Gregorie 1931, 80), although Governor Rutledge did not grant this commission until the following October. One of these refugees was John Adair, later Kentucky Governor, 1820–1824. He [certified](#) on 12 July 1832:

... about three hundred men who had fled from the enemy of whom I was one did assemble in North Carolina where they had fled and entered into a solemn obligation to place themselves under the command of Genl. Thomas Sumpter and to continue in a body and serve under his command until the war was at an end, or until their services were no longer necessary, they were to find their own horses, arms, clothing and all accessories, It being absolutely necessary that they should act on horseback. (Adair 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:15–17) (Adair, John 1832)

Probably all men who joined Sumter had prior military experience and some had been Continental soldiers. When they acted under Sumter’s orders they were official state troops of South Carolina. However, Sumter did not force strict discipline. Small detachments came and went.

In mid June 1780, about 1000 Tories assembled at Derick Ramsour’s mill, in present-day Lincolnton, North Carolina. On 17 June, Rutherford, after he learned that Rawdon withdrew from Waxhaw Creek to Hanging Rock, planned to join Locke in attacking the Tories at Ramsour’s Mill (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 214) (Robinson 1957, 43).

18 June 1780, Hill’s Iron Works

On 18 June, from Rocky Mount, Lieutenant Colonel George Turnbull dispatched Captain Huck to burn the valuable and strategically important iron works of Colonel William Hill, one of Sumter’s principal subordinates.

On 18 June, they destroyed William Hill’s Iron Works on Big Allison Creek. This strategically important site included a furnace, forge, gristmill, and sawmill as well as Hill’s residence. Colonel Thomas Sumter’s men fought a minor skirmish with these British troops (Hunter 1877, 101). William Hill joined Sumter’s partisans.

Hill’s Iron Works is now under Lake Wylie immediately south of the McGuire riverfront cabin used during the 1950s.

20 June, Ramsour’s Mill

Rutherford recalled the militia to assemble Charlotte. Meanwhile, about 400 Rowan militiamen assembled under Colonel Francis Locke. At daybreak, on 20 June, these Whigs attacked in what became known as Battle of Ramsour’s Mill. Both sides were poorly led, resulting in mayhem in which neighbor farmers killed and maimed each other. Approximately 100 men died on each side. About 2 hours later, Davidson’s troops arrived in advance of Rutherford’s army on the march from Charlotte. The battle’s significance was

that Tories dispersed and were demoralized. Fortunately for the patriot cause, this Tory assembly did not occur 3 months later when the British Army was in nearby Charlotte.

Some Tory soldiers were superstitious Germans:

At one time during the conflict when the battle was at its bitterest an incident occurred which came near breaking the enemy's lines. A soldier who was a "Conjurer" — the Germans were generally believers in Witchcraft — had practiced his art on the Tory soldiers and "conjured off bullets" from a good many who were of his faith, by mysterious motions, incantations, and all sorts of rig-a-marole and manipulations, always accepting a fee for his services. According to him none of his "patients" could be shot with leaden bullets, nothing but a silver bullet could possibly hit a "Conjured soldier." But this Conjurer was singled out and shot in his right hand, whereupon he dropped his gun and ran down the hill to the mill pond and plunged in; gathering an old rotten stump which he managed to keep near his head as he swam the mill pond and made his escape. One of Reep's sharpshooters ran down and fired at his head but the old stump saved his life. About 20 of his manipulated believers saw him run after being shot in the hand and they, too, left the ranks and started down the hill for the mill pond at full speed, crying out, "Silver bullets, silver bullets." Captain Warlick witnessed this break and had them all brought back and gave orders to shoot the first man who attempted to run. (Fair 1937)

Derick Ramsour is a 3rd great-grandfather of George Shuford Ramseur, Sr.

John Moore, a Moore-related 4th great-grandfather, was with Colonel Thomas Sumter's South Carolina troops encamped at Tuckasee Ford (Moor, John 1845) (Sutton 1987, 360). These troops followed Brigadier General Rutherford, arriving after the fighting (Bass 1961, 57). Ironically, he had the same name as the principal loyalist organizer, Colonel John Moore. The latter's home was in Lincoln County (Schenk 1890, 53).

Ezra Alexander, a McGuire-related 2nd cousin 7 generations removed, and William "Black Billy" Alexander, a McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, were captains under Lieutenant Colonel William Lee Davidson.

Peter Costner, great-granduncle of 1st cousin 4 generations removed, was one of the Tories killed.

Tarleton later wrote:

The precautions employed to prevent the rising of the King's friends in North Carolina had not had universal effect. Several of the inhabitants of Tryon county, excited by a Colonel Moore, manifested their attachment to the British cause, by taking up arms on the 18th of June, without the necessary caution requisite for such an undertaking, and they were in a few days afterwards defeated by General Rutherford. (Tarleton 1787, 91)

Immediately after Ramsour's Mill, Brigadier General Rutherford and Lieutenant Colonel Davidson pursued Tories between the Catawba and Yadkin Rivers. These Tories were assembling in the Yadkin forks, but as soon as they learned the results of Ramsour's Mill, attempted to escape along the east side of the Yadkin towards the British encampment at Cheraw, South Carolina. Rutherford tried to prevent this escape, but failed.

On 20 June, Sumter was with Rutherford as they approached the Tory encampment at Ramsour's Mill. They arrived after the Rowan County militia under Colonel Locke won the battle. As Tories fled, Sumter got authorization from the state of North Carolina to confiscate their military property in order to equip his force (Hill 1815, 8).

On 22 June (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 229), Rutherford ordered Major Davie to post his 65 cavalymen at Waxhaw Creek. Davie later wrote:

Major Davie was ordered to take a position near the South Carolina line opposite to the Hanging rock that might enable him to prevent the enemy from foraging on the borders of the State adjacent to the Waxhaws and check the depredations of the Loyalists who infested that part of the Country; for this purpose he chose a position on the North side of the Waxhaw creek, his corps was reinforced by some South Carolinians under Major

Crawford the Catawba Indians under their chief General Newriver, and a part of the Mecklenburg militia commanded by L¹ Col^o Heaggins. This ground being only eighteen miles from the Hanging-rock where the enemy were in force, ... (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 8).

Davie's camp was at the present-day intersection of highways US521 and SC5 and probably on the hilltop immediately to the west (Allison 2009). Major Robert Crawford's unit included brothers Robert Jackson and future President Andrew Jackson, then age 13 (James 1938, 20). Lieutenant Colonel William Hagins was one of Sumter's subordinates (L. Pettus 1995). One of Hagins' privates, Edward Curry, applied for a pension in 1833. He testified in court:

... he [Curry] got his horse and gun went with them and next day joined Col William Hoagans (of the North Carolina militia) who had collected three or four hundred men on the road leading from Charlotte to Camden at a creek called Waxhaws. (Curry 1833 in Draper 1873, VV:10:251) (Curry, Edward 1833)

Curry was in Hagins' unit for two years. He portrays a partisan organization engaged in small-unit operations (Curry 1833 in Draper 1873, VV:10:249–252) (Curry, Edward 1833)

Sumter at Hagler's Branch

After Tarleton with most of the British Legion returned to Charleston, Sumter and his men returned to South Carolina. They temporarily camped on Hagler's Hill next to Hagler's Branch inside Catawba Indian Lands. That location was where the branch crosses Nation Ford Road, also known at that time as Old Saluda Road. Today, it is within Anne Springs Close Greenway Park in York County. Evidence of this encampment is in [James Jameson's pension application](#):

... immediately after fought & defeated the Tories at Ramsour's in North Carolina, — after this battle returned & again joined Genl. Sumpter at Haggler's Branch, crossed the Catawba and defeated the British under Capt. Hook at Williamson's. (Jameson 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:46) (Jameson, James 1832)

One account sent to historian Lyman Draper stated that John Barnett and other Mecklenburg men said that at Hagler's Hill, Sumter's men wrestled, jumped, and ran foot races (White 1871 in Stinson in Draper 1873, VV:11:294).

Sumter at Clems Branch campground

At Hagler's Hill, Sumter's men complained of poor forage, and called it "Poor Hill" (Gregorie 1931, 81) (Bass 1961, 57). Consequently, Sumter relocated to Clems Branch campground where forage was available and presumably could be purchased from local farmers. That location was where Clems Branch crosses the North Carolina and South Carolina state line (W. L. Anderson 2006). The strongest evidence for Sumter's encampment is a memoir written by Colonel William Hill, one of Sumter's principal subordinates. He later wrote:

— and then it was that Col. Sumter met with us from So. Ca. He [Sumter] then got authority from the civil & military authority of that State [North Carolina] to impress or take waggons horses, provisions of all kinds, from the enemy that was in that action [Ramsour's Mill battle] — & to give a receipt to that state for the same — This being done we returned to So. Ca. & formed a camp on the East side of Catawba River at the place called Clems branch — from this out all our proceedings of importance, was done by a convention of the whole — a commission of captains appointed to take notice of all the property taken either from the enemy or friends. & a commissioner to supply us With provisions &c — (Hill 1815, 8)

John Moore, a Moore-related 4th great-grandfather, was likely among Sumter's followers at this time (Sutton 1987, 360).

After Sumter returned to South Carolina, affected the British stationed in Camden. Tarleton later wrote:

The news brought by these loyalists created some astonishment in the [British] military, and diffused universal consternation amongst the inhabitants of South Carolina : They reported, that ... Colonel Sumpter had already entered the Catawba, a settlement contiguous to the Waccasaws. These accounts being propagated, and artfully exaggerated, by the enemies within the province, caused a wonderful fermentation in the minds of the Americans, which neither the lenity of the British government, the solemnity of their paroles, by which their persons and properties enjoyed protection, nor the memory of the undeserved pardon so lately extended to many of them, had sufficient strength to retain in a state of submission or neutrality. (Tarleton 1787, 91–92)

In 1827, William Wylie, then living in Alabama but originally from Chester County, wrote a petition in which he fixes the time of Sumter's Clems Branch encampment before Huck's Defeat on 12 July (Wylie 1827 in Draper 1873, VV:9:102–106) (Wylie, William 1827).

[William] Wylie Entered the army at 16 years of age — with Sumter at Clems Branch — Obtained leave a few days before Houck defeat to visit his friends — when near his home he lay down to sleep — while a comrade who was journeying with him was washing his shirt — was waked by & found a British soldier standing over him with a bayonet presented to his bosom — was taken prisoner & carried to Rocky Mount — Kept there a few days & then paroled — On his return he met a few Stragglers of the remnant of Houck's & [Tory militia Colonel James] Furguson's party which had been cut up that morning at W^{mson's} plantation endeavoring to make their way to Rocky Mount — A little farther on he met a party under M^cLure in pursuit — M^cLure had some prisoners & made an exchange for Wylie ... (Wylie 1827 in Draper 1873, VV:9:104) (Wylie, William 1827).

The recorded activities of William Anderson of Chester County suggest a Clems Branch encampment time before Huck's Defeat.

William Anderson, meanwhile, joined the forces of General Thomas Sumter under Captain John Steel at Clem's Branch, east of the Catawba River, and he fought at the battles of Williamsons [Huck's Defeat], Rocky Mount, Hanging Rock and Carey's Fort. (Ellet, Domestic History of the American Revolution 1850, 181–182) (Kennedy 2005).

In 1832, George Gill applied for a pension (Gill 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:68–73) (Gill, George 1832). He [testified](#):

... the next service was under the same Capt. [McClure] he believes in General Sumpter's command at Steel Creek. Marched from there to the camp at Clems branch; hence to the neighborhood of Rocky Mount and was in that battle. (Gill 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:68) (Gill, George 1832)

Gill probably substituted Steel Creek for its tributary Hagler's Branch.

A secondary reference written by D. G. Stinson in 1873 states that Sumter appointed a subordinate commander Andrew Neel. Such appointments are believed to have occurred in June 1780. Stinson wrote:

His [Thomas Neel's] son Andrew [Neel] rose to the rank of Col. in place of his father, and was detached by Sumpter at Clems branch as commander of the troops of York & Chester. He afterwards fell in the battle of Rocky Mount. (Stinson 1873 in Draper 1873, VV:9:208)

In late June, Sumter's force at Clems Branch was the only organized South Carolina patriot military force resisting British Army occupation. At this time, Davie with 65 North Carolina cavalymen was posted on the north side of Waxhaw Creek (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 8). That was at the present-day highway US521 bridge (Salley 1929, map).

Note: Clems Branch campground description

Sumter's encampment had about 300 men. Although there is no known written description of its appearance, it can be inferred from historical knowledge of how such camps were equipped, organized, and

operated (Peterson 1968). Most of Sumter's men arrived in small units. Each militiaman brought his own horse, weapons, and bedroll. But an individual could not easily bring wagons or heavy equipment, like tents and tools, from his local militia armory. That was the probable reason Sumter got permission to confiscate Tory equipment abandoned after the battle at Ramsour's Mill. So, at Clems Branch there were few, if any, tents. Hundred of horses grazed along the creek. The camp probably extended on both sides of the creek, exceeding the bounds of the 2 to 3-acre campground. A portion could have been in North Carolina. Sumter trained his men in raiding, or ranger, skills rather than traditional close-order infantry drills (Bass 1961, 57). Some modern history books represent Sumter's Clems Branch camp as "hidden" or "secret" (Bass 1961, 57). Actually, the camp was on the main north-south Camden-Charlotte road. That location was easy to find by newly arriving militiamen from distant regions of South Carolina. The camp's location, just south of the state line, meant South Carolina militiamen need not leave their state, a sensitive political issue for some. Newly arriving militiamen brought intelligence of British force dispositions. Nonetheless, the camp had some disadvantages. The ground was not ideal for defense. It was vulnerable to sudden attack by British cavalry, in particular by Captain Christian Huck's detachment of 150 British Legionnaires based at Rocky Mount. There is no evidence that Sumter erected defensive fortifications. However, Catawba Indians used a special technique. Veteran Robert Wilson reported that Catawbas "had put a strange feature upon the ground by stretching cowhides between the trees, for fear of being attacked by cavalry" (Wilson ??? in Draper 1873, VV:16:318) (D. S. Brown 1966, 267). Perhaps Sumter felt secure in his large force, all of which were mounted. Davie's 65 North Carolina cavalrymen stationed 15 miles south at Waxhaw Creek provided a guard (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 8). If threatened, Sumter could have withdrawn to the camp of Mecklenburg and Rowan County militias in North Carolina.

Note: Milestones and Mileposts

Principal roads were marked with milestones or mileposts.



Milestone, probably erected in early 1800s, near Clems Branch campground
Inscription highlighted with software. Means 15 miles to Charlotte.

Late June, Cornwallis and Tarleton return to Charlestown

At this time, the British Army occupied all of South Carolina with no organized opposition within the state. Cornwallis next turned his attention to establishing civil government and commercial regulations. About the middle of June, he returned from Camden to Charleston leaving Rawdon in command (Tarleton 1787, 89). Cornwallis described his plans for North Carolina in a 30 June letter to his superior General Henry Clinton.

I have established the most satisfactory correspondence, and have seen several people of credit and undoubted fidelity from North Carolina. They all agree in the assurances of the good disposition of a considerable body of the inhabitants, and of the impossibility of subsisting a body of troops in that country till the harvest is over. This reason, the heat of the summer, and the unsettled state of South Carolina, all concurred to convince me of the necessity of postponing offensive operations on that side until the latter end of August, or beginning of September; and, in consequence, I sent emissaries to the leading persons amongst our friends, recommending, in the strongest terms, that they should attend to their harvest, prepare provisions, and remain quiet till the King's troops were ready to enter the province. (Cornwallis 1780 in Tarleton 1787, 118).

Most of Tarleton's British Legion returned with Cornwallis to Charleston to prepare an offensive into North Carolina.

4 July, Sumter at Nation Ford, Raid towards mountains

On 4 July, Sumter moved his men to take control of the strategic Nation Ford on Catawba River, at the present-day *Norfolk & Southern Railroad* bridge. There they controlled wagon transport across the river. They could project force on both sides of Catawba River, to both protect their farms and threaten loyalists. Politically, this move asserted recapture of a portion of South Carolina. By 12 July, Sumter's force grew to 500 men (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 233) (Bass 1961, 58). Captain Joseph Graham, later brigadier general, wrote that Sumter was concerned about a possible enemy attack. He ordered that a crude fort be erected 5 miles up the road at Hagler's Branch. Oak timbers were felled in different directions to quickly construct an improvised fort (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 233) (Gregorie 1931, 84).

... the general ordered the timber to be felled in different directions around the camp, somewhat in the form of an "abattis," and the body of the trees split and leaned over the pole, supported by forks on some high stump, the other end on the ground at an angle of thirty degrees elevation, and facing the avenues left through the brush or abattis for passage, so that it would answer the double purpose for the men to be under and for defence. If the enemy's cavalry had come, unless supported by a large body of infantry or artillery, they could not have forced the camp. (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 233).

In early July, Sumter visited North Carolina authorities to raise money and arms. He visited the Gillespie brothers who were armorers living in the mountains (Bass 1961, 60). Allegedly, there Sumter got his nickname "Gamecock" (Bass 1961, 61). James Hemphill may refer to this event in his 1832 pension application (Hemphill, James 1832). He [testified](#):

Some time in the summer of 1780 having moved to Mecklenburg County in North Carolina after the taking of Charleston by the British, our regiment then under the command of Lt. Col. Watson and Major Bratton (Col. Neel having died) joined the forces commanded by Col. Sumpter and a few days afterwards moved down to Hagler's Branch in S.C. and after staying there between one and two weeks went about eighteen or twenty miles to the mountains having understood that there were several British Dragoons and Tories in that neighborhood and when we had a battle with about four hundred British and tories commanded by a Capt. Huck of whom we defeated very badly. (Hemphill, James 1832).

These mountains may be Spencer Mountain or Kings Mountain area where a number of iron works existed. Colonel Andrew Neel actually died later at Rocky Mount. On 27 September 1832, [Samuel Watson Jr. described this same event](#).

... as the troops collected together Col. Brattan [Bratton] directed Capt. Moffitt to raise as many volunteers as he could with a view specially to rout a gang of tories assembled in the neighborhood of Kings Mountain. He went with Capt. Moffitt in that forlorn hope. When they had reached the neighborhood of the tories not being on their guard were surprised by them and a considerable engagement ensued in which he had his horse shot down from under him they succeeded however in putting the Tories to flight and pursued them to an almost impenetrable cane brake and left them and immediately returned to the

balance of the troops with Col. Brattan who were then encamped on a creek he thinks called Clams Creek [Clems Branch] ... (Watson 1832 in Scoggins 2005, 181–182).

4 July 1780, Independence Day celebration at Haddrell's Point

Continental Army officers at Haddrell's Point were housed in barracks. General William Moultrie later wrote:

The officers, prisoners at Haddrell's-point, were very ungovernable indeed and it was not much to be wondered at, when two hundred and fifty of them from different states, were huddled up together in the barracks, many of them of different dispositions, and some of them very uncouth gentlemen; it is not surprising that their should be continual disputes among them, and frequent duels. General M'Intosh who was the senior officer that resided constantly with them, complained to me of their disorderly conduct and uncivil behaviour to each other, ... (Moultrie 1802, II:119).

The prisoner's Fourth-of-July celebration induced the following complaint from a nearby British officer to his commander in Charlestown.

Sir,

I think it incumbent on me to acquaint you, for the information of the general, that the conduct of the rebels at the barracks at Haddrell's-point, during the course of this night, has been very irregular and improper. Not contented to celebrate this day, of their supposed Independence, with music, illuminations, &c. they have presumed to discharge a number of small arms; which, I imagine, it is thought they were not (nor indeed ought not to be, by the articles of capitulation) to be in possession of.

I am, &c.

[signed] J. B. Roberts

Captain of the sixty-fifth regiment;

Commanding at Fort Arbuthnot. [Fort Moultrie]

Major Benson.

As a result, on 10 July, officer prisoners were forced to give up their light muskets, called *fuzees*, but kept their pistols.

12 July 1780, Huck's Defeat

British Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull, commander of Rocky Mount, sent an order to Huck who was posted at White's Mill along Fishing Creek.

You are hereby ordered, with the cavalry under your command, to proceed to the frontier of the province, collecting all the royal militia with you on your march, and with said force to push the rebels as far as you may deem convenient. (Gregorie 1931, 84).

British Captain Christian Huck's success in the New Acquisition District made him arrogant and profane. He was a New York lawyer who had no understanding of the people he tried to intimidate. In early July, he led approximately 100 Legionaries. At daybreak 12 July, about 500 Whig partisans surprised and defeated Huck's unit at Williamson's plantation. Most loyalists were killed, including Huck, or captured.

Colonel William Hill later wrote:

After we had been some time at this camp [Clems Branch] as before mentioned. in order to prepare for actual service a number of men together with y^r author. being desirous to go into their own settlements on the west side of the River, in order to get a reinforce as well as other necessaries to enable us to keep the field — shortly after we crossed the River we were informed by our friends. that Capt. Hook [Huck] the same that had a few weeks before destroyed the Iron works had sent to most of the houses in the settlement. to notify the aged men, the young being in Camp, to meet him at a certain place, that he desired to make terms with them, & that he would put them in the King's peace

accordingly they met him, he undertook to harangue them, on the certainty of his majesty^s reducing all the Colonies. to obedience, and he far exceeded the Assyrian Gen^{ls} who we read of in ancient writ in blasphemy by saying that God almighty had become a Rebel, but if there were 20 Gods on that side, they would all be conquered, was his expression — Whilst he was employed in this impious blasphemy he had his officers & men taking all the horses fit for his purpose, so that many of the aged men had to walk many miles home afoot — This ill behaviour of the enemy made an impression on the minds of the most serious men in this little band and raised their courage under the belief that they would be made instruments in the hand of Heaven to punish this enemy for his wickedness and blasphemy (Hill 1815, 8–9).

On 11 July, Huck captured James McClure and Edward Martin molding lead musket balls and ordered their execution the next morning. During that evening, McClure's sister Mary raced to Sumter's camp at Nation Ford to inform her father Captain John McClure. A large detachment immediately left to attack Huck. At dawn, these patriots defeated Huck severely at Williamson's Plantation (Hill 1815, 9). Colonel William Hill later wrote:

The number of the Americans was 133, and many of them without arms Capⁿ. Hook [Huck] had about 100 horse & Col. [James] Ferguson, at this time commander of the Tory Militia, had about 300 men: they were encamp^d. in a Lane — a strong fence on each side — the Horse picketed in the inside of a field next to the lane, with their furniture and the officers in a mansion house in the field, in which was a number of women, which the said Hook had brought there. and at the moment the action commenced, he was then flourishing his sword over the head of these unfortunate women. & threatening them with death if they would not get their husbands & sons to come in — and marching all night, we made the attack about the break of day — The plan was to attack both ends of the Lane at the same time, but unfortunately the party sent to make the attack on the east end of the lane met with some embarrassments, by fences, brush, briars &c. that they could not get to the end of the lane until the firing commenced at the west end — The probability is that if that party had made good their march in time very few of them w^d. have escaped — However Cap. Hook was killed, and also Col. [James] Ferguson of the Tory Militia — Hook's Luit^h was wounded & died afterwards; considerable number of privates the number not known, as there were many of their carcasses found in the woods some days after — This happened about the. 10th .. of July 1780 at Williamsons Plantation in Y^k. D^t [York District], and it was the first check the enemy had received after the fall of Charleston; and was of greater consequence to the American cause than can be well supposed from an affair of small a magnitude — as it had the tendency to inspire the Americans with courage & fortitude & to teach them that the enemy was not invincible (Hill 1815, 9–10).

In 1839, John Craig wrote an article for *Pendleton Messenger* newspaper. It reappeared in the *Chester Standard* newspaper on 16 March 1854.

On the 26th [20th] June, 1780, we had an engagement with a company of Tories at Ramsower's mill. — We defeated them with considerable loss; among the slain was Capt. Falls. We then joined Gen. Sumter at Charlotte and moved on near the Old Nation ford in South Carolina, where we took up camp, and thence we moved to Steel creek, where we had an increase in numbers. Our next engagement was at Williamson's lane, commanded by Colonels Andrew Neal, and Lacy, Bratton, Major Dickson, Capt. McClure, and Capt. Jameson. Gen. Sumter remained in camp. This engagement was on the 12th of July, 1780. Our number was one hundred and ten and we defeated four hundred, commanded by Col. Floyd; killed Major [James] Ferguson and Capt. Hook, and took Capt. Adams prisoner with 30 or 40 privates, with the loss of one man. We then went back and joined camp with Gen. Sumter at Steel creek. (Craig 1839 in *Chester Standard* 1854 in Draper 1873, VV:5:150).

On 18 March 1822, [Archibald Brown testified](#):

Immediately after the fall of Charleston when the enemy came into the back country he joined Gen^l Sumter at Clems Branch in the Indian Land, Capt. Nixons company, was at Hooks defeat near Colonel Brattons, was at the battle of the Hanging Rock, was with Gen^l Sumter when attacked by the British at Fishing Creek, was at the Battle of Blackstocks. (Brown 1822 in Scoggins 2005, 162). (Brown, Archibald 1822)

On 13 November 1834, [Hugh Gaston testified](#):

... He was afterwards at the battle at James Williamson's plantation. The night previous to the battle they encamped at Clems Branch when they crossed the Catawba river and attacked the united forces of the British & Tories about day break. ... (Gaston 1834 in Scoggins 2005, 167) (Gaston, Hugh 1834).

On 6 May 1834, [Samuel Houston testified](#):

... From the Battle ground at Ramsour's Mills he was again marched across the Catawba River into the Catawba Indian's Land and encamped for some time at a place called Clem's branch in Lancaster district South Carolina. From thence in Captain McLure's Company under the Command of Col. Lacey he was detached to cross the Catawba River into York district to meet some British & Tories, whom we met and defeated at Col. William Bratton's. Capt. Hook [Huck], a British officer, and Col. [James] Ferguson a Tory, was killed & a Capt. Edmonson [Adamson] of the British Infantry was taken prisoner. From Col. Bratton's we were again marched across the Catawba & joined Genl. Sumpter at Clem's Branch. Thence he was marched with Genl. Sumpter to Rocky Mount where we had a battle with some British & Tories under the Command of Col. Turnbull of the British army. (Houston 1834 in Scoggins 2005, 169) (Houston, Samuel 1834)

On 1 July 1833, [James Kincaid testified](#):

... That he was first marched into Lancaster District South Carolina in the indian Land at Clem's branch. That he was shortly after his first enrolment marched to Fishing Creek in York District South Carolina and was there in the engagement under Capt. Moffet and Col. Bratton, at Hooks [Huck's] defeat, and that shortly thereafter he was then marched to Rocky mountain [Mount] and was there in that engagement under the command of Genl. Sumpter, Col. Moffet [Bratton] and Capt. Moffet where Genl. Sumpter's army was repulsed. (Kincaid 1833 in Scoggins 2005, 170) (Kincaid, James 1833)

On 27 September 1832, Samuel Watson Jr., stated:

... [Col. Bratton's men, including Watson,] immediately returned to the balance of the troops with Col. Brattan who were then encamped on a creek he thinks called Clams Creek [Clems Branch]. At this place there had assembled a good many volunteers some from Georgia who were commonly called refugees. This place was selected as a place of greater safety from the Tories than any other known at the time and the place from which several important sorties were made during those times. In a short time he does not remember how long, the troops under command of Col. Brattan the company of Capt. Moffitt among them crossed over the Catawba River leaving a number of troops at Clam's Creek and marched a distance of twenty eight or thirty miles in the dead of night and early next morning had an engagement with a party of British and Tories under command of a British officer whose name was Hook [Huck], and defeated them. ... (Watson 1832 in Scoggins 2005, 181–182) (Watson, Samuel 1832).

At Colonel Sumter's camp at Catawba Nation Ford, militia Colonel William Bratton assembled approximately 150 volunteers to attack Huck. John Moore, a Moore-related 4th great-grandfather, could have volunteered since Huck was close to his home (Sutton 1987, 360).

The combined effect of Ramsour's Mill and Huck's Defeat plus Sumter's control of Nation Ford did much to encourage local Whigs and discourage local Tories.

17 July, Sumter joins Davie at Waxhaw Creek

At this time, the Continental Army Southern Department was advancing to challenge Cornwallis. It was camped on Deep River in North Carolina. Major General Baron Johann DeKalb was temporary commander awaiting the arrival of Major General Horatio Gates. On 17 July, from “Camp Catawba River,” Sumter sent a long letter to DeKalb that summarized the South Carolina situation, estimated British strength, and suggested a strategy (Gregorie 1931, 86).

With Huck’s cavalry threat eliminated, on 17 July, Sumter moved his men to join Davie’s 65 North Carolina cavalymen at the Waxhaw Creek camp. From this location, they could control access to strategically important Land’s Ford. At that time, there were 700 horses in one camp (Gregorie 1931, 85). The men moved towards Land’s Ford and turned their horses loose in the cornfield of Doctor Harper, a known loyalist (Gregorie 1931, 87). Sumter and Davie often cooperated in South Carolina even though they were not under the same chain of command.

On 19 July, these Americans learned of a large body of British soldiers marching forward from Hanging Rock. During the night of 19–20 July, the Americans attempted to trap the British in an ambush. For whatever reason, the British did not appear (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 234) (Gregorie 1931, 87) (Robinson 1957, 45).

21 July, Flat Rock

On the night of 20 July, Major William Richardson Davie took his men from Waxhaw Creek to Flat Rock, 5 miles below the British outpost at Hanging Rock, at the present-day granite quarry. There they set up an ambush and waited until the following afternoon. They successfully captured and destroyed a British supply convoy. Prisoners were placed on captured horses. For safety, Davie returned by a detour route. But about 2:00 a.m. at a principal branch of Beaver Creek, he was ambushed by British who accidentally killed many of the prisoners. Davie arrived back at Waxhaw Creek on 22 July. (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 9).



Flat Rock is a monument granite quarry today.
World War II Monument in Washington, DC, 2004, used stone from Flat Rock.

Captain William Polk, 1st cousin 8 generations removed of Arabelle Boyer, acting as a volunteer, participated in this engagement.

Rutherford and Davidson attempted to prevent Rowan County Tory militia from joining the British in Camden. On 21 July, Davidson’s troops surprised Tories at Colson’s Mill where Rocky River joins Yadkin River (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 230–232). Although successful, Davidson was severely wounded in the abdomen and required a month to recover.

22 July, Sumter at Clems Branch campground, second encampment

About 22 July, Sumter returned to Clems Branch campground for a second time (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 235) (Gregorie 1931, 87). The strongest evidence for this encampment is from Captain Joseph Graham, who was adjutant of the Mecklenburg militia (Graham 1832 in Graham 1904, 48). He later wrote:

It was not thought advisable to attack the enemy at his camp [Hanging Rock], and as Lord Rawdon, when there [at Waxhaw Creek] before had consumed the forage at the neighboring farms, General Sumter moved back on the road to Charlotte sixteen miles to Clem's Branch, and encamped where he could draw his supplies from the fertile settlement of Providence on his left. (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 234–235)



Brigadier General Joseph Graham
Artist unknown, about 1805.
(Graham 1904, frontispiece).

At this time, a loyalist officer named Lisle outfitted his entire regiment at British Army expense, and delivered it to the Sumter. Tarleton later wrote:

An instance of treachery which took place about this time, ruined all confidence between the regulars and the [loyalist] militia : The inhabitants in the districts of the rivers Ennoree and Tyger had been enrolled since the siege of Charles town, under the orders of Colonel Floyd; Colonel Neale, the former commanding officer, having fled out of the province for his violent persecution of the loyalists. One Lisle, who had belonged to the same corps, and who had been banished to the [West Indies] islands, availing himself of the proclamation to exchange his parole for a certificate of his being a good citizen, was made second in command : And as soon as the battalion was completed with arms and ammunition, he carried it off to Colonel Neale, who had joined Colonel Sumpter's command in the Catawba [Nation]. (Tarleton 1787, 93)

Sumter, without a plan of immediate action to keep his men busy, furloughed most of his men who returned to their farms. His strength fell to 100 (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 235). But soon afterwards, Sumter believed the British outposts at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock were vulnerable and decided to attack. On 25 July, he recalled his own men and requested the Mecklenburg militia to join (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 235).

30 July, Sumter attacks Rocky Mount

On 30 July, Colonel Thomas Sumter attempted to capture the strong British outpost at Rocky Mount.

Rocky Mount is about two miles downstream of Great Falls, a natural wonder before it was dammed in 1905. An early 1800s observer wrote (Durden 2001, 19):

Hills confine the descending stream as it approaches them [the Great Falls]; when advancing nearer, it is further narrowed, on both sides, by high rocks, piled up like walls. The Catawba River from a width of 180 yards, is now straightened into a channel about one-third of that extent, and from this confinement is forced down into the narrowest part of the river, called the gulf. Thus, pent up on all sides, on it rushes over large masses of stone, and is precipitated down the falls. Its troubled waters are dashed from rock to rock, and present a sheet of foam, from shore to shore, nor do they abate their impetuosity until after they have been precipitated over 20 falls, to a depth of very short of 150 feet. Below Rocky Mount the agitated waters, after being expanded into a channel of 318 yards wide, begin to subside, but are not composed. A considerable time elapses before they regain their former tranquility.

On 28 July, Sumter's men departed Clems Branch campground (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 236) (Gregorie 1931, 87), and crossed Catawba River at Land's Ford. Simultaneously, Davie's men started a raid on the British camp at Hanging Rock. On 30 July, Sumter attacked the British fort at Rocky Mount. This assault was unsuccessful (Hill 1815, 11), but at least temporarily put the British on the defensive.

Other evidence of this second encampment at Clems Branch is provided by the life story of Jane Gaston in the March 1850 issue of *Godey's Lady's Book* written by Elizabeth Fries Ellet.

... the Whigs, who had been driven back by the British, returned, and formed a camp not far below, on Clem's Branch, in the upper edge of Lancaster District. At this time, Alexander, a son of old Mr. Haynes, was about starting to join the fighting men in this camp. When his mother bade him adieu, she gave her parting counsel in the words, "Now, Alick, fight like a man! Don't be a coward!" Such was the spirit of those matrons of Carolina! After two weeks had elapsed, Alexander was brought home from the battle of Rocky Mount badly wounded in the face. Mrs. Haynes received him without testifying any weakness or undue alarm, and seemed proud that he had fought bravely, and that his wound was in front. He was taken thence to [the hospital in] Charlotte. (Ellet, Jane Gaston 1850).

Alexander Haynes while peeking behind a rock during the battle at Rocky Mount had an eye shot out and his cheek badly disfigured. He lived to be an old man. (White 1871 in Stinson in Draper 1873, VV:11:292).

Mecklenburg militia under Colonel Robert Irwin did not respond quickly enough to participate at Rocky Mount, but on 31 July, 30 of them (Adair 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:16) joined Sumter at Land's Ford (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 237). There a meeting was held to plan the next action (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 11). On 6 August, all participated in the battle at Hanging Rock (Hill 1815, 12).



Rocky Mount Monument
Rocky Mount, South Carolina

William “Black Billy” Alexander, a McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, served under Colonel Sumter and participated at Rocky Mount (Hunter 1877, 116).

Also on 30 July, Davie conducted a raid on Hanging Rock.

At day break 30 July, Colonel Isaac Shelby forced surrender of Tory Major Patrick Moore at Thicketty Fort.

6 August 1780, Hanging Rock

On 6 August, Americans under Colonel Thomas Sumter attacked the British outpost near Hanging Rock along Camden Road near present-day Heath Springs, South Carolina. Major William Richardson Davie was an important leader since his cavalry had been active in the area for several days. Davie’s messengers were teenage Andrew Jackson and his brother Robert (James 1938, 20–21). Many references place the battle at Hanging Rock boulder. But original-sources, (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 13) and Sumter’s report in (Bass 1961, 72), indicate the battle was along Camden Road, beginning at the present-day fish hatchery, across the creek, up the ravine, and down the road for about a third of a mile. Tarleton later wrote:

Colonel Sumpter crossed Broad [should be Catawba] river, and retired to his former camp in the Catawba settlement; where, reinforcing the numbers he had lost at Rocky mount, he was soon in a condition to project other operations. This active partisan was thoroughly sensible, that the minds of men are influenced by enterprise, and that to keep undisciplined people together, it is necessary to employ them. For this purpose, he again surveyed the state of the British posts upon the frontier, and on minute examination he deemed Hanging rock the most vulnerable : He hastened his preparations for the attack, because a detachment of cavalry and mounted infantry had been ordered from that place to reinforce Rocky mount. (Tarleton 1787, 94)



Round Rock, 30-foot diameter boulder
One among many large boulders near Hanging Rock.

Ezra Alexander, a McGuire-related 2nd cousin 7 generations removed, participated in the attack at Hanging Rock. William “Black Billy” Alexander, a McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, served under Colonel Sumter and participated at Hanging Rock (Hunter 1877, 116). His brother, Thomas Alexander, also participated (Hunter 1877, 114).

Wofford Iron Works

During the summer 1780, Scotsman Major Patrick Ferguson recruited loyalist militiamen in upstate South Carolina. In reaction, patriot militiamen harassed these loyalists. On the night of 7–8 August, about 400 patriots camped at Cedar Springs near present-day Spartanburg, South Carolina. At dawn, they were alerted that Ferguson was advancing on them with a 1000-man army. They quickly abandoned camp and fell back to a better defensible position across Lawson’s Fork Creek at Wofford’s Iron Works in present-day Glendale, South Carolina. Loyalist light-cavalry, call dragoons, under Captain James Duncan arrived first. The patriots repulsed two dragoon charges and for a short while remounted and pursued them. However, when Ferguson’s full army arrived, the outnumbered patriots withdrew.

Patriot Captain Samuel Espey, a Plonk-related 4th great-grandfather, participated in this battle. He was in Colonel William Graham’s militia regiment of mounted infantrymen.

August 1780, Gates, Camden

In late July and early August 1780, American Major General Horatio Gates moved an army towards the British fort at Camden. For several days, American and British forces, under Rawdon, faced each other across Lynches Creek, 14 miles from Camden (Tarleton 1787, 99). On 13 August, Gates moved his army to Rugeley’s Mill. The main encampment was north of Grannies Quarter Creek. The light infantry was posted on the south side (Tarleton 1787, 102). In reaction, Rawdon pulled back from Lynches Creek to Camden. On 10–13 August, Cornwallis raced from Charlestown to Camden to take personal command. As Gates approached Camden, Colonel Thomas Sumter corresponded and persuaded Gates of the strategy of controlling all Catawba, Wateree, and Santee river crossings. On 15 August, while at Rugeley’s Mills, Gates sent 100 Continentals and 300 North Carolina militia to reinforce Sumter (Bass 1961, 78).



Major General Horatio Gates
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1782.

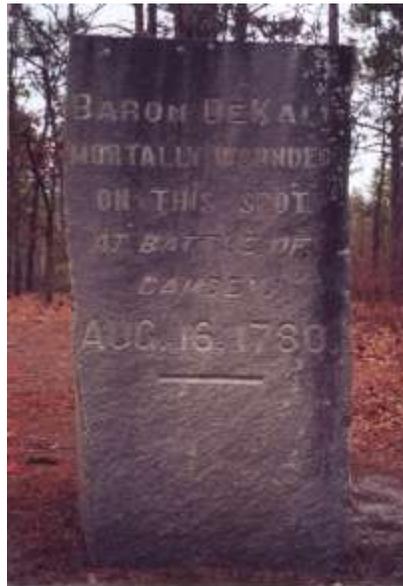
John Espey, a Plonk-related 4th great-granduncle, was in Gate's army as it advanced on Camden. [John](#) was among the North Carolina militia detached to reinforce Sumter (Espey, John 1832).

At 10:00 p.m. 15 August, Gates began moving his army closer to Camden, planning to stop at defensible Saunder's Creek. By coincidence, Cornwallis began a simultaneous surprise attack. At 2:00 a.m. 16 August, vans of both armies collided along the road 10 miles north of Camden. Both armies suddenly stopped. From a few captured prisoners, Gates learned for the first time that he faced 3000 Redcoats led by personally Cornwallis. The shock paralyzed Gates decision making. He assigned North Carolina and Virginia militia the same responsibilities as trained Continental soldiers. Unfortunately, those militiamen were lined up against Cornwallis' best professional soldiers. At daybreak, the initial British bayonet charge collapsed the militia's position, exposing the Continental's left flank. Garret Watts, a North Carolina militiaman, [testified](#) 54 years later:

I well remember everything that occurred the next morning. I remember that I was among the nearest to the enemy; that a man named John Summers was my file leader; that we had orders to wait for the word to commence firing; that the militia were in front and in a feeble condition at that time. They were fatigued. The weather was warm excessively. They had been fed a short time previously on molasses entirely. I can state on oath that I believe my gun was the first gun fired, notwithstanding the orders, for we were close to the enemy, who appeared to maneuver in contempt of us, and I fired without thinking except that I might prevent the man opposite me from killing me. The discharge and loud roar soon became general from one end of the lines to the other. Amongst other things, I confess I was amongst the first that fled. The cause of that I cannot tell, except that everyone I saw was about to do the same. It was instantaneous. There was no effort to rally, no encouragement to fight. Officers and men joined in the flight. I threw away my gun, and, reflecting I might be punished for being found without arms, I picked up a drum, which gave forth such sounds when touched by the twigs I cast it away. When we had gone, we heard the roar of guns still, but we knew not why. Had we known, we might have returned. It was that portion of the army commanded by [Major General] de Kalb fighting still. (Watts, Garret 1834).



Major General Baron Johann de Kalb
Re-painted from half size by Charles Willson Peale, 1781–1782.



Major General Jean de Kalb Monument
Flat Rock Road, north of Camden, South Carolina.

William Mitchell, brother of David Mitchell Jr., who was husband of Ann Anderson an Anderson-related 4th great-grandaunt, was a North Carolina militiaman at the battle of Camden (Mitchell, William 1832). David Mitchell Jr. was a militia lieutenant at this time, but his brother did not mention he was in the battle (Mitchell, Ann Anderson 1843).

Colonel Hugh Tinnin, an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, participated at Camden. He was captured and held prisoner of war for a year (Conolly 2008). [James Tinnin](#), an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, was in Major General Richard Caswell's army of North Carolina militiamen (Tinnin, James 1833).

