

Arthur Faires Diary

After the Cherokee Uprising of 1776, the officials of the states of South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia called out the militia to wage war on the Cherokees. Each state sent an army into different parts of the Cherokee Nation to destroy the towns and crops. The SC militia army was led by General Andrew Williamson. His army had militia units from various parts of the state. One of these was commanded by Captain Peter Clinton of the York district. On their march to the Indian territory they camped at Wofford's Fort. There, they got word that the Indians were attacking Prince's Fort, 15 miles away, in what is now northwest Spartanburg County. They marched there the next day.

Soon, they joined the rest of Williamson's army of about 1,000 men to lay waste to Cherokee towns and crops. When the fighting was over, month's later in October, Captain Clinton and his men came back through Wofford's Fort and Grindal Shoals on the way back to the York territory. One of the soldiers marching with Clinton was named Arthur Faires. He kept a diary of his adventures that can be read in the following pages.

(This is taken from <https://www.southerncampaign.org/> - October, 2005.)

“Arthur Fairies’ Journal of Expedition Against the Cherokee Indians from July 18th, to October 11th, 1776”

Transcribed and Annotated by Will Graves

Introductory Note

Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina militias mounted a coordinated campaign in the summer and early fall of 1776 against the Cherokee Indians then living in the western portions of those provinces and the northeastern portions of Georgia. Each of the militias was under the control of a Whig provincial government that feared that the Cherokees would align themselves with the British. They were apprehensive of a Cherokee attack from the west in conjunction with a renewed British effort to lay siege to the coastal ports of Wilmington and Charleston. Although Charleston had been successfully defended from a British naval assault earlier that summer, the British strategy for ending the revolt amongst its American colonies was unclear to the Whigs. Not wishing to fight simultaneously on two fronts, the Whigs made what was effectively a preemptive and largely unprovoked strike against the Cherokees.¹

The Virginia militia consisting of about 1,500 men was commanded by Colonel William Christian.² The North Carolinians composed of about 2,800 men were under the command of Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford.³ About 1,200 South Carolinians were under the command of Major Andrew Williamson.⁴

Tradition holds that one of the men serving under Captain Peter Clinton⁵ in the South Carolina militia kept a diary or journal of his experiences while participating in what become known as the Cherokee Expedition. A transcription of that journal appears below.⁶ The identity of the author is unknown, although traditionally its authorship has been attributed to Arthur Fairies, one of the members of Clinton's company.⁷ Indeed, the inside cover sheet of the bound notebook containing the journal bears the following inscription: "Arthur Fairies, His pocket book in the year of our Lord 1771." The handwriting of this inscription, however, does not appear to the untrained eye to match the handwriting of the author of the journal.

The authenticity of the journal is not conclusively established. Despite being presented as a first-person, eyewitness account kept contemporaneously with the Cherokee Expedition, the evidence is clear that the journal was written sometime after the events described in it. The factors supporting this conclusion are that (1) the author in three instances refers to Andrew Williamson as being a general even though Williamson did not attain that rank until 1778, and (2) the author states in the entry dated September 19, 1776, that he cannot recollect the names of the men killed in an engagement with the Cherokees on that date. It seems very unlikely that someone writing simultaneously with the occurrence of such dramatic events would be unable to recall the names of the men killed in the day's action. (3) Also, although admittedly circumstantial evidence of its not being kept contemporaneously, the original journal is suspiciously lacking in the strikeouts, revisions and insertions (not to mention, dirt and water stains) one would expect in a work composed on various days during the course of arduous travels over mountains and across numerous creeks, streams and rivers in the heat and humidity of the Carolinas during the summer. At a minimum, the erroneous references to Williamson's rank and the relatively flawless state of the only known handwritten version of the journal, leads to the conclusion that this version is very likely an early transcription of the now lost true original and that whoever transcribed the journal did so at some period after Williamson's promotion to the rank of general in 1778.⁸

The mystery as to the authorship and authenticity of the journal is further complicated by the fact that at least two different versions of the journal are known to exist. One (the version given below) was attached to a pension application⁹ filed in 1850 and subsequently placed in the National Archives in Washington. This version is referred to hereinafter as the "Archives' Version." The

second version is one published in the *Yorkville Miscellany* on Saturday, June 15, 1850, by Rev. S. L. Watson.¹⁰ This version is referred to hereinafter as the "Watson Version." The Watson Version contains significantly more detailed entries in certain instances than are included in the Archives' Version. Where significant variations in entries appear, the text of the Watson Version has been included in the endnotes to the transcription of the Archives' Version.