David White, husband of Elizabeth Allen an Anderson-related 1st cousin 6 generations removed, was a seventeen-year-old North Carolina militiaman at the battle of Camden.

At first fire his regiment retreated. It then took up a position at the right of the Irish [Volunteer] regulars and on his second fire he took aim at a mounted officer riding up

from the left and killed him. Being closely pressed he turned and fired a third time while retreating. (S. W. Stockard 1900, 150) (Turner, *The Scott Family of Hawfields* 1971, 46)

Tarleton's Legion pursued fleeing Americans. In his own words (Tarleton 1787, 107), "rout and slaughter ensued in every quarter." About 250 Americans died and 800 were wounded. Most of these casualties were Continentals. Over 1000 captives were taken to Charlestown and Haddrell's Point. Captured Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford was taken to St. Augustine, Florida. In his absence, on 31 August, the North Carolina Assembly appointed Davidson as brigadier general in command of Salisbury District militia. Also, it promoted Davie to colonel.

From Camden, Cornwallis prepared to invade North Carolina.



British Camden Headquarters, June 1780–May 1781
1976 replica, Camden, South Carolina

18 August 1780, Sumter's Surprise

On 17 August, Sumter's army camped at Rocky Mount not realizing that Tarleton's Legion was stalking them across the river. The next day, Sumter crossed Fishing Creek Cow Ford and rested on the north side (Bass 1961, 82). Tarleton surprised and virtually destroyed Sumter's army. About 150 Americans were killed. Present-day historical markers along highway US21 locate the battle's approximate location.

John Espey, a Plonk-related 4th great-granduncle, [participated at Fishing Creek](#) and somehow escaped (Espey, John 1832).

North Carolina militia might have re-grouped at Clems Branch campground after their defeat at Camden on 16 August 1780. On 23 August, North Carolina Governor Abner Nash wrote, "General [Richard] Caswell made a stand at Charlotte, near the boundary line, and called in upwards of one thousand fresh men. These he [Caswell] added to Colonel Sumpster's party of about seven hundred, and gave him [Sumter] the command of the whole, whilst he [Caswell] came here [Hillsborough]." (Nash 1780 in Tarleton 1787, 150). That description seems to imply the militiamen assembled in Charlotte proper, but it could mean along the Camden-Charlotte Road at the boundary line. That is at Clems Branch campground. It is plausible that these militiamen might re-group at their first opportunity inside North Carolina. Nash was reciting what he was told by North Carolina Major General Caswell. Davie called Caswell's claim of credit for assembling this force a "damnable lie" (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 20), but Davie does not rule out the assembly of soldiers. In 1780, Caswell was a former North Carolina governor. It seems unlikely he would mislead the current governor Nash on such an important matter.

Shortly afterwards, the British began transferring American prisoners to Charlestown. On 21 August, a convoys was intercepted by Colonel Francis Marion and Colonel Hugh Horry [pronounced Ōr rē]. Tarleton later wrote:

A subsequent event manifested in strong colours the duplicity of the inhabitants of the province, and the necessity of occasionally exercising exemplary punishment on the most guilty. In the districts through which the prisoners were to pass, on their journey to

Charles town, the inhabitants had almost universally given their paroles, or taken out certificates as good citizens. This reflection, and the heat of the weather, caused the King's officers to send small guards only of infantry from Camden to escort detachments of continentals and militia, taken in the late actions: The first and second convoy passed in security; but the third was waylaid by the inhabitants of the country, under the direction of one Horry; the British were made prisoners, and the Americans released from captivity. (Tarleton 1787, 157).

In Hillsborough, Gates collected about 800 Continental soldiers plus at least 72 American prisoners recaptured by Marion and Horry (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 289). Gates attempted to reestablish a formidable army by recruitment and supply. Three light infantry companies were formed by selecting the most swift and agile young men from the regular units. Captain Brooks commanded the Maryland company, Captain Robert Kirkwood, the Delaware company, and Captain Bruin, the Virginia company (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 290).

19 August 1780, Musgrove Mill

During the night of 18–19 August, 200 American militiamen rode 40 miles from Smith's Ford (DeLorme, South Carolina Atlas & Gazetteer 1998, 20) on Broad River to raid a British outpost at Musgrove Mill on Enoree River. They were commanded by Colonel Isaac Shelby and Colonel Elijah Clarke. They were joined by Colonel Thomas Brandon's men from Spartanburg District and other volunteers. This was a daring raid behind the advanced post of Major Patrick Ferguson at Fair Forest Shoal. On arrival at a clearing about a mile from Musgrove Mill, the Americans sent out a reconnaissance patrol, but they were detected and the entire British camp was alerted. At the same time, Americans learned that an additional 300 provincial regulars had just arrived. The Americans changed tactics. They quickly built a fortification from brush. Captain Shadrack Inman with 25 fellow mounted Georgians proceeded down the road to the river and made a display, luring the British across the river and up to the American position. There several volleys were exchanged. When the commanding British officer, Colonel Alexander Innes, was wounded, the remaining British panicked and fled back to the river. The Americans killed 63, wounded about 90, and captured 70. American losses were only 4 killed and 9 wounded. However, soon afterwards, an express rider sent from Colonel Charles McDowell at Smith's Ford brought news of Gates' Defeat three days earlier and McDowell's intention to withdraw to Gilbert Town. Shelby and Clarke realizing how dangerously exposed they were and decide to withdraw toward Gilbert Town (Draper 1881, 103–122). In late 2002, a new South Carolina state park opened at Musgrove Mill. It includes Horseshoe Waterfall along Cedar Shoals Creek.



Musgrove Mill battleground
as viewed by British approaching American position.

Matthew Alexander, a McGuire-related 4th great-granduncle, participated at Musgrove's Mill. He served under Captain Parson and Colonel Benjamin Roebuck (Moss 1983) probably under Colonel Thomas Brandon. Later, Matthew Alexander was arrested along with 60 others and marched to Ninety Six where he was imprisoned for 3 months.

On 20 August, two days after his defeat at Fishing Creek, Sumter arrived at Davie's camp in Charlotte "without a single follower." (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 20).

Late August–Early September 1780, Mecklenburg militia at McAlpine Creek

After Major General Horatio Gates' defeat on 16 August 1780 at Camden and Colonel Thomas Sumter's defeat on 18 August at Fishing Creek, the British Army under Lieutenant General Charles Lord Cornwallis occupied Georgia and South Carolina, and was posed to capture North Carolina. Cornwallis was overconfident. Like many British officers, he was contemptuous of American soldiers. He would have been wise to adopt conciliatory policies, including reinstating some civilian government, that had a chance of winning American hearts and minds. Instead, he encouraged his military subordinates to use extreme measures. In an August 1780 message to Lieutenant Colonel John Cruger, commander of Ninety Six, Cornwallis wrote:

I have given orders, that all the inhabitants of this Province [South Carolina] who had submitted, and who have taken part in its revolt, shall be punished with the greatest rigour — that they should be imprisoned, and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militiaman, who had borne arms with us, and afterwards joined the enemy, should be immediately hanged; and have now, Sir, only to desire, that you will take the most vigorous measures to extinguish the rebellion, and that you will obey, in the strictest manner, the directions given in this letter. (Cornwallis 1780 in CP 1970, 80:27–28) (Cornwallis 1780 in Garden 1822, 35) (Wickwire and Wickwire 1970, 179)

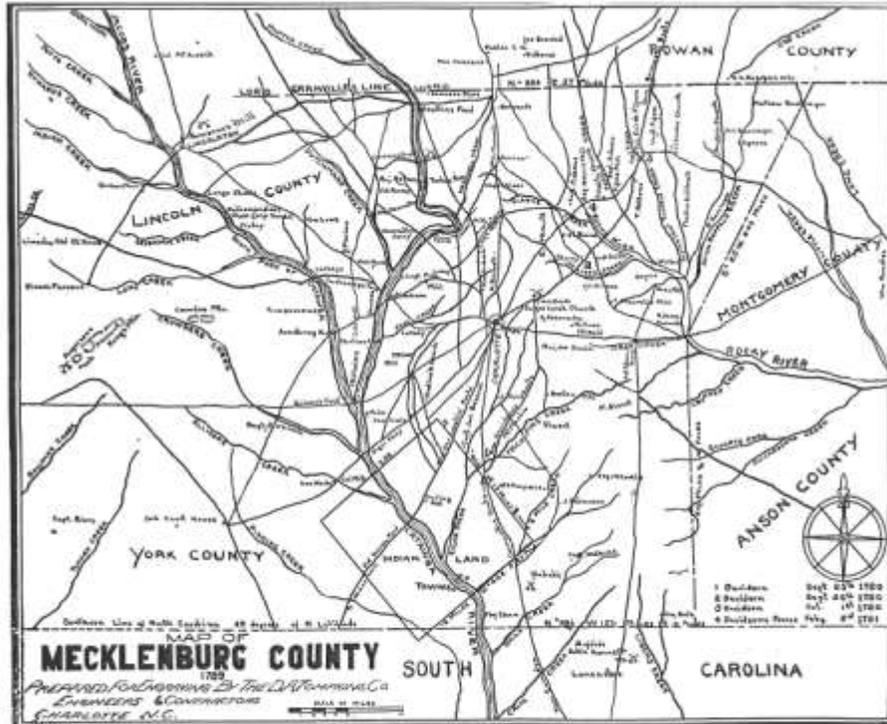
British Major James Wemyss burned homes of noted Whigs between Cheraw and Georgetown. He burned Indiantown Presbyterian Church as a "sedition shop." These vindictive policies drove about a thousand Whigs into Colonel Thomas Sumter's and Colonel Charles McDowell's camps just across the border in North Carolina.

In the panic circumstances of early September 1780, the North Carolina legislature "established a Board of War for the more effectually and expeditiously calling forth the powers and resources of the State against a common enemy." (Graham 1904, 380). It was modeled on the Board of War established by the Continental Congress. It usurped the executive authority of Governor Abner Nash who complained. This action contrasts with that of the South Carolina legislature which the previous April granted its governor dictatorial powers.

After Gates' Defeat, the American Army in the South was in utter disarray. It tried to regroup at Hillsborough, North Carolina. North Carolina Governor Nash urged Mecklenburg County militia officers to meet in Charlotte (Davidson 1951, 71). They directed Colonel Robert Irwin to assemble half the county militia and camp to the south of Charlotte. They also directed Major William Richardson Davie to patrol his cavalry in the country next to Camden. (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 245–246) (Robinson 1957, 65).

Colonel Irwin selected a position seven or eight miles southeast of Charlotte, between the two roads that lead to Camden from that place, and encamped behind McAlpin's Creek. (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 246).

These two roads were approximately present-day Providence Road and highway US521, however with important deviations. Between Twelve Mile Creek and Waxhaw Creek, a crossroad connected the two. It could have been present-day Rehobeth Road, a ridge road, and vestige of the old colonial "Salisbury Road." Or it might have been the path of the present-day railroad tracks that parallel highway NC75. Two old maps show these joining roads. Major Joseph Graham, an active Revolutionary officer, prepared one of these maps in 1789. This map was redrawn sometime in the early 1900s by the Charlotte engineering firm D. A. Tompkins Company.



Original Map from which this was compiled has this inscription:

*A plan of Mecklenburg and portion of
 adjoining Counties is laid down by a scale of five miles to an inch
 January 16th 1789 By Maj Joseph Graham*

Caption reads: Original Map from which this was compiled bore this inscription:-

“A plan of Mecklenburg and portion of adjoining Counties is laid down by a scale of five miles to an inch.

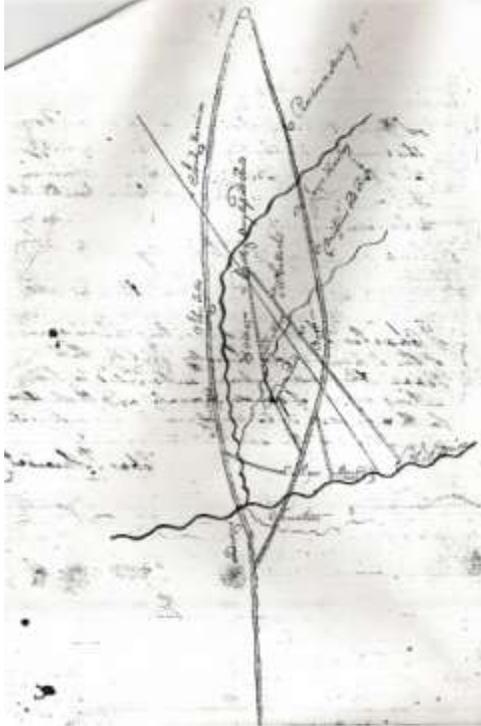
January 16th 1789 By Maj Joseph Graham.”

(Graham 1789 in Tompkins in Graham 1904, 188)

(Graham 1789 in Tompkins in Robinson 1976, 6)

The second map is rough sketch of public roads drawn by Joshua Gordon, a resident of upper Lancaster County, in 1810 (Gordon 1810 in SCDAH 2007, 176.1 0010 004 ND00 66714 00). Historian Louise Pettus wrote:

Around 1810 Joshua Gordon petitioned the South Carolina legislature “complaining of the improper conduct of the Board of Commissioners of Roads of the district of Lancaster.” Gordon said there were already two public roads to connect Charlotte and Lancaster Court House and that it was a hardship to add another [those who lived on the road had to maintain it]. What is remarkable is that Gordon included a hand-drawn road map showing the roads, creeks, some households, the Six Mile and Providence Meeting House locations, etc. it is probably the earliest road map of the area that is extant, preceding the Mills Atlas map by around 15 years. (Pettus 1988).



Two roads between Charlotte and just below Twelve Mile Creek
 Joshua Gordon, (Gordon 1810 in SCDAH 2007, 176.1 0010 004 ND00 66714 00).

One source suggests the two roads intersected four miles north of Waxhaw Creek (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:775–776). That intersection was probably slightly west of where present-day Old Church Road, SR378, forks into Niven Road in South Carolina and Rehobeth Road, SR1107, in North Carolina (Salley 1929, map). Alternatively, it could have followed the present-day railroad tracks that parallel highway NC75. At the time of the Revolution and well into the 1800s, the western road was called Steele Creek Road, presumably because it provided access to Steele Creek. This name appears in (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 24), (Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 89), (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249), (Bass 1961, 86), (Stinson 1871 in Draper 1873, VV:5:45), and (Pettus 1990). Unfortunately, this obsolete name is ambiguous since Steele Creek flows into the opposite side of Sugar Creek and two other roads in Mecklenburg County have the same name. This obsolete name confounded this author and at least one historian (Robinson 1957, 69). Along Steele Creek Road the distance between Waxhaw Creek and Charlotte was 30 miles. Along Rehobeth Road and Providence Road the distance was slightly longer, 33 miles. Between these two principal roads there were several crossroads that were ridge roads. One notable crossroad ran along the ridgeline between the Sugar Creek and Twelve Mile Creek watersheds. It was called Providence Road West. Today, it is the connected segments of Ballantyne Commons Parkway, Elm Lane, Bryan Farms Road, Providence Road West, and Barbersville Road.

8 September, Davidson commands Western District militia at McAlpine Creek

Colonel Robert Irwin's camp was probably near present-day Old Providence Road bridge over McAlpine Creek. In a few days, Colonel Francis Locke with the Rowan County militia joined. All together, they constituted about 400 Salisbury District militiamen. However, who was commander was unclear in the absence of Brigadier General Rutherford who had been captured at Gates' Defeat. In about a week, Governor Nash resolved this issue by appointing William Davidson, an experienced Continental Army lieutenant colonel, who was promoted on this occasion to militia brigadier general (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 246). Davidson had just recovered from injuries received at Colson's Mill on 21 July. At the same time, Nash promoted Major William Richardson Davie to "Colonel & commander of all the militia Horse acting in the Western District." (Davie 1780 in Robinson 1957, 65). With this promotion, Davie no longer reported to the Mecklenburg militia command, but to Davidson. Apparently, Davie's 70 cavalymen operated in two units. Davie directly controlled the Rowan cavalymen and his subordinate Captain Joseph

Graham commanded the Mecklenburg cavalrymen. Davie's cavalrymen patrolled throughout the Waxhaw region.

The spirited response of the Mecklenburg and Rowan militiamen encouraged Governor Nash to write Major General Jethro Sumner at Ramsey's Mill on Deep River on 4 September:

The Western Counties are now high spirited, and things there wear a good countenance; 500 Virginia regulars will be here [Hillsborough] in a day or two, and nothing is wanting but the countenance of your brigade to give life and spirit to our affairs; so let me beg of you, sir, to march on, surmounting and despising all difficulties. Appoint a commissary yourself. (Nash 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:771)

At Ramsey's Mill, surgeon Robert Williams joined Sumner.

We continued on until we joined the remains of the defeated army at Ramsey Mills on Deep River in this State then under the command of General Jethro Sumner who was a Brigadier in the Continental line. James Cole Montflorenc was his aid. He gave me an appointment of Surgeon General which I went and returned because I was young and there was several surgeons on the Continental establishment who had been several years in service. He then gave me an appointment as surgeon to the army as he said the Doctors he believed that were there were inattentive to their duty and some of them drank hard. (Williams 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:192) (Williams, Robert 1832)

8 September, Davie withdraws to Providence

As Cornwallis advanced from Camden, Davie took up a new post at New Providence in front of Davidson. He later wrote:

Col^o Davie who was now appointed Col^l of all the Cavalry of N^o Carolina with orders also to raise a regiment had there collected only about seventy men however with these and two companies of riflemen commanded by Major Geo. Davidson [of Anson County] he took post at Providence twenty five miles above the British camp. (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 21).

Major George Davidson was from Anson County and not related to William Davidson. He contributed 80 mounted infantry, bringing Davie's strength to 150 cavalrymen (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 21).

The distances that Davie cites in his two quotes reveal an interesting insight. He wrote that the British camp on Waxhaw Creek was 40 miles from Charlotte and his camp at Providence was 25 miles above the British camp (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 21). So implicitly, Davie indicated his camp was 15 miles from Charlotte. That is where Six Mile Creek crosses Providence Road. How did he know the distance between the two camps was 25 miles? It is not likely that he directly measured it. It is more likely that he computed it from known distances from Charlotte. A milepost probably marked that location. Such mileposts were in existence in the early 1800s (Rosser 1873 in Draper 1873, VV:13:6), and probably existed much earlier. So Davie almost certainly used the well-known 15 miles to derive the 25-mile distance between the two camps. This analysis is confused by Davie's mistaken 40-mile distance from Charlotte to Waxhaw Creek on the North Carolina line. The actual distance is 30 miles. This discrepancy is surprising since Davie's boyhood home was nearby. Perhaps Davie was referring to the long way, along Providence Road and present-day Old Tinzah Church Road. Or perhaps his original manuscript was misread. Whatever the reason, the invariant in Davie's writing is that his camp was 15 miles from Charlotte, and that is where Six Mile Creek crosses Providence Road.

Graham later wrote, "Davie retired before them [the British] until near General Davidson's quarters at McAlpin's Creek." (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249). The inference is that Davie's camp was distinct from Davidson's camp and that Davie was closer to the enemy. Graham, who was with the Mecklenburg militia at McAlpine Creek, remembered the camps relative positions.

12 September, Cornwallis at Waxhaw Creek

Beginning 7 September 1780 (Money 1780, 7 Sep) (Stedman 1794, 2:215) (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 21), Cornwallis marched the British Army (Tarleton 1787, 191), in total about 1200 soldiers, from Camden

northwards towards Charlotte. Tarleton's Legion advanced up the Catawba River west side to upper Fishing Creek. Tarleton later wrote:

Earl Cornwallis, with the principal column of the army, composed of the 7th, 23d, 33d, and 71st regiments of infantry, the volunteers of Ireland, Hamilton's corps, Bryan's refugees, four pieces of cannon, about fifty wagons, and a detachment of cavalry, marched by Hanging rock, towards the Catawba settlement; whilst the body of the British dragoons, and the light and legion infantry, with a three pounder, crossed the Wateree, and moved up the east [west] side of the river, under Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton. (Tarleton 1787, 158).

Note: British Army Regiments

A British regiment's full name indicates how or where its soldiers were first recruited. If it was established by the monarch, it was called Royal. Or the name may reflect a region of Great Britain. Or the name could be the colonel commissioned to recruit a regiment. (Brander 1971, 37–48) Once established, a regiment was typically active for a campaign or war. Depending on need, it could be consolidated with another regiment or be disbanded until reestablished years later. Each regiment's uniform was distinctive in some way, particularly in hat design. A fusil was a light musket. Cornwallis' regular British regiments and their commanders in the Carolinas were:

Regiment	Name	Commander
23 rd	Royal Welch Fusileers	Lieutenant Colonel James Webster
33 rd	West Riding Regiment	Lieutenant Colonel James Webster
63 rd	West Suffolk	Major James Wemyss
71 st	Fraser's Highlanders	Major Archibald McArthur
7 th	Royal Fusileers	[garrison duty]
	British Legion	Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton
2 nd American	Volunteers of Ireland	Lieutenant Colonel Francis Lord Rawdon
	Volunteers of New York	Lieutenant Colonel George Turnbull
militia	Royal North Carolinians	Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton
militia	Yadkin Valley Loyalists	Colonel Samuel Bryan

The British Legion and Volunteers of Ireland were on the British establishment, but despite their name, most of their soldiers were American Loyalists.

On 7 September, Cornwallis' army encamped at Rugeley's Mill. On 8 September, at Hanging Rock. On 9 September, at Berkley's on Camp Creek, near present-day Shady Lane, Lancaster, South Carolina. On 10–11 September, at Forster's or Foster's near present-day Foster's Crossroads. (Allison 2009)

On 12 September, Cornwallis' army encamped on Waxhaw Creek. Cornwallis' correspondence of 12 September indicates his location was "Camp at Crawford's, Waxhaw Creek." (Cornwallis 1780 in CP 1970, 80:17) Davie later wrote:

... Earle Cornwallis moved with the whole of the British Army from Camden to the Waxhaws and took possession of the Camp occupied by Major Davie in the months of June and July, forty [should be 30] miles below Charlotte and directly on the N^o Car^a line. (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 21).

Davie described his previous camp as "on the North side of the Waxhaw creek" (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 8). Most of the British army camped north of Waxhaw Creek except for the 71st Highland Regiment that encamped in the rear, about half a mile south of the creek (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 21). Cornwallis' campsite was slightly north of the present-day highway US521 bridge over Waxhaw Creek. At that time, Salisbury Road defined the state line. An 1813 map shows this road closely flanked by two small streams flowing into Waxhaw Creek (Salley 1929, map). Today, highway US521 has the same configuration. That puts the present-day US521 bridge within 400 yards of where the Salisbury Road crossed Waxhaw Creek in 1780. Major Robert Crawford's house was Cornwallis' headquarters. It was

most probably on the hilltop above the creek and west of the road (Allison 2009). This house site appeared later as “J. Crawford’s” on an 1813 map (Salley 1929, map) and as “John Crawford’s” on the 1825 *Mills Atlas* (Mills 1825). Since Robert Crawford died in 1801, these labels probably refer to his son John. In fact, this was confirmed by General Andrew Jackson who after receiving a copy of the Mills Atlas, replied on 8 July 1827:

The crossing of Waxhaw creek within one mile of which I was born, is still, however, I see, possessed by Mr. John Crawford, son of the owner (Robert) who lived there when I was growing up and at school ... From the accuracy with which this spot is marked on the map I conclude the whole [map] must be correct. (Jackson 1827 in James 1938, 794)

Lieutenant John Money, Aide de Camp, recorded that British soldiers built huts (Money 1780, 12 Sep). Since Major Robert Crawford was a noted Patriot, Cornwallis probably confiscated Crawford’s property.

He [Robert Crawford] served as a captain during 1776. He served under Cols. Richard Richardson and Joseph Kershaw. He went to Charleston at the time of Provost’s invasion and was in the battle at Stono’s Ferry. In 1780 he became a major and was taken prisoner in the fall of Charleston. After being paroled, he joined Sumter and commanded a unit at the Battle of Hanging Rock. In addition, he was at Sumter’s Defeat. He lost two horses in service. (Moss 1983)

Cornwallis paused at Waxhaw Creek to allow loyalists to join (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 248). Many soldiers were sick, including Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton time who was recuperating from serious illness (Cornwallis 1780 in Tarleton 1787, 191). Tarleton was with the British Legion at White’s Mill west of Catawba River. The two British positions denied American use of Land’s Ford.

Some loyalists did camp nearby in North Carolina, notably at Wahab’s Plantation. No doubt, Cornwallis’ was sensitive about his entry into North Carolina since it had significant political implications. It meant the expansion of the war into another political entity, threatening the legitimacy of every North Carolina government agency, and forcing its officials to react. His pause at Waxhaw Creek was probably for this reason. In addition, it provided a place for Cornwallis to consolidate loyalist support and gather supplies before a new offensive.

Cornwallis considered his Waxhaw Creek camp within South Carolina. While there, Cornwallis issued a *Proclamation of Sequester* against the property of certain notable South Carolina rebels. The Proclamation explicitly states that it was signed in “the district of Wacsaw” in the province of “South Carolina” (Cornwallis 1780 in Tarleton 1787, 191). Also, on 12 September, Cornwallis wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Crugar:

I have given the fullest Directions to Lt. Col. Balfour relative to the affairs of this Province and he will have the Management of all the Posts when I move into North Carolina. (Cornwallis 1780 in CP 1970, 80:11)

Also, Davie regarded Cornwallis’ location in South Carolina. In 1810, Davie wrote that Cornwallis “moved with the whole of the British Army from Camden to the Waxhaws and took possession of the Camp occupied by Major Davie in the months of June and July.” A few sentences later, Davie wrote, “but his Lordship was not ready to enter North Carolina” (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 21).

On 12 September, Davidson wrote to Gates in Hillsborough requesting reinforcements to counter Cornwallis’ army at Waxhaw Creek. Gates ordered Sumner to support Davidson (Nelson 1976, 245). In a 14 September report to Gates, Davidson indicated his location was on McAlpine Creek, 8 miles south of Charlotte.

Camp Maccappin’s Creek, Sept. 14, 1780

Sir:

I am now encamped 8 miles South of Charlotte, my number consisting of 400, minute men from Rowan and Mecklenburg counties, none from the other counties being yet arrived. The enemy are at Wax Haw creek, 20 miles distance. Lords Cornwallace and Roddin [Rawdon] are both with them. Their number, by the best intelligence, about 1,000. They are busied threshing and flouring wheat, collecting cattle, sheep, butter, &c. I

do not learn they have any artillery. Col. Ferguson and his party, which by common report consists of 1,200, are troublesom to the westward. I cannot find they have yet entered this State, except some who have committed some depredations on the west end of Rutherford county.

Lest they should advance I have sent Col. Lock to Rowan to embody the rest of his regiment to join Col. Macdowell, who lies in Burke with about 400, by the best accounts. Col. Paisley joins me to morrow with near 200. Gen. Sumner with his brigade is expected to be a Salisbury this evening. Gen. Sumpter lies 13 miles to my right with 200, his number daily increasing. Our troops are in high spirits, and seem determined to stand out to the last extremity rather than submit to the fate of So. Carolina.

Sir, I have the honour to be,
Your most obedt. Servt.,
Wm. Davidson.

(Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:615–616).

The closest straight-line distance that McAlpine Creek gets to downtown Charlotte is 7.3 miles and that is between present-day Old Monroe Road and Providence Road. Because of mileposts, Davidson knew the distance along Providence Road with precision. So, his 8 mile distance locates the campsite near where present-day Old Providence Road crosses the creek. The camp would have been on the high, dry ground on the Charlotte side of the creek (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 246). Because of the large number of horses, it probably extended a quarter of a mile or more. Davidson's indication that the British at Waxhaw Creek were 20 miles distant is consistent with the total distance of 30 miles from Charlotte. Colonel Thomas Sumter was located on the Catawba River east bank at Bigger's Ferry (Hill 1815, 17) (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249). That was actually 16 miles away. So, Davidson's cited 13 miles was probably an estimate he got from an express rider carrying a message from Sumter. In fact, in a 24 September report, Davidson revised this estimate to 15 miles (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:614–615). Graham's later account was less specific, but consistent.

The foot, under Gen W. L. Davidson, encamped southeast of Charlotte, and the horse, under Colonel Davie, were patrolling the country as far as Waxhaw, and the adjoining counties in the west, which were disaffected. (Graham 1832 in Graham 1904, 48).

Sometime before 18 September, Davidson wrote Sumner:

I am extremely glad to hear of your, being so near at hand. It raises the spirits of the people here, who were greatly disgusted by the misfortune of Gen. Gates and the near approach of the enemy. Lord Cornwallis commands, and Lord Rawdon is there. Their force is perhaps almost 1,000, nearly all British. They are thrashing and flowering wheat and driving in cattle, sheep, hogs, etc. they have no artillery. Col. Brannon and his South Carolina refugees has routed a party of Tories in Rutherford County, killed and wounded 2 and taken 24. The people here long for some support. (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:772).

On 18 September, Sumner arrived at Salisbury (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:773). On hearing a rumor that Gates ordered Sumner to withdraw, Davidson wrote:

September 18, 1780

The news of your coming forward in such force gave a surprising spirit to the people of this county, but a report has taken place that Gen. Gates has directed you to retire over the Yadkin. Should that be the case, I dread the consequences. I need not tell you the dreadful effects of Gen. Gates's retreat to Hillsborough. The effects of it are, in my opinion, worse than those of his defeat. It has frightened the ignorant into despair, being left without cover or support to defend themselves against the whole force of the enemy. No people have a better claim to protection than the people of this county. They have fought bravely and bled freely. I mention these things, as I have reason to fear that my minute troops will disperse, should they not be treated agreeable to their expectations.

The enemy continue at Waxhaw Creek, and are almost 900, and one third Tories. The Cavalry are inconsiderable. (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:773).

Actually, Gates ordered Sumner to Charlotte:

September 19th, 1780

This morning I received your letter of the 14th from Salisbury. I would have wished to have been certain you were upon your march from thence, to succor and sustain our friends in Charlotte, who seem to be threatened with an attack. The instant the [Hillsborough] troops are in a proper condition to march be assured they will be put in motion to join you. (Gates 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:773).

20–21 September, Davie launches attack, Wahab Plantation

On 20 September, Davie's 150 cavalrymen departed Six Mile Creek camp to attack loyalist militiamen encamped on Cornwallis' right flank. At dawn on 21 September, they attacked a camp at Wahab Plantation, just west of present-day JAARS Institute. The attack was swift and bloody. Davie later wrote, "the vicinity of British quarters, and the danger of pursuit satisfactorily account for no prisoners being taken." (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 23). Davie's men captured 96 horses and returned to their Six Mile Creek camp that afternoon, "having performed a march of sixty miles in less than twenty four hours, notwithstanding the time employed in seeking & beating the enemy." (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 23). Davie almost certainly traveled Providence Road since 60 miles is more than his calculated, but mistaken, 50-mile roundtrip distance to Waxhaw Creek by the most direct route. Later that day, Cornwallis wrote:

Two or three Volunteer Companies of our Militia who had made some successful Scouts, contrived this morning to be totally surprised and routed by a Major Davy who is a celebrated partisan in the Waxhaws. (Cornwallis 1780 in CP 1970, 80:21)

William "Black Billy" Alexander, a McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, participated in this raid on Wahab's Plantation (Hunter 1877, 116).

20 September, Sumner arrives

On the evening of 20 September, Sumner arrived at Davidson's camp with about 400 militiamen from Guilford, Granville, and Orange Counties (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:775–776) (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 247) (Money 1780, 23 Sep). Among these men was [Lieutenant Richard Vernon](#) (Vernon 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:169). Their total strength was about 800 men. Davie later wrote:

Generals Sumner & Davidson had arrived that day [actually previous evening] at his [Davie's] camp with their brigades of militia both of which However did not amount to one thousand men all on short enlistments, illy armed, and diminishing every day. These with Davie's corps were the whole assembled force at that time opposed to the enemy. (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 23).

When Davie wrote, he must have forgotten about two other active militia units. Sumner with 400 men were encamped at Bigger's Ferry on Catawba River (Hill 1815, 17) (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249) and Colonel Charles McDowell and his men were at Quaker Meadows, near present-day Morganton, NC (Draper 1881, 180).

[Joseph McLane](#), an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed in-law, arrived with General Sumner at Davidson's camp at New Providence (McLane, Joseph 1832).

22 September, Cornwallis prepares approach on Charlotte

At Waxhaw Creek, Cornwallis made his final plans to capture Charlotte. On 22 September, he wrote his superior General Henry Clinton:

If nothing material happens to obstruct my plan of operations, I mean, as soon as Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton can be removed, to proceed with the 23rd, 33rd, volunteers of Ireland, and legion, to Charlotte town, and leave the 71st here until the sick can be brought on to us. I then mean to make some redoubts, and establish a fixed post at that

place, and give the command of it to Major Wemyss, whose regiment is so totally demolished by sickness, that it will not be fit for actual service for some months. (Cornwallis 1780 in Tarleton 1787, 191).

That day, Cornwallis ordered the British Legion to cross Catawba River and join him at Waxhaw Creek (Tarleton 1787, 158) (Stedman 1794, 2:216) (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249). Tarleton, using the third person, later wrote:

On the 22d, Earl Cornwallis directed the British legion and light infantry to cross the Catawba at Blair's ford [Land's Ford], in order to form the advance guard, for the immediate possession of Charlotte town. The junction of the light troops had been prevented for a few days, by a violent fever which had attacked Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, and which yet disabled him from holding his situation when his regiment moved forwards. Several convalescent men of the army having relapsed, the 71st [Regiment], under M^cArthur, was left near Blair's mill, to afford protection to the sick, to cover the mills in the neighbourhood, and to hold communication with Camden, till the arrival of the additional supplies. (Tarleton 1787, 158).

Blair's Ford was named for Blair's Mill, located about a half a mile above Land's Ford (Draper 1873, VV:9:188). On 23 September, Cornwallis wrote, "Tarleton is better, and was moved to-day in a litter" (Cornwallis 1780 in Tarleton 1787, 192). So, Tarleton probably remained near Land's Ford. In his absence, command of the British Legion fell to Major George Hanger (Tarleton 1787, 159). Tarleton's next known activity was on 10 October in Charlotte (Tarleton 1787, 165).

In a 24 September report to Gates, Davidson estimated Cornwallis' strength.

September 24, 1780

Sir:

I have the pleasure to enform you that Colo. Davie, with a Detachement of Horse and Light Infantry from my Brigade, compleatly surpris'd a party of Tories on the morning of the 20th Sept. [actually 21 September], two miles in the rear of the British encampment. Killed 12; on the ground, wounded, by our best intelligence, about 60, and brought off one prisoner, and the Colo. made good his retreat with 50 Horses, as many saddles, 13 guns, &c. Lord Cornwallis continues at the Waxsaw Creek, collection reinforcements from the Militia, fattening his Horse, and Carrying off every article valuable to our Army. His present strength is about 1,200, with one piece of Artillery — perhaps near one-half of his number Tories. Colo. Trumbull, on the west of the River, has about 700, chiefly new recruits in uniform, and is now in fishing Creek Neighbourhood. Colo. Ferguson, with about 800 Tories, has advanced to Gilberts Town, and a Detachment from him has penetrated as far as Burk Court House, with which Colo. Mc'dowul Skirmish'd with about two Hundred men, but gave ground and retreated, I am enformed, over the Mountains. Genl. Sumner has joined me. Genl. Sumpter has Collected about 400 of his Dispersed Troops, and lies 15 miles on our right on the Bank of the River. I have ordered Collonels Amstrong, Cleveland and Lock to unite their forces against Furguson, and if possible stop his progress. The establishment of a post at Maskes ferry appears well Calculated to make a Diverte and give relief to the Western parts of the State. Inclosed you have a Copy of a proclamation, with Colo. Furguson has taken grate pains to Circulate.

I have the Honnour to be
Your most Obdt. & very Hbl. Serv't,
Wm. Davidson

[incorrectly dated 14 September in (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:614–615)].

In a separate report to Gates, Sumner wrote:

The Cappings [McAlpine] Creek,
September 24th, 1780

I immediately marched from Salisbury, and arrived in this camp the 20th, in the evening. Gen. Davidson informed me his minute men were upon leaving the camp to go to Sherell's Ford. Col. Armstrong has gone to join the forces collecting to oppose Major Ferguson, who is in the neighborhood of Burke County Court House, with a large number of the disaffected and some British. The British force is near White's Mill, and is commanded by Col. Turnbull, others say by Lord Rodney [Rawdon]. Gen. Sumter judges he could drive them from thence with as many more men as he has with him, which I have reason to believe is almost 300. Lord Cornwallis is yet at the Waxhaw Creek with 600 or 700 British troops and 300 or 400 Tories, mostly on horse, with 70 or 80 dragoons. They lie close and expect reinforcements. On the road westward, almost 7 miles across, we have a party of horse; this road passes in four miles of the British Camp, and passes through the Catawba nation to Charlotte. I judge the enemy will make use of it should they move in force toward Charlotte. Col. Davie, on returning from reconnoitering on the 22^d [should be 21st], fell in with a party of 130 Tories, surprised them, killed 14 and took two prisoners. The others dispersed with the greatest precipitation. Forty horses and saddles fell into our hands. His party received no damage except in wounded. I am just sending a party of 140 infantry and 20 horse under Col. Seawell as far as the 12 mile creek, to view the road which passes near that creek. (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:775–776).

Since Sumner's home was in a different part of North Carolina, he did not know the local roads and creeks. In this report, he clearly repeated his briefing by Davidson and Davie. With this understanding of context, much information can be inferred from his choice of words. His reference to the "road westward, almost 7 miles across" applies to Steele Creek Road. The party of horse was probably that commanded by Graham since Davie implied he was not on Steele Creek Road (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 24). The expression "this road passes in four miles of the British Camp," likely refers to where the two roads from Charlotte joined. That intersection was probably slightly west of where present-day Old Church Road, SR378, forks into Niven Road in South Carolina and Rehobeth Road, SR1107, in North Carolina (Salley 1929, map). The latter is a ridge road. Another possible ridge road traversed the path of the present-day railroad tracks connecting to Providence Road at present-day Waxhaw, North Carolina (Graham 1789 in Tompkins in Graham 1904, 188).

Apparently, on the afternoon of 24 September, Davidson moved his remaining 200 militiamen from Providence Road to Steele Creek Road camping on the Charlotte side of McAlpine Creek, but this time 12 miles from Charlotte, at the present-day highway Old-US521 bridge. That camp location was drawn on a 1789 map by Major Joseph Graham (Graham 1789 in Tompkins in Graham 1904, 188) (Graham 1789 in Tompkins in Robinson 1976, 6). It was 3 miles north of Clems Branch campground. These men likely traversed the ridge road Providence Road West, the present-day connected segments of Ballantyne Commons Parkway, Elm Lane, Bryant Farms Road, and Community House Road. Davidson probably intended to continue north to Sherell's Ford to counter the threat posed by Major Patrick Ferguson's army (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:775–776). But Cornwallis' approach forced Davidson to withdraw towards Salisbury.

After ordering Colonel Benjamin Seawell out, Sumner received the following message from Sumter:

My spies bring me accounts this morning that the enemy [British Legion] have evacuated their camp at White's Mill, and it is supposed they have crossed the River at Landsford. They have a number of horse, but not one half of them equipped as cavalry. Perhaps they mean to be troublesome to you. They have been collecting guides for different purposes, and have offered twenty guineas to any one who will conduct them privately to my camp. (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:775).

Sumner quickly wrote to Seawell:

Evening.

After your leaving the camp I have received a letter from Gen. Sumter. He says the enemy have crossed the river at Landsford, and perhaps they may fall in with you. I thought it necessary to send you this information. If you should fall in with the [illegible] I doubt not but you'll give a good account of them. (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:776).

Meanwhile, from Waxhaw Creek, the British began their march. Lieutenant John Money recorded:

The following Corps marched this afternoon at 4 pm towards Charlotte — 23rd, 33rd, Vol'n of Ireland and Legion with 2, 3 and 6-pounders. Halted at Twelve Mile Creek till the moon rose and then proceeded toward Sugar Creek on the Charlotte Road. (Money 1780, 24 Sep) (Allison 2009)

Apparently, Sumner did not realize that he put Seawell's infantrymen at great risk. The next morning, Seawell reported back to Sumner:

September 25th, 1780

We arrived at this place [probably Twelve Mile Creek] last evening and camped, intending to start at moon-rise, but a very heavy rain coming on, I was obliged to stay until the morning to examine the guns. I hear that Lord Cornwallis had a reinforcement of a thousand British from Camden come in on Wednesday last, as also a number of cannon. Col. Tarleton has joined him with 700 horse; also a number of South Carolina militia has been sent to him, which makes them number almost 5,000 [should be 2000] strong. I can't tell how far I shall proceed, as it depends on such intelligence as I shall hereafter get. If I had my men mounted on horses I doubt not we should do something clever, but shall do the best I can. (Seawell 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:776-777).

Interestingly, on 25 September 1780, the moon was four days past its last quarter phase. Thus, it rose about 4:00 a.m. (time and date.com 2009).

25 September, Cornwallis' Army crosses state line at Clems Branch

Late on 24 September, Cornwallis started to move his forces from Waxhaw Creek towards Charlotte (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249). Although their march formation was not recorded, it can be inferred from historical information (Peterson 1968).