Notwithstanding these issues clouding its authorship and the timing of its composition, the journal does appear to have been written by an actual participant in the Cherokee Expedition. The author's description of events, places and people corresponds with known facts. The journal relates details of that Expedition unavailable from other sources. Consequently, it is felt to be worthy of transcription, annotation and being made available for wider use than in its current, unpublished forms.¹¹

The reason for selecting the Archives' Version as the primary version for inclusion in this article is that it is the only version with a currently known provenance. It can be traced to inclusion in support of the 1850 pension application and subsequent deposit in the collections of the National Archives. All that is known about the provenance of the Watson Version is what Rev. Watson says in the introduction to his article that appeared in the *Yorkville Miscellany*. There he says simply that "[w]hile on a visit to North Carolina last summer, I saw in the possession of a friend a portion of a Pamphlet supposed to have been written by some person in this section, connected with our Revolutionary History. Recently I have obtained this Pamphlet (sic) from a member of my congregation."¹²

In preparing the transcription below, the following changes were made in an attempt to make the journal easier to read:

1. Spelling has been modernized. For example, the word "camped" has been substituted throughout where the author used "campt." More substantively, proper names (especially of the Cherokee towns and villages named in the journal) have been changed to the modern spelling of those names in those instances in which the reference to a particular place, person or geographic feature can be readily identified. In those instances in which the author's intent is unclear, the spelling as appears in the original manuscript is used with, in certain instances, the transcriber's best guess as to the intended name appearing in brackets with a question mark immediately thereafter.
2. Missing words needed to make the author's intent clearer have been added in brackets.
3. Capitalization has been applied in accordance with modern practice. The author uniformly capitalized most words.
4. Possessives have been modernized. As illustrated in the example given below, the author's standard practice was to use "es" at the end of words to indicate the possessive.
5. Punctuation has been used where necessary to clarify meaning.
6. The author sometimes confused his days and dates. In those instances, the day of the week has been assumed to be correct and its correct date has been inserted in brackets.
7. Grammar and verb tenses have been left as appear in the original.
8. Explanatory notes appear in italics and are bracketed.
9. Where strikeouts appear in the transcription, they also appear in the original.
10. The endnote insertions of the text from the Watson Version have not been edited, but are offered exactly as printed in the *Yorkville Miscellany*.

As an example of the editing used in transcribing the journal, the first entry of the original Archives' Version reads: "July the 8th Day 1776 We Marched From Capt Clintones to William Halles At The Court House And Camp." This entry has been modified as set forth below.

Journal

[On the inside front cover of the note book containing the journal, the following entries appear:]

Arthur Fairies His pocket book in the year of our lord 1771.¹³ Wm Campbell came to School the 16th Day of December 1788. 2 months.

[On the page facing the front cover, the following names are written without indication of their relevance. The assumption by this transcriber is that these are the names of men who served in Captain Peter Clinton's company since some of the names match the names of company members mentioned in the body of the journal.]

William Armstrong, John Guyton (Drafted), Alexander Gilaspy, William Armer, John Vicary, Thomas Neesmith, John Patterson (Absent), James Miller, William Davis, George Symerel (Absent), Samuel Hemphill, Thomas Jennings, James Adams, Robert Latimer, James Symerel (Absent), James Sloane, John Cincade, Andrew Armer, John Kansoler, James Crage, Thomas Baronet, James Quen.

[Beginning on page 25 of the note book]

July the 8th day, 1776, Monday: We marched from Capt. Clinton's to William Hall's, at the Court House, and camped.¹⁴

Tuesday the 9th day of July: We marched two miles over Broad River where we joined the Regiment of Col. Neel's,¹⁵ ~~Regiment~~ and camped.¹⁶

Wednesday the 10th day: We marched 25 miles to one Stafford Moore's, and camped.