Note: British Army on the march

Undoubtedly, the marching British Army column was a spectacular demonstration of strength. Probably the day before, Cornwallis specified the exact order of march. He intended that the British Legion lead the marching column (Tarleton 1787, 158). Each of these cavalymen wore tan buckskin trousers, a green jacket with a black collar, and a black leather helmet. Typically, he carried a saber and a holstered pistol. Next in line were a few light-infantry companies comprised of the swiftest and most agile young soldiers drawn from all the regular companies. Next were the 23rd, 33rd, and Volunteers of Ireland Regiments. Each regular soldier wore white trousers, a redcoat, and a distinctive black hat that signified his regiment. He carried a musket, bayonet, cartridge box, and haversack supported by white cross webbing. Each regiment had 6 to 8 companies. Each company had a captain, typically on horseback, and about 70 men who walked. The company drummer was conspicuous as he brought attention to the captain's commands or relayed signals along the column. Probably near the rear, some local loyalist militiamen marched together, but not in uniform. In the middle, Cornwallis rode in a carriage with former royal North Carolina Governor Josiah Martin, returning after 5 years of exile. At least two artillery cannons were pulled on horse-drawn carriages. Inserted between two regiments were about 100 wagons (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:678) carrying ammunition, medical supplies, a blacksmith forge, rum, and soldier's personal baggage. One wagon carried a portable printing press with its ink and paper supplies (Preyer 1987, 156). Walking beside these wagons were about 150 officer servants, women, and perhaps some children. Most women were wives of professional soldiers. Like the soldiers, they received food rations. They earned army wages as clothes washers, cooks, or seamstresses. On 28 September, one of these women, while gathering milk, tried

to arrange medical treatment for wounded Captain Joseph Graham (Graham 1904, 65). If an individual injured a leg or foot and could not walk, he or she rode in a wagon. The entire column was about three miles long and took about an hour to pass any one point. Patrols of British Legionnaires cleared crossroads. They inspected provisions at each nearby plantation and demanded the owner sign a protection form, or else have his property confiscated or burned. The British needed to establish and maintain a secure supply and communication line back to Camden. Cornwallis did not expect serious opposition. If he had, most wagons and women would have remained behind. A civilian passerby on the road could be stopped and questioned in a rough manner. For that reason, sensible American civilians avoided contact, and thus no one recorded the spectacle.

Davie later wrote, “on the 24th of September our patrols gave information, that the enemy were in motion on the Steele-creek road leading to Charlotte.” (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 24). Consequently, early in the morning on 25 September, Sumner and Davidson abandoned their camps.

On the 25th of September, [we] heard that the whole British army were on the march from Camden. General Davidson immediately decamped, marched towards Salisbury... (Graham 1832 in Graham 1904, 48–49).

Robert Williams, a surgeon in Sumner’s brigade, [testified on his pension application](#):

We moved towards South Carolina and a few miles below Charlotte in Mecklenburg County near the South Carolina line, a reconnoitering party of ours took some British prisoners when we found we were near Cornwallis. We retreated next day. (Williams 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:192) (Williams, Robert 1832)

Sumner marched from McAlpine Creek to Charlotte. There he loaded all public stores and marched towards Salisbury (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:778) (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 69, 249). Sumner ordered Davie to make a stand at Charlotte. Sumner described these events in a 12 October letter:

I arrived at Salisbury on the September 14th & joined Gen. Davidson on the 21st [should be 20th]. His Brigade was greatly reduced, not amounting to upwards of 20 [obvious misprint, should read 200] privates fit for duty. On September 25th I was informed that the enemy had moved towards Charlotte. We marched into Charlotte at 6 o’clock in the morning, and found the main British army advancing and only 12 miles away. Having positive orders not to risk a general engagement, & our force not being able to cope with the enemy’s, I thought proper to order a retreat, having secured what provisions we could and all the public stores, leaving Colo. Davie with his horse to cover our retreat. (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:785–786).

From Steele Creek Road, Davidson took the ridgeline road between Little Sugar Creek and McMullen Creek, passing 4 miles east of Charlotte (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249). Graham described that road:

Persons going from Waxhaw to Salisbury would not pass through Charlotte, but, after passing Sugar [meant McAlpine] Creek, take a right-hand fork, and leaving Charlotte four miles to the left, enter the Charlotte-Salisbury road at “Cross-Roads” near the Alexander Residence. (Graham 1904, 69).

Today, that route is the connected segments of highway Old-US521, Park Road, Sharon Road, Wendover Road, Eastway Drive, Sugar Creek Road, and highway US29. At the “Cross Roads,” in front of Sugar Creek Presbyterian Church, Davidson ordered Graham “to Charlotte, to take command of the militia assembling there in consequence of the alarm of the enemy advancing.” (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 250). About 50 men collected (Graham 1832 in Graham 1904, 49). Davidson continued on and halted behind Mallard Creek. Sumner continued on towards Salisbury.

During the late afternoon of 25 September, Cornwallis’ army of about 2000 troops marched (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:678) (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:778) past Clems Branch campground as they entered North Carolina. In 1789, Major Joseph Graham drew a map that marked Cornwallis’ route (Graham 1789 in Tompkins in Graham 1904, 188) (Graham 1789 in Tompkins in Robinson 1976, 6). The British Army was clearly invading North Carolina at this location.

Cornwallis dispatched Rawdon's regiment with part of the British Legion to chase down Colonel Thomas Sumter and about 400 of his men who were encamped on the east side of Bigger's Ferry. Sumter and his men barely escaped by crossing at the ferry (Hill 1815, 17) (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249) (Bass 1961, 87). During the 1800's this ferry was renamed Mason's Ferry. About 1904, that ferry location was submerged under Lake Wylie. The western access is Mason's Ferry Road off of South Carolina road SR46-1099. Lieutenant John Money recorded:

No certain Intelligence being received of Sumpter's having passed the Catawba River, Lord Rawdon was detached with the Legion and Flank Companies of the Vol'n of Ireland to attack him. I marched with his Lordship to Bigger's Ferry where we learned he had passed the evening before and that Sumner and Davidson had retired from McAlpine's Creek. (Money 1780, 24 Sep)

Colonel William Hill was with Sumter and later wrote:

Cornwallis detached Rawdon & Tarlton [actually British Legion without Tarleton] with a number of horse & foot to five times the number that Gen^l Sumter had then in camp in order to surprise him but fortunately he got news of their intentions & crossed the River to the west side at Bigers' (now called Masons ferry) & there encamped. Your author then as chairman of the Convention [of the Whole] called it together in order to deliberate on some plan respecting Gen^l Sumter's commission as it was protested by William, but before any progress was made in the business the firing commenced across the River between our guard & Rawdon's men this soon broke up the convention & the army marched up the River & encamped that night in an uncommon thick wood, where we supposed we were safe from the horse of the enemy. (Hill 1815, 17)

That camp was in the fork of the Catawba River (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249) but downstream of Tuckasegee Ford (Hill 1815, 18).

So, Sumter, Davidson, and Sumner evaded an engagement with Cornwallis' superior army by mere hours.

A tradition of Providence Presbyterian Church is that Cornwallis cut an oak sapling to use as a walking stick. He inadvertently left it stuck in the ground. The following spring, it took root and eventually grew very large. It became known as the "Cornwallis tree" until it burned much later. (Matthews 1967, 71)

The British Army halted that afternoon one mile north of McAlpine Creek (Robinson 1957, 70), and camped that evening south of Little Sugar Creek (Money 1780, 25 Sep), "ten miles from Charlotte, between McAlpin and Sugar Creeks on the Camden Road." (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 62, 249). That was near the present-day President James K. Polk Birthplace Historic Site (Hunter 1877, 84). A 1789 Mecklenburg County map, marked this as Cornwallis' route (Graham 1789 in Tompkins in Robinson 1976, 6).

In Charlotte, Davie requested Graham "to go down to the enemy's lines and relieve a party who had been out two days. He [Graham] relieved Colonel Davies's party in the afternoon [25 September], and in the evening took four men, stragglers, at a farm adjacent to the [British] encampment, who had gone out in search of milk, and sent them on the colonel Davie." (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 250). Davie wrote Sumner that he would "keep parties down every Route and wait here [Charlotte] for further orders." Davie, "during the night and morning had the hospital and military stores removed." (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 251). Graham later wrote:

Before sunrise on the 26th, Graham's party discovered the front of the enemy advancing, and two of his men who had been sent down their left flank, reported that the whole army was in motion — that they had seen their artillery, baggage, etc., coming on. (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 250).

Receiving this report, Davie wrote to Sumner, "The Enemy were in motion at day break and if they march on will reach this place by ten [o'clock]." (Davie 1780 in Robinson 1957, 70).

Two weeks later, on 8 October, Davidson reported to Sumner, "Golson Step, a Tory, on examination gave the following particulars: That the Enemy brought to Charlotte 100 Waggon, 1,100 infantry in uniform, 550 Light Dragoons, 800 Militia & 2 field pieces" (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:678).

In 1812, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee published a history of the Revolution in the South. It states:

Four days after the affair at Wahab's, the British general put his army in motion, taking the Steel creek road to Charlotte. This being announced to general Sumner by his light parties, he decamped from Providence, and retired on the nearest road to Salisbury; leaving colonel Davie with his corps, strengthened by a few volunteers under major Graham, to observe the movements of the enemy. (Lee 1812, I:201) (Lee 1869, 196).

Lee probably relied on Davie for this information (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249), since he did not join the Southern American Army until 11 January 1781. His 1812 publication was within the lifespan of many veterans, it was widely read and became a standard reference. Many veterans commented on its factual details. Notably, neither Davie nor Graham, both of whom followed the British advance, contradicted Lee's explicit assertion that Cornwallis' army approached Charlotte along Steele Creek Road, in their subsequent publications.

Some modern historians, in particular (Robinson 1957, 69), presume Davie made an error because present-day Steele Creek Road passes to the west of Charlotte. Instead, they presume the British Army traveled Providence Road and East Trade Street. That presumption is reinforced by a historical marker near where Providence Road extension crosses the South Carolina boundary. This modern interpretation is mistaken. First, it was Davie's mounted militiamen that tracked British movements on 25 September. Davie was near his boyhood home, and thus intimately familiar with all local roads. For a person whose home was in the Waxhaws, such as Davie, that road was the road to Steele Creek. A map of Clems Branch campground drawn in 1871 explicitly marks this road as Steele Creek Road (Stinson 1871 in Draper 1873, VV:5:45). Name ambiguity arises from sources that use Charlotte as the reference origin. From Charlotte, Steele Creek Road meant the road to Steele Creek Presbyterian Church. Even today, a segment named Old Steele Creek Road connects Wilkinson Boulevard and Tyvola Road. From Charlotte, the road Cornwallis used was known as Camden Road. Today, its fork with South Tryon Street remains discernible.

North Carolina "Cornwallis" historical marker

In 1939, the North Carolina Office of Archives and History erected historical marker L16 on highway NC200 in Union County. It asserts that Cornwallis' army entered North Carolina nearby.



North Carolina Historical Marker L16
Ill-placed on highway NC200 in 1939.

In April 2006, the North Carolina Office of Archives and History was asked what historical sources supported this marker. Research historian Ansley Wegner found that the marker was staff-proposed along with other markers indicating Cornwallis' route through North Carolina. It has no supporting documentation. The closest Cornwallis' army got to that location was its Waxhaw Creek encampment, 5 miles further west near the present-day highway US521 bridge. Apparently, in 1939, erecting roadside markers was a new public program that authorities wanted to implement quickly.

26 September, Charlotte

At daybreak on 26 September, Lord Rawdon's troops marched from Bigger's Ferry to join Cornwallis. Lieutenant John Money wrote that juncture occurred at the "Cross Roads within four miles of Charlottetown." (Money 1780, 26 Sep) (Allison 2009). That location was where Camden Road joins South Tryon Street.

Captain Joseph Graham's 50 mounted infantry and dragoons maintained contact with the British advance. About noon on 26 September, the British entered Charlotte (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249). Graham later wrote, the British approached on South Tryon Street (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 251). He described the event:

His [Graham's] orders were when the village was reached not to fire but to draw the enemy up to the [American] infantry at the court-house. The commanding officer of the British advance, Major Hanger, rode conspicuously at the head of his troops. When Graham's company arrived about where the railroad now crosses South Tryon street [at present-day *Charlotte Observer Building* (Kratt and Boyer 2000, 8)], one of his men (his brother-in-law, Thomas Barnett) remarked to a comrade, "I believe that is Cornwallis; I am going to get him." He dismounted and was aiming his rifle, when Captain Graham rode up and told him he had given him orders not to fire, and if he did not remount his horse he would cut him down in his tracks. Barnett obeyed the command. (Graham 1904, 62)

Davie's defense of Charlotte was later described as:

The disposition of troops in the village for battle was about as follow: Major Dickson's command was placed behind the McCombs' House, near where the Buford Hotel now stands [northeast corner South Tryon and Fourth Streets (Kratt and Boyer 2000, 73)]. The infantry was formed in three lines across North Tryon street, the first line twenty steps from the court-house, the other lines each fifty yards in rear, with orders to advance to the court-house, fire and retire by flank. Eighty yards distance on East and West Trade streets were two troops of cavalry, each concealed by a building. (Graham 1904, 62–63)

Captain Graham and Captain Brandon's company from Rowan County, were placed as reserve where Tryon Street Methodist Church stood in 1902 (Graham 1904, 63). That was the southwest corner of North Tryon and Sixth Streets (Kratt and Boyer 2000, 85). Tarleton later wrote, "The conduct of the Americans created suspicion in the British: An ambushade was apprehended by the light troops, who moved forwards for some time with great circumspection." (Tarleton 1787, 159).

The Americans briefly defended Charlotte from the courthouse. They stopped three British Legion cavalry charges and temporarily stopped the entire 2000-man British Army. British commissary officer Charles Stedman later wrote:

In the centre of Charlotte, intersecting the two principal streets, stood a large brick [pillared] building, the upper part being the court-house, and the under part the market-house. Behind the shambles a few Americans on horseback had placed themselves. The legion was ordered to drive them off; but upon receiving a fire from behind the stalls, this corps fell back. Lord Cornwallis rode up in person, and made use of these words: — "Legion, remember you have everything to lose, but nothing to gain;" alluding, as was supposed, to the former reputation of this corps. Webster's brigade moved on and drove the Americans from behind the court-house; the legion then pursued them; but the whole of the British army was actually kept at bay, for some minutes, by a few mounted Americans, not exceeding twenty in number. (Stedman 1794, 2:216).

Stedman must have been in the column rear and not seen the action. He thought at most 20 Americans participated. Actually, there were about 150 Americans (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 24).

Later, Davie wrote that Charlotte's defense:

... furnishes a very striking instance of the bravery and importance of the American Militia; few examples can be shewn of any troops who in one action changed their

position twice in good order although pressed by a much superior body of Infantry and charged three times by thrice their number of Cavalry, unsupported & in the presence of the enemy's whole army and finally retreating in good order. (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 25).

On 15 August 1833, Captain Henry Connelly [testified](#):

At the time of approach of Cornwallis to Charlotte, under Col Davie the troops posted themselves to meet the enemy. On the enemy's approach the companies commanded by this applicant received the first onset from Tarleton's Cavalry, and the firing became general on the left wing. The troops were commanded by Col Davie in person, and for three times we succeeded in repulsing the enemy. At length we had to yield to superior numbers. In this battle we had many men killed, several from under this applicant. (Connelly, Henry 1833)

Charlotte commemorates the battle by a bronze plaque where the original courthouse stood.



Battle of Charlotte marker
Tryon Street and Trade Street intersection, Charlotte

Fighting continued as the Americans withdrew up North Tryon Street, the road to Salisbury. Captain Joseph Graham's unit of Mecklenburg cavalrymen "sustained the retreat by molesting the advance of the enemy for four miles against their whole cavalry and a battalion of infantry which followed; at last they charged, when Colonel Davie was not in supporting distance, and this deponent received nine wounds" (Graham 1832 in Graham 1904, 49).

As Captain [Joseph] Graham was engaged in a hand-to-hand fight, his horse backed under a limb of a tree which knocked him off. He received three bullets in the thigh, one saber thrust in the side, one cut on the back of the neck and four upon the forehead. And from one of these some of his brains exuded. (Graham 1904, 64).

Some years afterwards an old lady acquaintance asked him if he thought he had as much sense as before losing a portion of his brains. He replied that he had not perceived any difference. (Graham 1904, 64:footnote).

A few miles further down the road, at Sassafras Fields, Lieutenant George Locke was killed by British Legion dragoons. In 1832, Fowler Jones [testified](#) that, "Between Salisbury and Charlotte I saw Young Locke who had been killed by the British. His brother [probably Colonel Francis Locke] was carrying his dead body on a horse before him when we met & saw him." (Jones, Fowler 1832)



Captain Joseph Graham monument marks where he was wounded.

Across from Sugaw Creek Presbyterian Church.

Lieutenant George Locke monument marks where he was killed by British Legion dragoons.

The monument erroneously indicates his rank as lieutenant colonel.

Located where highways US29 and NC49 diverge.

[Joseph McLane](#), an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations testified that “that on their retreat from the aforesaid New Providence the cavalry staid behind and attacked the advanced guards not far from Charlotte—that as soon as this was known Col. Paisley & Col. Armstrong volunteered and requested others to join them and returned to assist the Cavalry there engaged—that he and others among whom was his neighbor Wm Albright joined them but they met them [illegible word] on the retreat” (McLane, Joseph 1832).

During the battle, 5 patriots were killed and 6 wounded. The British had 12 killed and 33 wounded.

On 27 September, the Salisbury District militia under Brigadier General William Davidson was posted near Phyfer’s plantation with about 600 militiamen with another 300 at their farms (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:677). On 27 September, Major General Jethro Sumner with about 800 Hillsborough District militiamen was in Salisbury. From these men, [Colonel Phillip Taylor’s](#) regiment from Granville County (Taylor, Phillip 1837) (Taylor, John 1832) was attached to Davie, raising his total strength to 300 mounted infantrymen (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 26). On 28 September, Sumner forded Yadkin River at Trading Ford and encamped on the east side (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:777) (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:786) (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 249) (Vernon 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:169). On 30 September, Major General Horatio Gates in Hillsborough ordered Sumner to prevent a British advance beyond the Yadkin River.

If you should have been advised to cross the Yadkin, you must on no account abandon the defense of that ford [Trading Ford], nor withdraw your guard from the west side of that river until you are, by the near approach of a superior number of the enemy, forced to do it. (Gates 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:778–779)

Davie soon returned towards Charlotte to attack British foraging parties (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 26). His patrols covered all roads to Charlotte. In 1832, militiaman [John Taylor](#) from Granville County recalled:

At the Waxhaws I remember of being in company with General [Colonel] Davie when the latter pointed out to me a meeting house and remarked that he was educated by his uncle to succeed him as the Pastor of that house. I particularly recollect of being much affected by the solemn spectacle of the tombstones in the surrounding churchyard. (Taylor, John 1832)

In Charlotte, the British encamped in a commons area southwest of the intersection of Tryon and Trade Streets. Cornwallis' headquarters was a white house on the southeast corner of the Square (Foote 1846, 509). The British used Liberty Hall Academy as a hospital. Former colonial North Carolina Governor Josiah Martin accompanied Cornwallis to Charlotte and presumed himself reinstated. Using a mobile printing press, he issued a proclamation that offered peace and protection to inhabitants (Martin 1780 in Graham 1904, 263-266) (Preyer 1987, 157). He tried to encourage loyalist civilians, but had little success. Most Whig families evacuated. Their men were already on active duty.



Cornwallis' Charlotte Headquarters Building
Engraved many years later. Artist unknown.

Troop Deployment, Movement, and Strength Timeline

In piecing together the above scenario, a useful tool has been what crime-solving detectives called a *constraint timeline*. It is effective when given lots of clues each containing partial information. When these clues are forced into a timeline worksheet, many suspect scenarios can be excluded as impossible. Even if the actual scenario is indeterminate, a detective can test a plausible scenario against all clues. For this application, the analogous worksheet is a *troop deployment, movement, and strength timeline*.

This timeline contains operational details: who was where and when with how many troops. Commanders appear only when they operated independently or their presence was important. Their abbreviations are:

Notation	Commander	Operational Command and Strength
I	Col Robert Irwin	Mecklenburg militia, 200
L	Col Francis Locke	Rowan militia, 200
r	Col Armstrong	Rowan militia, 200
S	MG Jethro Sumner	NC Brigade, 400
D	BG William Davidson	Salisbury District NC militia, 400
d	Col William R. Davie	NC militia cavalry, 300
g	Capt Joseph Graham	Mecklenburg cavalry
u	Col Thomas Sumter	SC state troops
a	Col Benjamin Seawell	NC militia
C	LG Charles Lord Cornwallis	23 rd , 33 rd , 71 st , 2000, Rcy
T	LCol Banastre Tarleton	British Legion, 500
H	Maj George Hanger	British Legion, 500
R	LCol Francis Lord Rawdon	Volunteers of Ireland, 600
c	Maj Archibald McArthur	1 st Battalion, 71 st , 250
y	Maj James Wemyss	63 rd

	1 Sep	7 Sep	12 Sep	14 Sep	18 Sep	20 Sep	24 Sep	25 Sep	26 Sep
Ramsey's Mill Deep River	S400	S400	S400	S400					
Salisbury					S400				
Phifer's Mill Rocky River									S400
Mallard Creek								SD600	D200
Sherrill's Ford							r200	r200	r200
Charlotte								dg150	dg150 CH2000
McAlpine Creek (8 miles)	I200	I200	IL400	D400	D600	DS1000	DS640		
Providence		d70	d70	d70	d150		d150		
Bigger's Ferry				u200	u200	u400	u400	u400 R500	
Little Sugar Creek (10 miles)							g50	CH2000	
Twelve Mile Creek							a160		
Wahab Plantation						d150			
Waxhaw Creek	d70		C1200	C1200	C1200	C1200	CH2000		
Blair's Mill							cT250	cT250	cT250
White's Mill			T700	T700	T700	T700			
Camden	CT2000	CT2000							

This timeline provides an overall perspective on how opposing American and British forces were deployed. It is also a worksheet against which a newly conjectured scenario can be tested. However, its troop strengths are approximate. Actual troop strength depended on sickness, detachment duty, guard duty, etc. Some values are interpolated between known before and after values. Nonetheless, the strengths appear to be at least as precise as known by the commanders at that time. For that reason, commanders frequently ordered updated strength returns from their subordinates.

Early October 1780, Charlotte

On 3 October, the former royal governor of North Carolina Josiah Martin issued a proclamation (Martin 1780 in Graham 1904, 263–266) (Preyer 1987, 157).

NORTH CAROLINA

By His Excellency Josiah Martin, His Majesty's Captain General, and Governor in Chief of the said Province, &c. &c. &c. &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

Whereas the King, ever anxious for the welfare and happiness of all his people, and sensible to the representations which have been constantly made to him of the steady and unshaken loyalty and of the inviolable fidelity and attachment of his faithful subjects in this Province to his person and government; and confiding entirely in their repeated assurances to His Majesty of their own utmost exertions in cooperation with his armies whenever they should be directed to their support. And, Whereas His Majesty moved by these considerations, and by every the most tender and paternal feeling of concern, and regard for the sufferings and misery of his faithful people, under the intolerable yoke of arbitrary power, which his majesty, with indignation, sees imposed by the tyranny of the rebel Congress upon his freeborn subjects, hath been pleased to send an army to their aid and relief. I have therefore thought it proper, by this Proclamation, to inform his

majesty's loyal and faithful subjects of this Province, of his great proof and instance of his majesty's gracious attention to them, and at the same time to advertise them that the royal army under the command of Lieut. Gen Earl Cornwallis, is thus far advanced to their support, leaving it to themselves to compute its power and superiority from the great, signal, and complete victory which it obtained, when in force very inferior to its present strength, over the rebel army on the 16th of August. And whereas, while his majesty on the one hand, holds forth grace and mercy to his deluded subjects, who shall immediately, and with good faith, return to their duty, to which they have been invited in vain by every reason and argument, and by every consideration of interest, of freedom and happiness; he is determined on the other, to employ in the most vigorous and effectual manner the force of his arms, and the united strength of his faithful people, to restore and maintain to them that genuine liberty, peace and prosperity, which they formerly enjoyed in such full security under the mild government and protection of Great Britain, and to compel the disobedient to submission to the laws, and the participation of those blessings of a free constitution, which through ignorance, infatuation, delusion, blindness and fraud, they have been hitherto led to resist notwithstanding his majesty's most gracious and merciful endeavors to reclaim them. Having thus signified to the King's loyal and faithful subjects, the arrival and progress of his Majesty's army to their aid and support, which they are to evince the sincerity of their profession of loyalty and attachment; they are to consider themselves in this hour most seriously and solemnly called upon by every duty of the subject to the sovereign, and by every tie and consideration of family, liberty and property, of present and future welfare and interest, with heart and hand to join and unite their strength with that of his majesty's force, in order to deliver themselves from that intolerable yoke of slavery and arbitrary power, which the tyranny of the Rebel Congress, lost to every sense of truth and virtue is evidently aiming to rivet upon them, by calling in the aid of the two Roman Catholic powers of France and Spain whose policy and incessant labor it has been for ages to subvert the civil and religious liberties of mankind, and to restore themselves to that state of perfect freedom, which is acknowledge throughout the world to be found only in the envied rights and conditions of British subjects: And whereas I have entire confidence, that it is the wish, inclination an ardent desire of his majesty's faithful and loyal subjects in this province to employ their strength on this great occasion, for the redemption of every thing that can be dear to men, in the way that is likely, most effectually and certainly to accomplish the great objects of peace and happiness which they have in view: I do hereby exhort and invite all the young and able bodied men to testify the reality of their loyalty and spirit, by enlisting in the Provincial Corps, which are forthwith to be raised and put under my command, as his majesty's Governor of the Province, hereby informing and assuring them, that they are, and will be required to serve only during the Rebellion, and within the Provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, under officers of their own recommendation; that each man will receive the bounty of three Guineas at the time of enlisting, and all the pay, clothing, appointments, allowances and encouragements of soldiers of this majesty's army, and will be entitled at the end of the rebellion, when they are to be discharged, to free grants of land. And I have such full assurance that his majesty's loyal and faithful subjects of this Province, will so clearly see the propriety and necessity of forming their strength upon this plan, which experience hath proved can alone render it effectual to the suppression of the tyranny which has for years past deprived them of every blessing, right and enjoyment of life, that I am confident their honest zest will lead them to contend and vie with each other in filling the respective battalions in which they shall close to enlist, from a just sense on merit & applause that will be due to such as are soonest completed.

Given under my hand and the Great Seal of the said Province, at Head-Quarters, in Charlotte Town, this third day of October, one thousand seven hundred and eighty, and in the twentieth year of his Majesty's reign.

JO. MARTIN.
By his Excellency's command,
Rigdon Brice, P. Secy.

GOD save the KING.

Captain James Thompson and Lieutenant George Graham obtained permission from Davidson to return home. There, on 3 October, they collected a party of men and disrupted a British foraging party at McIntyre's farm on Beattie's Ford Road (Graham 1904, 28).

Charles Stedman, the British commissary officer, described food procurement in Charlotte.

There were several large, well-cultivated farms in the neighbourhood of Charlotte. An abundance of cattle; few sheep; the cattle being mostly milch-cows, or cows with calf, which at that season of the year was the best beef; for the cattle in North and South Carolina run wild in the woods, and at this season are in general very poor. As an instance, when the army was at Charlotte, we killed upon an average 100 head [of cattle] per day. The amount of rations issued, including the army departments, militia, negroes, &c. was 4100 per day. The leanness of the cattle will account for the number killed each day. This was not confined to Charlotte, for they were poor at this season throughout the Carolinas; very few of the oxen were fit to kill. In one day no less than 37 cows in calf were slaughtered. Necessity only justified this measure. At this period the royal army was supported by lord Rawdon's moving with one half of the army one day, and colonel Webster, with the other half, the next day, as a covering party, to protect the foraging parties and cattle-drivers. This measure was rendered necessary from the hostile disposition of the inhabitants. Wheat and rye were collected in the straw, Indian corn in the hulk, and brought in waggons to Charlotte, where (in the court-house) it was threshed out by the militia and negroes, and then sent to the mill. This was attended with much trouble and fatigue to the army; nevertheless meal was not wanting; cattle there were in abundance. When a cow calves in the Carolinas, the owner marks the calf, and turns it into the woods, where it remains for three or four, and even seven, years, without ever being brought out. Individual farmers have marked from twelve to fifteen hundred calves in one year. It would never answer to fodder such a number of cattle. The climate being very much to the southward, admits of their running in the woods all the winter, where a species of coarse wild grass grows most luxuriantly all the year. Pennsylvania and Maryland do not raise black cattle sufficient for their own consumption. The drovers from Pennsylvania go to the Carolinas, purchase these lean cattle at a very low price, and bring them to Pennsylvania, where they are fatted in the rich meadows on the banks of the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers for market. This will explain, in some degree, why the Carolinas suffered so much during the war; for the planters property consisted chiefly in cattle and negroes, there not being white inhabitants sufficient to cultivate the land; the planters asserting, that, without negroes, indigo and rice could not be cultivated, the whites not being able to bear the heat of the climate. The negroes in general followed the British army. (Stedman 1794, 2:216–217).

Meanwhile, Brigadier General Davidson and Colonel Davie applied constant pressure on Cornwallis in Charlotte. Almost all outside communication was cut off. Later, Tarleton wrote:

Charlotte town afforded some conveniences, blended with great disadvantages. The mills in its neighbourhood were supposed of sufficient consequence to render it for the present an eligible position, and, in future, a necessary post, when the army advanced: But the aptness of its intermediate situation between Camden and Salisbury, and the quantity of its mills, did not counterbalance its defects. The town and environs abounded with inveterate enemies; the plantations in the neighbourhood were small and uncultivated; the roads narrow, and crossed in every direction; and the whole face of the country covered with close and thick woods. In addition to these disadvantages, no estimation could be made of the sentiments of half the inhabitants of North Carolina, whilst the royal army remained at Charlotte town. It was evident, and it had been frequently mentioned to the King's officers, that the counties of Mecklenburg and Rohan were more hostile to

England than any others in America. The vigilance and animosity of these surrounding districts checked the exertions of the well affected, and totally destroyed all communication between the King's troops and the loyalists in the other parts of the province. (Tarleton 1787, 159).

Likewise, British commissary officer Stedman later wrote:

So inveterate was their rancour, that the messengers, with expresses for the commander-in-chief were frequently murdered; and the inhabitants, instead of remaining quietly at home to receive payment for the produce of their plantations, made it a practice to waylay the British foraging parties, fire their rifles from concealed places, and then fly into the woods. (Stedman 1794, 2:216).

On 2 October, Gates ordered Major General William Smallwood to rush reinforcements to Sumner at Trading Ford. Today, Trading Ford can be seen as the island to the east while driving across Interstate-85 bridge over Yadkin River.

Colonel Thomas Sumter had been at Hillsborough conferring with South Carolina Governor John Rutledge. On 6 October, Rutledge promoted Sumter to militia brigadier general.

In early October, Cornwallis planned an attack. Tarleton later wrote:

In the beginning of October it was intended to send a corps from Charlotte town, under the orders of Lieutenant-colonel Webster, to attack a party of Americans, commanded by General Sumner, at Alexander's mill, on a branch of Rocky river. (Tarleton 1787, 165).

On 8 October, Davidson learned that Cornwallis ordered his army in Charlotte to draw two days' provisions for a march. Davidson presumed that Cornwallis planned to attack his position at Rocky River. Davidson wrote, "I find he is determined to surprise men & I am as determined to disappoint him." (Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 83). After weeks of stressful fighting, Davie became sick, but remained active. Davidson reported his concern to Sumner (Davidson 1951, 83). Davie's subordinates Captain Joseph Dickson and Captain Rutledge patrolled Charlotte's perimeter.

On 8 October, Sumner reported to Gates:

I am just now informed by Colo. Taylor, who is just arrived from Colo. Phyfer's, that the Enemy is reinforced from their outposts with 14 pieces of Cannon in all & two Grass-hoppers; that their intention was to march this day, & to fix their Encampment contiguous to Mr. Frohock's Mill, near Salisbury. (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:678)

In the same message, Sumner described what he thought to be deliberate biological warfare:

A Woman who passed about 15 days ago I am apprehensive has proceeded towards Hillsborough, from the enemy, with the small-pox. I doubt not but she has been sent on purpose to spread that Contagion among the Troops. The Ferry man at this ford, I am informed by Doctor Pasteur & Alexander, whom I sent to examine him, has got it. I have had him removed, & shall take such precaution in my power to prevent the infection spreading. (Sumner 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:678-679)

On 8 October, Gates ordered Colonel Daniel Morgan with his 404 Virginia riflemen, three companies of selected light infantry, and Lieutenant Colonel William Washington's cavalrymen marched from Hillsborough to reinforce Sumner at Trading Ford. (Kirkwood 1780, 216) (T. L. Anderson 1780, 2).

September–October 1780, Ferguson, Overmountain Men, Kings Mountain

In September 1780, the patriot situation was desperate. During the previous May, Charlestown fell with many Continental soldiers taken prisoner, including all active North and South Carolina Continental Army regiments. In late May, 260 Virginia Continentals were brutally killed or wounded at Buford's massacre. Tories proved they could assemble in large numbers as at Ramsour's Mill on 20 June. On 16 August, 1050 soldiers, including many Continentals, were killed or captured at Camden. Two days later, 150 of Colonel Thomas Sumter's soldiers were killed at Fishing Creek. American Major General Horatio Gates was

discredited. Finally, Charlotte was occupied. It appeared that Cornwallis would soon subdue North Carolina. It is remarkable that rebel resistance continued.

By late September, Major Patrick Ferguson had recruited over 1100 Loyalists, about half from upstate South Carolina and half from North Carolina (Draper 1881, 293). In addition, he had a cadre of uniformed provincial troops, mostly New Yorkers, from four regiments: *King's American Regiment* commanded by Captain Abraham DePeyster, *Loyal American Regiment* commanded by Major Main, *New Jersey Volunteers* commanded by Captain Samuel Ryerson, and *Prince of Wales American Regiment* led by Sergeant Townsend.

Ferguson sent a threatening verbal message to rebels in western North Carolina, which at that time included present-day Tennessee, saying he would “march over the mountains, hang leaders, and lay waste the country with fire and sword.” This threat was certainly counterproductive since among the addressees it provoked a determination to destroy Ferguson before he destroyed them. More than 400 Scotch-Irish rebels, some called *overmountain men*, assembled and pursued Ferguson. On 30 September, they camped at Quaker Meadows, the wide bottomland just north of present-day Morganton, North Carolina. There an equal number of Scotch-Irish from Wilkes and Surry County joined. That evening, the six militia leaders planned tactics under a large tree, later known as *Council Oak*.



Colonel Charles McDowell House, built in 1812
Quaker Meadows, Morganton, North Carolina

Bost Road intersects highway NC181 in Quaker Meadows. George Shuford Ramseur, Sr. his brothers and sister's home place is on Bost Road. That is where the Ramseur-Forney family reunion is held. Also, Jacob Forney II family graveyard is on Boss Road.

On 1 October, this group moved to Brindletown, North Carolina. On 3 October, they marched to Gilbert Town, near present-day Rutherfordton, North Carolina. On 4 October, at Probit's Place on Broad River, Major Chronicle and 20 men from the Catawba River South Fork joined (Draper 1881, 214).

Meanwhile, about 60 Lincoln County men congregated at Espey's plantation (Hunter 1877, 265) under the leadership of Colonel William Graham and Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Hambright (Forney, Abraham 1832). They moved to the Lincoln County Courthouse and to Moses Moore's plantation (Forney, Abraham 1832). Their force prevented Loyalists from assembling. On 2 October, these men moved east to join Colonel Thomas Sumter's 340 South Carolina militiamen camped on the Catawba River west bank at Tuckasegee Ford. Sumter was away and leadership fell to Colonels William Hill, Edward Lacey, and James Williams. On 3 October, they marched to Ramsour's Mill. On 4 October, they marched to Flint Hill, now called Cherry Mountain, in eastern Rutherford County, North Carolina. In 1832, Abraham Forney [testified](#):

That sometime in June 1780, there was a call upon the Militia, he [Abraham Forney] volunteered and served as a private in Captain John Baldrige's Company and a part embodied at the time first mentioned at Ramsour's Mills, from thence we marched to Espey's, where we joined more troops and lay there about three weeks collecting men. At this place Colonel Graham & Lt. Col. Hambright took the command of us. From thence we marched to Lincoln old Court House, to old Moses Moore's, the father of Colonel John Moore the Tory and marched and counter marched through all that section of Country & hearing that [Patrick] Ferguson was coming on in considerable force, it was concluded to retreat across the Catawba River at the Tuckasegee Ford and arriving at

that point we then met with some South Carolina troops retreating before Cornwallis, whom they informed us was then in Charlotte, we united with these forces under the command of a Colonel [James] Williams and marched up the West side of the Catawba River and then towards South Carolina in the rear of Ferguson and fell in with the over mountain troops under the command of [William] Campbell, [Benjamin] Cleveland, [Issac] Shelby & [John] Sevier at the Cowpens, from thence we united in the pursuit of Ferguson and came up with him at King's Mountain on the 7 day of October 1780. After this battle that he was dismissed and he returned home. (Forney, Abraham 1832)

The Espey's place mentioned was likely the home of Thomas Espey. His son Captain Samuel Espey served under Colonel William Graham. The route taken could have passed by Jacob Plunk II's farm (Draper 1881, 194).

[Lieutenant David Mitchell](#), later husband of Ann Anderson a 4th great-grandaunt, served under Colonel James Williams. His service is described in his brother [William Mitchell's pension application](#) (Mitchell, William 1832). (Draper 1881, 191–192).

On 6 October, the two groups marched separately to Cowpens, a well-known crossroad in South Carolina. Both groups arrived about sundown. Lincoln County men were supplemented by about 20 fellow Lincoln County men under Major William Chronicle who had joined the overmountain men the previous day. At Cowpens, officers selected their ablest men with good horses for the final pursuit. At 9:00 p.m., during a rain, 910 men departed. Lincoln County men led since they knew the terrain and could properly interpret intelligence gathered from local residents. Enoch Gilmer proceeded well in advance of everyone else. He risked his life by posing as a Loyalist trying to find Ferguson's camp (Draper 1881, 226). At Cherokee Ford on Broad River, he signaled that the opposite bank was clear (Draper 1881, 228). At dawn 7 October, the force crossed quickly. Lincoln County men continued to lead. Cherokee Ford is immediately upstream of present-day Cherokee Falls, South Carolina. Colonel Isaac Shelby insisted that the troops press on without rest.



Cherokee Ford over Broad River

Actual ford with rock bottom is 200 yards downstream of access road (Moss 1990).

Word was passed that the acknowledgement password was “Buford,” an ominous reminder of Buford's massacre and symbolic of their resentful motivation. Rain continued until noon. They learned of Ferguson's exact position on a ridge top near Kings Mountain. It had been a deer hunting camp of Major William Chronicle and Captain Charles Mattox (Draper 1881, 231). At 4:00 p.m., after a nonstop 18-hour, 33-mile, horseback pursuit, Patriots surrounded Loyalists and defeated them within an hour. Many rebels observed that Loyalists consistently overshot their targets. Present-day marksmen call this effect *terrestrial refraction*. It is an optical illusion. When the battle ended, rebels suffered 28 killed and 62 wounded. Loyalists suffered 157 killed, 163 wounded, and 698 captured. Ferguson was killed. He was an officer in

the 71st Highland Regiment. In prior years, he was a leading developer of breech loading firearms and held a patent on a threading design that reduced fouling.



Major Patrick Ferguson, wax bust, about 1775, artist unknown.
Burial rock carn. Monument erected 7 October 1930.

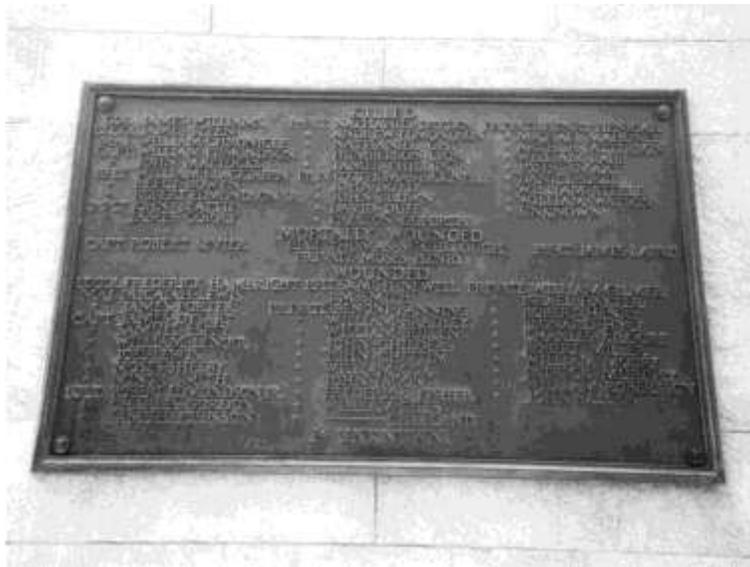
The participants knew they achieved an important victory, but could not have appreciated its full importance. The bronze plaque on the obelisk south side states the importance concisely:

TO COMMEMORATE THE VICTORY
OF
KING'S MOUNTAIN
OCTOBER 7, 1780
ERECTED BY THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE
UNITED STATES
TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF WHICH
THE HEROISM AND PATRIOTISM OF
THOSE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THIS
BATTLE SO LARGELY CONTRIBUTED.



Kings Mountain Battleground Obelisk
Constructed by United States Government in 1909.

Captain Samuel Espey participated and was wounded by a musket ball passing through his right elbow joint. That permanently disabled his right elbow. He was among the 65 Patriots killed or wounded whose names appear on the 83-foot obelisk.



Killed and wounded Patriots

Of the 66 names, 12 were Lincoln County men, a higher proportion than any other unit.

Captain Samuel Espey is listed on the left under wounded.

Historian Lyman Draper wrote about the Lincoln County men, nicknamed the “South Fork Boys.”

Major [William] Chronicle and Lieutenant Colonel [Frederick] Hambright led their little band of South Fork boys up the north-east end of the mountain, where the ascent was more abrupt than elsewhere, save where Campbell’s men made their attack. As they reached the base of the ridge, with Chronicle some ten paces in advance of his men, he raised his military hat, crying out—“Face to the hill!” He had scarcely uttered his command, when a ball struck him, and he fell; and William Rabb, within some six feet of Chronicle, was killed almost instantly thereafter. The men steadily pressed on, under the leadership of Lieutenant Colonel Hambright, Major Joseph Dickson, and Captains Mattocks, Johnson, White, Espey and Martin—a formidable list of officers for so small a

body of men; but they all took their places in the line, and fought with determined heroism. Before they reached the crest of the mountain, the enemy charged bayonet—said to have been led by DePeyster—first firing off their guns, by which, Robert Henry supposed that Captain Mattocks and John Boyd were killed, and William Gilmer, a brother of the noted scout, and John Chittim wounded—the latter of Captain Martin’s company, was shot in his side, making an orifice, through which, according to tradition, a silk handkerchief could be drawn, and yet he recovered, living to a good old age. (Draper 1881, 257).



Location of “Face to the hill!” command.

Photo taken during winter. In 1780, trees were bigger and widely spaced.

At the time of the battle, Samuel Espey was in Major William Chronicle and Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Hambright’s unit. He was at this location.

South Fork Boys’ action is partially described in Robert Henry’s personal account, written many years later.

I was preparing to fire when one of the British advancing, I stepped back and was in the act of cocking my gun when his bayonet was running along by the barrel of my gun, and gave me a thrust through my hand and into my thigh. My antagonist and I both fell. The Fork boys retreated and loaded their guns. I was then lying under the smoke and it appeared that some of them were not more than a gun’s length in front of the bayonets, and the farthest could not have been more than 20 feet in front when they discharged their rifles. It was said that every one dropped his man. The British then retreated in great haste, and were pursued by the Fork boys.

William Caldwell saw my condition, and pulled the bayonet out of my thigh, but it hung to my hand; he gave my hand a kick and it went out. The thrust gave me much pain, but the pulling of it was much more severe. With my well hand I picked up my gun and found her discharged. I suppose that when the soldier made the thrust, I gripped the trigger and discharged her; the load must have passed through his bladder and cut a main artery at his back, as he bled profusely. (Henry 1850).

About casualties, Draper wrote:

The Lincoln County men, considering their small number, suffered considerably in the engagement—Major Chronicle, Captain Mattocks, William Rabb, John Boyd, and Arthur Patterson, killed, and Moses Henry mortally wounded; Lieutenant-Colonel Hambright, Captain Espey, Robert Henry, William Gilmer, John Chittim, and William Bradley, wounded. There must have been other losses; for of Captain Samuel Martin’s company of about twenty men, he relates in his pension statement, that four were killed, and two mortally wounded. (Draper 1881, 302).

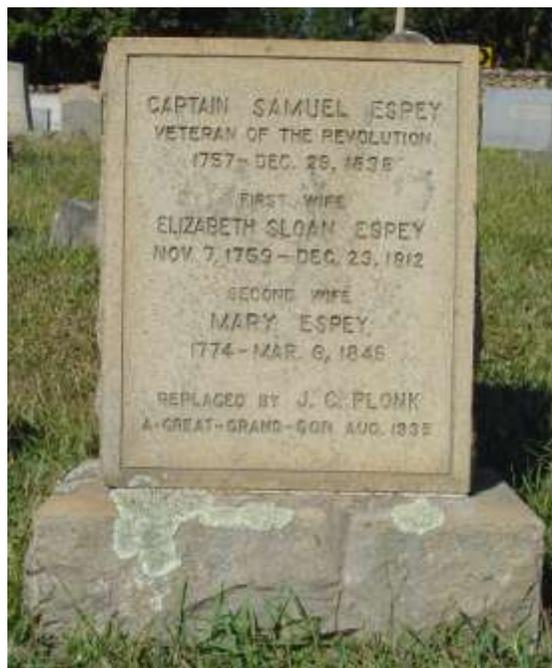
Private James Espey, Samuel's younger brother, also participated. He was in Captain Isaac White's company. See his 15 August 1832 [pension application](#) (Espey, James 1832). James' descendents maintain the tradition that he carried water in his hat some distance to his wounded brother.

In 1815, Doctor William McLean purchased and erected the battlefield's first commemorative marker. It honors Lincoln County men killed and is located where that unit approached the steep hill. Today, it is on the hiking trail beside a modern copy. The marker reads, "Sacred to the memory of Major William Chronicle, Captain John Mattocks, William Robb, and John Boyd who were killed at this place on the 7th of October, 1780, fighting in defense of America."



1815 Major Chronicle Marker and modern copy

Plonk family records indicate that Captain Espey's powder horn and wooden canteen were in the possession of Margaret Espey, granddaughter of Samuel, in 1905. At that time, Margaret was 80 years old and lived in Coosa, Georgia, between Rome and Summerville. Samuel Espey was buried in Long Creek Presbyterian Church cemetery, Gaston County, North Carolina. In August 1935, Joseph Calvin Plonk placed a marker by Samuel Espey's grave.



Samuel Espey Marker
Long Creek Presbyterian Church Cemetery

John Moor, a Moore-related 4th great-grandfather, was among the Patriots that followed the assault group from Cowpens. He was 18 years old. According to his wife Jane Patton's 16 September 1845 pension application, he was "in the service of the army at the time of the Battle at Kings Mountain and was at that time sent with others to guard some Crossing place near by, was in hearing of the Battle and was marched up to the Battle Ground Immediately after the close of the fight and was appointed with others to take Charge of the Prisoners." (Moor, John 1845) (Sutton 1987, 360).

On 7 October 1930, United States President Herbert Hoover spoke at the 150-year commemoration ceremony that included other dignitaries and 75,000 attendees.

Laura Plonk, a 1st cousin 2 generations removed, organized and directed the associated Historical Pageant at City of Kings Mountain Auditorium.

Each year on 7 October, a commemoration service is held. An invited speaker discusses a historical aspect. A small group of hikers retrace the overmountain victory trail from Sycamore Shoals, Tennessee.



Commemoration Day, 7 October 2001. 38 floral wreaths.

On 8 October 1780, Brigadier General William Davidson moved his 600 troops from Phyfer's plantation to Rocky River on Salisbury Road, present-day highway US29 near Lowes Motor Speedway (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:677). That was 16 miles from Charlotte. When news got to Davidson, he hurriedly wrote Major General Jethro Sumner:

Camp Rocky River, October 10, 1780

Sir — I have the Pleasure of handing you very agreeable Intelligence from the West. Ferguson, the Great Partizan, has miscarried. This we are assured of by Mr. [Samuel] Tate, Brigade Major in General Sumpter's Brigade. The particulars from that Gentleman's Mouth stand thus: that Colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, Williams, Brandon, Lacey, Etc., formed a Conjunct Body near Gilbert Town consisting of 3000 — From this Body were selected 1600 good Horse, who immediately went in search of Colonel Ferguson, who was making his way to Charlotte — Our people overtook him well posted on King's Mountain, and on the evening of the 7th Instant at 4 o'clock, began the attack which lasted forty seven minutes, Colonel Ferguson fell in the action, besides 150 of his men — 810 were made prisoner, including the British — 150 of the prisoners are wounded — 1500 Stands of arms fell into our Hands. the enemy surrendered. We lost about 20 men among whom is Major Chronicle of Lincoln County, Colonel Williams is mortally wounded, the number of our wounded cannot be ascertained. This blow will certainly affect the British very considerably. The designs of our conquering Friends near King's Mountain not certainly known, it is most probable that they will secure their prisoners in or over the Mountains and proceed toward Charlotte — The Brigade Major who gives us this was in action. The above is true. The Blow is great and I give you Joy upon the Occasion.

I am, Etc.,

Wm. Davidson (Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 86)

Davidson's letter was forwarded from Sumner to Gates, to Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson, to Continental Congress in Philadelphia. It was published in newspapers across the country.

The degree of American resistance surprised the British. On 24 October, Cornwallis' second in command, Lieutenant Colonel Francis Lord Rawdon, reported, that Gates' army "unveiled to us a fund of Disaffection in this Province of which we could have formed no Idea And even the dispersion of that Force [at Camden] did not extinguish the Ferment which the hope of its support had raised." (Borick 2003, 240). Later, British commander-in-chief Major General Henry Clinton wrote about Kings Mountain:

And, surely, never was the trite apothegm that the greatest events often proceed from little causes more fatally confirmed than by the present check [at Kings Mountain]— which, though in itself confessedly trifling, overset in a moment all the happy effects of our successes at Charlestown and His Lordship's glorious victory at Camden, and so encouraged that spirit of rebellion in both Carolinas that it never could be after humbled. For no sooner had the news of it spread through the country than multitudes of disaffected flew to arms all parts, and menaced every British post on both frontiers, carrying terror even to the gates of Charlestown. (Morrill 1993, 112)

During the 1700s and 1800s, battles were often represented in verse. A Kings Mountain ballad by an unknown author appears in reference (Draper 1881, 591).

As an enemy, Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton is often maligned in American history. But his book is balanced and perceptive. Only 7 years after these events, he wrote:

It was now evident, beyond contradiction, that the British general had not adopted the most eligible plan for the invasion of North Carolina. The route by Charlotte town, through the most hostile quarter of the province, on many accounts, was not advisable. Its distance likewise from Ferguson allowed the enemy to direct their attention and force against that officer, which ultimately proved his destruction. A movement on the west of the Catawba, towards Tryon county, would have been better calculated either to cover the frontier of South Carolina or to protect detachments from the army. Another operation might also have been attempted, which, in all probability, would have had a beneficial effect. Considering the force of the King's troops at this period, a march to Cross Creek would have been the most rational manoeuvre that could have been adopted; where the inhabitants were acknowledged to be almost universally loyal: Upon this move Ferguson would have been undoubtedly ordered to retire, and to remain upon the defensive to the westward; and Earl Cornwallis would have had a favourable and convenient opportunity to try the fidelity of the King's friends, and to discover whether the water communication between that place and Wilmington could be opened; a point which should necessarily have been ascertained before the Royal army proceeded to the interior parts of North Carolina. (Tarleton 1787, 168)

12 October, British evacuate Charlotte

For 5 days after Kings Mountain, Cornwallis was not certain of Ferguson's predicament, yet rumors of defeat were widespread. He sent Tarleton's Legion across the Catawba River, but that only confirmed the defeat. Tarleton later wrote:

On the 10th [October], Earl Cornwallis gave orders to Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton, to march with the light infantry, the British legion, and a three pounder, to assist Major Ferguson, no certain intelligence having arrived of his defeat : It was rumoured with great confidence by the Americans in the neighbourhood of Charlotte town, and the probability of the circumstance gave weight to the report. Tarleton's instructions directed him to reinforce Ferguson wherever he could find him, and to draw his corps to the Catawba, if after the junction, advantage could not be obtained over the mountaineers; or, upon the certainty of his defeat, at all events to oppose the entrance of the victorious Americans into South Carolina : Accordingly, Tarleton marched to Smith's ford [should be Armour's ford, since Smith's ford was on Broad River], below the forks of the Catawba, where he received certain information of the melancholy fate of Major Ferguson. This mortifying intelligence was forwarded to Charlotte town [corrected errata], and the light troops crossed the river, to give protection to the fugitives, and to attend the operations of the enemy. (Tarleton 1787, 165–166).

The road taken was present-day York Road, highway US49. Armour's Ford was near present-day Buster Boyd Bridge.

Cornwallis was concerned of immediate rebel attack against Charlotte or the British fort at Ninety Six. During the afternoon 12 October, the British Army pulled out of Charlotte, ending its 16-day occupation (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:694–695). Tarleton indicated this event occurred on 14 October (Tarleton 1787, 167) and Davie repeated that date (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 27). But Davidson's correspondence indicated 12 October (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:694–695) (Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 90). That evening the British marched to "Barnets Creek 5 Miles below Town, on the Road to Armours Ford." (Robinson 1957, 80) This was probably near where present-day Tyvola Road crosses South Tryon Street. There the British learned they were not on the road to Catawba-Nation Ford. Charlotte resident William McCafferty guided the British Army. He stated that he would find the correct road, but abandoned the British. Unwilling to backtrack, the British traveled cross-country during that night attempting to locate the correct road. British soldiers became confused, separated, and lost. Tarleton later wrote:

The British rear guard destroyed, or left behind, near twenty wagons, loaded with supplies for the army, a printing press, and other stores belonging to public departments, and the knapsacks of the light infantry and [British] legion. (Tarleton 1787, 167)

Meanwhile, McCafferty raced to Davidson's camp at Rocky River, arriving the next morning. He disclosed the British predicament. (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 270). Davidson sent an express message to Sumner:

We have a Report from a Man of Veracity just arrived from within 6 Miles of Charlotte that the Enemy have evacuated Charlotte & that last Night at 10 O'Clock the Rear of the Army passed Bernet's Creek 5 Miles below Charlotte on the Road to Bigger's Ferry. (Davidson 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:694–695) (Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 90)

On 13 October, Davidson marched his militiamen towards Charlotte. In route, he ordered his infantry to camp at John McKnitt Alexander's plantation. With the remaining 317 cavalymen, Davidson entered Charlotte (Davidson 1951, 90). The next day, all Davidson's men joined him in Charlotte and encamped 2 miles west (Davidson 1951, 92), probably along Irwin Creek. Davie responded quickly by trailing the British column. But little advantage could be taken because the British maintained a disciplined close order formation with cavalry rear guard (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 271). Because of torrential rains, Nation Ford on Catawba River was impassable for wagons. Cornwallis fell ill. The British Army camped at the old 1760 Catawba Indian fort. Today, that fort's location is identified by a historical marker immediately south of present-day Fort Mill, South Carolina, on Brickyard Road. Tarleton's Legion re-crossed the Catawba River west to east at Nation Ford (Tarleton 1787, 167). It was at this time, that allegedly either Cornwallis or Tarleton complained that the Charlotte region was a "hornet's nest" of rebellion (Graham 1904, 84). British commissary officer Charles Stedman wrote:

In this retreat the King's troops suffered much, encountering the greatest difficulties; the soldiers had no tents; it rained for several days without intermission; the roads were over their shoes in water and mud. ... At night, when the army took up its ground, it encamped in the woods, in the most unhealthy climate; for many days without rum. Sometimes the army had beef, and no bread; at other times bread, and no beef. For five days it was supported upon Indian corn, which was collected as it stood in the field, five ears of which were the allowance for two soldiers for twenty-four hours. (Stedman 1794, 2:224)

On 13 October, Gates wrote the Continental Congress that he intended to move his army from Hillsborough and set up a strong defense on the east side of the Yadkin River fords (Nelson 1976, 248). Gates wanted to be within striking distance from Charlestown as he was advised that the French fleet might arrive momentarily (Nelson 1976, 248).

The British were exceedingly vulnerable at their campsite near Nation Ford. But because of rain, Americans could not take advantage. After a 2-day delay, the British marched along the Catawba River east side using approximately present-day Doby Bridge Road. They crossed Sugar Creek near Roush's plantation (Davie 1780 in NCSR 1896, XV:111). That location might have been Ross' plantation, slightly north of Doby Bridge (Mills 1825). British commissary officer Charles Stedman wrote:

The continual rains had swelled the rivers and creeks prodigiously, and rendered the roads almost impassable. The waggon and artillery horses were quite exhausted with fatigue by the time the army had reached Sugar Creek. This creek was very rapid, its banks nearly perpendicular, and the soil, being clay, as slippery as ice. The horses were taken out of some of the waggons, and the militia, harnessed in their stead, drew the waggons through the creek. We are sorry to say, that, in return for their exertions, the militia were maltreated, by abusive language, and even beaten by some of the quarter-master-general's department: In consequence of this ill usage, several of them left the army the next morning, for ever (Stedman 1794, 2:225).

Major George Hanger later wrote of the travails of the British Army.

I caught the yellow fever at Charlottebourg. Tarleton was just recovering from it as I sickened. When the army marched from that town, myself and five officers, who had the same disorder, were put into waggons and carried with the army. They all died in the first week of our march, and were buried in the woods as the army moved on. (Hanger 1814, 408).

On 15 October, Davidson wrote Sumner, "Accounts are uniform, that their [British] waggons move with great difficulty, on account of the poverty of their teams." Davidson argued that Americans should attack (Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 92). In a separate letter, Davidson notified Sumner who was camped west of Catawba River on Bullock's Creek of Broad River (Davidson 1951, 92).

On 15 October, Morgan crossed Yadkin River at Trading Ford with his Virginia riflemen, Continental light infantry, and Washington's cavalymen (Davidson 1951, 92). On 18 October, these units marched to Colonel Locke's Farm and the following day to Phifer's Mill (Kirkwood 1780, 216) (Anderson 1780, 2).

On 19 October, the British Army crossed Catawba River at Land's Ford.



Land's Ford

Relatively wide and shallow Catawba River ford.

Following behind Morgan, Smallwood reached Salisbury on 20 October (Smallwood 1780 in NCSR 1896, XIV:703). Sumner had a long career in the North Carolina Continental Line. He was disappointed that Smallwood, a Marylander, was given command of North Carolina brigade. On 20 October, he submitted his resignation to Smallwood. "I feel myself distressed to signify my declining any further Command of the Line of Militia." (Rankin 1971, 257). His command fell to Brigadier General John Butler.



Major General William Smallwood
Maryland Continental Officer
Assigned command of North Carolina militia.
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1782.

While on the march towards Charlotte, Smallwood devised a tentative plan to attack the British. On 20 October, he wrote Gates that Davidson was to command both the North Carolina and Virginia militiamen. Sumter was to command the South Carolina and Georgia militia. Morgan was to command the Continentals. (Davidson 1951, 93).

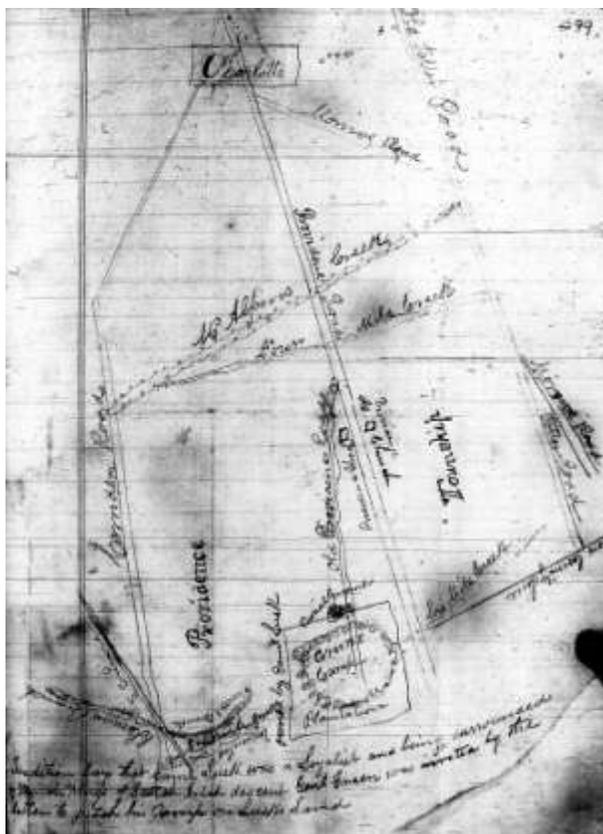
Mid October, American advance, Camp New Providence

On 20 October, Davidson advanced his camp to where Providence Road crosses Six Mile Creek where horses could water and graze (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 21) (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 284) (Vernon 1832 in Draper 1873, VV:10:169, 178). The camp was 14 miles from Charlotte and, at that time, entirely within Mecklenburg County. Today, Six Mile Creek forms the boundary between Mecklenburg and Union Counties.

Davidson passed by his McAlpine Creek campsite used before 25 September. This time he was not on the defensive. By camping seven miles further south, he expected better access to provisions. He was closer to South Carolina. Six Mile Creek banks have gentle slopes, suitable for a large camp. Stream headwaters with constant flow were valued for campsites due to their relatively clean water.

Davidson established Camp New Providence only 8 days after Cornwallis evacuated Charlotte and just 1 day after Cornwallis crossed Catawba River east to west. This new camp asserted American control of the east side of Catawba River as far as the state line.

On 17 April 1872, S. E. Belk, a Charlotte resident, wrote a letter responded to questions from professional historian Lyman Draper. Belk wrote that acquaintance Jo. H. Morrison's mother, as a young girl, remembered passing through the camp and seeing soldiers washing their shirts in Six Mile Creek. Belk called the camp "Green's Camp." He sketched a map of the camp in relation to Providence Road and other landmarks. He reported that the camp was on the plantation of loyalist Samuel Susk. (Belk 1872 in Draper 1873, VV:6:297-299). Today, that location is within the *Providence Crossing* and *HighGate* housing developments.



S. E. Belk map of Camp New Providence. Shown as “Green’s Camp.”
Burial ground shown on north side. (Belk 1872 in Draper 1873, VV:6:299)

On 30 August 1832, George Findley testified in a Lawrence County, Tennessee, court:

... he turned out volunteer for three months in all Mecklinburg County, North Carolina in the latter part of the summer 1780 shortly after Gates Defeat under Captain James Rees in Col. Francis Locks Regiment commanded by General Dawson [Davidson] of Mecklinburg at six mile Creek ... (Findley, George 1832)

On 13 January 1834, Shared Gray, a former resident of Mecklenburg County, [testified](#):

The militia of North Carolina assembled in a large body in Mecklenburg County near a Meeting-house called New Providence. At this place a large body of the Regular Continental Army was also encamped. Thinks that Generals Gates and the Greene were both at this place sometime during the stay of the troops there, but does not recollect distinctly which was in command of the Army. General Morgan & Colonel Washington with their respective commands, were also at this place. (Gray, Shared 1834)

On 21 October, Smallwood, Morgan, and Washington’s units, with Sumner’s troops, marched to “two miles below Esq^r [Hezekiah] Alexanders” home (Anderson 1780, 2) (Kirkwood 1780, 216). Today, that site is within Charlotte near where Eastway Drive intersects Central Avenue.

22 October, Continental light infantry arrives at Camp New Providence

On 22 October, Smallwood, Morgan, Howard, and Washington’s units, with Paisley’s militiamen joined Davidson at Six Mile Creek bring the total strength to 1300 men. They called the location *Camp New Providence*. This location had several advantages:

- It raised the spirits of Mecklenburg Whigs.
- It projected American forces 14 miles south of Charlotte. It asserted American control east of Catawba River.

- It provided a base for foraging the farms in the Waxhaw region of both Carolinas.
- It recaptured assets centered near Charlotte including many grist mills, a hospital, civic leaders, and skilled craftsmen like blacksmiths.
- It provided control of roads leading south from Charlotte. Those were: Providence Road, Camden Road, and Nation Ford Road and their east-west connecting roads.
- It had relatively clean water since it was near the source of Six Mile Creek.

On 22 October, British Major General Alexander Leslie disembarked 2500 soldiers at Portsmouth, Virginia. This force was designed to indirectly support Cornwallis as a diversion in the American rear. It was ineffective because Cornwallis was already on the defensive. Soon, Leslie soldiers re-boarded ship and sailed to Charlestown.

When Smallwood learned that Cornwallis had crossed the Catawba River at Land's Ford, he decided not to attack (Davidson 1951, 94). Colonel Davie established an advanced post with 300 mounted infantrymen near Land's Ford (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 28).

On 21 May 1833, [Daniel Apple testified](#) in a Guilford County, North Carolina, court:

That in August 1780 in the County of Guilford N Carolina he volunteered as a private militiaman was under Capt Jacob Clapp of the regiment commanded by Col John Paisley. That immediately thereafter he was marched under the said Captain to the South passing through Salisbury to Charlotte in Mecklenburg County: a few miles beyond which these troops were met by the British under Cornwallis when we retreated repassing Salisbury and the Yadkin River being pursued by the enemy, where our troops were encamped for something like a week, where upon the British returning South our forces were again marched after them and the main army went as far as what was called the Six Mile Creek where it encamped and this applicant was detached page 3: as one of a scout of reconnoitering party that they pursued the enemy as far as the Catawba River upon the border of So Carolina upon reaching the main army we remained there encamped until he was discharged by direction of his Col the said John Paisley. (Apple, Daniel 1833).

On 23 October, in Philadelphia, the Continental Congress appointed Major General Nathanael Greene to succeed Gates. Greene immediately conferred with General George Washington and began his trip south. When news of this transfer reached the Southern Army in early November, commanders began to postpone major decisions.

On 24 October, a correspondent for the *Pennsylvania Packet* reported from Camp New Providence:

General Davidson and colonel Davie possess the entire confidence of their troops, and discipline is better than formerly, when it was more lax. It would give you pleasure to see the order our camp is in at present, and [we] are much pleased with general Smallwood's arrival [day before] yesterday to take command. (Davidson 1951, 94).

During the British occupation of Charlotte, several of Davidson's men had been captured. Davidson persuaded Smallwood to send an overture to Cornwallis on 24 October to arrange an exchange of these men (Davidson 1951, 94).

On 25 October, the Continentals repositioned ahead of the militia to better defend the camp (Kirkwood 1780, 216). Seymour wrote that the newly arrived units, "moved our encampment further to the right, and in a more regular form." (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 290). He wrote that "At this place Col. Washington with a detachment of First and Third Light Dragoons, joined us, which, together with the Light Infantry and three companies of Riflemen, formed the Flying Army." (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 290). At this time, Morgan learned of his 13 October commission of brigadier general from the Continental Congress (Anderson 1780, 2).



Lieutenant Colonel William Washington
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1781–1782.
Washington re-enactor Daniel Murphy, 3rd Continental Light Dragoons

On 26 October 1832, [Richard Vernon testified](#) in a Davidson County, Tennessee, court:

... The British having retreated to Waynesborough [Winnsboro] South Carolina. Gen. Davidson marched us down about the Waxhaw Settlement and took up Winter Quarters at a place called New Providence when Col. Morgan joined us also Col. Howard commanding the Maryland Continental troops while we remained here. Col. Morgan was promoted to Gen, and Col. Howard's Battalion was attached to his Brigade. We remained here until my men's term of service expired. ... (Vernon, Richard 1832)

On 25 October, in South Carolina, Colonel Francis Marion with 150 men emerged from their hidden camp at Snow Island and crossed the Pee Dee River. The next morning, they attacked a detachment of British soldiers at Tearcoat Swamp (Buchanan 1997, 245).

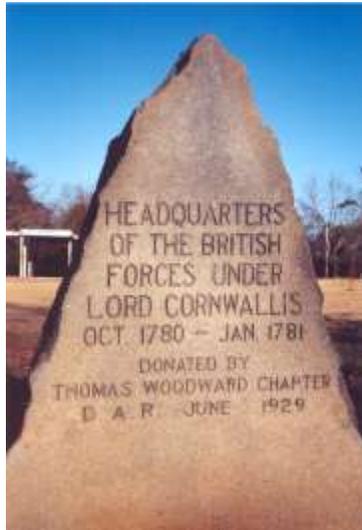


Colonel Francis Marion crossing Pee Dee River by Ferry
Painted by William Ranney, 1850.

On 27 October, Smallwood wrote Gates that he believed Cornwallis would retreat to Charlestown. Smallwood encouraged Gates to march the remaining Continentals to Camp New Providence to “change the aspects.” (Davidson 1951, 94).

Late October, Cornwallis requests reinforcements, Americans need supplies

On 29 October, the British Army encamped at Winnsboro, South Carolina, a town equally distant from Camden and Ninety Six forts (Stedman 1794, 2:226). They used Mount Zion Academy grounds.



British Army Winnsboro Encampment

Cornwallis immediately requested reinforcements from General Henry Clinton.

The success of the Americans at King's mountain, and the distance of Earl Cornwallis' army, prompted many of the disaffected inhabitants of South Carolina again to violate their paroles, and to unite under a leader in the eastern part of the province. Mr. [Francis] Marion, by his zeal and abilities, shewed himself capable of this trust committed to his charge. He collected his adherents at the shortest notice, in the neighbourhood of Black river, and, after making incursions into the friendly districts, or threatening the communications, to avoid pursuit, he disbanded his followers. The alarms occasioned by these insurrections frequently retarded supplies on their way to the army; and a late report of Marion's strength delayed the junction of the recruits, who had arrived from New York for the corps in the country. The 64th regiment of infantry was ordered to Nelson's ferry from Charles town, and directions were given to Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton to pass the Wateree to awe the insurgents. (Tarleton 1787, 171).

When Sumter learned that Cornwallis established new headquarters at Winnsboro, he recalled his men and encamped west of Catawba River at Hill's Iron Works in upper New Acquisition District, present-day York County, South Carolina (Bass 1961, 94).

At Camp New Providence, despite expectations, scarcities soon arose. On 31 October, Smallwood wrote Maryland Governor Thomas Lee:

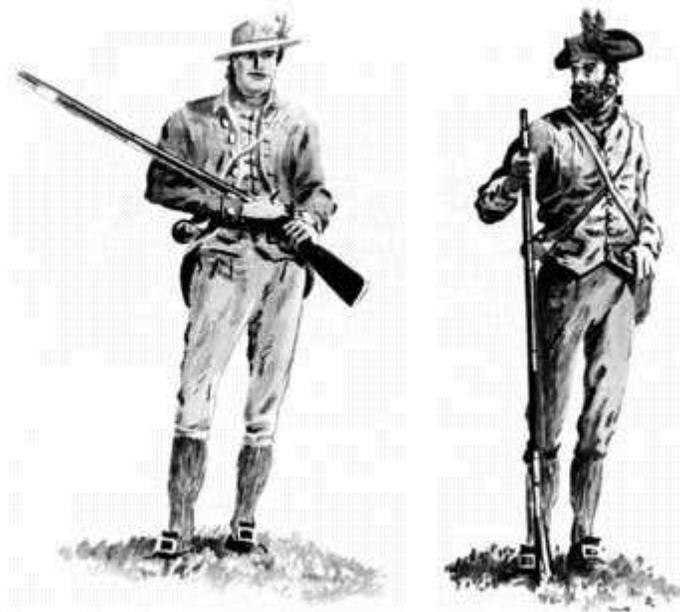
Sir Since my Last Nothing material has occurred except a Great Scarcity of Provisions. Col^o Polk has not even supplied the Regular Troops. Our principal Subsistence has been brought in by Detachments, which they took from the Disaffected who have gone over to the Enemy, and I have now not less than Two Hundred Men employ'd on that Duty which is the only prospect of supplying the Troops till the Late Provision Act for collecting the specific Tax in Provision is more effectually carried into Execution, which I fear at last will not afford an ample Supply; in addition to what Purchases can be made. Forage is also much exhausted, and cannot long be procured for any considerable Force, Plundering prevails to an amazing Degree by Persons who go under the denomination of Volunteers. ... (Smallwood 1780, 45:167) (Smallwood 1780 in Davidson 1951, 95).

Smallwood ended his letter, "Axes and intrenching Tools are much Wanting." This meant that Smallwood intended to remain at that location and had ordered his soldiers to construct defensive fortifications against

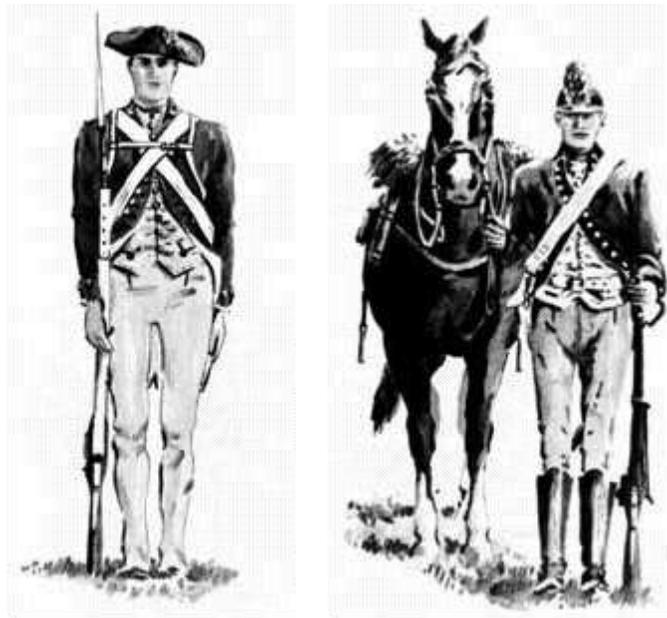
British cavalry attack. No doubt, Washington remembered the disasters he suffered being unprotected at Lenud's Ferry and Monck's Corner from Tarleton's Legion.

Camp New Providence physical description

Camp New Providence was large. Although there is no known written description of its appearance, it can be inferred from historical knowledge of how such camps were equipped, organized, and operated (Peterson 1968). It probably had about 400 tents pitched on the high ground on both sides of Six Mile Creek. Tents were mostly white in color, about 6 feet tall with steeply inclined sides. They were called common or wedge tents. Each tent as assigned to as many as 8 privates (Risch 1981, 148). But because of guard and extra duties, the average use was about 5 privates. Horses grazed along the creek banks. There were hundreds of smoky campfires where soldiers typically ate two meals a day, breakfast and supper. Meals were prepared in small groups of 4 or 5 individuals. While in camp, soldiers drilled under the guidance of a sergeant. They also repaired their uniforms, shoes, saddles, and harnesses. Militiamen wore hunting shirts and linen trousers. Continental soldiers wore buff-colored trousers and blue jackets laced with colors indicating their home state. Washington's cavalymen wore white jackets, white leather trousers, and leather helmets.



North Carolina and Virginia militiamen
From National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse, web site.



Delaware and Maryland Infantry, Continental Line. William Washington's Cavalry.
From National Park Service, Guilford Courthouse, web site.

Normally, each Continental Army regiment included a chaplain, a surgeon, and drummers. The typical rank-and-file soldier was illiterate. High-ranking officers probably had marquee tents with vertical walls, oval in shape, and the size of a small room. In these tents were a few chests of professional and personal baggage and portable folding wooden chairs and table. Compared to today's US Army, officers were aloof. They typically conferred among themselves about strategic concerns. Officers at Camp New Providence were capable men. Some were highly educated and articulate in their letters and written orders. Wealthy officers often traveled with a personal servant. During leisure time, officers socialized with local prominent families. Dancing was a favorite pastime. However, such socializing may not have been an option at Camp New Providence since historic documents mention no nearby farmhouses or other structures closer than the Presbyterian church, 2.5 miles away. In a 24 November letter, Lieutenant Colonel Otho Holland Williams mentioned that he hunted deer on three or four consecutive mornings. There were probably 50 wagons carrying gunpowder, tents, officer baggage, or barrels of rum. The camp was a busy place. Every few hours, express riders arrived and departed carrying written status reports, strength returns, and the latest news. During the day, local farmers arrived with cattle, chickens, and wagons of produce hoping to sell for currency. Camp New Providence was occupied during the autumn foliage change and the beginning of cold weather. Sickness was common. Unmarked soldier graves may be located at Camp New Providence.

Occasionally, soldiers were ordered to pre-cook their meals for a four to six day march. In the 1700s, walking 20 miles a day was common. No one recorded it as extraordinary. Each soldier carried his musket with cartridges, and food provisions. Shoes wore out quickly, sometimes requiring a soldier to march barefoot. In the late 1700s, shoe technology was surprisingly primitive. The concept of separate left and right shoes had not evolved. Also, shoe repair consumed considerable time and concern. Boots were very expensive and thus seldom used.

Early November, Main army leaves Hillsborough, Incursions into South Carolina

On 2 November, Gates ordered his adjutant general, Lieutenant Colonel Otho Holland Williams, to march the remaining main army towards Salisbury. They included about 700 Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia Continentals along with 2 artillery cannons. Gates followed a few days later with 130 mounted Continentals. (Rankin 1971, 258). These two troops of cavalymen were commanded by Colonel Charles Armand and Colonel Anthony White.



Lieutenant Colonel Otho Holland Williams
Delaware Continental Officer
Adjutant General of Southern Army
Promoted brigadier general in 1782.
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1784.

From Camp New Providence, the American Army projected deep incursions into South Carolina. On 3 November, Smallwood issued the following order to Morgan.

Camp New Providence, 3d November, 1780

Dear Sir:

Having understood that the disaffected Inhabitants in the settlements of Lynch Creek, and Waxhaw, since the retreat of the British from Charlotte, have meditated the removal of their property to Camden, I was induced to order Colo. Davie with a detachment down into that quarter, to intercept all such property, which he might apprehend was about to be removed, and to draw what supplies of forage, and Provisions, could otherwise be procured, exclusive of the stock necessary for consumption of the remaining Inhabitants.

I have this day received intelligence that a party of four hundred British & Tories, have advanced up to the Hanging Rock, to cover the disaffected who are actually removing not only their own effects, but the property of such Whigs as they fall in with, and apprehending the detachment under Colo. Davie will be annoyed in the Execution of their Duty, — You will therefore proceed down with the Cavalry, Light Infantry, and Rifle men below the Range of his duty, to cover them in the discharge thereof. — March with all imaginable secrecy and dispatch, and if possible give the enemy a stroke at the Hanging Rock, should they still be there, and no powerful reasons against it.

In accomplishing your views should it be necessary you will call to your aid any part of Davie's detachment, but otherwise, I would not wish their duty to be obstructed —

It will be unnecessary to caution you to guard against a surprise, and to restrain the soldiery from distressing such of the Inhabitants as may merit your attention. Your own Judgment and vigilance in the first instance, and your Humanity and discretion in the latter, will govern —

It is not improbable but you may fall in with part of our Tents, Waggons, and Baggage plundered by the Tories after General Gates's defeat. Whatever you fall in with under that description secure and forward to camp —

You will give me the earliest, and frequent Intelligence of your transactions, and as speedy as possible accomplishing the views comprised in your Instructions, return to

camp — distribute the orders prohibition plundering, copies of which are Enclosed and it may not be amiss to give assurances of Lenity to such Tories, who may return and submit to the mercy of their country, intimating that proclamations to that purpose will be issued. — Wishing you success and a pleasant tour, I am, with sincere —

Your obdt. Humble servt.

W. Smallwood (Smallwood 1780 in Hunt 1892, 6–8)

Beginning 4 November, Morgan's Continental light infantry and Washington's cavalry advanced towards Camden. They stopped at Hanging Rock, near present-day Heath Springs, South Carolina (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 290). This incursion caused a British reaction.

Earl Cornwallis was impressed with an idea that the Americans had a design upon Camden : The report of the advance of General Morgan towards the head of Lynche's creek, with Colonel Washington's cavalry, and a body of continental infantry, together with the exaggerated accounts of Marion's force, gave plausibility to the supposition. The situation and importance of the magazine [Camden] caused early jealousy and immediate attention. The light troops, however, on their arrival at Camden, found no reason to expect an attack from General Morgan, and Lieutenant-colonel Tarleton thought the opportunity favorable to commence an expedition against Marion. (Tarleton 1787, 171).

On 6 November, Smallwood sent the following vague order to Morgan.

Camp 6th November, 1780

Dear Sir:

I have just recd. Advice from Genl. Sumter, that a favourable opportunity of effecting something to our advantage offers on the other side the Catawba; you will therefore view the expediency of dispatching your tour below as soon as possible that we may avail ourselves. — We have had no news since you left us, neither of the British in Virginia nor of Genl. Gates's coming on or forwarding the Continental Troops. I expect the Augusta [Virginia] Rifle men here to-morrow, one Hundred and Six in number, these I shall detain here unless you should require them below, as I imagine their service with you at this time will not be wanting —

I am with Sincere regard

Your Obd. Hble Servt.

W. Smallwood

P. S. The Enemy are still in Winsborough, Sumter informs me are likely to remain there for some time — and continue to make detachments some distance from their camp — after Provisions & Plunder. (Smallwood 1780 in Hunt 1892, 10–11)

On 7 November, Smallwood sent an order to Morgan.

Camp N. Providence, 7th Nov. 1780

Dear Sir:

I have just recd an intimation to be depended on that Tarleton's Legion to the amount of five hundred Cavalry and Infantry mounted, was three days ago at the ferry opposite Camden; this hint I think necessary to give, to guard you against a surprise, or any excursion they may have in view to attack you in a divided state, or intercept any of your parties — you will therefore avail yourself of the Hint, and keep a watchful eye on their motions, should they approach upward

I am

with great regard

your ob Hble servt

W. Smallwood.

N. B. (This information comes from Genl Sumpter) — Since writing the above I have it from good authority that Tarleton had crossed to Camden and had moved from there before Day. On Sunday morning, [5 November] he gave out he was going up the Hanging Rock road, but I rather think he took the road to the High Hills of Santee against Marion, otherwise you must have fallen in with him; he is Four Hundred Strong. I would therefore recommend that you move up & draw your and the principal part of Davies force to a point, covering such detachments as it may be necessary to make; by this means you will be more than sufficient to cope with him should he approach upwards. I shall send a detachment down to join you in the morning, and could wish our force would admit of a strong one. Give me the earliest intimation of occurrences, and your opinion of moving a large force to you. I am persuaded you will be vigilant and cautious and then you will have nothing to dread. Adieu. (Smallwood 1780 in Hunt 1892, 11–13)

Morgan and Washington returned to Camp New Providence, arriving 9 November (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 290).

On 6 November, Major General Gates arrived at Guilford Courthouse with his entourage of cavalry. There he met Virginia Brigadier General Edward Stevens with his 300 militiamen. They were ill equipped to continue. So Gates send them back to Hillsborough, “to be Arm’d and Accoutred, and in some Degree equip’d before they can March from thence.” (Nelson 1976, 249).

On 7 November, the North Carolina Board of War informed Davidson that it had intended to send him a “Horseman’s Tent,” but because it was mis-packed, he would be sent a “Marquee.” (Davidson 1951, 95).

On 10 November, Cornwallis wrote a favorable reply to Smallwood’s prisoner-exchange offer (Davidson 1951, 95).

On 11 November, Gates arrived at Salisbury. There he ordered Stevens to march his newly equipped militiamen to Salisbury.

On 13 November, Gates wrote Morgan:

I hear by report that I am to be recalled, and that Greene is to succeed to the command of the Southern department. But of this I have not the smallest intimation from Congress, which, I conceive, would have been the case, had the business been finally settled. I think exactly as you do in regard to the command, and am impatient for the arrival of General Greene. (Gates 1780 in Hunt 1892, 9)

On 14 November, a British messenger, carrying a white flag, approached Camp New Providence along Providence Road. Smallwood believed its purpose was to spy on the American encampment, and so sent it back without a reply (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 291). Smallwood’s suspicion may have been justified, since on 3 December, Cornwallis reported to his superior General Henry Clinton:

Smallwood has been encamped from the beginning of last month with about thirteen hundred Militia, a Corps of 250 Continentals under Morgan and 70 Dragoons Commanded by Washington, about 12 miles on this side of Charlotte Town, his front guarded by Davie and other irregular Corps, who have committed the most shocking cruelties and the most horrid Murders on those suspected of being our friends that I ever heard of ... (Robinson 1957, 88)

On 15 November, the American general officers at Salisbury met and decided to encamp the American army at Charlotte while Cornwallis remained encamped at Winnsboro (Nelson 1976, 249). The existing Charlotte hospital may have been a consideration.