Thursday the 11th day: We started and marched 15 miles to Wofford's Fort¹⁷ on Lawson's Fork, and camped.¹⁸

Friday, 12th: We started and marched to Prince's Fort¹⁹ [and] encamped [there] from Friday to Sunday the 14th. then started and marched to one Davis's or within 2 miles being joined with Col. Thomas' regiment, in all consisting about 300 men—lay in a hollow all night.²⁰

Monday the 15th day 1776: By day light we surrounded the building, it inhabited with Indians, where we found nothing but his [an Indian's] wife and family, & two Scofolites,²¹ where we took them prisoners, with all their goods, consisting of 3 wagons full, and bore them down to the camp at Prince's Fort, [a] distant [of] 25 miles driving horses, cows, steers, horses, and burned the remainder.²²

Tuesday the 16th day: We began to & divided the goods which amounted to Seven Thousand Seven Hundred & 22 Pounds which [activity] lasted 2 days—lay there till the 21st day.

Friday the [illegible, 19th?] day: We started from the Fort & marched 3 miles to one Clark's, lying there in camp till Sunday evening the 21st, then started from camp the 21st & marched about 6 miles to one Colonas's on the waters of ~~Saluda~~ Tyger, lying there in camp till **Saturday the 27th.**²³

Started the 27th, and marched to Hight's,²⁴ 15 miles, and lay till Monday evening, the 31st. [sic, Monday was the 29th]

Monday the 31st: We marched to Parise's²⁵ on Reedy River lay till Thursday.

Thursday the First day of August: Left Tyger camp.

Friday the Second: We marched about 14 miles, & camped on a Round Hill.

Context for the 1776 Cherokee War

by Jeff Dennis

Throughout the Revolutionary era, Indian warfare provided effective, if brutal, opportunities for American patriots. Upon its creation in 1776, the United States lacked any distinctive language, ethnic heritage, or common identity. Americans held wide-ranging views concerning what the definition and goals of the Revolution should be.¹ Nevertheless, nearly everyone seemed to agree that Indians were a menace (or at best a hindrance) to the new republic. Non-white, non-Christian, and possessors of vast expanses of land, Indians served as an ideal enemy upon whom Americans could pound out their identity.²

From nearly beginning to end, the War for Independence in the Lower South was also a war against Indians. This was never more conspicuous than in 1776. During that summer and autumn more than 7,000 troops from four southern states invaded the Cherokee homelands.³ Patriots explained their offensives as an essential response to Indian attacks endured during late June and early July. Outnumbered and badly lacking munitions, the Cherokees could offer little effective resistance.⁴

South Carolinians led the way with two savage campaigns that promised recruits £75 for each adult male scalp. Some noncombatants were killed as well, generally the elderly and lame those who were unable to flee into hiding. Most devastating, the South Carolinians systematically destroyed the Cherokees' well constructed homes and bountiful crops and orchards; subsequent armies from North Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia followed their example. In total, several hundred villagers died during the 1776 invasions. A far greater number of people died from exposure and hunger during the winter that followed.⁵

The following journal, very carefully transcribed and skillfully annotated by Will Graves, attests to the ruthlessness of the 1776 campaigns. Its chronicler, traditionally identified as Arthur Fairies, consistently refers to the Cherokees as "Heathens." Among other features, the account records patriot scalping of warriors, the killing of noncombatants, and the extensive destruction of Cherokee homes and foodstuffs.⁶

The Cherokee War of 1776 accomplished several key tasks for South Carolina Whigs. First, the campaigns demonstrated the efficacy of their cause, securing much needed support in the often contrarian backcountry. Thereby, loyalists were forced into several years of relative quiescence – for few were willing to openly criticize the campaigns or defend Indians.⁷ Second, from the peace treaty signed the following spring at DeWitt's Corner, natives were forced to acknowledge "all and singular the rights incidental to conquest." This of course meant land, as all Cherokee holdings east of Unicoi Mountain were to be surrendered.⁸

The 1776 invasions and the 1777 treaties changed the Cherokee nation forever. Many hundreds of people died and the majority of the nation's homes and fields were ruined. Much of the Cherokees' hunting lands were stripped away. Under such strain, the nation bitterly divided. Most survivors chose to remain, practice peace, and rebuild upon traditional tribal grounds. Some, however, including many of the younger hunter-warriors, accompanied Tsi.yu Gansi.ni (Dragging Canoe) to relocate west at Chickamauga Creek. Buoyed by spiritual fervor and British supplies, these militants would continue to actively oppose the United States into the early 1790s.⁹

Further expeditions against the Cherokees were undertaken during 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782. Although these were less extensive campaigns than those mounted in 1776, additional villagers were killed, settlements razed, and crops plowed under. Altogether from the war, the population of the Cherokee nation fell from 12,000 to 10,000 people, and more than five million acres of land were taken as tribute.¹⁰

Jeff Dennis' Context footnotes next page in textbox.