About this time, enlistments of Davidson and Davie’s men began to expire. Davidson was relatively lenient in issuing discharges. On 15 November, Davie complained to Smallwood that he needed the men that Davidson was discharging. He wrote:

The torments of the damned are scarcely equal to the torture of my feelings there five of six days past, from the rage of the militia for returning home. Most of them deserted before the last evening. (Davidson 1951, 96).

Davie abandoned his advanced post at Land's Ford, South Carolina (Davie 1820 in Robinson 1976, 38) (Robinson 1957, 88). Davie planned to raise a legion of mounted infantrymen attached to Brigadier General Morgan's force (Davie 1820 in Robinson 1976, 39). In Salisbury, on 23 November, he appealed for authority from the North Carolina Board of War, but his application was not considered (Hamilton and Battle 1907, 8).

On 20 November, Gates arrived in Charlotte with the 700 Continentals and 400 North Carolina and Virginia militiamen. About this time, Gates learned that his 22-year-old son Robert had died of illness (Nelson 1976, 250). Williams wrote his wife that he was, "sorry for the good Old man." (Williams 1780, 70).

On 20 November, Sumter defeated Tarleton at Blackstocks, but was seriously injured. On 22 November, Davidson wrote Sumter:

My anxiety for you (least your Wound be fatal) is such that I have scarcely spirit to congratulate you on your glorious victory. I sincerely wish you a speedy recovery, and in the meantime regret the Want of your services in the field, at this critical and important Juncture. Gen'l Gates with the Continental Troops will be at Charlotte tomorrow, We lie at the old post a dead weight on the Publick. I think I am possessed of all the patience necessary to my profession but I assure you it is nearly exhausted. (Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 97).

Mid November, Main army marches to Camp New Providence, Officer meeting

On 22 November, Major General Horatio Gates along with the newly arrived 700 Continental regular infantry and 400 militiamen marched from Charlotte to Camp New Providence. The new Continentals camped a mile further down Providence Road (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 291), probably near present-day Weddington. That raised the total camp strength to approximately 2600 soldiers.

On 29 October 1832, [William Neel testified](#) in a Giles County, Virginia, court:

In the year 1780 (as he thinks) he went as a volunteer from Augusta County, Virginia with a company under the command of Capt. Buchanan in company with two other companies commanded by Captain Tate and Gilmore from the state of North Carolina and joined General Morgan at Six Mile Creek. (Neel, William 1832).

At the camp, on 25 November, Gates conducted a meeting to discuss provision shortages, the prospect of attacking the British, soldier sickness, and camp suitability. In attendance were Major General William Smallwood, Brigadier General Daniel Morgan, Brigadier General William Lee Davidson, Brigadier General Isaac Huger [pronounced Ū-gē], Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Colonel Abraham Buford, Lieutenant Colonel William Washington, and Lieutenant Colonel John Eager Howard. These were all the principal officers of the Southern Continental Army except for Lieutenant Colonel Otho Holland Williams who was in Charlotte. Gates contemplated making Camp New Providence the winter camp of the Army Southern Department. However, at this meeting, the officers decided to relocate to Charlotte (Davidson 1951, 97).

At a Council of War held at the Camp at New Providence, in the State of North Carolina, the 25th November, 1780, Consisting of
The Commander in Chief.
Major General Smallwood.
Brigadier General Huger.
Brigadier General Morgan.
Brigadier General Davidson.
Colonel Kosciuszko, Chief Engineer.
Colonel Buford.
Lt. Colonel Howard.
Lt. Colonel Washington.

The Council being assembled, the Commander in Chief acquainted them

That—The want of Provisions and Forage in this Camp—The advanced Season of the Year—The almost total Failure of the Herbage—The entire want of a Magazine of Salted Meat and the Uncertainty of providing it—The increasing Sickness and the unwholesome Situation of the Camp—The want of any proper accommodation for the sick—The want of Hospital Stores and proper Comforts necessary for sick and deceased Soldiers—The probability of a Reinforcement being sent from the Enemy at New York—The Invasion of Virginia, and the apparent Prospect of Sir Harry Clinton's supporting that Invasion and Commanding a Co-operation with Lord Cornwallis—The State and Strength of this army compared with that of the Enemy, and the Expectancy of Reinforcements coming to our Army, are the motives which induced him to assemble the Council of War and to request their Opinion of the Movements and the Position the Army ought to take in the present circumstances.

The Council having fully deliberated upon the matter before them—And the question being put, What Position the Troops ought to take? Whether at or near Charlotte, or at the Waxhaws, or in that Neighborhood, The Junior Member, Lieut. Colonel Washington, gave it as his Opinion—That at or near Charlotte should be the present Position of the Army, to which every other member of the Council assented but General Smallwood, who was for the Army's moving to the Waxhaws, taking post there for three weeks, and then returning to Charlotte.

Sign'd
HORATIO GATES.
W. SMALLWOOD.
ISAAC HUGER.
DANIEL MORGAN.
WM. DAVIDSON.
THAD. KOSCIUSZKO.
N. BUFORD.
J. E. HOWARD.
WM. WASHINGTON.

True Copy. Chrisr. Richmond, Secy. to Genl. Gates. (NCSR 1896, XV:160–161)

No officer was prepared to take decisive action knowing that Major General Nathanael Greene would soon take command. Young Brigadier General William Lee Davidson was sorely disappointed that no action was planned at the 25 November meeting. He proposed an innovative plan to divide the American Army, but it was rejected. On 27 November, he submitted the plan to Colonel Alexander Martin on the North Carolina Board of War, hoping to gain its support.

Sir—

By this time you may be acquainted with the position the Army is to take for the present. In the meantime it appears to me that a proper Exertion of the Militia of my District might greatly Injure, if not totally Ruin, the British Army. I have been deliberating on this Matter some time; and submit my plan to your Consideration and hope that you will endeavor to promote it or something that may be more Eligible. My Scheme is to send Genl. Morgan to the Westward with his light Troops & Rifle men, 1000 voluntier Militia which I can raise in 20 days & the Refugees from South Carolina and Georgia, to join which will make a formidable Body of Desperadoes the whole to be under Morgan's Direction and proceed immediately to 96 and possess ourselves of the western parts of South Carolina, at the Same time the main Army to move down to the Waxhaws which will oblige the Enemy to divide (which will put them quite in our power) or vacate the present Posts & collect to one point in which Case we can command the Country cut off their supplies and force them to retreat & fight the Militia in their own way. The Messenger waits I have neither time nor Room to make farther observations. I think the Scheme practicable and certain of success unless the Enemy be reinforced. Favor me with your Opinion on this Matter and believe me, Dr. Sir.

Your very Obdt.
& Hbl. Servt.
Wm. L. Davidson

N. B. this comes to you in a private Capacity.
(Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 98).

This letter shows that Davidson originated the imaginative idea to divide the American Army, an insight historians have attributed to Major General Nathanael Greene when he ordered it into effect on 16 December.

On 25 November, Gates submitted to the Continental Congress his army's strength return. It consisted of 1053 Continentals, mostly Marylanders, 1147 militiamen, plus Morgan's 404 riflemen. (Nelson 1976, 251). Another source indicates that the army had 1187 Continentals, 1283 militiamen, plus Morgan's 476 riflemen, a total of 2946. Of these, 743, 873, and 430, respectively, a total of 2046, were fit for duty (Lesser 1976, 189). Not mentioned in these strength returns were an additional 300 Virginia militiamen led by Brigadier General Edward Stevens.

Tarleton later described the British assessment during late November:

About this time, the American force in North Carolina assumed a tolerable appearance. General Gates had advanced from Hillsborough in the middle of November, to reinforce the detachments on the Yadkin; and on the 25th, he again moved forwards with the continentals and militia, to Six-mile run, where he was soon joined by Colonels White, Washington, and Armand, with two hundred cavalry, and two pieces of cannon. This position was not far distant from the frontier of South Carolina, and was adopted in order to give spirit and vigour to the militia. The American commander published reports, that he would advance to the Tuckaseege ford, to protect the detachments which invaded Ninety Six; and that General Smallwood would remain with a powerful corps at Six-mile run, which, in case of any movement of Lord Cornwallis across Broad river, would incline towards the head of Black creek, to give strength and influence to Marion, who, in consequence of such assistance, might be able to destroy the communications between Camden and Charles town. (Tarleton 1787, 181).

For 5 days, Camp New Providence was headquarters of the Continental Army Southern Department. On 27 November, Gates with his 700 regular Continentals returned to Charlotte and started constructing winter huts (Rankin 1971, 261).

Late November–Early December, Rugeley's Fort

Smallwood was to follow Gates to Charlotte on 28 November, but intelligence of a supply of corn and forage in the Waxhaws changed his plans. Morgan argued strenuously that horses needed the forage. Such an incursion would require that Smallwood remain at Camp New Providence for support. (Higginbotham 1961, 113). Although Smallwood argued against the plan, on 28 November, Gates ordered Morgan with his light troops on a foraging expedition towards Camden (Rankin 1976, 9). Only the sick and barefoot men remained in camp (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 291). Washington's cavalrymen with some Continentals advanced to Rugeley's [pronounced Rūg·lē] Fort on Grannies Quarter Creek, about 14 miles north of Camden (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 291). There, on 1 December, he tricked the loyalist defenders into a bloodless surrender using a "Quaker cannon," a pine log disguised as an artillery piece. Sergeant Major William Seymour of the Delaware Continentals wrote:

On the 28th our Horse and Infantry marched for Rugeley's mill, leaving our tents standing, and the sick and barefoot men left as a guard. We came before Rugeley's on the first December where Col. Rugely lay, with his Regiment of Tories, in number about two hundred, strongly fortified. Col. Washington with the light Horse being sent to draw them out, who ordered a party of them to dismount and represent Infantry, they getting a large pine knot, hauling along which served for a piece of cannon, and had the same effect as if it was the best piece in Christendom. The great piece of ordinance was drawn up in full view of the Tories. Col. Washington at the same time sent in a sergeant with a flag demanding the Tories to surrender, upon which Col. Rugely demanded some time to

consider, but the sergeant who bore the flag made answer and told him that we had cannon and would put them all to immediate death if they did not give up, upon which the Tories marched out and gave up their fortifications, without so much as firing a single shot, and surrendered themselves up as prisoners of war. On the 2^d December we returned towards camp, which we reached on the 4th — one hundred miles. Next day the prisoners were sent to Hillsborough, being escorted by a detachment of Col. [Dempsey] Moore's militia of North Carolina. (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 291)

Tarleton later described this event.

In the beginning of December, General Morgan and Colonel Washington, with some continental light infantry and cavalry, advanced through the Wacsaws to Hanging rock; from which place they detached a threatening summons to Colonel Rugeley, who commanded the militia of the Camden district, and was posted with one hundred men at his own house, where some defences had been erected. Rugeley being intimidated by the summons, and the appearance of the Americans, who placed the resemblance of a cannon opposite his house, surrendered to the light dragoons, without firing a shot. The continental infantry had not advanced within three miles of the post, when this irresolute commander laid down his arms. General Morgan retreated with his prisoners to the main army, ... (Tarleton 1787, 182).

Even Cornwallis was dismayed. On 4 December, he wrote Tarleton from Winnsboro:

Rugeley will not be made a brigadier. He surrendered without firing a shot, himself and one hundred and three rank and file, to the cavalry only : A deserter of Morgan's assures us that the infantry never came within three miles of the house. (Cornwallis 1780 in Tarleton 1787, 205).

On 11 January 1836, [Private Holloway Pass testified](#) in a Caswell County, North Carolina, court that, as a guard, he escorted the Rugeley prisoners to Salisbury

... that on the 15th day of September 1780, this declarant volunteered under Captain James Wilson in the County of Caswell and State of North Carolina and was march[ed] on the same day to Caswell old Court House (now Seaburg) and there joined themselves to the Regiment under the command of Col. William Moore, and was thence marched to Hillsborough, North Carolina and there continued some two or three days (perhaps a week); from there we march[ed] to Bells Mill on Deep River and was there stationed some few week[s], during which time of the stay of the troops at Bells Mill, James Rainey, Esq. (Who is now the Chairman of our County Court &) and who was one of the volunteers of the same company was taken sick & this affiant was appointed to wait and attend upon him. From Bells Mill on Deep River this declarant with the Regiment commanded by Col. William Moore as aforesaid was march[ed] to the Yadkin River near Salisbury N. C. and there stationed some two or three weeks. At this place, Dempsey Moore was appointed Major of the Regiment. From this place this Declarant with the Regiment was marched through Salisbury and Charlotte N.C. to the neighbourhood of the War Saw [Waxhaw] Settlement to a place called the Six Mile Creeks or the Three Mile Creeks and was there again stationed, watching the enemy and cutting off their supplies. At this place we met with Col. Washington who commanded a company of Horse [illegible]. Whilst we were here also Genl Morgan joined us with his infantry. Whilst at this place and in the neighbourhood, this Declarant, with the company to which he belonged, went with Col. Washington to a place called Rugleys Fort and there lay a stratagem. Captured all the Torries and enemy of the place and took the fort. This Declarant was thence ordered as one of the guards which brought the prisoners to Salisbury and confined them; ... (Pass, Holloway 1836).

Early December, Greene arrives in Charlotte

Congress appointed Major General Greene head of the American Southern Army. He had been traveling south since 23 October. During his trip south, he left his second-in-command Major General Friedrich

Baron von Steuben in Richmond, Virginia, to command the Virginia Continentals opposing British forces in Chesapeake Bay (Rankin 1971, 260). While in Hillsborough, Greene asked Major General Jethro Sumner, who had resigned on 20 October, to reestablish the North Carolina Continental Line by pardoning deserters if necessary (Rankin 1971, 260). Greene sent artilleryman Lieutenant Colonel Edward Carrington and engineer Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko to thoroughly scout the Dan, Yadkin, and Catawba Rivers to note the military significance of each ford and to inventory boats at each ferry.



Major General Nathanael Greene
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1783.

On 2 December 1780, Major General Nathanael Greene arrived in Charlotte.



Major General Nathanael Greene arrives at Charlotte, 2 December 1780.
Painted by Howard Pyle, Delaware Art Museum, Wilmington, Delaware.

Formal change of command occurred the next day. Earlier Greene was ordered to conduct a court of inquiry into Gate's conduct during the 16 August Camden battle. Gates wanted to clear his name. Nonetheless, after conferring with all field officers, Greene decided other army concerns made a court impossible (Nelson 1976, 252). Gates left Charlotte on 8 December.

Army strength was 2307 infantrymen, 60 artillerists, and 90 cavalrymen. Of these, only about 800 were completely uniformed and equipped (Rankin 1971, 262) (Buchanan 1997, 288) (Robinson 1957, 94). In a letter to Joseph Reed of Pennsylvania, Greene wrote, "I overtook the army at Charlotte, to which place General Gates had advanced. The appearance of the troops was wretched beyond description, and their distress, on account of provisions, was little less than their sufferings for want of clothing and other

necessities.” (Greene 1780 in Commager and Morris 1975, 1152). Greene sent all sheeting and osnaburg [burlap-like cloth] in Charlotte to Salisbury to be sewn into shirts and trousers by the women of Rowan County. He offered to pay the seamstresses in salt (Rankin 1976, 12). For administrative continuity, Greene re-appointed Lieutenant Colonel Otho Williams as adjutant general (Rankin 1976, 14).

On 5 December, the terms of enlistment for all remaining Davidson militiamen expired. All were discharged and returned home, leaving Davidson without troops to command. On 16 April 1833, [James Bradford testified](#) in a Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, court:

... He further sayeth that in the same year [1780], the month not recollected, he entered the service as a substitute for Joseph I. [unknown] under Captain James Reep and Colonel Phifer. Served the Whole of the three months in the County of Mecklenburg, N.C. frequently on scouting parties but the main [unknown] on Six Mile Creek in said county, and at the end of this three months was discharged by [unknown] and released with others. (Bradford, James 1833).

On 8 December, Greene and South Carolina Governor John Rutledge ventured out of Charlotte to a stone house near Tuckasegee Ford to confer with Brigadier General Thomas Sumter who was recovering from a serious shoulder wound received at Blackstocks. Sumter attempted to persuade Greene to attack Cornwallis at Winnsboro before he was reinforced. But following the strategy learned from years with General George Washington, Greene was not about to risk his army against Cornwallis’ 2500 professional troops (Morrill 1993, 121).

Since the previous May, both British and American armies had exhausted supplies in Mecklenburg and Waxhaw regions (Davie 1820 in Robinson 1976, 38). On 8 December, Greene ordered Colonel Thaddeus Kosciuszko to locate an alternate camp location.

You will go with Major Polke and examine the Country from the Mouth of Little River twenty or thirty Miles down the Peedee and search for a good position for the army. You will report the make of the Country, the nature of the soil, the quality of the water, the quantity of Produce, number of Mills and the water transportation that may be had up and down the River. You will also Enquire respecting the creeks in the Rear of the fords and the difficulty of passing them, all of which you will report as soon as possible. (Greene 1780 in Buchanan 1997, 291).

Discipline was a serious problem. On 8 December, Greene wrote Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Hamilton, George Washington’s chief of staff, “The Officers have got such a habit of negligence, and the soldiers so loose and disorderly, that it is next to impossible to give it a military complexion.” (Buchanan 1997, 290) Greene ordered a deserter hung in the town square. An observant soldier remarked, “It is new Lords, new laws.” (Rankin 1971, 263).

The commissary general, Colonel Thomas Polk, could not secure sufficient provisions and asked to be relieved on 10 December. Greene assigned this office to Colonel Davie despite Davie’s wish to remain in the field. On 11 December, Greene wrote Davie:

Your character and standing in the Country lead me to believe you are the most suitable person to succeed him. It is a place of great consequence to the Army; and all our future operations depend upon it. As you are a single man, and have health, education, and activity to manage the business, it is my wish you should accept the appointment; especially as you have an extensive influence among the Inhabitants, and are upon a good footing and much respected in the Army. (Greene 1780 in Buchanan 1997, 293) (Greene 1780 in Robinson 1957, 97) (Greene 1780 in Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 64)

Beginning 13 December, William Washington with light horse made an incursion towards Hanging Rock (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 292).

On 13 December, British Major General Alexander Leslie arrived in Charlestown harbor with reinforcements for Cornwallis (Tarleton 1787, 242).

17 December, Camp New Providence abandoned

There is no evidence that Greene personally inspected his troops at Camp New Providence. On 16 December, Greene ordered Morgan with his 400 Virginia riflemen, 300 Continentals, and Washington's 70 cavalymen to cross the Catawba (Higginbotham 1961, 122). Greene's order to William Washington is:

Washington and his regiment are to join Gen. Daniel Morgan's detachment. He should follow Morgan's orders concerning the "the time and place for joining." Those of his men who are still at New Providence will accompany Morgan; those from Colonel [Anthony] White's regiment who are with Washington should proceed to Anson Courthouse on the Pee Dee River and wait there for Nathanael Greene's orders. (Greene 1780 in PNG 1997, VI:590)

Greene ordered Davidson to unite whatever new militiamen he could recruit with Morgan. At that time, about 100 militia volunteers had embodied at Ramsour's Mill.

On 17 December, Camp New Providence was abandoned. All remaining Continentals marched to Charlotte. Sergeant Major William Seymour, of the Delaware Continentals, wrote:

We lay on this ground from the 22^d November [Seymour arrived with the Continental light infantry on 22 October] till the 17th December, and marched to Charlotte, fifteen miles. Same day [relieved] General Smallwood set out on his march for Maryland. At this time the troops were in a most shocking condition for the want of clothing, especially shoes, and we having kept open campaign all winter the troops were taking sick fast. Here the manly fortitude of the troop of the Maryland Line was very great, being obliged to march and do duty barefoot, being all the winter the chief part of them wanting coats and shoes, which they bore with the greatest patience imaginable, for which their praise should never be forgotten; and indeed in all the hardships which they had undergone they never seemed to frown. (Seymour 1780 in Seymour 1883, 292)

They left behind dead soldiers whose graves today have been obliterated in a country-club golf community. As late as 1872, the burial ground's existence was known and sketched on a rough map (Belk 1872 in Draper 1873, VV:6:299). Camp New Providence was a principal Southern Continental Army and militia camp from 20 October to 17 December 1780.

Late December, Charlotte

Major General William Smallwood asked Greene to make him second-in-command of the southern army. Greene refused. Disappointed, Smallwood asked to be reassigned. He departed Charlotte on 19 December. In his place, Greene appointed Davidson head of all North Carolina militia, subject to approval of the North Carolina General Assembly (Rankin 1971, 265).

On 19 December, Leslie marched about 1530 British troops out of Charlestown towards Winnsboro (Tarleton 1787, 243).

On 20 December, Greene implemented Davidson's imaginative idea to divide the American Southern Army as part of his strategic plan to counter the British goal of sweeping through North Carolina and Virginia. His strategy was defensive and reflected policies of General George Washington under whom Greene had served for several years. The principal objective was to avoid a decisive defeat, like Camden, and simultaneously to maximize British costs. So, Greene tried to entice the British Army as far from its Charlestown base as possible, threaten its supply lines to Charlestown, and always maintain an escape route for his main army. He created a more mobile army by adding cavalry units. He characterized his objective as a "flying army." The eastern army went to Cheraw Hills near Cheraw, South Carolina.

On 16 July 1833, [John Helms testified](#) in a Lincoln County, North Carolina, court:

That he moved from Botetourt County State of Virginia into Rowan County North Carolina in the year 1780 and that he volunteered in August or September of said year and joined the American army at the Six Mile Creek in Rowan [Mecklenburg] County North Carolina under Captain Smith. Marched from there to Charlotte, Mecklenburg

County, N. Carolina from thence to Rocky River, from there he was marched to near the place now called Cheraw Hills, South Carolina, ... (Helms, John 1833)

The western army under Brigadier General Daniel Morgan left Charlotte and on 22 December crossed the Catawba River at Bigger's Ferry. That ferry was located downstream of Crowder's Creek and upstream of Big Allison Creek. Bigger's Ferry was later named Mason's Ferry. Today, it is submerged under Lake Wylie. The western access road to Bigger's Ferry is present-day South Carolina road SR46-1099.

That is the road from "Five Points" intersection to the McGuire riverfront cabin used during the 1950s.

Lieutenant Colonel John Eager Howard commanded the 300 Continentals in Morgan's army.



Lieutenant Colonel John Eager Howard
Maryland Continental Officer
Name in lyrics of state song *Maryland, My Maryland*.
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1784.

Morgan positioned his army so as to threaten Ninety Six. Greene's decision was an unexpected and apparent risky action that invited attack on either part. But it was well reasoned, as he explained later.

It makes the most of my inferior force, for it compels my adversary to divide his, and holds him in doubt as to his line of conduct. He cannot leave Morgan behind him to come at me, or his posts at Ninety Six and Augusta would be exposed. And he cannot chase Morgan far, or prosecute his views upon Virginia while I can have the whole country open before me. I am as near to Charlestown as he is, and as near Hillsborough as I was at Charlotte; so I am in no danger of being cut off from my reinforcements. (Morrill 1993, 123).

When Davidson reached his volunteers at Ramsour's Mill, he found less than 90. Most had been drawn away by a Cherokee attack encouraged by the British. On 24 December, Davidson wrote Morgan:

The Expedition against the Overhill Cherokee Towns, & the Murder committed in Rutherford & Burke Counties have intirely drawn the attention of the people who were to compose my Command. I suspect it to be a Stratagem as Tories were undoubtedly concerned in the Murder. (Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 103).

Davidson said he would wait until 26 December, and then, "I shall move to Join you be my force what it may." (Davidson 1780 in Davidson 1951, 103). At the direction of North Carolina Governor Abner Nash, Davidson sent orders to all Salisbury District colonels to complete their drafts and assemble their men in Charlotte on 10 January 1781. Because Davie was no longer available, Davidson ordered Captain Joseph Graham to raise a cavalry troop. By this time, Graham had recovered from his severe wounds of 26 September. Within 3 weeks, Graham had about 50 men equipped with serviceable weapons (Graham 1832 in Graham 1904, 49–50).

On 25 December, Morgan encamped on the Pacolet River. During the following week, Davidson delivered only 120 militiamen to Morgan, and returned to Charlotte to raise more (Davidson 1951, 104).

Apparently, Greene's actions surprised Cornwallis. On Tuesday, 26 December, Cornwallis wrote Tarleton:

A man came this morning from Charlotte town; his fidelity is, however, very doubtful; he says, that Greene marched on Wednesday last [20 December] towards the Cheraws, to join General Caswall, and that Morgan, with his infantry and one hundred and twenty-four of Washington's light horse, crossed Biggar's ferry, on Thursday and Friday last, to join Lacey. I expect more certain intelligence before night, when you shall hear again from me. (Cornwallis 1780 in Tarleton 1787, 243).

Varying success and failure of each army exacerbated conflict between Whig and Tory neighbors. From Cheraw, Greene wrote Alexander Hamilton, "The division between people is much greater than I imagined; and the Whigs and Tories persecute each other with a savage fury. There is nothing but murder and devastation in every quarter." (Rankin 1976, 23).

Troop Deployment, Movement, and Strength Timeline

Why did knowledge of Camp New Providence fall into obscurity? Perhaps it is a combination of:

- Since the camp was located in the countryside and not in a town, there was no obvious name. Most officers called the site "Camp New Providence," but other participants used "Six Mile Creek" or "Six Mile Run." Others used "Providence" or "near Waxhaw settlement." Others did not name it, but referred only to its distance from Charlotte as 12, 14, or 15 miles.
- The American Army was being reorganized. The division and merging of units and their separate movements is difficult to follow. The troop deployment, movement, and strength timeline below reduces this complexity and measures the number of soldiers at Camp New Providence.
- No battle occurred there.
- Local farmers probably wanted to forget the event because of the destructive impact on their grain stores and livestock.
- Maryland and Delaware Continental officers were not motivated to precisely locate a place far from their home.
- After the Continental main army arrived on 22 November 1780, for 5 days, the camp was actually two camps separated by one mile.
- Davidson died on 1 February 1781. Had he lived longer, he could have better told the story. Davie could have clarified this, but he simply called it "Providence."
- In later years, the town of Charlotte attributed to itself events that happened at Camp New Providence.
- The story of Camp New Providence emerges only after reading many original source documents and making the only inference that is consistent with many partial pieces of information.

How many soldiers were at Camp New Providence during its existence from 20 October to 17 December 1780? Of course, exact precision is impossible. An army is like any other complicated dynamic social system. The number of persons engaged changes daily. Nonetheless, coarse strength figures are sufficient for comparing the relative strengths of adversaries. They are also sufficient for commissary procurement and can show trends or developing shortages. During the American Revolution, commanders were justifiably obsessed with this knowledge and demanded frequent strength returns from their subordinates.

The first step is to list important actors. Those are the high-ranking commanders. Each commanded a unit whose approximate strength is known from original sources. Units are operational command, not necessarily official command. For example, Lieutenant Colonel Howard officially commanded the Maryland Continentals, but operationally commanded the light infantry detached from Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia Continentals. Likewise, Lieutenant Colonel Williams officially commanded the Delaware Continentals, but for a short time, as directed by Gates, operationally commanded all regular Continentals.

Notation	Commander	Operational Command and Strength
g	MG Horatio Gates	sw
w	LCol Otho Williams	Army adjutant general
h	LCol John Howard	Maryland Continentals, 300
b	Col Abraham Buford	Virginia Continentals, 100
s	MG William Smallwood	MhWBPD
M	BG Daniel Morgan	Virginia riflemen, 400, h
W	LCol William Washington	Continental cavalry, 70
i	Col Anthony White	Continental cavalry, 70
a	Col Charles Armand	Continental cavalry, 70
N	Cpt Anthony Singleton	Continental artillery, 2 field pieces, 60
S	MG Jethro Sumner	BP
B	BG John Butler	Hillsborough District NC militia, 300
P	Col John Paisley	NC militia, 300
D	BG William Davidson	Salisbury District NC militia, 500
d	Col William R. Davie	North Carolina militia cavalry, 300
V	BG Edward Stevens	Virginia militia, 300
G	MG Nathanael Greene	wMhW
C	LG Charles Lord Cornwallis	23 rd , 33 rd , 71 st , 2000, R
T	LCol Banastre Tarleton	British Legion, 500
R	LCol Francis Lord Rawdon	Volunteers of Ireland, 600
r	Col Henry Rugeley	Camden District loyalist militia, 100
e	MG Alexander Leslie	2500

However, these strengths were not fixed. From September–December 1780, the American Army was in transition. Officers joined and resigned. New units, both Continental and militia, joined. Entire militia units were discharged at the end of their tours of duty. Special units were created. For example, it was common practice to detach the youngest and most agile Continental soldiers from their regular regiments into companies of light infantry. Good horsemen might enter as infantry but be assigned to cavalry. By comparison, artillery units were static because of the high level of training and skill needed. The complexity is daunting, but probably no more than any other large social institution.

For purposes of determining the number of soldiers at Camp New Providence, a troop deployment, movement, and strength timeline is helpful. Estimated strengths are calculated by inclusion and exclusion using partial data from many original sources. Details affecting strength, like detachments, foraging, and hospitalization, are not known, and thus ignored. Despite the imprecision, these strengths provide a macro view. Locations are listed north to south to show troop flow. Troops on the march appear in italic typeface.

	24 Sep	25 Sep	26 Sep	27 Sep	30 Sep	2 Oct	3 Oct	7 Oct	10 Oct
Hillsborough	gwMia W1300	gwia830							
Trading Ford					S500	S500	S500	S500	S500 MW470
Salisbury				SDd 1000	D200	D200			
Phifer's Mill			SD1000				D300	D500	
Rocky River		S800			<i>d300</i>	<i>d300</i>	<i>d300</i>	<i>d300</i>	D500 <i>d300</i>
Mallard Creek		D 200							
Charlotte		d150	d150 C1600	CTR 2500	CTR 2500	CTR 2500	CTR 2500	CTR 2500	CR2100
Armour's Ford									T400
Bigger's Ferry		R400	R400						
McAlpine Creek	SD800	C1600							
Clems Branch	<i>d150</i>								
Waxhaw Creek	C1600								
Land's Ford Blair's Mill	T500	T500	T500						

About 30 September, Davie takes command of Colonel Phillip Taylor's 150-man regiment from Granville County (Davie 1810 in Robinson 1976, 26). In early October, Gates assigned Morgan the additional command of Howard's light infantry. Movements of Kings Mountain participants omitted for clarity.

	12 Oct	13 Oct	14 Oct	15 Oct	17 Oct	19 Oct	20 Oct	22 Oct	29 Oct
Hillsborough	gwia830	gwia830	gwia830	gwia830	gwia830	gwia830	gwia830	gwia830	gwia830
Surry County	P300	P300	P300	P300					
Trading Ford	S500 MW470	SMW 970	SMW 970	S500	SsP800	sB300	sB300	B300	B300
Salisbury				MW470					
Rocky River	D500				<i>MW470</i>	<i>SP500</i> <i>MW470</i>	<i>P500</i> <i>MW470</i>		
J. M. Alexander farm		D200							
Charlotte	<i>d300</i>	D300	D500	D500	D500	D500			
New Providence							D500	DMWsP 1300	DMWsP 1300
Nation Ford Spratt's farm	<i>CT2500</i>	<i>d300</i> CT2500	<i>d300</i> CT2500	<i>d300</i> CT2500					
Land's Ford					<i>d300</i> <i>CT2500</i>	<i>d300</i> CT2500	d300	d300	d300
Winnsboro							<i>CT2500</i>	<i>CT2500</i>	CT2500

Smallwood assigned command of North Carolina militia. Sumner resigned 20 October, succeeded by Butler.

	2 Nov	4 Nov	6 Nov	9 Nov	11 Nov	20 Nov	22 Nov	27 Nov
Hillsborough	gwia830	gia130		V300	V300			
Guilford CH		w700	giaV430 w700	gia130				
Trading Ford Salisbury	B300	B300	B300	wB1000	gwBia 1100	gwBia 1100		
Charlotte								gw700
New Providence	DMWsP 1300	DMWsP 1300	DsP830	DMWsP 1300	DMWsP 1300	DMWsP 1300	DMWsP gwBVia 2600	DMWsP BVia 1900
Land's Ford	d300	d300	d300	d300	d300	d300		
Hanging Rock			MW470					
Camden	R600	RT1000	R600	R600	R600	R600	R600	R600
Sand Hills			T400	T400	T400			
Blackstocks							T400	
Winnsboro	CT2500	C2100	C2100	C2100	C2100	C2100	CT2500	CT2500

Davie's cavalrymen were discharged about 20 November. On 22–25 November, Williams was sick in Salisbury while his command advanced. On 25 November, Gates submitted his army's strength return as 1053 Continentals, 1147 militiamen, plus Morgan's 404 riflemen. A total of 2604 soldiers (Nelson 1976, 251). Of these, 2046 were present fit for duty and 144 sick present (Lesser 1976, 189). In addition, 300 Virginia militiamen under Brigadier General Edward Stevens were present.

	1 Dec	4 Dec	13 Dec	17 Dec	20 Dec	22 Dec	26 Dec
Salisbury			BP600				
Charlotte	gws700	Gws700	GwsV 1000	GwV 1000	GwV 1000	GwV 1000	
New Providence	Via440	MWBP Via 1500	Mhia500	MhWia 870			
Hanging Rock	MBP 1000		W70				
Rugeley's Fort	r103 W70						
Bigger's Ferry					MhW 800		
Pacolet River						MhW 800	MhWD 920
Cheraw Hills					ia70	ia70	GwiaV 1100
Camden	R600	R600	R600	R600	R600	R600	R600
Winnsboro	CT2500	CT2500	CT2500	CT2500	CT2500 e1500	CTe 4000	CTe 4000
Charlestown			e2500	e2500	e1000	e1000	e1000

Davidson's militiamen were completely discharged by 5 December. On 2 December, Greene replaced Gates. Butler's militia escorted Rugeley Fort prisoners to Salisbury.

January 1781, Haddrell's Point

On 4 January 1781, at Haddrell's Point, the North Carolina Brigade commander Brigadier General James Hogun died of illness. He had been Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane's immediate superior officer on many occasions since establishment of North Carolina Seventh Regiment in November 1776

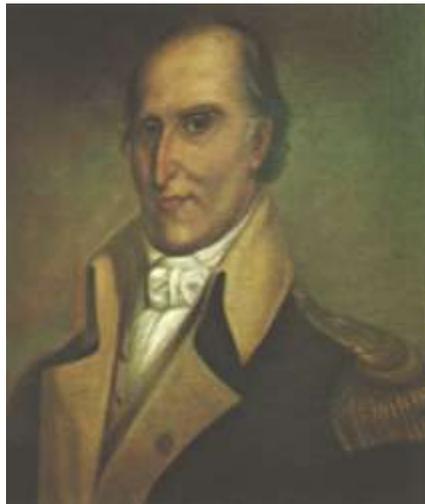
January 1781, Cowpens

On 11 January 1781, Lieutenant Colonel Henry *Light-Horse Harry* Lee arrived in Greene's camp with 280 mounted infantrymen. His unit was called a legion. Greene sent Lee to support Colonel Francis Marion. Together, they attacked the British outpost in Georgetown, South Carolina.



Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1782.

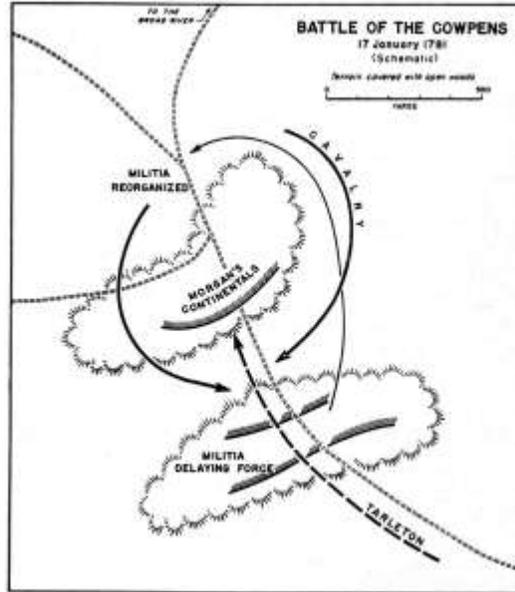
At this time, Andrew Pickens' troops joined Morgan. These Scotch-Irish were violating parole, and thus expected execution if captured. Pickens was a Scotch-Irish Presbyterian elder from western South Carolina. His character was described as so austere that he seldom smiled, never laughed, and spoke so guardedly that "he would first take the words out of his mouth, between his fingers, and examine them before he uttered them." (Hilborn and Hilborn 1970, 174).



Colonel Andrew Pickens
Painted by Thomas Sully, 1835.

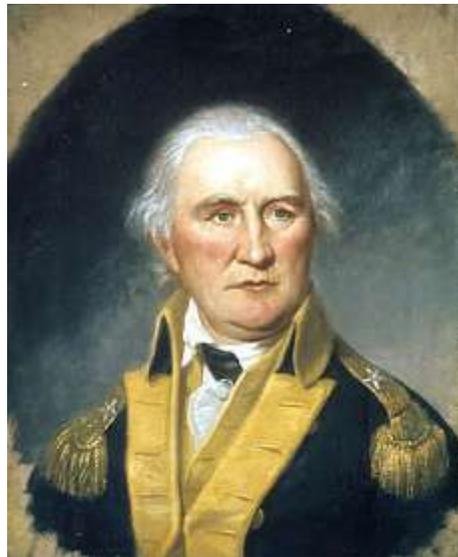
In reaction, Cornwallis divided his army. Tarleton commanded the 1100-man part that began pursuit of Morgan's army, pushing it to the Broad River that could not be forded quickly. Americans were trapped at Hanna's Cowpens in South Carolina. Tarleton had good reason to believe in success when fighting started at daybreak 17 January 1781. Nonetheless, he was seriously defeated with 110 dead, over 200 wounded, and 500 captured of the 1100 British soldiers. Americans had only 12 men killed and 60 wounded. Cowpens was a decisive turning point. Cornwallis lost most of his light infantry. Cowpens is also famous for its tactics because of pre-positioning of militiamen in front of professionals and dynamic use of staged retreat, pinning fire, and cavalry attack. The second line was entirely South Carolina Scotch-Irish riflemen under Andrew Pickens. In this battle, Americans were lucky. A misunderstood repositioning, and apparent retreat, command by an American officer actually worked to their advantage by causing British to break ranks and lose the configuration for firing volleys. Pickens's Scotch-Irish remained organized and reformed

to fight in a second location. Reference (Babits 1998) contains a minute-by-minute account of this battle and is an example of micro-history scholarship. Military historians note Cowpens' coincidental similarity of topography, tactics, sequence, and results with Cannae, a Hannibal victory over Romans on 2 August 216 BC (Palmer and Stryker 1986). However, a major difference is that 40 times more soldiers participated in Cannae.



From *American Military History*
United States Army Center of Military History, 1989.

Daniel Morgan was a cousin of famous Kentucky pioneer Daniel Boone.



Brigadier General Daniel Morgan
Painted by Charles Willson Peale, 1794.

Colonel Thomas Brandon led a regiment of South Carolina militia at Cowpens. Private John Moore, a 4th great-grandfather, was assigned to Brandon's unit, but his widow's pension does not mention his participation in this battle. John Moore did pass through Cowpens earlier, on 6 October 1780, the night before Kings Mountain. (Sutton 1987, 360).

Colonel Elias Alexander, a McGuire-related 2nd cousin 7 generations removed, allegedly participated at Cowpens. See note below.

When Cowpens victory news reached Charlotte, Brigadier General Davidson ordered a parade and *Feu De Joy* salute, a wave-like firing of muskets (Davidson 1951, 107).

In late January, Colonel Adam Alexander, a McGuire-related 3rd cousin 6 generations removed, was released from a Camden jail. He provided Brigadier General William Lee Davidson intelligence of Camden's vulnerability (Davidson 1951, 109).

January 1781, Cowpens' Consequences

The 17 January 1781 British defeat at Cowpens had a profound effect. General William Moultrie later wrote:

This defeat of Colonel Tarleton's at the battle of the Cowpens, chagrined and disappointed the British officers and Tories in Charlestown exceedingly. I happened to be in Charlestown at the time when the news arrived. I saw them standing in the streets in small circles, talking over the affair with very grave faces. I knew the particulars as soon as they did. Governor Rutledge sent in a person on some pretence with a flag; but in fact, it was to inform the American prisoners of our success: the person informed me of the whole affair, which I communicated to the officers at Haddrell's-point, on my return in the evening. The news gave great joy, and put us all in high spirits. (Moultrie 1802, II:256)

23–25 January 1781, Cornwallis in Lincoln County, Courthouse, Indian Creek, Ramsour's Mill

Cornwallis attempted to engage the principal American Army. Greene attempted to evade while gathering reinforcements.

Cornwallis' first objective was to pursue and capture Brigadier General Daniel Morgan's army with its 500 British prisoners taken at Cowpens. Cornwallis' army marched through York, South Carolina, and into present-day Gaston County, North Carolina. On 23 January, Cornwallis' army encamped at the old Tryon County Courthouse, just south of present-day Cherryville, North Carolina. The next day, it marched to Ramsour's Mill. A topological map suggests the British Army's route crossed the shallow upper reaches of Beaverdam Creek and then followed the ridge road that was the approximate current path of highway NC150. A map drawn by Joseph Graham in 1789 shows a road between Tryon Court House and Ramsour's Mill that crosses Indian Creek at, or near, Given's Mill. That map was redrawn by the engineering firm of D. A. Tompkins Company about the year 1900. This map is Map 4 in this document.

The marching column would have been about 3 miles long and no doubt was a spectacle to observe. Almost all 2500 troops were professional soldiers wearing their distinctive uniforms. The former royal Governor of North Carolina was present. There were hundreds of horses pulling wagons and artillery pieces.