Saturday the 3rd: We started about one o'clock at night, and came to Estatoee, an Indian town, and from thence to Colhatchaway [Qualatchee?]; and from thence to Toxaway, another town; and from thence back to camp, 16 miles.²⁶

Sunday the 4th: Left camp and came back to Estatoee & camped.²⁷

Monday the 5th: Cut down about four hundred acres of corn, and came to Colhatchey [Qualatchee?] and cut about 100 acres.

Tuesday the 6th: Came through Sugartown down to Keowee, about 8 miles.

Wednesday the 7th: We lay at camp.

Thursday the 8th: We started up to Toxaway, where we killed an Indian & got one of our men wounded, & from thence up to Tulpehakin and killed a squaw, and captivated a squaw & two negroes, where we got information from the captives of an Indian camp about sixteen miles from thence where there was nothing but vast mountains, where we marched up with speed; and on ascending up the mountains, the Indians fired upon us to the number of about 11 guns, killed 1 horse, wounded another. We received no more damages. We marched within 3 miles of their camp.²⁸

Friday the 9th: We came to the Indian camp, where we found them all gone, and [the Indians] had killed Mrs. Hight, whom they had took prisoner.²⁹

Friday [sic, Saturday] the 10th: We marched to Keowee to camp, lay at camp till Monday the 13th [sic, 12th], then started homeward. First we marched from Keowee to the 96 Road to Six Mile Creek; next to Twelve Mile Creek; from thence to Eighteen Mile Creek; in all our march about 25 miles, and camped by a small branch.

Tuesday the 14th [sic, 13th]: We started and marched about 10 miles down 96 Road, then took a small path. In this manner we marched about 30 miles; our day's march about 40 miles, & camped by a small branch of Reedy River.

Wednesday the 15th [sic, 14th]: We started and marched to Reedy River, about ten miles, below the Scofolites' camp; from thence in [sic, to] Lawson's Fork at Hollingsworth's old mill, & from thence to Captain Rogers's, about 30 miles, & camped by a small branch.

Thursday the 16th [sic, 17th]: We started and marched across Pacolet, from thence to Fletchall's³⁰ and across Tyger River, and camped. In all our march about 32 miles.

Friday the 17th [sic, 18th]: We started and marched 20 miles to Broad River, from thence to Bullock's Creek, about 4 miles from the Meeting House & Ferry. In all our march 20 miles.

Saturday: We started and marched by John Ross's, next by Capt. Ross's and home: staid at home from Saturday to Friday the 23rd.

Started Friday, 23rd, and marched from Capt. Clinton's to John Smith's and camped.

Saturday the 24th: Started and marched about half a mile over Broad River, and camped.³¹

Sunday the 25th: We started & marched across Thicketty & on to Goudelock's—our march about 20 miles, and camped there.³²

Monday the 26th: We started and marched across Pacolet, and on to Wofford's Fort on Lawson's Fork and camped about ½ mile beyond the Fork—all 20 miles.

Footnotes to Jeff Dennis' Context:

¹ Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1988), 170, 175; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 827-28; Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1992), 336.

² Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, 1982), 291; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (Baton Rouge, 1952), vii. Michael Zuckerman writes that Americans "defined themselves less by the vitality of their affirmations than by the violence of their abjurations." Zuckerman, "The Fabrication of Identity in Early America," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. 34 (1977): 204. James Axtell believes colonial interaction with Native Americans was a critical precedent in the creation of the United States: "Without the steady impress of Indian culture, the colonists would not have been ready for revolution in 1776 ... The Indian presence precipitated the formation of an American identity." Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York, 1988), 237ff.

³ John W. Gordon, *South Carolina and the American Revolution: A Battlefield History* (Columbia, 2003), 46-49; Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York, 1993), 194; James H. O'Donnell, III, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution* (Knoxville, 1973), 44-46.

⁴ Ibid, 41-43; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, 1992), 52-53. Even the generally sympathetic Henry Laurens became outraged at the reports he received concerning the attacks against the South Carolina frontier. The Cherokees were "treacherous Devils" who had been goaded into action by "hellish" whites, he told his son. "The only possible way of reducing the Barbarians" would be to destroy their towns and crops. HL to John Laurens, 14 Aug 1776 in Philip M Hamer, George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chesnut, eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, vols 1-13, 15 (Columbia 1968-2000), 11:229-30.

⁵ Colin Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York, 1995), 49, 197-200; Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Columbia, 1953), 318-19; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, 41-48; 194ff.

⁶ Such brutal behavior was encouraged by the more radical Revolutionary leadership in Charleston. In an infamous, unauthorized letter to the first 1776 expedition, chief justice William Henry Drayton advised: "*And now a word to the wise*. It is expected you make smooth work as you go – that is, you cut up every Indian corn-field, and burn every Indian town – and that every Indian taken shall be the slave and property of the taker; that the nation be extirpated, and the lands become the property of the public." WHD to Francis Salvador, 24 July 1776, in R.W. Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1764-1782*, 3 vols (New York, 1853-57), 2:29.

⁷ Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 197-200; Clyde R. Ferguson, "Functions of the Partisan-Militia in the South During the American Revolution: An Interpretation," in W. Robert Higgins, *The Revolutionary War in the South: Power, Conflict and Leadership* (Durham, 1979), 251-58. As patriot historian David Ramsay recalled it, the "double success" of the year's anti-British, anti-Indian campaigns "diffused military ideas, and a spirit of enterprise among the inhabitants. Previously, 'some well-meaning people could not see the justice or propriety of contending with their formerly protecting parent State; but Indian cruelties, excited by royal artifices, soon extinguished all their predilection for the country of their forefathers.'" Ramsay, *History of South Carolina: From Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*, 2 vols (Spartanburg, 1959 [1858]), 1:161-62.

⁸ O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, 58; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 200; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:161. For a full transcription of the Treaty of DeWitt's Corner, see: "The Ani Yun' wiya (Cherokee Indians), 1769-1866," Wesley D. White Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, 28/800/7.

⁹ Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 54-56; Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln, 1998), 97-99; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 223-25; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 200-01.

¹⁰ Ibid, 58, 202-07; John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge, 1957), 272ff; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 191ff. As Tom Hatley notes: "Though the Cherokees were to face at least seven major offensives before the Revolutionary period was over, each attack followed, on a smaller scale, the severe precedent of the 1776 campaign." Ibid, 197.

Tuesday the 27th: We started and marched across Tyger, and camped about 2 miles beyond Prince's Fort on Tyger, and camped at the house of one Varner—25 miles.

Wednesday the 28th: We marched from Varner's to Hight's, from thence to Davis's on Reedy River—a march of about 25 miles, & camped.

Thursday the 29th: We started from camp at Davis's,³³ and marched across Saluda River. About 6 miles from camp; from thence along that road about 5 miles, then took to the woods. In this manner we marched about 5 miles, crossed two small branches of 12 Mile Creek. Our day's march about 17 miles and camped by a small branch.

Friday the 30th: We started to hunt our horses, and in our hunt there was Indians around us, which fired on us to the number of 7 guns, shot one horse & shot too at the Rider but he escaped, and alarmed the camp, which started in pursuit of them, but to no purpose, for they escaped, taking 9 horses and fired at one, or rather his rider, but he happily escaped, and the horse [was] shot in the rump. After these surprises, we started to march; leaving 16 men to pursue the heathens, & in their pursuit they followed them in vain, for they could not overtake them. So they followed them almost too far [to] a little town called Soquani [Soquee?]. After this pursuit they returned, & we marched along until we crossed the 96 Road, & marched about 2 miles and camped. That night there came a man to our camps which made oath that he was at that Soquani Town, and as he alighted from his horse, he espied Indians coming to the horse, then he made his escape to our camps. This information made us to send or raise 42 light horsemen to that town, but they found none there, and in their search they found 4 Indian horses. During their absence, we started & marched down to Seneca, where we joined the regiment of Col. General Williamson, and camped.³⁴

Sunday the first of September: We raised a company of light Horse scouts, and taking the Cotappo Indians,³⁵ they soon espied an Indian camp out in the mountains. They informed the white men that there was a great number of them; the men sent down word for a reinforcement of men and provisions to Seneca, our camp. This Express occasioned us to raise a number of men to their assistance; but they, not having patience, attacked the camp, but [at] the first fire they all ran—the Cotappos went in the front, & as one Cherokee ran, they shot him down, taking all the plunder and returning the Cherokees waylaid them and shot one of the Cotappos. After this they marched back to Toxaway, where we met them with the reinforcement; then we returned back to camp.³⁶

Wednesday the 4th: We lay.