Alfred Nixon wrote in *The History of Lincoln County*:

Cornwallis crossed the South Fork River at the Reep ford, one mile from Ramsour's Mill, and pitched his marquee [tent] on the Ramsour battle-ground; O'Hara remained on the west bank of the river at the Reep place; Webster occupied the hill west of Ramsour's Mill; while Tarleton who had crossed the river three miles lower down, between the Laboratory and the present railway bridge, in rejoining his chief, camped on the hill south of Cornwallis. Foraging parties were sent out in different directions to collect grain, and Ramsour's Mill was kept running day and night converting the grain into flour to replenish his Lordship's commissary. (Nixon 1910)

Nixon does not reference a source for these statements. But if true, they suggest that Lt. Col. Tarleton with his 400 cavalymen were dispatched from the main British Army to secure the opposite bank of the South Fork River. They crossed the South Fork River below the present-day railroad bridge. Meanwhile, the main

army marched a bit further north before crossing the South Fork River at Reep Ford. An examination of a map suggests that the two parts of the British Army separated after crossing Indian Creek and took separate routes that could coincide with present-day NC150 and Old Lincolnton Crouse Road. This is not a proof. But it could be resolved if Given's Mill can be located.

Cornwallis' army may have traveled the ridge road that is present-day highway NC150. It crosses Indian Creek at the Plonk Family Cemetery. The old roadbed is still evident. Probably at that point, Tarleton's cavalymen were dispatched to secure the far bank of the South Fork River while the main army continued along present-day Old Lincolnton-Crouse Road, past the original Jacob Plunk II home place (Nixon 1910).



Old roadbed at Plonk Family Cemetery
Property of Lincoln County Historical Association

Derick Ramsour is a 3rd great-grandfather of George Shuford Ramseur, Sr.

To improve mobility, British burned all inessential supplies, baggage, and wagons while encamped at Ramsour's Mill. Cornwallis wrote, "I therefore assembled the army on the 25th at Ramsour's Mill on the south fork of the Catawba, and as the loss of my light troops could only be remedied by the activity of the whole corps, I employed a halt of two days in collecting some flour, and destroying superfluous baggage, and all my wagons except those loaded with hospital stores, and four reserved in readiness for sick and wounded." (Cornwallis 1781 in Nixon 1910). Steadman wrote that Lord Cornwallis, "by first reducing the size and quantity of his own, set an example which was cheerfully followed by all the officers in his command, although by so doing they sustained a considerable loss. No wagons were reserved except those loaded with hospital stores, salt and ammunition, and four empty ones for the accommodation of the sick and wounded. And such was the ardour, both of officers and soldiers, and their willingness to submit to any hardship for the promotion of the service, that this arrangement, which deprived them of all future supply of provisions, was acquiesced in without a murmur." (Stedman 1794 in Nixon 1910).

On 28 January, Cornwallis' army marched towards Catawba River, but lost three days of pursuit while waiting for the rain-swollen Catawba River to subside. During those days, British soldiers confiscated and consumed livestock of wealthy Whig farmer Jacob Forney, south of present-day Denver, North Carolina. Historian Clarence W. Griffin wrote:

Few persons during the war suffered heavier losses than Jacob Forney. When Cornwallis marched through Lincoln County in the winter of 1781, he was arrested in his progress by the swollen waters of the Catawba River. He fell back about five miles from the river to

Forney's plantation, having been conducted there by a Tory well acquainted with the neighborhood. Here Cornwallis remained encamped for three days, consuming Forney's entire stock of cattle, sheep, hogs, geese, chickens, a large amount of forage, forty gallons of brandy, etc. His three horses were carried off, and many thousands of rails and other property destroyed. His gold, silver and jewelry, buried in his distillery, a greater portion of which he had brought with him from Germany, was found and confiscated. While the search was going on, his Lordship was quietly occupying the upper story of the family mansion, making it his headquarters. Forney and his wife, being old, were allowed the privilege of residing in the basement. As soon as he was informed that his gold, silver and jewelry were found, amounting to 170 pounds sterling, he was so exasperated for the moment that he seized his gun and rushed to the stair steps with the determination to kill Cornwallis, but his wife quickly followed and intercepted him, thus preventing the most deplorable consequences. (Griffin 1937, 19).

Jacob Forney is the 3rd great-grandfather of George Shuford Ramseur, Sr.

1 February 1781, Cowan's Ford

An American rear guard under Brigadier General William Lee Davidson planned to impede the British Army crossing the Catawba River. He was responsible for Beattie's, Cowan's, Tool's, and Tuckasegee Fords. At Tool's and Tuckasegee Fords, he ordered felled trees to impede wagons. During afternoon 31 January, Generals Greene, Morgan, and Davidson and Colonel William Washington conferred at Beattie's Ford's east bank. While there, Greene wrote a letter the Colonel Locke, commander of Rowan County militia, imploring immediate assistance (Tarleton 1787, 252–253). Morgan pulled his troops away from Sherrill's Ford. Davidson transferred 200 troops from Beattie's to Cowan's Ford. Captain Farmer of the Orange County militia remained in command at Beattie's Ford. Davidson ordered Major Joseph Graham's cavalry to patrol all fords during the night. That night, Cornwallis sent a diversionary force to Beattie's Ford while the main force marched to Cowan's Ford and successfully crossed at daybreak on 1 February. Davidson commanded 350 Americans at Cowan's Ford. He was killed there; some believed by Tory guide Frederick Hager's rifle shot. British soldiers stripped Davidson's body and confiscated his wallet, containing a transcribed message from George Washington and orders from Nathanael Greene. The wallet was sent to a British archive where it remained in obscurity until 1964 when rediscovered by Davidson's biographer Chalmers G. Davidson. Today, a dam crosses Cowan's Ford immediately south of William Bulgin McGuire Nuclear Power Station.

Peter Forney, 2nd great-granduncle of George Shuford Ramsuer, Sr., [participated at Cowan's Ford](#). On 31 October 1832, he testified:

I volunteered as one to reconnoiter the encampment of the British while they lay three days at my father's plantation extending their lines on to a plantation which I occupied at that time. While they laid there they destroyed everything we possessed. After they moved from this position with the Main Army to Beatties Ford, I was one of those who took part on the opposite side, endeavoring to oppose what obstructions we were able to prevent their crossing and remained there until a part of the light troops had effected a passage at a bye ford four or five miles below at the ford called Cowan's Ford – and in effecting our retreat, two of the men with me were lost, one killed and the other taken prisoner – upon this I fled to the widow Torrence's being pursued by Tarlton's [sic, Tarleton's] troop of cavalry – at this place I found a considerable body of Militia, but in great confusion in consequence of the death of General Davidson [William Lee Davidson] who had been killed that morning by the British upon their crossing the River. Here our troops were utterly defeated and dispersed and I retreated across the Yadkin River and remained about Abbott's Creek about six weeks. (Forney, Peter 1832)

Lieutenant Colonel William Polk, 1st cousin 8 generations removed of Arabelle Boyer, participated at Cowan's Ford. His father, Colonel Thomas Polk succeeded Davidson as Salisbury District militia commander and promoted to brigadier general (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 351) (Rankin 1971, 286).

February 1781, Race to Dan River

From the Catawba River both armies probably traveled the ridge road towards Salisbury and Trading Ford. Today, that road follows the shoreline of Lake Norman to Cornelius, joins Statesville Road, NC115, to north of Mooresville, continues on Mazeppa Road and Rowan Mills Road, NC801, to US29 and Salisbury.

On 2 February, in Salisbury, Major General Nathanael Green joined the army of Brigadier General Daniel Morgan. The next day, it marched to Trading Ford on the Yadkin River. The river water was high and unfordable. But Greene had anticipated such problems two months before. On 3 February, boats ferried his 1800 men and supplies to the east side. During this operation, a rear guard of 100 Virginia riflemen and North Carolina militiamen, positioned a half mile back, turned back a vanguard of 800 British. On 4 February, Cornwallis' 2100-man army arrived at Trading Ford as the American army began its march towards Guilford Courthouse. Without boats, The British could not attack. They set up artillery pieces on the bluff called *Heights of Gowerie* and shelled the opposite shore with no effect. Today, Trading Ford can be seen as the island to the east while driving across Interstate-85 bridge over Yadkin River.



Trading Ford historical marker.

On 15 August 1832, John Moore of Rowan County [testified](#):

General Morgan came to his father's in person being an old acquaintance of his father; when he states he joined General Morgan and was attached to Captain Washington's Company of General Morgan's Riflemen, he states he was marched on with General Morgan and belonged to the Regiment at the battle of the Cowpens – he states he was attached to the guard who guarded the prisoners from the Cowpens to the Yadkin River at the old trading ford, he states that at that place the Americans sunk the flatboat by boring holes through her bottom after the prisoners were set out and waiting [sic, weighing] her down with rocks; he states that the British who were in pursuit of them made their appearance on the opposite bank of the river in a short time, he states it was in the night, and bright moonlight, and at the place Morgan formed his men for action and gave his men to understand that from the superior numbers of the Enemy, he after giving them one or two discharges from their rifles he General Morgan would necessarily have to retreat.

Cornwallis' army waited at Trading Ford for the river water to subside until 6 February. Finally, Cornwallis ordered his army upstream to Shallow Ford, a 40-mile detour. There on 8 February, it crossed the Yadkin River. That same day, both parts of the American Army rejoined at Guilford Courthouse. Greene positioned light troops in the rear to screen movements of the main American Army. Lieutenant Colonel Edward Carrington arranged that Dan River flatboats were concentrated at Boyd's and Irwin's Ferries. During the day, 14 February, the American Army crossed at Boyd's Ferry. That is near where Country-Line Creek joins the Dan River (Tarleton 1787, 229). That night, the light troop successfully crossed just as the British Army van arrived (Moultrie 1802, II:264). Thus, Cornwallis lost this "race to the Dan." He was more than 250 miles from Charlestown and low on supplies. Greene stationed his army in Virginia at

Halifax County Courthouse. Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson granted Greene extralegal power to seize horses from Virginia farmers (Rankin 1976, 57). Tarleton later acknowledged American success when he wrote:

Every measure of the Americans, during their march from the Catawba to Virginia, was judiciously designed and vigorously executed. The British proceeded without intermission to Boyd's ferry, where they found some works evacuated, which had been constructed to cover the retreat of the enemy, who six hours before had finished their passage, and were then encamped on the opposite bank. (Tarleton 1787, 229).

On 18 February, Lee's Legion, two Continental companies, and Colonel Andrew Pickens' South Carolina militia re-crossed the Dan.

February 1781, Cornwallis in Hillsborough, Pyle's Defeat

Cornwallis went to Hillsborough where he issued a proclamation for loyalist support (Tarleton 1787, 256).

By the Right Honourable Charles Earl Cornwallis, Lieutenant-general of His Majesty's forces, &c.

A PROCLAMATION.

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 many 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 reestablishment of good order and constitutional government.

GIVEN under my hand, at head quarters, at Hillsborough, this twentieth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty one, and in the twenty-first year of His Majesty's reign.

CORNWALLIS

By his lordship's command,
H. Brodrick, Aid-de-camp.

GOD save the KING!

On 23 February, 400 Tories assembled at Haw River ready to join Tarleton whose Legion was in the area. Their leader was Captain John Pyle, a local medical doctor. But American cavalry that included Catawba Indians killed 90 and wounded 160. Many Tories believed they were being killed mistakenly by Tarleton's troops. This event became known as "Pyle's Massacre." British historian, Charles Stedman, wrote, "Humanity shudders at the recital of so foul a massacre: But cold and unfeeling policy avows it as the most effectual means of intimidating the friends of royal government." (Stedman 1794, 2:334). On 26 February, American commander Colonel Andrew Pickens wrote from Dickey Mill, near Stony Creek, that the fight had "knocked up Toryism altogether in this part."

British archives show 32 injured loyalists at a Wilmington hospital during April 1781. They include a James Anderson, Joseph Holt, John Tinnen, and Robert Tinnen. This James Anderson is almost certainly not the 4th great-grandfather who was 12 years old at that time. Tinnens could be related to Mary Tinnen, wife of Alexander Mebane I (Troxler and Vincent 1999, 129:footnote 14). After the war, a John Tinnen was an Eno Presbyterian Church elder. It is not known if both references are for the same person.

Sometime in late February or early March 1781, about 10 of General Pickens' men appeared at the home of Alexander Mebane II. Only his wife Mary and children were home. One soldier, not realizing the Mebane's were patriots, drew a pistol and threatened to shoot Mary if she did disclose her husband's whereabouts.

She replied that Alexander was where he ought to be, in General Greene's camp. She then gave the men food. They ate it sitting on their horses and departed (Caruthers 1854, 360).

March 1781, Guilford Courthouse

Greene knew he could not evade Cornwallis indefinitely, but believed delay served him. On 10 March, he wrote:

Hitherto I have been obliged to practice that by finesse which I dare not attempt by force. I know the People have been in anxious suspense, waiting the event of an Action [battle], but be the consequence of Censure what it may, nothing shall hurry me into a Measure that is not Suggested by prudence or connects not with it the interest of the southern [Army] department.

On 14 March, Greene, with new militia reinforcements, selected an advantageous battlefield near Guilford Courthouse. Cornwallis could not ignore a 4000-man American Army that could depose all British interests. He later wrote:

I was determined to fight the Rebel Army if it approached me, being convinced that it would be impossible to succeed in that great object of our arduous Campaign—the calling forth the numerous loyalists of North Carolina—whilst a doubt remained on their minds of the superiority of our Arms.

So, Cornwallis attacked on 15 March. Greene used the three-line formation that succeeded at Cowpens. The first and second of three lines were comprised of North Carolina and Virginia militia riflemen respectively. Most were Scotch-Irish farmers.

[Lieutenant David Mitchell](#), later husband of Ann Anderson a 4th great-grandaunt, participated at Guilford Courthouse as described in his brother [William Mitchell's pension application](#) (Mitchell, William 1832) (Mitchell, Ann Anderson 1843).

[Samuel Allen](#) and his brother [William Allen](#), both Anderson-related 1st cousins 6 generations removed, participated at Guilford Courthouse.

[Robert Tinnin](#), an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, participated at Guilford Courthouse among the North Carolina militiamen (Tinnin, Robert 1832).

During this time, [Joseph McLane](#), an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, guarded prisoners at Troublesome Creek. Afterwards he marched with Greene's army after the retreating Cornwallis' army (McLane, Joseph 1832).

Colonel Elias Alexander, a McGuire-related 2nd cousin 7 generations removed, allegedly participated at Guilford Courthouse. By tradition, he also participated in Kings Mountain and Cowpens. Unfortunately, his unit is not known, and to the author's knowledge, no single unit participated in all three battles. Even those units that participated in two battles were not from Elias Alexander's home county.

Brigadier General Thomas Polk and his sons may have participated among the North Carolina militia at Guilford Courthouse since beforehand, in February, Thomas Polk was ordered by Major General Nathanael Greene to call up 500 riflemen (Rankin 1971, 286).

Captain William Bethell, a Motley-related 4th great-grandfather, was in the Guilford County militia. By tradition, he participated at Guilford Courthouse (Rodenbough 1983, 332).

In the late 1800s, a public effort attempted to preserve the Guilford Courthouse battleground. Joseph M. Morehead headed this effort as President of Guilford Battleground Company. His statue is near the Nathanael Greene monument. He was son of Congressman James Turner Morehead, who was brother of North Carolina Governor John Motley Morehead. More information about Governor Morehead appears below.

In 1893, North Carolina Governor Thomas Michael Holt dedicated the monument to Major Joseph Winston. Holt's name is inscribed on the monument. More information about Governor Holt appears below.

British losses were severe, nearly 600 casualties out of 2000 professional soldiers. Nonetheless, technically, it was British victory since Americans made an orderly retreat and withdrew to Speedwell Iron Works on Troublesome Creek near Reidsville. British losses persuaded Cornwallis that rebellion in upstate North Carolina and Virginia was insuppressible. Nathanael Greene's sophisticated strategy prevailed against the best-trained and equipped soldiers in the world. In a 20 April letter, British Brigadier General Charles O'Hara critiqued the campaign:

... without baggage, necessaries, or provisions of any sort for officer or soldier, in the most barren inhospitable, unhealthy part of North America, opposed to the most savage, inveterate, perfidious, cruel enemy, with zeal and with bayonets only, it was resolved to follow Greene's army to the end of the world.

Cornwallis moved his army to Snow Camp, North Carolina, on Cane Creek where for two days and nights he commandeered Quaker Simon Dixon's home. According to Dixon-family tradition, Simon Dixon escaped and stayed at Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane's home in Hawfields. British soldiers consumed Dixon's sheep, cattle, and burned his fences. When Simon Dixon returned to his devastated farm, he soon contracted disease and died.

Afterwards, Cornwallis' army withdrew to Ramsey's Mill on Deep River. Greene's army followed.

[Robert Tinnin](#), an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, was in Greene's army at Ramsey's Mill. From there his unit returned to Hillsborough was discharged (Tinnin, Robert 1832).

March–April 1781, Cornwallis to Wilmington, Hobkirt Hill

After Guilford Courthouse, Brigadier General Thomas Polk, commander of the Salisbury District militia, feared that Cornwallis might march towards Camden through Salisbury and Charlotte. Consequently, he called up the district militia (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 351).

On 25 March 1781, Lincoln County militia was embodied. Captain Samuel Espey, a Plonk-related 4th great-grandfather, led a company that included Sergeant Abraham Forney. They marched from Charlotte along Lawyer's Road to Matthew Stewart's farm on Goose Creek. That company joined Brigadier General Thomas Polk's Salisbury District militia regiment at nearby Crooked Creek.

Instead of returning to South Carolina, Cornwallis moved his army to Wilmington, North Carolina, arriving 7 April 1781. Instead of following Cornwallis, Greene moved the American Army into South Carolina. After learning this plan, on 2 April, Henry Lee wrote Greene, "imitate the example of Scipio Africanus," the Roman general who, in 204–202 BC, left Hannibal stranded in Italy by attacking Carthage directly. Scotch-Irish militiamen under Andrew Pickens rejoined Greene.

Later, Espey's unit, on the march, "halted at Flat Rock and ate beef butchered on that wide-spread natural table." (Hunter 1877, 117). They then joined Greene's Army at Rugeley's Mill, South Carolina, 14 miles north of Camden. These soldiers may have been the reserve unit in the battle at Hobkirk Hill on 25 April. However, on 31 October 1832, [Abraham Forney testified](#) in a Lincoln County court that his unit arrived "after the Battle of Camden." (Forney, Abraham 1832). From the context, Forney almost certainly refers to Hobkirk Hill battle. He probably did not mean the 16 August 1780 battle since his contemporaries usually called it "Gates' Defeat." On the other hand, if his unit departed Lincoln County on 25 March, there was ample time to reach the Camden area by 25 April. In late May, when Greene moved towards Ninety Six, Samuel Espey was compelled to leave in consequence of his Kings Mountain wound and returned to Lincoln County (Hunter 1877, 267–268). On 27 April 1827, [Abraham Forney testified](#) in a Lincoln County court:

... during this time of service, Capt Espy's arm became very sore, not having been healed, of the wound he received at Kings mountain, in 1780, and during this tour of service the soreness Increased, and smelt very offensive, at which time Captain Espy was unable to perform the duties, that devolved on him as Captain. – and got leave to return home, his arm was so offensive that the soldiers under his command complained of the offensiveness of the smell, before he consented to leave his company. ...

Wherever Cornwallis's army departed, local Loyalists were abandoned and Whigs began to reassert control. Many local skirmishes occurred. On 9 April 1781, local Whig militiamen assembled at Old

Waxhaw Presbyterian Church under Major Robert Crawford. These included 14-year-old Andrew Jackson and his brother Robert. A patrol of British dragoons and Loyalist militiamen led by Major John Coffin appeared and dispersed the Whigs into the woods and burned the church. The Jackson brothers escaped, only to be captured the next day at their cousin's Lieutenant Thomas Crawford's house. There a British officer demanded Andrew clean his boots. The refusal resulted in a saber slash that cut Andrew's hand and forehead. Robert also received a saber slash by the same officer. Both brothers were marched 40 miles to the Camden stockade. There they witness the battle at Hobkirk Hill. A few days later, their mother Elizabeth Hutchinson Jackson secured their release as part of a prisoner exchange. But both boys had contracted smallpox, and Robert died a few days after returning home. After Andrew recovered, Elizabeth travelled to Charlestown to help nurse her Crawford nephews on British prison ships. There Elizabeth died of the plague and is buried in an unmarked grave in the Charlestown Neck. The future President lost two brothers and his mother because of the Revolutionary War. Her last words to Andrew were, "Make friends by being honest, keep them by being steadfast, never tell a lie, nor take what is not your own, nor sue for slander, settle them cases yourself." (James 1938, 25–29)



Shrine to Elizabeth Hutchinson Jackson
Mother of President Andrew Jackson
Old Waxhaw Presbyterian Church

On 25 April, Cornwallis began to march to Virginia, leaving Major James Craig's forces in Wilmington. Cornwallis believed more effective pressure could be applied in coastal Virginia. Movements and skirmishes along the coast are covered by (Rankin 1959).

Sometime in 1781, Martha Ellington, a Plonk-related 5th great-grandmother, was murdered by a Tory in her home.

Mrs. Joseph Motley [Martha Ellington] lay ill in bed with an infant when a Tory neighbor, who was leading a guerrilla raid, burst into the house and deliberately cut an artery in her arm. Captain [Joseph] Motley was temporarily away, and before help could reach her, she bled to death. [Her daughter] Obedience Motley, mother of John Motley Morehead, as a little girl, witnessed this incredible happening. It is said that some years later Obedience Motley Morehead "heaped coals of fire" on the head of her mother's murderer when he was accidently brought to her home in a serious illness. (Hurt 1976, 98).

This expression is almost certainly a Biblical reference to merciful revenge.

Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. (KJV 1611, Romans 12:20).

May–August 1781, Cartel

Since the fall of Savannah in 1778, British held American Continental soldier prisoners in deplorable conditions. Most were held on prison ships in Charlestown harbor. Reference (Ramsay 1785) states that 800 died from neglect and 375 enlisted in the British military to escape these ships. British authorities had little incentive to improve conditions since prisoners could be recruited for British military service in the West Indies fighting Spain. General William Moultrie complained to the Lieutenant Colonel Nisbet Balfour, British military commandant in Charlestown.

March 21st, 1781

Sir,

You cannot possibly be more tired with reading my letters than I am of writing them; yet I must intrude upon your multiplicity of business, and remonstrate against every violation of the capitulation, and represent every grievance which occurs to us, whether they are attended to or not. What I am now to remonstrate against, is a most violent and inhuman breach of the capitulation; which is the impressing the American soldiers from on board the prison-ships, taking them away by violence, and sending them on board the transports, to be carried from the continent of America; many of them leaving wives and young children, who may possibly perish for want of the common necessaries of life; if I cannot prevail upon you to countermand this violation altogether, let me plead for those unhappy ones who have families to be exempted from this cruelty. I beg you will consider their situation and suffer your humanity to be partial in their favor.

I am, &c.

WILLIAM MOULTRIE (Moultrie 1802, II:193)

American Continental officers were treated better at Haddrell's Point. Nonetheless, in March 1781, Balfour threatened to send these officers to a West Indies island (Ramsay 1785, 462) (Moultrie 1802, II:171–172). However, on 3 May 1781 a general prisoner exchange agreement, called a *cartel*, was signed at Claudius Pegues' house, just north of present-day Cheraw, South Carolina. It exchanged Continental Army officers and soldiers, most of whom were captured a year earlier in Charlestown or at Camden. Cartel text appears in (Moultrie 1802, II:198–200). Actual release may have occurred on 22 June, the official British proclamation date. Most officers were transported to Virginia by ship (Moultrie 1802, II:200). Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford was exchanged and resumed command of Salisbury District militia.

While Robert Mebane was prisoner-of-war, he was second on the potential exchange list of lieutenant colonels (McIntosh 1780, 43). Nonetheless, he was not exchanged until after the cartel, sometime near 22 June 1781. On 10 August, he and two other field officers took depositions in an investigation of British mistreatment of American prisoners. In a letter to Major General Lafayette, who headed the investigation, they urged retaliation to deter further abuses (Clark 1981, 1:480).

Richmond, Virginia

10 Aug 1781

To Major General, The Marquis de la Fayette

Sir:

The moment we were permitted to act, it became our duty to represent some facts, which have given us infinite mortification and although this is signed only by the three field officers now with your Army, yet we are confident there is not one of those exchanged, but joins us in sentiment.

The uncandid conduct of the enemy commenced with their relation of the reduction of Charlestown. The breast of every American officer and soldier has felt indignation on hearing that six thousand American troops, in works, had surrendered to eight thousand British, when, by their own confession, the enemy's army amounted to upwards of

13,000 men, whilst the Continental Troops, after a siege of 42 days, were short of two thousand. We would add that in our opinion, nothing even then could have induced a surrender but the exhausted state of our provisions. The enemy, on their first discovery of the disproportion between our numbers and theirs, could not forbear expressing their astonishment.

We beg pardon, Sir, for taking up your time with what you must know. But your heart will experience the feelings of a soldier, whose captivity has been embittered by such a misrepresentation.

We will not enumerate the many breaches of a sacred capitulation. What we would principally beg leave to lay before you is the conduct of the enemy, in confining our soldiers, on board prison ships, and afterwards compelling them into their service; the latter of which facts is sufficiently confirmed by the annexed attestation.

And now that we have given this account to one of our Generals and the Commander of the First American Army which after a long captivity we had the pleasure to see, nothing remains for us, but to ask, in the name of every officer and soldier, for the adoption of some speedy and effectual mode of retaliation.

We have the honor to be most respectfully, Sir,
Your obedient, humble servants,

[signed] Robert Mebane, Lieut Colonel
Commanding Third NC Regiment

[signed] John Habersham, Major
Georgia Regiment

[signed] David Stephenson, Major
Sixth Virginia Regiment

State of Virginia
7 Aug 1781

Humphry Macumber, Sergeant in the Third Continental Regiment of North Carolina, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of the Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that early in March last, he being then a prisoner of war on board the British prison ship, ESK, lying in Charlestown Harbour, a certain Sergeant Brown came on board said ship with a number of captains of transports, and immediately ordered the guard of the ship down between decks to drive up the prisoners, then centinels were placed over them and the captains proceeded to point out such men as suited their purpose; that the men were then ordered into the boats and such as disclosed any backwardness to go were beaten by the guard with their swords and the butts of their muskets, and also by the said Serjeant Brown and were finally driven by force into the boats.

[signed] Humphry Macumber

Sworn before me,
David Stephenson, Major
Sixth Virginia Regiment

State of Virginia
7 Aug 1781

Ransom Savage, a Serjeant in the Second Continental Regiment of North Carolina, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth, and saith, that early in March last, he being then a prisoner of war on board the prison ship, SUCCESS-INCREASE, lying in Charlestown harbour, a certain Serjeant Brown came on board said ship with a

number of captains of transports and immediately ordered all the prisoners on deck; then said Brown desired the captains to make choice of such men as they liked, which they did; that on one of the men's refusing to go, the said Serjeant caned and kicked him very severely and forced him, with a number of others, into the boats; the prisoners were told by said Brown they must either enlist in Lord Charles Montagu's Corps going to Jamaica, or be impressed on board men-of-war.

[signed] Ransom Savage

Sworn before me,
David Stephenson, Major
Sixth Virginia Regiment

State of Virginia
7 Aug 1781

Thomas Duffey, a private soldier of the Second Continental Regiment of North Carolina, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that some time in March last, he being then a prisoner of war on board the British prison ship, SUCCESS-INCREASE, lying in Charlestown Harbour, Captain Cook, British Commissary of Prisoners, attended by a Serjeant Brown and four or five captains of transports, came on board the ship and asked the prisoners if any of them would go to London in the fleet, where they should all be set free; the prisoners declined his offer, upon which Captain Cook assured them if they did not go voluntarily, they would be forced on board; that the captains of transports then proceeded to make choice of the men, and upon their appearing very much averse to go into the boats, the above-mentioned Serjeant Brown beat and abused them in the most barbarous manner; particularly one of the men, whom he threw from the gunwhale on the ship into one of the boats; that the deponent was among those who were thus forced on board the boats and was sent on board a transport brigatine where he was kept five days with a few other prisoners (the impressed prisoners being distributed among different vessels) and then went to Charlestown on promising to enlist in the British Cavalry; that the deponent heard Captain Cook declare, previous to the above transaction, that if the prisoner did not enlist in thirteen days in the British service, they would all be sent to the West Indies, where they would be put on board ships-of-war.

X (his mark) Thomas Duffey

Sworn before me
Nathaniel Welsh,
Major

State of Virginia
7 Aug 1781

Thomas Woods, a private soldier of the Third Continental Regiment of South Carolina, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposeth and saith, that some time in March last, he being then a prisoner of war on board the prison ship, PRINCE GEORGE, lying in Charlestown harbour, the Serjeant of the guard on board said ship informed the deponent that himself and twenty three more of the prisoners were to go on board some ships that wanted men; that upon the men refusing to go, a certain Serjeant Brown, then on board the ESK, another prison ship, commanded the serjeant of the guard to call to his assistance, the mate and crew, and tumble him, the deponent, neck and heel, into the boat alongside the ship; that upon hearing this, the deponent ran down into the hold, and thereby made his escape; that the deponent was informed one William Williams, another soldier, offered himself in his, the deponents, stead, and was accepted by the British Serjeant.

[signed] Thomas Woods

Sworn before me,
Nathaniel Welsh,
Major

State of Virginia
7 Aug 1781

Jesse Farrar, a private soldier of the Third Continental Regiment of South Carolina being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, deposes and saith, that some time in March last, he being then a prisoner of war on board the British prison ship, PRINCE GEORGE, lying in Charlestown harbour, a certain Serjeant Brown came on board the ship and informed the prisoners that twenty four of them must immediately go on board some ships lying in the harbour; that upon three of the prisoners observing they thought it hard Congress should find sailors for the King, they were put under guard; that said Brown informed the prisoners that unless they would go on board the vessels voluntarily, they would be compelled to do it; in which case they would not be sent on board merchant men, but ships-of-war, whereupon the number demanded, with great seeming reluctance, went on board the boats with the British Serjeant.

X (his mark) Jesse Farrar

Sworn before me,
Nathaniel Welch,
Major

Lafayette reported findings to the Continental Congress where it was entered into the record on 3 September (Ford 1912, 21:929–930) (PCC n.d., M247-176-156:238–245). To retaliate, Continental Congress ordered 500 British prisoners to Connecticut’s Simsbury mine prison, but later prisoner exchanges probably nullified this order. This investigation became a basis for new international standards for prisoner-of-war treatment expressed in the 1786 treaty between the United States and Frederick the Great, King of Prussia (Miller 1931) (Ranlet 2000).

Surgeon Dr. Ephraim Brevard, a McGuire-related 5th cousin 4 generations removed, contracted disease while in prison near Charlestown. After being exchanged and while returning home, he died at John McKnitt Alexander’s house (Alexander 1908, 284).

September 1781, Eutaw Springs

At the time of the last major battle, Eutaw Springs, accumulated experience made militiamen the equal of British professionals.

[James Tinnin](#), an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, was employed in the wagon service that followed Major General Nathanael Greene’s army from the Santee High Hills to Eutaw Springs and back (Tinnin, James 1833).

Major Thomas Polk II, son of Brigadier General Thomas Polk and 1st cousin 8 generations removed of Arabelle Boyer, was killed at Eutaw Springs. His brother Lieutenant Colonel William Polk led a unit of North Carolinians serving as South Carolina “State troops.” During the battle William Polk thought, “every man killed but himself.” (Rankin 1971, 359).

Greene’s victories were unusual. He withdrew from each major battle he directed: Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk Hill, Ninety Six, and Eutaw Springs. Yet in each case, within days, the British, after assessing their diminished strength, made a calamitous retreat. William Richardson Davie later wrote about the time after Hobkirk Hill:

General Greene possessed in an eminent degree those high energies requisite to conquer appalling difficulties, united with that cool moral courage which resists the anguish of disappointment and the pressure of misfortune, I never observed his mind yield to

despondency but at this gloomy moment, when he conceived himself not only abandoned by all the constituted authorities of the confederacy but even by that portion of the population of the Southern States who had everything to hope from his success, and everything to fear from his failure. (Davie 1820 in Robinson 1976, 45)

September–October 1781, Lindley’s Mill, Brown Marsh

In areas the British Army vacated, a Whig versus Tory reign of terror ensued. Tory Colonel David Fanning led several hundred loyalist militiamen. But in addition to protecting loyalists, his men confiscated property from Whig militia and farms (Fanning 1786, 32).

On 15 August 1781, Colonel Hugh Tinnin was prisoner of war. At Halifax, North Carolina, he was exchanged and soon returned to Hillsborough where he immediately resumed his militia responsibilities (Conolly 2008). On 24 August 1781, North Carolina Governor Thomas Burke ordered up the entire Hillsborough District militia. On 28 August, Tinnin wrote the Governor: “Letter of the 24th to General Butler was handed to me and agreeable to your directions, I have ordered out all the Militia of this county ... likewise communicated your orders to the commanding Officers of Caswell, Randolph, Chatham and Wake Counties.” (NCSR 1896, XXII:580–581)

Colonel Hugh Tinnin was an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed. Not all militiamen obeyed Tinnin’s order. On 28 August, the Orange County Court decreed that William Anderson, 5th great-grandfather, and twelve others be “fined 100 pounds each for contempt of authority, refusing to obey commands of Hugh Tinnin, Esq. after being notified thereof by Robert McIntyre, Officer of the State.” (Orange County Court 1777–1788, I:52–104) William Anderson’s motivation and reaction is not known.

Lieutenant James Mebane and Private John Mebane, Anderson-related 5th great-granduncles, were in an Orange County company of horse formed to counter and pursue Colonel David Fanning. They operated in Randolph County (Mebane, John 1833).

At daybreak 12 September 1781, 600 Tories under Colonel David Fanning raided Hillsborough and captured North Carolina Governor Thomas Burke and other Whig leaders (Fanning 1786, 33). These captives were first thrown into the Hillsborough jail while Tories plundered the town. Later that afternoon, Tories began transporting captives to British-occupied Wilmington.

Private John Mebane, an Anderson-related 5th great-granduncle, was among these captive Whig leaders. When thrown in jail, he maintained high spirits. Fellow captive James Turner testified in 1832 that when John Mebane was “brought into the jail, he danced across the floor.” (Mebane, John 1833). John’s brother Alexander Mebane II barely escaped capture. Historian Eli Caruthers wrote:

Col. Alexander Mebane made his escape by leaving a very valuable horse to the care of the enemy, and taking it on foot through the high weeds which had grown up very densely in the cross streets. (Caruthers 1854, 207).

Alexander raced to Hawfields to alert all Whigs, including his brother Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane and Brigadier General John Butler.

The next day, about 10:00 a.m., approximately 350 Whigs ambushed the Tory column near Lindley’s Mill. They took advantage of a natural steep escarpment where the road takes a sharp turn. After the ambush, Fanning ordered the column front to retreat. Historian Algie Newlin deduced that a separate Whig group attempted to free captives by attacking the rear of the Tory column (Newlin 1975). Whigs were outnumbered two to one. After 4 hours of battle, Tories threatened to assassinate Governor Burke and other captives. Fighting stopped and Tories departed. Whigs lost 24 dead and 90 seriously wounded, an extraordinary high proportion. Tories lost 27 dead and 60 seriously wounded. Colonel Macneil led the Tory column and was killed during the initial ambush. Colonel Fanning was badly wounded and hid in the forest for several days (Fanning 1786, 34).



Lindley's Mill Battleground Monuments
1915 and 1998

Lieutenant Colonel Robert Mebane was under militia Brigadier General John Butler, but was certainly a more experienced profession officer. It is likely that Mebane organized the men and planned this ingenious two-pronged ambush (Stockard 1900, 74) (Fanning 1786, 33) (Newlin 1975). No doubt, he also hoped to rescue his brother John. Fanning first secured the captives and then led a counterattack. Historian Eli Caruthers wrote:

Probably, it was on seeing this havoc made of the Whigs by this maneuver of Fanning's, and viewing their situation as now desperate, considering the disparity of numbers, that General Butler ordered a retreat, and commenced it himself. The men, in obedience to orders, were following his example, when Col. Robert Mebane got before them, and by arguments and remonstrances, so far inspired them with his own heroic spirit that enough of them returned to renew the battle and keep the ground. (Caruthers 1854, 212).

Robert's persistence and leadership lengthened the battle's duration to 4 hours. Caruthers wrote:

A more bold and deliberate act of courage is hardly on record that was done by Col. Robert Mebane in the hottest of the battle. In the midst of the conflict with Fanning, when the Whigs must have been nearly between two files, as the Scotch were advancing up the hill, they got out of ammunition and Mebane walked slowly along the line, carrying his hat full of powder, telling every man to take a handful, or just what he needed. (Caruthers 1854, 214).

David Anderson, a 5th great-granduncle, was severely wounded at Lindley's Mill. Family tradition is that he "was shot through the body, a silk handkerchief was drawn through the wound to clean out the blood. He was carried a good many miles [about 30 miles] on a litter to his home." (Anderson 1898). He was incapacitated. Five months later, on 25 February 1782, the Orange County Court Minutes record: "David Anderson who is disabled by wounds received in the defense of his Country, a poor man and having a helpless family... to be tax exempt." (Orange County Court 1777–1788, I:folio54:109) His sister-in-law Jane Mebane's brother William Mebane submitted the proposal to the North Carolina General Assembly, which was granted 11 May 1782.

Mr. Mebane, from the joint Committee to whom the recommendation of the Court of Orange County of David Anderson as an indigent person, wounded and disabled in the service of the State, and who therefore is a proper object to be exempted from the payment of pecuniary and specific taxes, was referred, having considered the same, do report as their opinion that the said David Anderson ought to be exempted from the payment of the aforesaid taxes so long as he continues disabled. (NCSR 1896, XIX:97–98)

See also references (NCSR 1896, XVI:117, 143, 144). Family tradition is that:

He continued to carry on his farm work, with great difficulty, as he never recovered from the wound. On being asked why he didn't apply for a pension he replied, "My country is more in need of the money than I." (Anderson 1898)

In March 1785, David Anderson served as a court juror (Orange County Court 1777–1788, II:folio58:232). In May 1785, he served on a grand jury (Orange County Court 1777–1788, III:folio4:241). Not until over 30 years later, at age 82, he did request a pension from the State of North Carolina.

Legislative Session Dec. 1815

Petition of DAVID ANDERSON was referred to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances, who report that he was a citizen of Orange County, was a private in CAPTAIN DOUGLAS's company in the Revolutionary War and in the battle fought at LINDLEY's MILL where he was severely wounded. Anderson was crippled in both hands, two of his fingers of his left hand being shot off, and two of them, together with those of his right hand so wounded as to be drawn up and rendered nearly entirely useless. He received a musket ball into his body, which entered under his left arm and passed out at his back bone. "Being now eighty two years of age and also borne down by infirmities, with a wife who has been bed ridden for six years—therefore prays for relief."

Committee believes his service is adequately established by the depositions which accompanied his petition, and recommend that his name be placed on the pension list for an annual sum of \$25 for life. JOHN LONG, Chairman

By order P. HENDERSON. C. H. C. [Clerk House of Commons]

Apparently, David Anderson had to appear in court to receive his pension.

DAVID ANDERSON [signed shakily] appeared before WILLIE SHAW, Justice of Orange County, to certify that Anderson was the soldier entitled to the pension. 23 Dec. 1817.

Power of attorney from DAVID ANDERSON [his mark] of Orange County to WILLIE SHAW, of that county to receive his pension money. Sworn 19 Nov. 1820 before J. A. MEBANE. Reverse endorsed by Comptroller 27 Dec, 1820 to authorize Public Treasurer to pay \$50 for the pension.

David Anderson died in 1821.

[Lieutenant David Mitchell](#), later husband of Ann Anderson a 4th great-grandaunt, participated at Lindley's Mill as described in his brother [William Mitchell's pension application](#) (Mitchell, William 1832) (Mitchell, Ann Anderson 1843).

After the battle, Whigs followed the Tories hoping for an opportunity to free the captives. A skirmish was fought at Brown Marsh, near present-day Clarkton, North Carolina. Nonetheless, all captives were taken to Wilmington. Later, some, including Governor Burke, were taken to Charlestown. Holloway Pass, a soldier who participated in this chase, provides details in his 1836 [pension application](#). Portions of his application are:

...This Declarant remained at home until the fall of 1781 when the Torries came to Hillsboro and took our Whig Governor (Burke) prisoner and carried him off to Willmington. Upon the hapening of this event there was great excitement in our Country

and particularly in our County (Caswell) and all the men of the County was called upon to take up arms; accordingly this Declarant volunteered under Captain Adam Sanders of Caswell County and was marched & reorganized(?) in the woods in Caswell County on County Line Creek where they were met by two other Volunteer Companies of the said County, all under the command of Col. William Moore (Our Col.) And Major Dudley Reynolds (Our Major). From there we were marched through a night heag, all on horseback, in great speed with a view to overtake the Tories before they got to Willmington (& it should be borne in mind that our Officers promised us that if we would find our horses and start immediately (which we did) that we should be discharged at the end of two months and that the tour should be accounted to us as a tour of three months, which promise was not kept, and instead of two months we were kept out for three months and half starved at that). We were marched a strait course leaving Hillsboro to the left and went directly to Cross Creeks (now Fayetteville) and we got on the trail of the Tories at Lindleg s Mill(?) and we followed on down to in sight of Willmington expecting every Hour to overtake them. But they escaped into Willmington before we came up with them; before we reached Willmington we joined Gen l Butler with his company. From near Willmington we retreated back up the Cape Fear River. Some 18 or 20 miles out of Danger and there stayed for a little time until we heard of a collection of Tories at a place called the Brown Marsh to which place we immediately was marched. At this place we met the Tories and some Brittish and had a severe engagement and was defeated by the bad management of Gen l Butler - and if it had not been for old Col. Mebane of the Orange Regiment we would have been all taken prisoner. From this place (Brown Marsh) we retreated to Fayetteville (which was then Cross Creeks). At this place our horses were taken away from us and sent home, and the Volunteer Company to which this Declarant belonged was put under the command of Capt. Spillsby Coleman.