Thursday the 5th: we lay at camp.

Friday the 6th: we lay at camp

Saturday the 7th: we lay at camp.

Sunday the 8th: we crossed the Savannah River and encamped.

Monday the 9th: we lay at camp.

Tuesday the 10th: we lay at camp.

Wednesday the 11th: we lay at camp.

Thursday the 12th: There came to us 200 & 70 men of Colonel Sumter's,³⁷ and camped.³⁸

Friday the 13th: We started to march to the Middle Settlements, and marched to Cane Creek, about 8 miles from camp, and camped.

Saturday the 14th: We started and marched across the mountains of Oconee, & camped by a small branch—our day's march about 15 miles.

Sunday the 15th: We started and marched about 12 miles, and camped by a river called Tugaloo, at the mouth of War Woman's Creek.

Monday the 16th: We started and marched across War Woman's Creek, from thence to across the mountains and on the waters of Tugaloo & camped at the foot of two mountains—our day's march about 13 miles.

Tuesday the 17th: We started and marched across the branches of Savani [Savannah? sic, Tennessee?] River on to the Grassy Plains, from thence to the Narrows, and to Tennessee River, and on to a small town called [largely illegible name that might be spelled Ustisty] and finding the Indians all gone, we camped in that town—our march 16 miles.³⁹

Wednesday the 18th: We started and marched along Tennessee River to Coweche [Coweeshie?] Town, & finding the North Army⁴⁰ had been there, we started in pursuit of them as far as town called Canutee, where we found a party of the aforesaid Army, that is to say, a baggage guard, whilst the rest marched to the Valleys. Started at the North Fork of Tennessee, and marched this day to the South Fork of said waters—our day's march about 12 miles, and camped by the said Tennessee.

Thursday the 19th September: We started after the North Army to the Valleys, a settlement of Indians. We marched along the waters of Tennessee first on branches of [largely illegible name that might be "Coweckey"]—we had gone about 6 miles from camp on the road, we marched into a valley or rather a hollow, named Black Hole, surrounded by mountains on all sides only except the entrance. On our entering, our front guard, commanded by Capt. Ross, was about half through—the Indians were flanked all around us, and fired on our guard, and all our regiment was soon engaged, & the firing of the Indians was incessant. We continued our fight about one hour, desperate. But in getting possession of the mountain, we through mercy, defeated our enemies, with the loss of 13 gallant men—a merciful escape, considering the wonderful form them Heathens were placed in: Likewise the impossibility of our getting an equal chance with them. The greatest, and indeed almost all the killed and wounded consisted in Col. Neel's regiment, on account of our being in the front of the battle. Our engagement may be a miracle of during several hours that with the multitude of enemies and admirable place they had to fire on us, we were not almost all killed, for nature never formed such a place, allowed by all spectators. I must mind some of these killed men and their actions. Capt. Ross,⁴¹ who was in the front, was shot at and slightly wounded; the Indians thought to have his scalp and made to him and his head being down and bloody the Indians struck him with the gun in his hand, until the force of the strokes broke the butt piece; but the Captain recovering, seized the fellow and overcame him getting his scalp. These particulars are too tedious, only giving an account of the brave John Guyton,⁴² who became a prey to the Heathen, & was killed with a spear, & likewise noble Samuel Thomson,⁴³ shot with two bullets in the breast & dead. We will mind some more of the men who escaped, which is Lieut. William Patrick,⁴⁴ who fought manfully and escaped. Also our noble Captain Clinton, one of the re-enforcement to the front, fought most manfully and in short all his men; he had one man killed, the aforesaid Guyton, and one wounded by the name of Symeral.⁴⁵ The number of Indians killed and wounded is not exactly known; we found but six dead on the ground. We had to camp here all night on account of burying our dead, & on attending the sick or wounded. A most dreadful sight to behold—our fellow creatures massacred by the heathens, for there were three of our men scalped, and one sadly speared and tomahawked. The names of the killed is—Sentspeers⁴⁶ and John

Guyton, Samuel Thomson & William Moore:⁴⁷ also James Caldwell,⁴⁸ & John Brannen,⁴⁹ Lieut. James Lusk,⁵⁰ and one of the name of Linch.⁵¹ The remainder I cannot recollect; but there was killed on the ground 12 men, and wounded 18—in all killed and wounded about thirty. After these, I close this day's work.⁵²

Friday the 20th: We gathered our sick and sent them back to the North Army—that is to say, the baggage-guard, and sent with them a guard of one hundred men, & the remainder continued our march to the Valleys. We started & marched along the greatest of Narrows, where immense numbers of Indian camps. Our road continued up a vast mountain, or rather between two mountains, which led us to the most wildersomest (sic) part of the world, allowed by us. In this manner we march allowing to receive battle every moment, but through mercy we got safe to the top, allowing it little inferior to the mountain of Ararat. If here Noah's Ark rested on the top of this, we camped—our day's march about 5 miles, and this mountain was about 1½ miles of them. We must mind that when the Indians fled, we found on the ground the luggage of about 200 Indians—that is to say, blankets, moccasins, boots, some guns, also powder, match-coats, deer-skins, &c, &c.

Saturday the 21st: We started to continue our march, & as I said of the day's march before, I think the road a little better or only something descending; we marched thro' brush, swamps & thickets a place where we had not the happiness of the sun to shine on us, neither the privilege of marching without great difficulty, but with great courage and resolution; resolving to conquer or die in the attempt. We marched about 5 miles from camp, and all along the road so many signs of our enemies & their camps made us imagine we should have a battle every mile. And the mountains so high on every side, hindered our flankers to march, and confined us almost to one path. In this manner we marched as I informed you, about 5 miles, and on a sudden we, the front, or front guard, espied an Indian squaw; on her they fired two guns, which put us all in alarm, allowing it an attack, but soon found there were no more Indians there. We got up a half Indian that was in company to ask her some questions—although she was wounded in the shoulder and leg, yet she could speak, and told the interpreter as follows: That all the Over Hill Indians, and all the Town Indians were gone through woods at that battle that was fought the day before, also that they were camped about 4 miles ahead, & were preparing to give us battle by the Tennessee River. There we marched with all the speed possible, although very much abounding with difficulties, occasioned by the badness of the roads. When we arrived at the aforesaid river, a most dreadful place to behold, we sent our left wing over the river, the right wing up the mountains, and us in the center. In this manner we marched through a dreadful valley and wonderful thickets. At length we came to a place more clear and camped there—our day's march about nine miles. We are to mind that the number of men that marched from Seneca, that drew provisions, was eighteen hundred and sixty, but this battle confined us to the number of sixteen hundred & 96.⁵³

Sunday the 22nd: We continued our march to the Valleys as formerly, and if we had reason to complain of the road the day before, we will find ten times as much reason this, if possible. Col. Neel's men were appointed for the right wing flank, which made us take to the tops of the mountains for a living, and most dreadful living too; be sure from one maintain to another we treaded, which seemed an impossibility even for fancy to fathom, or for the curious writer to discover. At length we came to mountains more curious than the first, because it give me a more clear view of the neighboring mountains; and further, we discovered a small valley or grassy plain—the distance we could not give an exact account of. After this discovery we set down this terrible mountain, which was as perpendicular as a barber's revolving pole, about one mile. But with great sliding and creeping we got to the bottom thereof; from thence we came to the mountain named Slately Hill on account of the natural produce abounding mightily with slate. Over this we crept also, and came to the path where the Army had to

march which was little superior to ours, only not nigh so high, but abounding with laurel thickets and sidling swamps. In this manner, we marched to the waters of Highwassa, and camped by a branch of said river between two mountains—our day's march about 8 miles.⁵⁴

Monday the 23rd: We started to march, or made ready—our orders from Col. Williamson, our head commander, was that there should be 40 men out of each regiment for front guards, or rather spies to discover the towns; for as I said before the Savanna that we espied was the first Indian town in the Valleys. We set off, and always minded to take possession of all the mountains we came to. We marched to a small mountain called Knotty Hill. From thence to another mountain where we had a full view of the town called Burning Town, distant about one mile. We took the right of said town to surround it, so from one hill to another, until we came within sight of the Army; so took to the town, where we got peaceable possession without a shot of a gun, though a large town, contained about one hundred & 10 houses, but got no plunder, for the black thieves was all fled, & took the chief of all, except some horses. Further, Col. Thomas' men being on the hunt of some plunder, found an Indian squaw, & took her prisoner, an easy prey, for she was lame. Here we camped—one day's march 2 miles.⁵⁵