... This Declarant states that he Volunteered both times when he was called into service - That he cannot recollect all the Regular officers who were with the troops where he served; but he remembers Col. [William] Washington, General Morgan, Col Henry Dixon, General Butler, & General Rutherford - But he is inclined to think that Butler & Rutherford were Militia officers - That he remembers the Orange Regiment Commanded by Col. Mebane & a brave officer he was - & the general circumstances of his service he has attempted to give above - That he received two discharges one from Col. Moore, & the other from Capt. Spillsby Coleman, as well as he can now recollect, both of which were burnt up some eight or nine years ago. ... (Pass, Holloway 1836)

In 1832, [Massey Medaris testified](#) in his pension application:

On account of the British army having passed through this country and during this time of their continuance in the country the Tories became very much insubordinate, and committed a great many outrages. This declarant at this time volunteered for the purpose [of] resisting the Tories and putting an end to their outrages. From Chatham Court house he was marched to Crow's ford on Haw River. The Tories but a short time before had taken the town of Hillsboro, from which place they retired to Lindley's mill on Cain [sic, Cane] Creek. About two hours before day, this declarant marched with two hundred & fifty volunteers with him from Crow's ford to attack the Tories on Cain Creek. In this engagement the Tories to the number of seven hundred were defeated with loss of one hundred men & completely dispersed. The loss of the Whigs being only Seventeen. The success of this attack was chiefly owing to the skill and good management of Col Mebane an officer of the Continental army, who had been previously taken prisoner by the British, and was about this time passing through that section of country to join Genl Greene's Southern army. Hearing of the intended expedition against the Tories, and being fond of the sport, he took command of this expedition which ended as above stated. (Medaris, Massey 1832)

In 1822, British Major General David Stewart wrote a history of Highland regiments (Stewart 1822). He recorded a British perspective of these events, reprinted in (Brander 1971, 168). Unfortunately, it contains

several obvious errors, and some details are inconsistent with (Fanning 1786, 33) and (Pass, Holloway 1836). Interestingly, the use of British artillery may be what alarmed American Brigadier General John Butler as described in (Caruthers 1854, 230).

Among these settlers was a gentleman of the name of Macneil, who had been an officer in the Seven Year's War. He joined the army with several followers, but soon took his leave, having been rather sharply reprimanded for his treatment of a republican family. He was a man of tall stature and commanding aspect, and moved, when he walked among his followers, with all the dignity of a chieftain of old. Retaining his loyalty, although offended with the reprimand, he offered to surprise the republican garrison, governor and council assembled at Willisborough. He had three hundred followers, one-half of them old country Highlanders, the other half born in America, and the offspring of Highlanders. The enterprise was conducted with address and the governor, council, and garrison, were secured without bloodshed, and immediately marched off for Wilmington, Macneil and his party travelling by night and concealing themselves in swamps and woods by day. However, the country was alarmed, and a hostile force collected. He proceeded in zig-zag directions, for he had a perfect knowledge of the country, but without any provisions except what chance threw in his way. When he had advanced two-thirds of the route, he found the enemy occupying a pass which he must open by the sword, or perish in the swamps for want of food. At this time he had more prisoners to guard than followers. 'He did not secure his prisoners by putting them to death'; but, leaving them under a guard of half his force on whom he could least depend, he charged with the others sword in hand through the pass and cleared it of the enemy, but was unfortunately killed from too great ardour in the pursuit. The enemy being dispersed, the party continued their march disconsolate for the loss of their leader; but their opponents again assembling in force, the party were obliged to take refuge in the swamps, still retaining their prisoners. The British Commander at Wilmington, hearing of Macneil's enterprise, marched out to his support, and kept firing cannon, in expectation the report would reach them in the swamps. The party heard the reports; and knowing that the Americans had no artillery, they ventured out of the swamps towards the quarter whence they heard the guns, and meeting with Major (afterwards Sir James) Craig, sent out the support them, delivered over their prisoners, half famished with hunger, and lodged them safely in Wilmington. Such partisans as these are invaluable in active warfare. (Stewart 1822 in Brander 1971, 168).

[Lieutenant David Mitchell](#), later husband of Ann Anderson a 4th great-grandaunt, participated at Livingston's Swamp as described in his brother [William Mitchell's pension application](#) (Mitchell, William 1832) (Mitchell, Ann Anderson 1843). That location was probably Brown Marsh.

A few weeks later, in October 1781, Robert Mebane was killed by Tory Henry Hightower. Historian Eli Caruthers wrote:

He was afterwards with his regiment on the waters of the Cape Fear, contending with the Tories; but being notified that his services were needed in the northern part of the State, he set out accompanied only by his servant. On the way, he came upon a noted Tory and horse thief, by the name of Henry Hightower and perhaps too fearless and regardless of the consequences, he pursued him and when within striking distance with his arm uplifted, Hightower wheeled and shot him. (Caruthers 1854, 361).

Private William C. Smith witnessed Mebane death and helped bury him. In 1833, Smith testified in court:

After they were discharged and on their way home Col. Mabane his [Smith's] captain and several others were going on to Wake County where they all lived, they came across a tory in an old field who Col. Mabane knew and the Col. Swore he would take him or his life. He charge upon him and the tory broke and run and Col. Mabane after him on his horse through the old field, in the field there was a gully and some grape vines had grown over it. Col. Mabane went to charge the gully and his horse got entangled and in it & fell and threw him. The tory turned and shot Col. Mabane as he was getting up and killed

him. We buried Col. Mabane and this applicant returned home to Wake County, North Carolina. (Smith 1833 in Draper 1873, VV:10:160–161) (Smith, William C. 1833)

In 1832, [Joseph McAdams testified](#):

He declares that he volunteered again and was commanded by Captains Daniel Christmas, Hodge, and Guin and in the Regiment commanded by Colonel William O'Neale and Robert Mayben who was killed by Henry Hightower a Tory at a place ten miles from Hillsboro. (McAdams, Joseph 1832)

In 1832, [Jonathan Thomas testified](#):

About this time a Tory by the name of Hightower killed Col. Mabane of the Continental army and the company in which this declarant was then serving pursued the said Hightower & one of his brothers, but could not overtake either of them. (Thomas, Jonathan 1832)

One source mentions that Mebane died at Williams Township on 13 October. A section of northeastern Chatham County is known by that name. The author has attempted to find contemporaneous newspaper announcements of Mebane's death. But apparently, all North Carolina newspapers had suspended publication at that time.

On 19 November 1781, Major General Nathanael Greene, with the Southern Army in South Carolina, issued in his general orders, "The promotion of Thomas Donoho, who is entitled to a Majority by the death of Col^o Meban, is announced." (Greene 1781 in PNG 1997, IX:591).

Mebane died at age 36 with no descendants. Ironically, he died within days of the Yorktown victory that ended significant Revolutionary War fighting. His death was not publicly announced because apparently no North Carolina newspapers were being published during late 1781. Robert Mebane's name occurs 25 times in the index of the North Carolina State Records (NCSR 1896). Historian S. W. Stockard wrote:

Haw Fields [Presbyterian Church] was the intellectual centre of northern Alamance. It was not only the intellectual and religious, but also the political centre. Its members were Whigs of the Revolution. After a victory they were accustomed to meet to give thanks for it. On one occasion an influential member arose and left the house during services. Being questioned, he replied he did not expect to stay anywhere and hear them give the Lord all the thanks and Robert Mebane none. (Stockard 1900, 81).

John Mebane was imprisoned in Wilmington. In his 30 March 1833 [pension application](#) (Mebane, John 1833) he testifies that he was held prisoner a few weeks on a British ship and then paroled to town. He understood that his brother Robert Mebane arranged his exchange for a Lieutenant McChain. Later, John married the widow of a fellow prisoner who died after release while returning home.

October-November 1781, Wilmington, Yorktown

At Yorktown, Virginia, Cornwallis' army of 9000 soldiers was surrounded by General Washington's army and a French Army under General Count de Rochambeau. It was also blockaded by the French Navy. Cornwallis surrendered 19 October 1781. Claiming illness, Cornwallis did not participate in the surrender ceremony. So, British Brigadier General Charles O'Hara offered his sword to American second-in-command Major General Benjamin Lincoln.



British Surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, 19 October 1781
Painted by John Trumbull, 1797.

In 1829, Daniel Mebane [testified](#) that his brother Robert Mebane was killed at Yorktown Siege on 16 October 1781. If this is true, it may be verifiable from original-source battle records. But this statement is more likely incorrect. In fact, there is no known relation whose name is Daniel Mebane.

Afterwards, Washington and his officers offered respectable dinners for their British counterparts, but deliberately excluded Tarleton. After Tarleton returned to England, he became a member of Parliament and remained a lifelong celebrity. He wrote a valuable history of the war (Tarleton 1787).

Yorktown did not terminate hostilities. For another year, during diplomatic negotiations, Nathanael Greene's Army and partisans pushed British forces in South Carolina back to Charlestown and Savannah. In September 1781, in Mecklenburg County, Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford called for Salisbury District militia volunteers. They assembled and trained for two weeks. On 1 October, this army moved towards Wilmington. On the southwest side of the Cape Fear River, near the ferry to Wilmington, the British fortified a brick house (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 354). Rutherford's forces skirmished there (Graham 1827 in Graham 1904, 368). Wilmington was encircled and slowly constricted. During this campaign, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee's troops brought word of the Yorktown victory. On 18 November, Rutherford's troops entered Wilmington while British troops embarked on ships.

[Robert Tinnin](#), an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, participated in this campaign to Wilmington. They encamped at McLean's Bluff about 10 miles from Wilmington. (Tinnin, Robert 1832).

Jacob Plunk II, a 4th great-grandfather, [participated](#) in this 1781 campaign to Wilmington. He was in Captain William Moore's company and Colonel Phifer's regiment. His tour lasted three months. (Plunk, Jacob 1832).

Captain William Bethell, a Motley-related 4th great-grandfather, was in the Guilford County militia and participated in this 1781 campaign to force the British from Wilmington (Rodenbough 1983, 332).

James Espey and John Espey, both Plunk-related 4th great-granduncles, participated in the 1781 campaign to Wilmington. Both served in Captain Isaac White's company and Major William [or Joseph] Grimes' Mecklenburg militia regiment. James Espey mentions in his [pension application](#) (Espey, James 1832) a skirmish at "the brick house near Wilmington."

1782–1783, War Conclusion

On 10–11 July 1782, British evacuated Savannah. After an armistice agreement 13 November 1782, on 14 December, all British soldiers boarded ships in Charlestown harbor and departed. For them the fighting was not over. They were still at war with France and Spain.

During the winter of 1781–1782, [James Tinnin](#), an Anderson-related 1st cousin 7 generations removed, was with Major General Nathanael Greene’s army at Round O, Pon Pon, and Bacon Bridge, South Carolina (Tinnin, James 1833).

For at least 5 months in 1782, Captain John Mebane served in a regiment under Colonel Joseph Lewis. This unit went to the aid of Brigadier General Francis Marion in South Carolina and then returned to North Carolina searching for Tories. It crossed Raft Swamp and built a stockade fort at a house in Moore County. It was stationed at Brown’s Mill in Chatham County and sometimes at Cane’s Mill in Randolph County (Mebane, John 1833).

In 1782, James Espey was engaged against Cherokees (Espey, James 1832).

The peace treaty was signed in Paris on 3 September 1783. That news arrived in New York City in November. Continental Army was disbanded. In the tradition of Roman general Cincinnatus, George Washington resigned his commission to Continental Congress in session at the Maryland State House in Annapolis on 23 December 1783. He spoke:

Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission and take my leave of all the employments of public life.

Both sides made mistakes. After Guilford Courthouse, Nathanael Greene wasted lives, time, and money during the siege of Ninety Six which the British had already decided to abandon. British officers overestimated loyalist strength. Historian Charles Stedman wrote that loyalists were, “on the whole, too sanguine in their expectations. But it is the nature of men to cherish the hope of relief with an ardour proportioned to the greatness of their misfortunes.” (Stedman 1794, 2:447). Certainly, the British underestimated Scotch-Irish resistance. Had they controlled the Lowcountry and isolated the Piedmont, they might have succeeded. A compelling argument is that unexpected Scotch-Irish resistance was decisive.

Revolutionary War family participants

The Revolutionary War affected lives of most residents of Virginia and the Carolinas. The following table lists family relations with reported military service. Links display transcribed pension applications of those veterans still living in 1832 that chose to apply. At present, only 10 percent of all applications are transcribed. Anderson relations are shown in green and Plonk relations are in red. Unrelated individuals who interacted with both families are shown in blue.

Revolutionary War Veterans

Name	Side	Relation	Rank, Unit, Service and Battles
William Anderson	Whig	5GGFather	Private, Orange County militia. Civil Service. Livestock confiscated.
James Anderson	Whig	5GGUncle	Private, Orange County militia. Possible Continental.
David Anderson	Whig	5GGUncle	Private, Orange County militia. Badly wounded at Lindley’s Mill.
William Lawrence Murray	Whig	5GGFather	Captain, Orange County militia.
John Murray	Whig	5GGUncle	Sergeant, Orange County militia.
David Mitchell	Whig	Husband of 4GGAunt	Kings Mountain, Guilford Courthouse. Lindley’s Mill. Livingston’s Swamp.
William Mitchell	Whig	Brother-in-law of 4GGAunt	Camden. Kings Mountain. Guilford Courthouse. Lindley’s Mill. Livingston’s Swamp.
Richard Bull	Whig	Husband of 1 st Cousin 6x removed	Private
Levi Whitted II	Whig	5GGFather	Officer

Name	Side	Relation	Rank, Unit, Service and Battles
John Whitted	Whig	5GGUncle	NC Continental soldier. Killed.
Thomas Byrd	Whig	5GGFather	Private. (Fitzpatrick 1932, 8:329, 330, 355)
William Armstrong	Whig	1 st Cousin 7x removed	Captain. First NC Regiment. Later, Third NC Regiment.
William Mebane	Whig	5GGUncle	Captain.
Alexander Mebane II	Whig	5GGUncle	1776 Fifth Provincial Congress. Hillsborough District militia commissary officer.
Robert Mebane	Whig	5GGUncle	Captain, Smith's Ferry after Moore's Creek Bridge. Norfolk. Cherokees. Lt. Colonel NC Continental. Germantown. Valley Forge. Monmouth Courthouse. Encirclement of New York City. Charlestown siege. Prisoner of war. Exchanged. Lindley's Mill. Brown Marsh. Killed by Tory.
James Mebane	Whig	5GGUncle	Lieutenant, Tory suppression. Pursuit of Col. David Fanning. Captain.
John Mebane	Whig	5GGUncle	Private, Smith's Ferry after Moore's Creek Bridge. Pursuit of Col. David Fanning. Captive at Lindley's Mill. Prisoner on ship. Captain, 1782 Tory suppression.
James Tinnin	Whig	1 st Cousin 7x removed	Camden. Eutaw Springs, Round O, Pon Pon, Bacon's Bridge.
Robert Tinnin	Whig	1 st Cousin 7x removed	Guilford Courthouse. Ramsey's Mill.
Joseph McLane	Whig	Husband of 1 st Cousin 7x removed	New Providence. Charlotte. Guilford Courthouse.
Hugh Tinnin	Whig	1 st Cousin 7x removed	Major, Cherokees. Colonel, Stono Ferry, Camden. Prisoner of war. Hillsborough, Lindley's Mill.
Michael Holt II	Tory	5GGUncle	Militia officer. Arrested after Moore's Creek. Philadelphia prison.
Jacob Holt	Tory	5GGFather	Not a soldier. Suffered retribution.
James Scott	Whig	5GGUncle	Continental soldier
David White	Whig	Husband of 1 st Cousin 6x removed	Camden
Samuel Allen	Whig	1 st Cousin 6x removed	Private, Guilford Courthouse. commissary.
William Allen	Whig	1 st Cousin 6x removed	Private, Guilford Courthouse. commissary.
Hardy Hurdle Jr.	Whig	4GGFather	1778, oath of allegiance
Jacob Forney I	Whig		House was Cornwallis HQ. Livestock confiscated.
Peter Forney	Whig		1776, Cherokees. 1780, Ramsour's Mill. 1781, Cowans Ford, Wilmington.

Name	Side	Relation	Rank, Unit, Service and Battles
Abraham Forney	Whig		Private, Kings Mountain. Sergeant, Hobkirk Hill.
Jacob Forney II	Whig		
Jacob Plunk II	Whig	4GGFather	Private. 1 term against Cherokees. 2 terms militia. Wilmington.
Samuel Espey	Whig	4GGFather	Corporal, 1776 Cherokees. Captain, Wofford Iron Works. Wounded at Kings Mountain. Hobkirk Hill.
James Espey	Whig	4GGUncle	Private. Kings Mountain. Wilmington. Lieutenant, 1782 Cherokees.
John Espey	Whig	4GGUncle	Private. Fishing Creek. Wilmington.
William Oates I	Whig	4GGFather	Private. Iron munitions manufacturing. Tories burned house.
Peter Costner	Tory	GGUncle of 1 st Cousin 4x removed	Killed at Ramsour's Mill.
Martha Ellington	Whig	5GGMother	Murdered by Tory.
David Motley	Whig	4GGUncle	Private, Virginia 3 rd Regiment. Savannah.
Daniel Motley	Whig	4GGUncle	Private, wagoner for Continentals.
William Bethell	Whig	4GGFather	Moore's Creek Bridge. Guilford Courthouse. Wilmington.
Patrick McGuire	Whig	4GGFather	Private. Possible Pennsylvania Continental. Frontier Ranger.
Abraham Alexander	Whig	2 nd Cousin 7x removed	Colonel, Mecklenburg Committee of Safety.
Ezra Alexander	Whig	2 nd Cousin 7x removed	Ramsour's Mill. Hanging Rock.
Hezekiah Alexander	Whig	2 nd Cousin 7x removed	Mecklenburg Committee of Safety. Mecklenburg militia paymaster.
Adam Alexander	Whig	3 rd Cousin 6x removed	Colonel. Scovellites. Moore's Creek Bridge. Cherokees. Camden prison.
Charles Alexander	Whig	3 rd Cousin 6x removed	Captain. Ramsour's Mill.
Elias Alexander	Whig	2 nd Cousin 7x removed	Colonel. Kings Mountain. Cowpens. Guilford Courthouse.
William "Black Billy" Alexander	Whig	3 rd Cousin 6x removed	Cherokees. Ramsour's Mill. Rocky Mount. Hanging Rock. Wahab Plantation.
Thomas Alexander	Whig	3 rd Cousin 6x removed	Cherokees. Scovellites. Hanging Rock.
Matthew Alexander	Whig	4GGUncle	Musgrove's Mill. Prisoner at Ninety Six.
James Cox	Whig	Husband of 5GGAunt	Captain. Killed at Brandywine.
Nancy Morgan Hart	Whig	3 rd Cousin 6x removed	Captured and killed six Tories.
Morgan Hart	Whig	4 th Cousin 5x removed	Kettle Creek.
John Hart	Whig	4 th Cousin 5x removed	Kettle Creek.

Name	Side	Relation	Rank, Unit, Service and Battles
Thomas Hart	Whig	4 th Cousin 5x removed	Kettle Creek.
William Lee Davidson	Whig	Husband of 5 th Cousin 4x removed	Captain, Scovellites. Major, NC Continental. Germantown. Lt. Colonel. Valley Forge. Encirclement of New York City. Ramsour's Mill. Colson's Mill. Brigadier General, Charlotte defense. Pursuit of Cornwallis. New Providence. Killed at Cowan's Ford.
John Moor	Whig	4GGFather	Private, Four-Hole Swamp bridge. Ramsour's Mill. Kings Mountain.

John Anderson died in 1756. His six sons were likely in the Orange County, Hillsborough District militia. Since their farms were near Hillsborough, they were affected by the war. About 1898, James Henry Anderson, 1864-1941, wrote in his *Anderson Family History*: "I think the most if not all of the sons of the old pioneer, John Anderson, took part in the great conflict with England for independence." However, he mentions only how one son, presumably David Anderson, was wounded (J. H. Anderson 1898). Some references say that James Anderson was in the Continental Army during 1777–1778, but he was rather old to be such an active soldier. He may have been awarded a warrant for land in Tennessee since he moved there soon after the war. The Daughters of the American Revolution indicate that William Anderson performed Civil Service. His only son James, 1768–1850, was too young, 12 years old, to participate when the war came to North Carolina in 1780. Other sons John, Robert and Michael probably belonged to the militia, but with no known record.

Levi Whitted II and John Whitted were Revolutionary War soldiers, probably militia. John Whitted was killed. Nothing is known about their service. No Whitted applied for a pension when Congress made that possible in 1832. Of course, Levi might have died before 1832.

Colonel John Walker and his wife Nancy, ancestors of Edith Walker, second wife of Dallas Malone Anderson, were buried in Cross Roads Presbyterian Church cemetery. Their graves, from the early 1800s, are about 15 feet from the grave of Margaret Louise Plonk, 1923–2006.

Robert Mebane Military Career Timeline

Robert Mebane's military career timeline appears below. It reflects best known evidence. It will be refined as new evidence is discovered.

Robert Mebane Military Career Timeline

Time	Personal Location	Activity	Source Documents
Jan–Feb 1776	Cross Creek region, NC	Militia captain of riflemen. Suppress Highlander uprising.	(Hunter 1877, 125)
27 Feb 1776	Moore's Creek Bridge or Smith's Ferry, NC	Possible participation. Certain concurrent support.	(Rankin 1971, 50) (Mebane, John 1833)
Apr 1776	Wilmington, NC	Supports NC regiments recruitment.	(Hunter 1877, 125) (NCSR 1896, XI:830)
May 1776	Norfolk, VA	Town defense.	(NCSR 1896, XXII:114)

Time	Personal Location	Activity	Source Documents
Sep 1776	Catawba River from Charlotte to Quaker Meadows, NC. "Seven-Mile Mountain."	Participant in Cherokee suppression.	(Hunter 1877, 91,125)
24 Nov 1776		Fifth Provincial Congress creates Seventh Regiment.	
27 Nov 1776		Fifth Provincial Congress commissions lieutenant colonel in Seventh Regiment.	(NCSR 1896, X:940)
Nov 1776–May 1777	Halifax, NC	Recruiting and training Seventh Regiment.	
May 1777	Halifax, NC	Continues recruiting in Halifax while most NC Continentals go north.	
17 Jul 1777	Quankey Creek, Halifax, NC	Mebane to Governor Caswell about recruiting. Requests to go Northward.	(NCSR 1896, XI:521)
11 Sep 1777	Brandywine, PA	Possible participation, including Greene's maneuver.	(Battle of Brandywine 2002)
4 Oct 1777	Germantown, PA	Probable participation. His superior Colonel Hogun participated.	(Rankin 1971, 168)
Dec 1777–Jun 1778	Valley Forge, PA	In Major General Lafayette's division.	(Bill 1952)
3 Feb 1778	Valley Forge, PA	Signs Congress oath of allegiance after this date.	(Barrie 1890)
20 May 1778	Barren Hill, PA	Probable participation.	(Stedman 1794, 1:376–379)
1 Jun 1778		Assigned to First Regiment.	(NCSR 1896, XIII:476) (Heitman 1914)
28 Jun 1778	Monmouth, NJ	Almost certain participation.	
12–19 Jul 1778	Paramus, NJ	Presides over court martial of prisoners.	(NCSR 1896, XII:501)
Aug 1778	Hudson River highlands, NY	Encirclement of New York City begins.	
8 Sep 1778		Company commander. Members listed.	(NCSR 1896, XV:724)
4 Dec 1778	Hudson River at King's Ferry, NY	Commands 200 NC Continentals from First Regiment.	(Rankin 1971, 166) (Fitzpatrick 1932, 13:377)
9 Feb 1779		Status "Coll." Possible promotion.	(NCSR 1896, XVI:1113)
4 April 1779	Middlebrook, NJ, near Washington's headquarters	Commands Third Regiment.	(Fitzpatrick 1932, 14:331)

Time	Personal Location	Activity	Source Documents
17 Apr 1779		Ordered to return Third Regiment to NC and join Southern Army.	(NCSR 1896, XIV:70, 292)
10 May 1779	Halifax, NC	Mebane to Governor Caswell about officer dissatisfaction.	(NCSR 1896, XIV:80)
30 Jun 1779	Hillsborough, NC	Mebane to Governor Caswell about poor health. Offers resignation.	(NCSR 1896, XIV:136)
23 Oct 1779	NC	Third Regiment strength report.	(Lincoln 1779–1780)
Oct 1779–May 1780	Charlestown, SC	Defends Charlestown. Commander Third Regiment.	
27 Oct 1779	Charlestown, SC	Third Regiment weapons report.	(Lincoln 1779–1780)
8 Nov 1779	Charlestown, SC	Presides over court martial of prisoners.	(Lincoln 1779–1780)
27 Nov 1779	Charlestown, SC	Joins investigation into shortage of wood and forage.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
17 Dec 1779	Charlestown, SC	Orders settlement of officer rank in Third Regiment.	(Lincoln 1779–1780)
1 Jan 1780	Charlestown, SC	Abstract of muster roll of Third Regiment	(Lincoln 1779–1780)
8 Jan 1780	Charlestown, SC	Major General Lincoln to Governor Caswell about NC Continental deserters.	(NCSR 1896, XV:316)
14–18 Jan 1780	Charlestown, SC	Draws forage for 4 horses.	(Lincoln 1779–1780)
6 Feb 1780	Charlestown, SC	Commands fatigue party for military engineer.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
11 Feb 1780	North Edisto River, SC	British Army disembarks on Simmon's Island.	
15 Feb 1780	Charlestown, SC	Guard Officer-of-the-Day.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
24 Feb 1780	Charlestown, SC	Guard Officer-of-the-Day.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
25 Feb 1780	Charlestown, SC	Assemble 175 men and march to Ashley River Ferry.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
6 Mar 1780	Charlestown, SC	Rejoins newly arrived NC Brigade.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
8 Mar 1780	Charlestown, SC	Guard Officer-of-the-Day.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
22 Mar 1780	Charlestown, SC	Guard Officer-of-the-Day.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
1 Apr 1780	Charlestown, SC	Siege begins.	
14 Apr 1780	Charlestown, SC	NC and VA brigades begin duty rotation.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
29 Apr 1780	Charlestown, SC	Guard Officer-of-the-Day.	(Grimke 1779–1780)
8 May 1780	Charlestown, SC	Guard Officer-of-the-Day during Lincoln-Clinton negotiations. At council of officers, votes to accept terms.	(Grimke 1779–1780) (Lincoln 1779–1780)

Time	Personal Location	Activity	Source Documents
11 a.m. 12 May 1780	Charlestown hornwork	American surrender ceremony.	(NCSR 1896, XIV:816)
15 May 1780	Haddrell's Point, SC	Prisoner-of-war.	
Jun 1781	Haddrell's Point, SC	Sea transport to Virginia for exchange and release.	
10 Aug 1781	Richmond, VA	Mebane to Lafayette about prisoner-of-war treatment.	(Clark 1981, 480) (Ranlet 2000)
21 Aug 1781	Granville County, NC	Mebane to Governor Burke. Requests to return to field.	(NCSR 1896, XV:612)
28 Aug 1781	Hillsborough, NC	Andrew Armstrong to Governor Burke about Tory uprising.	(NCSR 1896, XXII:1048)
13 Sep 1781	Lindley's Mill, NC	Participant and leader.	(Caruthers 1854, 212, 214) (Newlin 1975)
Oct 1781	Brown Marsh, NC	Participant and leader.	(Caruthers 1854, 369) (Pass, Holloway 1836)
Oct 1781	Williams Township, Chatham County, NC	Killed by Tory Henry Hightower.	(Caruthers 1854, 361) (Smith, William C. 1833)

War Conclusion Summary

A popular notion is that Americans invented irregular or Indian-style warfare and that British soldiers were too stupid to adopt it. But actually irregular warfare has always been an obvious choice for a small unit. However, it is not sufficient to protect an established government with publicly exposed legislators, judges, civil administrators, tax collectors, and law enforcers. These officials require a conspicuous professional guard. That was the only role available to the British Army since it had to reconstruct a safe environment for loyalist officials. In fact, only after Americans contested the British in conventional European-style battles at Saratoga, Cowpens, Guilford Courthouse, and Yorktown did they force significant concessions. Nathanael Greene made this distinction in a December 1780 letter (Rankin 1976, 18) seeking cooperation from Brigadier General Thomas Sumter.

The salvation of this army does not depend upon little strokes, nor should the great business of establishing a permanent army be neglected to pursue them. Partisan strokes in war are like garnishing on a table, they give splendor to the army and reputation to the officers, but they afford not substantial national security. They are matters which should not be neglected, and yet, they should not be pursued to the prejudice of more important concerns. You may strike a hundred strokes, and reap little benefit from them, unless you have a good army to take advantage of your success.

After the war, some Whigs mistreated their Tory neighbors. General William Moultrie wrote in his memoirs (Moultrie 1802, II:303), "The conduct of those two parties was a disgrace to human nature, and it may with safety be said that they destroyed more property, and shed more American blood than the whole British army." The most infamous Whig was Virginia judge Charles Lynch whose last name became a verb. As many as 80,000 loyalists moved to England, Spanish Florida, Bahamas, Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick. Since the Seven Years' War treaty of 1763, Florida belonged to Britain. But in 1783, it reverted back to Spain. In 1819, Florida became a United States' territory.

Jacob Holt, an Anderson-related 5th great-grandfather and brother of Michael Holt II, was a Tory. In 1782, Salem deacon Christian Benzien wrote of Jacob Holt, "I could perceive clearly that he is our friend as his brothers are also. He and Reich told so many stories of deeds of violence which are still taking place in the neighborhood, that one could not listen without sorrow. Last week a man was made a cripple for a minor matter, and another was murdered." (Troxler and Vincent 1999, 131).

After the war, many Scotch-Irish moved west. What had been Cherokee land in upstate South Carolina was settled by Scotch-Irish from Rowan and Mecklenburg Counties, North Carolina. That area became Spartanburg County. Many veterans acquired bounty land warrants in Tennessee or Kentucky and moved there with their families during the 1780s and 1790s.

The following veterans acquired a bounty land warrant. Full statements are on microfilm rolls (NARA 1997).

Bounty Land Warrants

Name	Relation	BLW	Location	Roll
John Whitted	5GGUncle	43514-160-55		
Robert Mebane, died 1781	5GGUncle	#2578 or 1435-500 21 Feb 1791	Military District, Ohio	1705
David Motley	4GGUncle		100 acres (Hurt 1976, 159)	
Matthew Alexander	4GGUncle	36632-160-55	Logan County, Kentucky	
Abraham Forney		28507 28 May 1856		1003

On 14 March 1786, North Carolina issued the estate of Robert Mebane 7200 acres on both sides of West Fork of the Harpeth River near present-day Nashville, Tennessee. His oldest brother William Mebane inherited this property (Mebane 1786 in NCSAMARS n.d.) (Bockstruck 1996) (Burgner 1990). On 14 November 1790, William Mebane sold a portion of this land to Alexander Anderson, who on 13 September 1797, sold 923 acres to William Whitted (Murray 1999). Probably neither Alexander Anderson nor William Whitted inspected the land in Tennessee. On 21 February 1791, United States awarded the estate of Robert Mebane Bounty Land Warrant No. 2578 or 1435-500 for 500 acres in Ohio. His oldest brother William Mebane inherited this property. Reference (White 1990, 2318) indicates that brother Daniel Mebane made affidavit on 21 July 1829 in Spartanburg District, South Carolina. Nicholas Corry stated soldier's heir was Daniel Mebane.

Researcher Beverly Conolly wrote:

On 18 November 1785 after the *Treaty of Hopewell*, all of the land of the Harpeth River drainage area was ceded by the Cherokee Indians. With the enthusiastic reports from the "long hunters" and the early explorers who had visited this part of the new country, and tales of land, bountiful, fertile, beautiful, along with the stories of the trade with Indians, it seemed to have an irresistible attraction to Hugh Tinnin and his Thompson relatives. We know that they moved to the new frontier shortly after the treaty was signed with the Indians, because on 14 April 1786, Hugh Tinnin was acting as an attorney for Joseph Titus in the Nashville area, and won his case. Whether he went west to trade with the Indians, fur trade, or to obtain more land, is not known. They first settled on land along Mansker's creek, northwest of Nashville, a few miles north of present day Goodlettsville, Tennessee, in what is now Davidson County. In 1793, Hugh and his family moved west to a new homestead a few miles north of Clarksville, on the Red River, in Sumner County. While he was building a fence on 16 January 1793, he was wounded from ambush by the Indians and his horses were stolen. Then in October, while he was hunting with Evan Shelby, Jr., he was wounded again. On a later hunting expedition, along with Col. Montgomery, Col. Hugh Bell, Julius Sanders, and Charles Beaty, near Eddyville, Kentucky, the group was ambushed by Indians. Col. Tinnin, having been wounded in the knee previously, was still a bit lame. As he couldn't escape the attack, Col. Montgomery stayed and kept himself between Col. Tinnin and the Indians, drawing their fire until Hugh could get away. Col. Montgomery was killed, saving Col. Hugh Tinnin's life. On 20 December 1794, Hugh was hunting with two cousins, John Brown and William Grimes, and Wm Graham, another Mebane cousin, on the Harpeth River about fifteen

miles south of Nashville. The party had just killed and dressed out a bear and were resting around a campfire when they were attacked by Creek Indians. One companion was killed instantly but, according to a Creek participant who was interrogated at a later date, “the big man and the little man put up a terrific fight” before they, too, were killed. All three were scalped and left where they fell. (Conolly 2008)

Both North Carolina and United States governments provided pensions to Revolutionary War invalids. Samuel Espey qualified for a pension due to his disabled right elbow. Beginning 4 September 1808, he received \$30 per year (Armstrong 1813, 42). Beginning 24 April 1816, he got \$48 per year. After 14 July 1832, he got \$120 per year. On 7 June 1832, United States Congress passed a law awarding pensions to all living Revolutionary War veterans. Each applying veteran had to testify in court about his service, including details about time, place, battles, officers, units, commissions, and discharges. Collaborating witnesses could testify. Today, these pension applications are published on microfilm rolls by the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, DC (NARA 1997). Following veterans acquired this pension. Pension applications of unrelated veterans include general details about Samuel Espey and Jacob Plunk II service. No Whitted or Motley pensions were found. A copy of William Graham’s pension statement is in (Griffin 1937, 47) and (NCSR 1896, XXII:126). A copy of Joseph Graham’s pension statement is in (NCSR 1896, XXII:120). Samuel Espey’s pension amounted to \$98.72 per year in addition to his invalid pension.

Revolutionary War Pensions

Name	Relation	Pension	Date	Roll
John Whitted	5GGUncle	W6495	7 October 1833	
John Mebane	5GGUncle	S9403	30 March 1833	1705
Jacob Plunk II	4GGFather	S7321	1 November 1832	1944
Samuel Espey	4GGFather	S6824	31 October 1832	934
James Espey	4GGUncle	S31668	15 August 1832	934
John Espey	4GGUncle	S31669	15 August 1832	934
William Graham		S8624		
Joseph Graham		S6937		1106
Samuel Martin				1642
Abraham Forney		S3976	31 October 1832	1003
John Moore	4GGFather	W4035	16 September 1845	

In Great Britain, the defeat caused collapse of Prime Minister Lord North’s government in March 1782. King George III wrote a letter of abdication, but was persuaded not to abdicate. These events encouraged Irish Catholic resistance to Protestant Ascendancy. Unlike the present-day separatist policy, Irish leaders used the large political unit of Great Britain to achieve reform. On 1 January 1801, the Irish Parliament disbanded, and its members joined Parliament in London. It was not until 1918 that newly elected Irish members of Parliament asserted independence by meeting in Dublin. In 1922, all but Northern Ireland gained autonomy as the Irish Free State. In 1949, the Republic of Ireland was established.

In 1785, South Carolina established Lancaster and York Districts from the New Acquisition District.

Nathanael Greene died 19 June 1786 at age 43. His remains are now under his dedicated monument at Johnson Square in downtown Savannah, Georgia.



Major General Nathanael Greene Monument
Johnson Square, Savannah, Georgia

After the Revolutionary War, William Richardson Davie entered North Carolina politics. He was a member of the original Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina. He investigated and promoted the Chapel Hill site. The university was established in 1786. As a Federalist, he supported ratification of the United States Constitution. In 1798, he was elected North Carolina Governor. However, he did not complete his term because in 1799, President John Adams appointed Davie one of three special envoys to France to negotiate an end to the *XYZ Affair* with Napoleon Bonaparte. Negotiations achieved Adams' aim of avoiding war with France, but the successful news did not reach America in time to help reelect Adams who lost to Thomas Jefferson in 1800. Davie retired to his *Tivoli* estate near Land's Ford, South Carolina. He died in 1820 and was buried in Old Waxhaw Presbyterian Church cemetery (D. L. Pettus 2008). In 1927, his remains were moved to an enclosed gravesite. A newspaper article entitled "Remains of Davie Family Taken Up" reported "There was found a lone silver button, the badge of an officer in the Revolutionary War, and three pieces of board, containing the initials "W.R.D." made with copper head tacks. These were found in the grave of General Davie." (M. M. Boyer 2008). Over Davie's grave is the elegant epitaph written by Judge William Gaston (Robinson 1957, 396–397):

In this grave are deposited the remains of
WILLIAM R. DAVIE,
The Soldier, Jurist, Statesman, and Patriot
In the Glorious War for
AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.
He fought among the foremost of the Brave,
As an advocate of the Bar,
He was diligent, sagacious, zealous,
Incorruptibly Honest, of Commanding Eloquence.
In the Legislative Hall,
He had no superior in enlarged vision
And Profound plans of Policy.
Single in his ends, varied in his means, indefatigable
In his exertions,
Representing his Nation in an important Embassy,
He evinced his characteristic devotion to her interests

And manifested a peculiar fitness for Diplomacy.
 Polished in manners, firm in action,
 Candid without imprudence, Wise above Deceit,
 A true lover of his Country,
 Always preferring the People's good to the People's favour,
 Though he disdained to fawn for office,
 He filled most of the stations to which ambition
 might aspire,
 And declining no Public Trust,
 Ennobled whatever he accepted
 By true Dignity and Talent
 Which he brought into the discharge of its functions.
 — A Great Man in an age of Great Men. —
 In life he was admired and beloved by the virtuous
 and the Wise.
 In death, he has silenced calumny and caused envy to
 mourn.
 He was born in Edinburg 1756,
 And died in South Carolina in 1820.

Beginning in 1927, noted Charlotte architect Martin Evans Boyer, Jr. designed the enclosed gravesite and described his work in an architectural journal (William R. Davie Memorial At (Old) Waxhaw, S.C. 1929).



Enclosed gravesite of William Richardson Davie

Two years later, Martin Evans Boyer Jr. was commissioned to disassemble, transport, and reassemble the old United States Mint from downtown Charlotte to its present-day location (M. E. Boyer 1931).

Martin Evans Boyer Jr. was the father of Arabelle Boyer.

Post-war accomplishments of Mebane brothers include:

Name	Accomplishments
William Mebane	1788 US Constitution convention. NC Senate.
Alexander Mebane II	Hillsborough Auditor. UNC board of trustees. 1788 and 1789 US Constitution conventions. Militia brigadier general. US House.
James Mebane	NC Speaker of House.
John Mebane	Militia colonel. NC House.

Many cities, counties, and other places were assigned a patriot's name. A partial list is:

Patriot	Place Name
Maj General Nathanael Greene	Greensboro, NC, Greenville, SC
Major Joseph Winston	Winston-Salem, NC
Brig General Daniel Morgan	Quaker Meadows renamed Morganton, NC
Marquis de Lafayette	Cross Creek, NC renamed Fayetteville
Brig General William Lee Davidson	Davidson County becomes Tennessee; Davidson County, NC; Davidson College; Davidson Street, Charlotte
Brig General Griffith Rutherford	Gilbert Town renamed Rutherfordton, NC; Rutherfordton County, NC
Brig General Francis Nash	Nashville, TN
Maj General Benjamin Lincoln	Ramsour's Mill renamed Lincolnton, NC; Lincoln County, NC
Ephraim Brevard	Brevard Street, Charlotte
Captain Joseph Graham	Graham Street, Charlotte
Colonel William R. Davie	Davie County, NC
Alexander Mebane I family	Mebane, NC
Tinnen family	Tinnen Road, Orange County, NC
Captain John Stokes	Stokes County, NC
Colonel Thomas Wade	Wadesboro, NC
Colonel Isaac Shelby	Shelby, NC
Colonel Charles McDowell	McDowell County, NC, McDowell Street, Charlotte
Colonel Benjamin Cleveland	Cleveland County, NC
Brig General Thomas Sumter	Sumter, SC
Colonel Andrew Pickens	Pickens, SC
Colonel Francis Marion	Marion, SC

After the war, North Carolina legislature passed the *Iron Bounty Lands Act* that tax exempted iron-producing land. This further encouraged iron manufacturing.

Ancestor Sloans and Oates engaged in iron production. Sloan Furnace was on Long Creek in present-day western Gaston County. Also related Ormands owned a furnace.

In 1786, merchant William Whitted, an Anderson-relative, built a home in Hillsborough, North Carolina, at the northeast corner of Queen and Churton Streets. It is still in use. (Dula 1979, 72–73)

Peter Forney, son of Jacob Forney I, owned a furnace and became wealthy. He built a home called “Ingleside.” He later became a United States Congressman.

1787–1789, United States Constitution

In 1783, George Washington wrote a letter to all 13 state governors advising that failure to form a strong federal government would make America “the sport of European politics, which may play one state against another.” Continental Congress could not pay debts to war veterans. In 1786–1787, Captain Daniel Shays and his followers rebelled against Massachusetts government and attempted to seize weapons from the Continental Army arsenal at Springfield. General Benjamin Lincoln, commanding militiamen, defended the arsenal and defused the crisis, but continued rebellion remained a threat.

During the summer of 1787, the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia wrote the *United States Constitution* and submitted it to all thirteen states for approval. Each state held a ratifying convention. When the ninth state, New Hampshire, voted for adoption on 21 June 1788, the Constitution became binding on all thirteen states. In North Carolina, the first convention occurred on 21 July–4 August 1788 at Hillsborough. Delegates were concerned about the degree of power given the proposed federal government and lack of a bill of rights for individuals. Anti-federalists prevailed, voting down the constitution 184 to 83, but provided for a subsequent convention that could reconsider. Thus, North Carolina did not participate in the first national election in November 1788. The First Congress convened in New York on 4 March 1789. On 30 April 1789, George Washington was inaugurated President at Federal Hall in New York City. North Carolina held a second convention in Fayetteville on 16 November–23 December 1789. It adopted the United States Constitution in a vote of 194 to 77. North Carolina was the 12th state to adopt

federal government. Only, Rhode Island was later. North Carolina was consistent in its liberty principles by being first to adopt independence and next to last to adopt federalism. In 1791, *Bill of Rights* amendments were adopted.

During 1783–1784, Alexander Mebane II was Hillsborough district auditor. During 1787–1792, he represented Orange County in the North Carolina House of Commons. At the 1788 North Carolina convention for the United States Constitution, he and his brother William Mebane represented Orange County. Alexander Mebane II was also a delegate at the 1789 convention. John Anderson represented Guilford County and James Anderson represented Chatham County. Since these counties are adjacent to Orange County, these men could be Anderson relatives, but no hard evidence is known. All of these delegates were anti-federalists who voted against Constitution adoption. Reference (Massengill 1988) contains details.

When Rockingham County was formed in 1785, William Bethell, a Motley-related 4th great-grandfather, was one of the first justices of the peace. From 1786 through 1789, he was in the General Assembly. In 1790, he was a state senator for one term. He was a diligent anti-federalist who attempted to block the calling of both constitutional conventions. Once called, he was a delegate to both and voted against ratification (Rodenbough 1983, 332).

John Sloan, a delegate from Lincoln County, was probably related to 4th great-grandmother Jane Sloan, wife of William Oates I, and 4th great-grandmother Elizabeth Sloan, wife of Samuel Espey. He could be the same John Sloan known to be Jane Sloan's brother and son of Nancy Means whose French and Indian War abduction is described above. All of these Sloans were associated with iron manufacturing. The exact relationship needs investigation. John Sloan was a Federalist.



Ormand Iron Furnace
Gaston County, North Carolina

On 7 December 1789, the North Carolina House of Commons nominated Alexander Mebane II for Hillsborough District militia brigadier general. The next day, an entry in the House record states: “at the particular request of Alexander Mebane, Esq., his name is withdrawn from the nomination.” On 9 December, the House voted “That Alexander Mebane, Esq., is made choice of as Brigadier-General for the district of Hillsborough.” (NCSR 1896, XXI:666) (Mebane 1999, 127).

Ideas from the 1789 French Revolution influenced some Americans. They believed reason alone might supersede Biblical principles. Conservatives called such radical thinkers “infidels.” (Foote 1846, 248).

Ezra Alexander, a McGuire-related 2nd cousin 7 generations removed, established a debating society for this discussion (Preyer 1987, 174).

French Revolution leaders instituted the decimal-based Metric System of standard weights and measures. They also briefly instituted a 10-day week. Neither Britain nor United States adopted the Metric System.

1789–1793, University of North Carolina Establishment

In 1785, Liberty Hall Academy moved to Salisbury where Andrew Jackson studied. Later, the school failed financially.

In 1785, *University of North Carolina* was chartered. William Richardson Davie led the University of North Carolina establishment during 1789–1794 (Robinson 1957, 222–276). As a member of the House of Commons, he introduced the establishing act on 12 November 1789. It passed on 11 December. The act created a board of trustees. Their first meeting was 14 December. During 1790–1792, the Board arranged the financial foundation.

Along with William Richardson Davie, Alexander Mebane II was a member of the original board of trustees (Robinson 1957, 229).

In 1792, Raleigh was selected as the capital city of North Carolina.

On 3 August 1792, the Board of Trustees of the University of North Carolina decided that the university site must be centrally located, within 15 miles of Cipritz Bridge over New Hope Creek. The next day, the Board created an 8-member commission to select and purchase land. On 1 November, 6 of these commissioners met to inspect eligible sites. On 5 November, they visited New Hope Chapel Hill in Orange County. There during a picnic lunch, traditionally under a poplar tree, Davie persuaded the commissioners.

Alexander Mebane II was elected commissioner representing Orange District. He was one of 6 commissioners who attended the inspection of Chapel Hill (Robinson 1957, 232) (Snider 1992, 11).

On 5 December 1792, the Board met to announce site selection and create another 7-member commission to contract building construction. This commission planned the nearby village with lots that would be sold to raise funds. On 12 October 1793, the cornerstone of the first building, later called Old East Building, was laid and village lots sold.

In December 1792, Alexander Mebane II, newly elected United States Congressman, was chosen to this commission (Robinson 1957, 234). On 12 October 1793, he attended the cornerstone laying ceremony (Robinson 1957, 241) (Snider 1992, 20). On 15 January 1795, he attended the university's formal opening. On 3 June 1793, his student son James Mebane was elected the first President of the *Debating Society* (Snider 1992, 31). The society divided and in 1796, the names were changed to *Dialectic* and *Philanthropic* societies (Snider 1992, 31).

President George Washington crosses state line at Clems Branch during 1791 Tour of Southern States

Clems Branch campground continued to be used after the Revolutionary War well into the 1800s (Rosser 1873 in Draper 1873, VV:13:7.2). During March–June 1791, President George Washington toured the southern states. As he traveled he wrote a journal noting the suitability of the land for farming, soils, trees, drainage, and river navigability. He recorded interesting landmarks like North Corner and the boundary road between the two Carolinas (Salley 1929) (Pettus and Bishop 1984, 33) (L. Pettus 1991).



President George Washington, approximately as he appeared in 1791.
Painted by Gilbert Stuart, begun 1795.

On 27 May, Washington wrote:

Friday 27th. At Majr. Crawford's I was met by some of the chiefs of the Catawba nation who seemed to be under apprehension that some attempts were making, or would be made to deprive them of part of the 40,000 [sic. 144,000] acres wch. was secured to them by Treaty and wch. is bounded by this Road.

Someone told him that the road was the state line. On 28 May, Washington wrote:

Saturday 28th. Sett off from Crawfords by 4 Oclock and breakfasting at one Harrisons 18 miles from it & got into Charlotte, 13 miles further, before 3 oclock. Dined with Genl. Polk and a small party invited by him, at a Table prepared for the purpose.

It was not, until I had got near Barrs [Lancaster] that I had quit the Piney & Sandy lands — nor until I had got to Crawfords before the Lands took quite a different complexion. Here they began to assume a very rich look.

Charlotte is a very trifling place, though the Court of Mecklenburg is held in it. There is a School (called a College) in it at which, at times there has been 50 or 60 boys.
(Washington 1791, 150).

Two days later, he added a note that an honorary escort of Mecklenburg militia cavalrymen welcomed him at the state line. That would be where Camden-Charlotte Road crosses Clem's Branch. He stopped for breakfast at Harrison's house less than two miles away. When he learned that the escort was leaving rather than returning to their home area, he released them.

It ought to have been mentioned also that upon my entering the State of No. Carolina, I was met by a Party of the Mecklenburg horse — but these being near their homes I dismissed them. (Washington 1791, 151).

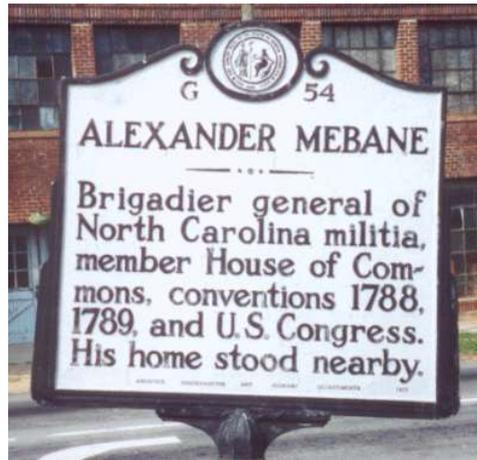
In a 2 August 1935 *Lancaster News* newspaper article entitled "T. W. Secrest Writes Concerning History of Osceola and Vicinity," Mr. Secrest, a long time local resident, described the old road. He pinpoints the stream crossing coincident with the state line and links it to President George Washington's tour route.

Now as to the road that George Washington rode over in a coach pulled by four white horses ... The old road passed in front of Dr. Potts place, crossed Clem's branch and the North and South Carolina line, at the same point. It passed the east side of the Harrison M. E. Church and intersected with the old road between Harrison church cemetery and Mr. Bill Kerr's, then on to Pineville and Charlotte.

This article was supplied by Professor Louise Pettus in 2005.

1793–1800, North Carolina

Despite Alexander Mebane II's anti-federalist record, he later was a United States Congressman during 1793–1795. At that time, Congress met in Philadelphia. He was re-elected in 1794. He died on 5 July 1795, age 50. His brother John Mebane represented Chatham County in the state House of Commons for many terms between 1790 and 1811, but not continuously. Another brother, James Mebane, represented Orange County intermittently between 1789 and 1824. He was Speaker of the House in 1821. He was also a state senator.



Alexander Mebane II Historical Marker
Center Street, Mebane, North Carolina

1800–1849, Irish Catholic Reform and Emigration

During the 1700s most emigrants from Ireland were from Ulster. They sometimes referred to themselves as Irish because, at that time, Ireland had a central government in Dublin controlled by Protestants. That condition changed in the early 1800s after union with Great Britain. This larger political unit made reform possible. Catholics gained the right to vote and hold public office. It was not until the late 1800s that Ireland independence attracted much support.



Union Flag with superimposed Flag of Saint Patrick, 1801

During the potato famine 1845–1849, many Irish Catholics emigrated. In North America, these immigrants suffered severe prejudice and were unfairly regarded as criminals. The modern word Scotch-Irish dates from this time to distinguish the two immigrant groups. So although the word was laced with prejudice, today that distinction is virtually forgotten.

1812–1815, War of 1812

This document makes no attempt to cover the American Civil War 1861–1865. No doubt, there are many war records of family relations. The following table is an incomplete list of family relations with known Civil War participation.

War of 1812 Participants (incomplete list)

Name	Side	Relation	Activities and Notes
Henry Hurdle	South	3GGFather	Second Orange Regiment

1800–1860, North Carolina

This document covers the settlement period during the 1700s. It can be extended to the 1800s, and include noteworthy family facts.

During the early 1800s, Germans attempted to maintain their separate language and cultural traditions. But through intermarriage and commercial discourse, German language usage gradually ceased.

Jacob Plonk III, a 4th great-granduncle, was on the muster rolls of North Carolina Second Regiment during the War of 1812.

In the late 1700s and early 1800s, writers Robert Burns, 1759–1796, and Sir Walter Scott, 1771–1832, idealized and made fashionable everything Scottish. Robert Burns revised the old poem *Auld Lang Syne*, meaning Old Long Ago. His 1793 revision is now sung on New Year's Eve. In 1822, King George IV wore a kilt during a state visit to Scotland. Today, we recognized that as a designer-jean fashion statement since the kilt was not respectable in earlier generations.

The following Robert Burns' poem describes a wife's love for her husband. Who, if anyone, the title represents is not known.

John Anderson My Jo
Robert Burns

John Anderson my jo, John,
When we were first acquent,
Your locks were like the raven,
Your bonnie brow was brent;
But now your brow is beld, John,
Your locks are like the snow;
But blessings on your frosty pow,
John Anderson my jo.
John Anderson my jo, John,
We clamb the hill thegither,
And monie a cantie day, John,
We've had wi'ane anither;
Now we maun totter down, John,
And hand in hand we'll go
And sleep together at the foot,
John Anderson my jo.

In 1830, Hannah Scott, an Anderson-related 2nd cousin 5 generations removed, married Archibald DeBow Murphey, nephew of a famous jurist with the same name. The nephew was raised by his uncle at the "Hermitage" home in Alamance County. The uncle was a North Carolina Senator and Supreme Court Justice and known as the "Father of North Carolina public schools" (Turner, *The Dreamer: Archibald DeBow Murphey* 1971). He intended to write a comprehensive history of North Carolina which was not completed. Nonetheless, his papers include many valuable notes (Hoyt 1914).

Great-grandaunt Mildred Clyde McGuire's middle name may be due to Scottish sentiment.

In 1837, the Presbyterian Church founded *Davidson College*. In 1857, *Charlotte Female Institute* was established at the intersection of College Street and 9th Street. In 1891, it was renamed *Seminary for Girls*. In 1896, it affiliated with the Presbyterian Synod and became *Presbyterian College for Women*. In 1912, it was renamed *Queens College*, and in 1914, it moved to its present-day Myers Park campus. In 2002, it became *Queens University of Charlotte*.

Family graduates of Davidson College include Henry B. Roney, Jr., Thomas Motley Plonk, Jr., William McGuire Plonk, Sr., Randolph McGuire Bulgin (Fulbright Scholarship, Phi Beta Kappa, 1953), William Bulgin McGuire, Sr., William Bulgin McGuire, Jr., John O'Brien McGuire, and John Brodie Brown II.

Family graduates of Queens College are Margaret Louise Plonk, Mildred Ann Plonk, Mary Louise Plonk, Linda Louise Hite, and Elizabeth Ann Hite.

In 1789, John Moor, a 4th great-grandfather, moved from Bethel Presbyterian Church in the York District, South Carolina, to Brittain Presbyterian Church near Rutherfordton, North Carolina. He was an elder in that church. He was a justice of the peace. In 1816, he was elected state senator from Rutherford County. (Griffin 1937, 169) (Sutton 1987, 360).



John Moor gravestone,

“He was a soldier of the Revolutionary War and for many years a faithful Soldier of Jesus Christ.”
DAR marker, “BRIG MAJ” is incorrect.

John Motley Morehead, North Carolina Governor 1841–1845, is a Plonk-related 1st cousin 5 generations removed. He was founder and president of North Carolina Railroad Company. While governor, his policy of developing a great commercial deep-water seaport resulted in Morehead City. He supported the new public school system. He established institutions for training the blind and deaf and care of the mentally ill. After his governorship term, he founded Edgeworth, a women’s college in Greensboro. He was a member of American Whig Party, an anti-Andrew Jackson alliance created in 1835. Beginning about 1856, the new Republican Party absorbed its pro-business and weak-President policies. In early 1861, he represented North Carolina at the conference designed to avert civil war. After that failed, he was a Confederate congressman. (Kerr 1868) Morehead Street in Charlotte was named for him.



John Motley Morehead
North Carolina Governor 1841–1845

Engraving from portrait by William Garl Browne. (Kirkman 2002)

An artistic bust of his likeness is in one of the four niches in the Capitol Rotunda in Raleigh, North Carolina (Konkle 1922). When it was dedicated on 4 December 1912, R. D. W. Connor spoke:

Once in an age appears that rare individual both architect and contractor, both poet and man of action, to whom is given both the power to dream and the power to execute. Such men write themselves deep in their country's annals and make the epoch of history. In the history of North Carolina such a man was John M. Morehead. (Connor 1912)

His grandson, John Motley Morehead III developed an economical process for manufacture of calcium carbide in 1892. That became the foundation of Union Carbide Corporation. In 1900, he published the book *Analysis of Industrial Gases*. He was three-term mayor of Rye, New York, and envoy to Sweden during 1930–1933. In 1945, he established Morehead Foundation at UNC Chapel Hill. After a few years, that included Morehead Planetarium and Morehead Scholarship. His 1st cousin once removed, John Lindsay Morehead II, directed the foundation.

In 1849, Jacob Plonk III, a 4th great-granduncle, and other investors financed the first bridge across the Catawba River. Its location was Horse Ford in present-day Hickory, North Carolina. It was designed to facilitate railroad access for farmers west of the river. It opened as a toll bridge in 1852 and operated until destroyed in the 1916 Catawba River flood (Freeze 1995, 149). As a covered bridge, its use was assured even during icy weather conditions. Perhaps also, livestock was less spooked inside an enclosed path. Horse Ford is east and downstream of the present-day highway US321 bridge.



Horse Ford Bridge over Catawba River
1852–1916

Lydia McGuire, a McGuire-related 2nd great-grandaunt, married John L. Jacobs, 1806–1888. He met Davy Crockett when growing up in Tennessee. In 1884, he recorded his recollections.

Cullasaja, Macon County, N. C.
November 22^d, 1884

To the Editor of the Morristown [Tenn.] Gazette:

Some weeks ago I saw in the Knoxville Cronicle an enquiry for the purpose of gaining a knowledge of the history of the Celebrated Davy Crockett. I first knew him when I was a child, then when a boy, then when a youth perhaps 15 years old, then saw him when a man of 20 years.

Crockett was a poor man when first I saw him. He was then a married man, lived three-fourths of a mile of my father, in Findley's Gap, in Jefferson County, Bay's Mountain, Tenn. This gap is on the road leading from Mossy Creek to Chucky, and is in the line of ridges that spans the Honeycutt Valley that runs near to Morristown. My first recollection of Crockett was when a boy of some 6 or 8 years. He was then making rails for my father. I went to him where he had cut a very large yellow pine tree. He frequently called on me to hand him the wedge or glut, which ever he wanted. This ends my boy recollection of Crockett. This period was near the time of the war of 1812 with Great Britain. Crockett, about this time, moved to what was then called the Western District, or Fork-a-Deer County, in Tenn. His wife's name was Mary Findley. When he left the country he was poor, and left a debt of one dollar to my father. He was absent several years before I saw him again. One morning I was standing in the door next to main road; I looked down the road toward Mossy Creek and saw a fine looking man riding in front

of a large drove of horses. He rode opposite me and stopped and asked me if my mother was in the house. I answered she was. "Tell her to come to the door." I did so, and when she appeared he said, "How do you do, Mrs. Jacobs?" My mother said, "Sir, you have the advantage of me." "I am Davy Crockett," responded he. "Is that you, Davy?" said my mother. "Yes," said he, "this is Davy Crockett." Then a general shaking of hands took place, and enquiry of the health of families, etc. Just at this moment his horses came rushing up and nearly got ahead of him. He thrust his hand into his pocket and pulled his pocket book and pulled out a silver dollar and said, "Here, Madam, is a dollar I owed your husband, John Jacobs, when I left the country." My father had died in the meantime. My mother said, "Davy, I don't want it." "I owed it," he said, "and you have got to take it." My mother then took the dollar, and Davy Crockett then rode on the South Carolina to sell his horses. This ends my second short acquaintance with this noted man.

Some years elapsed, and Crockett had made his way to the Congress of the United States. James Blackburn had a corn-shucking in my neighborhood. There were many hands around the heap. We saw a fine gentleman riding toward the house. He alighted and went into the house, made himself known, passed the usual compliments, and came down to the men around the heap of corn, gave a general shaking of hands with all the citizens, then turned up the cuffs of his fine broadcloth and went to shucking corn with the other hands. He worked on till dinner was announced, then ate his dinner and left for his home. This was the last sight I ever had of this wonderful man. I shall here give you description of Davy Crockett: He was about 6 feet high, weighed two hundred pounds, had no surplus flesh, broad shouldered, stood erect, was a man of great physical strength, of fine appearance, his cheeks mantled with a rosy hue, eyes vivacious, and in form, had no superior.

N. B. The writer studied whether to write of not, after serious and close thinking, I could find no one in all that part of your country that had any recollection of Davy Crockett but myself. This prompted me to write. I am now entering into my 80th year. I never knew where Crockett was born.

Very respectfully,
John L. Jacobs

During the summer of 1853, tragedy struck the William Anderson home. On 18 July, mother Martha Faucett, age 47, died of typhoid fever. On 1 September, that disease took both William, age 50, and his son John Stanford Anderson, age 13. The household was left with daughter Margaret Caroline, age 23, son William James, age 20, and son Robert Sidney, age 15. The eldest daughter Martha Adaline, age 25, was already married. On 10 October, William's sister Margaret Anderson's husband John Scott wrote his nephew John Mebane Allen in Arkansas, "Dear Nephew, ... We have just lost some of our kin by death this summer. William Anderson, his wife and son. All died of fever, and others of the family were sick but got well..." (Scott 1853 in Furman 1974, 39). Apparently, neither parent had written a will. So the default legal procedure was applied. The eldest daughter Martha Adaline's husband James G. Tate became will executor. Within a month, the property was inventoried and publicly sold, probably to settle debts. Children Margaret Caroline and William James had to bid for their parent's property. No doubt, the shock of these sudden deaths was heartbreaking to William's mother Martha Murray (Anderson), 1776–1853. Although it may be a coincidence, she died on 15 October and was buried at Hawfields Cemetery. Eldest daughter Margaret Adaline Anderson (1827–1854) died the following summer on 24 June 1854 at age 26 with no offspring. Nine years later, son Robert Sidney Anderson (1837–1862) died at age 24. It is not known if his death was Civil War related. Daughter Margaret Caroline Anderson (1829–1866) married a Tate after 1853. He might be her sister's widower. They had no known offspring. She died at age 36. Only William James, 1832–1902, lived a full life. He died at age 69. He inherited his father's land and house and was a prosperous farmer. Sometime around 1870–1880, he built a new house that is still standing. All these individuals, except Robert Sidney, were buried in Cross Roads Cemetery.

About 1830, Braley Oates, a Plonk-related 1st cousin 4 generations removed, married Lillie Lowrie and moved from Cleveland County to Charlotte, North Carolina (Tompkins 1903, 2:77). Both were buried in Settler's Cemetery behind First Presbyterian Church. In 1829, their infant daughter Agnes Louisa Oates

was buried there. Another daughter Margaret Lowrie Oates, 1827–1867, married Charles E. Spratt and lived in Charlotte. In 1865, their 14-year-old daughter Lillie R. Spratt died. Two years later, Margaret died and was buried with her daughter. A prominent gravestone marks both graves. (Porter, Herndon and Herndon 1973).



Oates Family gravestones in Settler's Cemetery, Charlotte, North Carolina

Herschel Vespasian Johnson, 2nd great-grandfather of Arabelle Boyer, was appointed United States Senator to complete the term of a vacate seat during 1847–1848. He was elected Georgia Governor and served 1853–1857. In the 1860 presidential election, he was the Democratic Party Vice Presidential candidate with Stephen A. Douglas.

1861–1865, Civil War

This document makes no attempt to cover the American Civil War 1861–1865. No doubt, there are many war records of family relations. The following table is an incomplete list of family relations with known Civil War participation.

Civil War Participants (incomplete list)

Name	Side	Relation	Activities and Notes
Robert Sidney Anderson	South	2GGUncle	Possible service. Died 1862
Wilkins Holt	South	1 st cousin 4x removed	Died 29 June 1864, Petersburg, VA. Marker at Bethel United Methodist Cemetery, Alamance County, NC.
Granville Simpson Holt	South	1 st cousin 4x removed	POW, Died 9 November 1863, Washington, DC.
John Philemon Boone	South	2 nd cousin 3x removed	
Joseph Hamilton	South	1 st cousin 5x removed	
John William Faucett	South	1 st cousin 5x removed	Died 19 April 1864 at Plymouth, Washington County, NC.
John Charles Faucett	South	2 nd cousin 4x removed	Died 3 August 1864.
Thomas Ray Faucett	South	2 nd cousin 4x removed	Died 1864 at Petersburg, VA.
Thomas U. Faucett	South	2 nd cousin 4x removed	

Name	Side	Relation	Activities and Notes
William Franklin Faucett	South	2 nd cousin 4x removed	
John Williamson Stockard	South	1 st cousin 3x removed husband	Wounded 24 June 1864. Appomattox, VA. POW.
Bedford Hurdle	South	2 nd GGUncle	Enlisted 21 June 1864.
Phillip Plonk	South	2GGUncle	Colonel. Home Guard. Died 1863.
Sylvanus Froneberger	South	1 st cousin 3x removed	Killed by lightning
Philip Augustus Coulter	South	1 st cousin 4x removed husband	1862–1865, Army of Northern Virginia, Petersburg
William Michael Robinson	South	2 nd cousin 3x removed	North Carolina 71 st Regiment Company C (L. M. Hoffman 1915, 249)
William Bell	South	2 nd cousin 3x removed husband	North Carolina 71 st Regiment Company C (L. M. Hoffman 1915, 249)
Jesse Siler Moore	South	2GGFather	Private. Army of Northern Virginia, North Carolina 16 th Regiment, Company H (Jordan 1977, 79) (P. L. Anderson 1995). Wounded multiple times (L. M. Plonk 1979).
Patrick Henry Jacobs	South	1 st cousin 3x removed	casualty
Jacob J. Brown	South	2 nd cousin 4x removed	Died

Alex Haley's 1976 Pulitzer Prize-winning novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*, chapters 105–113, portrays the Murray and Edwin M. Holt households in Alamance County during 1856–1865. Edwin M. Holt was grandson of Michael Holt II and was owner of Alamance Cotton Mill. The book does not mention Murray first names. The actual Murray household included two brothers Andrew Murray and Eli Murray and their families. They were members of Cross Roads Presbyterian Church although the book does not mention the church's name. The Murray brothers' sister or half-sister was Martha Jane Murray, who married James Anderson. She is an Anderson-related 4th great-grandmother. Tom, one of the book's principal characters, learned blacksmith and wrought-iron skills during this time. He took the Murray surname before moving his family to Tennessee. The 1976 made-for-TV movie differs from the book in many ways. It does not mention the Murray name. While composing his novel, Alex Haley interviewed granduncle Henry Baxter Roney who remembered from hunting trips the physical layout of the Murray farm and buildings (Roney 2000–2008). About 1980, Cross Roads Presbyterian Church gave a reception for Alex Haley.

Jesse Siler Moore, a 2nd great-grandfather, was a private in the Army of Northern Virginia, North Carolina 16th Regiment, Company H (Jordan 1977, 79). He probably participated in many battles and events. Those known are: First Bull Run in 1861, Petersburg in 1864–1865, and Appomattox on 9 April 1865. He was wounded multiple times (L. M. Plonk 1979, 3). His military rifle is owned by Jim Morgan. In June 2009, an appraiser indicated it was manufactured in America during the 1830s, except for the firing mechanism which was imported from England (J. Morgan 2009).

Sylvanus Froneberger, a Plonk-related 1st cousin 3 generations removed, was a soldier in the Confederate Army. In late March 1865, he was killed by lightning. He was 18 years old. In 1915, Laben Miles Hoffman wrote this eyewitness description:

Sylvanus Froneberger was a member of Co. D, 71st N.C. Regt., C. S. A. I was in Co. C, same Regiment. On our retreat from Bentonville, I think it was a short distance east of

Chapel Hill, a storm came up and we hurriedly turned into the woods and put up our tents. Froneberger's tent was near ours and in common with many others blew down. He took refuge under a large leaning oak tree about twenty feet in front of our tent in plain view. He had just taken his position when the lightning struck the tree and he fell dead. His heavy woolen sock was split wide open but the shoe left apparently uninjured. I was crouched down in the tent with my weight resting on my right leg which for a short time was paralyzed. (L. M. Hoffman 1915, 305)

1865–1900, North Carolina

Edwin M. Holt was father of North Carolina Governor Thomas Michael Holt. That makes the Governor an Anderson-related 3rd cousin 4 generations removed. He was elected Lieutenant Governor, but became Governor on the death of Governor Daniel Fowle. He help established the North Carolina School for the Deaf at Morganton.



Thomas Michael Holt
North Carolina Governor 1891–1893
Official photograph.

Jacob Holt built his house at the time of the Civil War. He was about 70-years old at that time. It is not clear exactly how ownership passed to James Anderson and Nannie Whitted. Here are some known events. Jacob Holt died on 14 May 1883. In his 1876 will, he left his house to his wife Mary Stepney Wilkins, and upon her death to his daughter Jane Holt (Roney 2000–2008). But Jane died unmarried on 13 October 1886 before her mother who died on 6 June 1889. At that time, the house must have been inherited by daughter Elizabeth Wilkins Holt and her husband William James Anderson, both in their late 50s. Probably after 6 June 1889, their son James Anderson and his wife Nannie Edwin Whitted moved into the house. Since their marriage on 1 December 1887, they had been living in a Faucett house on Dobson Road. Perhaps the Faucett connection was through Nannie's grandmother Anna Davis Faucett, 1810–1849, wife of Henry Whitted, 1804–1883. James and Nannie's first child Caroline Elizabeth Anderson was born in the Faucett house on 10 October 1888. Their second child William Levi Anderson was born in the Holt house on 27 December 1889. On 24 December 1891, Elizabeth Wilkins Holt died. It is not clear if the house became the property of James and Nannie at this time or only after William James died on 24 May 1902. In any event, Nannie wanted the house closer to the road. So, about 1892, a workman named Allen, a former slave, moved the house about one-third a mile. It was rolled on logs using a team of mules or horses. (Roney 2000–2008).



Jacob Holt about 1865 and his house today.

Anderson G. Hughes was a prominent minister and citizen. In 1810, Anderson G. Hughes was born near Eno community. He was received into the membership of Eno Presbyterian Church October 26, 1828. “He was a man of prayer, and as he grew older his earnestness became more marked. He was in the habit of secret prayer from early childhood, and would often go out into the wheat fields to pray.” Mr. Hughes became pastor of Hawfields and Cross Roads and served them faithfully for thirty years from 1843 to 1873. He died in the pulpit at Cross Roads church on 15 June 1873 while preaching from the text: “Whatsoever ye shall ask the Father in my name, He will give it to you.” (Ellis, Ellis and Hughes 1955, 7).

Joseph Calvin Plonk, a Plonk-related great-grand uncle, was a very accomplished individual.

In 1884, Joseph Calvin Plonk, who became a natural executive with a strong and commanding personality, was brought to Cherokee Falls from the old McAden Mill in North Carolina by the new superintendent, George Gray. Gray, who had succeeded the first “super,” John LeMaster, made Plonk the overseer of the carding room. Gray served as superintendent for a period of sixteen months, after which Plonk held the position until 1900. Plonk became the guiding genius of the Cherokee Falls Manufacturing Company. He was a sturdy spirit of the old school, whose rugged virtues did much to give the community a distinctive atmosphere. A native of Cleveland County, North Carolina, he managed to secure a good education despite the limited educational opportunities of his day. Although Plonk spent his later teens teaching school in upper Cleveland County, he decided that textiles promised a more secure future. He entered mill work at the old mill in McAdenville, North Carolina. When he came to his new employment he did not have a dollar of capital. However, with hard work, tireless energy, a keen brain, and a natural knack in the handling of men, he was able to reach the top of his profession. He married Miss Laura E. Roberts, a sister to the secretary-treasurer of the mill, Rufus P. Roberts. Even though he did not have a child, he adopted Nora Allgood and raised her as his own. Although Plonk did not believe in promiscuous and indiscriminate charity, he did believe in the dignity provided by an opportunity to work and earn an honest livelihood. Since he practiced what he preached by treating his men fairly, his employees became so loyal that fourth and fifth generations of the original employees are still working at Cherokee Falls. (Moss 1972, 338–339)

On 16 December 1891, 2nd great-grandaunt Jane Elizabeth Plonk died as result of a snake bite. She was bitten in the spring house where butter and milk were stored.

Note: Religion Development, Longest word in English language

A religious development in Great Britain during the 1800s was *antidisestablishmentarianism*. It means against separation of church and state. In this context, *Arianism* is narrowly defined as the Anglican Church. For many decades, this word was the longest word in the English language. About 1965, the

contrived word *supercalifragilisticexpialidocious* took that distinction.

In 1898, Sallie Walker Stockard, a 3rd cousin 2 generations removed, was the first woman to graduate from the University of North Carolina.

In 1898, Sallie Walker Stockard was the first female graduate of the University of North Carolina and in 1900, the first female to receive a master's degree from that institution. She was the author of several historical books include *The History of Alamance* (S. W. Stockard 1900). She was a teacher in North Carolina, Arkansas, New Mexico, Texas, and Oklahoma. She was quoted as saying, "I have fought ignorance and filth of all sorts on the western frontier." In 1923, she moved to New York City and received a second master's degree from Columbia University. She built a home on Long Island and continued to write and publish. She died at the age of 93 and was buried in Greenfield Cemetery, Hempsted, New York. (J. Stockard n.d.)

1900s, North Carolina

Ella Bernard Anderson, a 3rd cousin 4 generations removed, married widower Robert Walker Scott on 29 December 1915. Her stepson William Kerr Scott, 1896–1958, was North Carolina Governor during 1949–1953. His son Robert W. Scott, b:1929, was Governor during 1969–1973. Reference (Turner, *The Scott Family of Hawfields* 1971) contains Scott Family details and images.

Between 5 December 1898 and 7 January 1907, great-grandfather Rufus Sylvanus Plonk, 1866–1918, was a Cleveland County Commissioner.

John H. Brooks, a great-granduncle, was a dentist in Burlington, North Carolina. In the early 1900s, he helped develop articulating dentures (Brooks 1914).

In 1908, the following entry was published in *Men of Mark in South Carolina*:

Plonk, Joseph Calvin, cotton manufacturer, president of the Cherokee Falls Manufacturing company, of Cherokee Falls, Cherokee county, South Carolina, was born December 9, 1852, in Cleveland county, North Carolina. His parents were John Jonas Plonk (now, 1907, living at the age of eighty-four) and Ann Ellen (Oates) Plonk, who died in 1905 in her seventy-fourth year. His mother had always been fond of reading, and was a woman of deep piety and exemplary life. The Bible was her constant companion, and its precepts and its spirit went into the training she gave her children. "If there is any good in me of any kind, I owe it to my mother," writes her son.

His father's family were of German extraction; his mother's were English and Scotch. His paternal great-grandfather, Jacob Plonk, came from Pennsylvania and settled in what is now Lincoln county, North Carolina, before the Revolutionary war. His son, Joseph Plonk, was born in Lincoln county in 1788, and died in 1888, aged one hundred years and two months. He was a skilled workman, and made spinning-wheels, hand-loom, violins, and many other articles, without the use of machinery. Both of Mr. Plonk's maternal great-grandfathers, William Oates and Samuel Espey, came from Pennsylvania before the Revolution and settled in what is now Cleveland county, North Carolina. They were soldiers in the Revolution war, and were at the battle of King's Mountain, Espey serving as captain. William Oates, son of William Oates and grandfather of Joseph Calvin Plonk, built wagons and other vehicles. He was also a farmer, and land surveyor. He died in 1857. John Jonas Plonk, the father of Joseph Calvin, was born in Lincoln county, North Carolina, in 1823, and is still living at the age of eighty-four, having been an incessant worker himself and believing it a sin to be idle.

Descended from sturdy forebears, Joseph Calvin Plonk was blessed with a strong physique, which his life on the farm helped to develop. At the age of six he began to engage in helpful tasks, following the example of his father, who taught him that he ought not to "eat the bread of idleness." (Hemphill 1908)

The following article appeared in the 18 September 1913 edition of the *The Journal and Carolina Spartan*:

Gaffney People Will Attempt to get Interurban

Gaffney and Blacksburg people have become thoroughly aroused over this section's need for the interurban railroad, and a determined effort is to be made to secure this long hoped for and much coveted system.

Therefore, we the undersigned hereby call upon the public spirited citizens of Gaffney to meet in the courthouse at Gaffney at 8 o'clock Friday evening, for the purpose of discussing plans whereby the said railroad may be induced to come through Gaffney, connection Greenwood, Anderson, Greenville, Spartanburg and Gaffney with Gastonia and Charlotte, NC.

The foregoing is the call which has been issued for the meeting tomorrow night and this call has been signed by some of the most prominent men of Gaffney. Among the signatures to be found being that of Mayor T. B. Butler; J. C. Plonk, president of the Cherokee Falls Manufacturing Company; L. G. Potter, president of the Globe Mills; J. N. Lipsome, treasurer and general manager of the Victor Cotton Oil Mill; R. C. Sarratt, treasurer and general manager of the Victor Cotton Oil Mill; Alfred Moore, president of the Gaffney Manufacturing Company; W. C. Hamrick, president of the Limestone and Hamrick Mill; D. C. Ross, president of the First National Bank of Gaffney; C. M. Smith, president of the Merchants and Planters Bank; P. C. Pool, president of the Cherokee Savings Bank.

These gentlemen, who have signed this call, represent an unlimited amount of money, and with their influence and efforts behind the movement, it is reasonable to presume that Gaffney can raise as big amount of money as can any town in the surrounding country.

Shelby, NC, is putting forth every possible effort to get the line, and while no announcement has been made, it is understood that if the interurban goes to Shelby it will not come to Gaffney, and on the other hand, if Gaffney secures the system Shelby will be eliminated.

The meeting Friday night will be attended by practically every business man of the city, and a number from Blacksburg and some proposition will most certainly be made the railroad. (Journal and Carolina Spartan 1913)

On 22 May 1922, Joseph Calvin Plonk purchased 900 milligrams of radioactive radium for cancer treatment at Rutherford County Hospital. That much radium was the size of a small pebble, yet it was 1/180 of the world's supply. It was valued at \$100,000. In the 1930s, he added headstones for graves of Revolutionary War veteran ancestors.

Beginning in October 1929, the Great Depression affected many family members.

The Depression came and when Uncle Sam closed the banks, everyone suffered. The banker in Spindale was a good friend, and one night Mr. Aerial and Motley walked the floor, talking earnestly until after midnight. I was upstairs wondering what was going on. The next morning the bank was closed, and they had been trying to decide how best to tell the depositors. Motley could have withdrawn his money, but I am glad he didn't take out one penny. We, along with everyone, lost all we had in that bank, and we also lost some in a Kings Mountain bank. Doing without things we thought we had to have, and working together, seemed to draw the family closer together. (L. M. Plonk 1979, 8)

On 4 May 1932, great-grandmother Annie Elizabeth Brooks lost both her brother John H. Brooks at 11:00 AM and her husband Jay Webster Tate at 2:00 PM. Great-granduncle Dr. Charles Alexander Anderson wrote and signed Jay's death certificate. Both are buried in Pine Hill Cemetery, Burlington, North Carolina.

Today

Today, as many as 40 million North Americans have Scotch-Irish ancestry. Many attend annual Highland games. The *Loch Norman Highland Games* are held every April at John Davidson's home, named *Rural*

Hill Farm, in the northwestern corner of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. The *Scottish Heritage Center* is being developed there by the *Catawba Valley Scottish Society*.

In 1992, Miles Johnson Boyer, brother of Arabelle Boyer and husband of author Mary Manning (Kratt and Boyer 2000), was a member on the original Board of Directors of the Loch Norman Highland Games.

Interesting Questions

Several interesting family questions are:

1. Do any pre-emigration European records exist? Where exactly did Jacob Plunk I come from? Was it Germany or Holland?
2. Was the James Anderson at Pyle's Massacre our ancestor?
3. Where is the original Plunk land deed record?
4. Can we find Captain Samuel Espey's powder horn and canteen used at Kings Mountain? They were last reported in 1905.
5. Can the Alexander family inter-relationships be resolved? Can we know for certain who was Samuel Alexander's father?
6. Can we get the United States Congress records of Alexander Mebane II? What legislation did he promote?
7. Can we find Revolutionary War records of David Motley, Levi Whitted, and John Whitted?
8. Is John Sloan, son of Nancy Means, the same John Sloan who was a delegate to North Carolina's United States Constitution conventions in 1788 and 1789 and who also founded Sloan's Furnace along Long Creek near Bessemer City, North Carolina?

Confusion and Conclusion

Are you confused? If so, you are not alone. The modern word Scotch-Irish is an American-only word meaning Lowland Scots who left Scotland for Ulster, Northern Ireland, and then to America. For the most part, they were not Irishmen or kilt-clad Highlanders. In most respects, they were like contemporary Englishmen. Almost all were Presbyterian. But the original word Scots means a Celtic tribe who first lived in Ireland and later migrated to Scotland and assigned its name. Perhaps a word other than Scotch-Irish would be more descriptive. On the other hand, its ambiguity makes us investigate and learn more about Scotland and Ireland's colorful history. For complete understanding, German history during 1500–1800 must be included.

In 1915, Labane Miles Hoffman concluded his book *Our Kin* as follows:

I dedicate these memorials of our first American sires and of their descendants, our worthy departed fathers and mothers, to the great and ever increasing hosts of their posterity with the wish and hope that we who live and those who shall come may ever emulate their virtues and honor and reverence their lives and memories; ... and to this end, cousins, "I commend you to God and to the word of his grace which is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified." (KJV 1611, Acts 20:32) (L. M. Hoffman 1915, 578)

Source pages of special interest

(Alexander, *The History of Mecklenburg County from 1740 to 1900* 1902, 1, 2, 84, 98, 177, 284, 403, 409, 415, 421)

(Draper, *King's Mountain and Its Heroes* 1881, 100, 102, 257, 302, 322, 478)

(Durden 2001, 19, 34, 36, 69, 109, 119, 120)

(Hunter 1877, 48, 55, 91, 267)

(Ramey 1964, 52, 109, 152, 157, 189, 190)

Revolutionary War pension applications to evaluate

About Camp New Providence

[Robin Harris](#), bypassed Charlotte
[James Scarborough](#), Davie towards Kings Mountain
[Nicholas McCubbin](#), crossing Yadkin in one boat, met Greene heading to Charlotte

About Robert Mebane

[Daniel Mebane](#), death 16 October 1781
[Joseph Witherington](#), 1777 Halifax, White Marsh
[William Eckels](#), in NC Third Regiment
[Solomon Stanbury](#), Charles Town, January–May 1780
[Morgan Brown](#)
[Hardeman Duke](#), New York State
[Matthew Kaykendall](#), 1776 Cherokee campaign
[Arthur McFalls](#), 1776 Cherokee campaign
[Massey Medaris](#), Lindsey's Mill
[Joseph Neely](#), details of Lindsey's Mill
[John Bain](#), details of march to North, White Marsh, sickness
[Edmund Simpson](#), note to Will Graves, not Mebane
[Samuel Spears](#), discharged May 1779 by Robert Mebane
[Moab Stevens](#), Brown Marsh, nighttime battle
[William Duke](#), 1777 in Halifax under Mebane
[Vincent Vaughan](#), excellent detail 1778–1779
Charity Garriage, testimonial of Mebane by husband
[Sikes Garris](#), prisoner, sent to England and elsewhere
[William Cummings](#), carried dispatch to Mebane at White Marsh
[William Mitchell](#), Brown Marsh

About Alexander Mebane

[William Lorange](#), May 1779

About John Mebane

[Henry Barnhill](#)

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