Tuesday the 24th: We was ordered to go cut corn, which we did to the number of about 200 & 50 acres, and burned the houses. After this we was ordered to make ready to march. By this time there was an express from the North Army, which informed us that at their arrival at the Valleys, the first town they came to that they surrounded it, and took it, and killed and took prisoners to the number of 16 Indians fellows & squaws, without the loss of a man, or merely was shot at—only one shot fired and no harm. And after this information, we started and marched along by Bloody Hill, & into another town called Tomassee and camped, distant from old camp about two miles & camped.

Wednesday the 25th: We was ordered to cut down & burn corn and peach trees, apple trees [illegible word or words]. After this was accomplished, we was ordered to march, & started, & came along the said Valley to another Town called Nowewee; this we plundered & destroyed, corn and all vegetables belonging thereto, abounding much with corn, potatoes, peas & beans, as the aforesaid town laid distant 2 miles. After this we marched along to another town, named Tilico [Tellico?], a brave, plentiful town, abounding with the aforesaid vegetables, &c. The aforesaid Valley is very curious on account of its being hemmed in on both sides by mountains, & likewise the fertility of the soil. The Indians made great crops of corn, & indeed almost all sorts of serviceable fruits, wheat & flax only excepted. Further, they are most curious in their way of building; according to their opportunity of instruction they build a house in each of their towns called a Dowawing House. It is made right round, and tapers to the top like a barrack shape most curious and covered with bark or grassy sod. The door or entrance is extremely narrow or strait, and when in it, as dark as a dungeon. We allow that in these houses they divine things, & hold dances with their God, it being all paddled around the place where they have had a fire. Their dwelling houses is made with small saplings stuck in the ground upright; then sort of lath tied on these stakes with splits of cane or such like, then daubing outside & in with mud nicely. They have no chimneys & their furnace [is] in the middle of their houses. Their houses are clap-boarded like ours and their corn cribs most nice; being a large story off the ground & raised on forks stuck upright; then rafted and raised like the dwelling houses, most nicely daubed & covered finish them. After this discovery, I'm to inform you, that we camped here at this town, called Canosti, on account of the vast quantity of corn—here our day's march about 6 miles.⁵⁶

Thursday the 26th: We started & marched about two miles, & came to another town, called Canuce; here we stopped also to cut and destroy their goods & vegetables. From thence to another town called

Highwassa. We stopped also & served that as usual. From thence to another town called Ecochee, where we met the North Army & camped—our day's march 10 miles.⁵⁷

Friday the 27th: We & the North Army started to march, & marched about ½ mile with them, & then took a different road. We will leave them to fortune's smiles & relate our adventure. We marched to a town named Great Ecochee, and that town being destroyed by the North Army, we marched through it, and out with speed. We are to the mind while we lay at Canuce, that the North Army sent out a scout of light Horse of 100 & 50 men, and on their scout they espied a passel of Indians and white men driving cows & steers, & horses to the number of 100 head of steers & 80 horses. They thought to have escaped; but the North boys surrounded them & shot two Negroes, & wounded one Hicks, a Scopolite, & took him & six more white men & 10 Indians fellows & squaws & children, & brought all to the camp at Highwassee. After we met the Army, these prisoners was committed into our care, and, as I informed you, we marched, on with speed to another town called Chowwee, admirably large in great quantities & houses out of number; for at the end of this town Chowwee, there was another town, large & boundless, named Casquitheheh. These towns is allowed to be 5 miles in length, & some places, 2 miles in breadth. Here we had to camp on account of the great multitude of corn. I am to inform you that the North Army had took this town before, and had killed 2 Indians, & had captivated 2; but had not destroyed the corn or houses, leaving that for us. All this they did without the loss of a man, except one who was shot one night gathering potatoes. He was shot dead on the ground, and one wounded in the arm; for the Indians take all such opportunities to kill & destroy by lurking by creeks & thickets, and shooting when no one thinks of it. For instance of this I am to relate in the following day's journal. We camped in this town, as I informed you, called Chowwee—our day's march about eleven miles and camped by the River Highwassee.⁵⁸

Saturday the 28th Sept: In the morning we set out through the cornfields in search of some potatoes & hogs that is to say, William Armstrong⁵⁹ & William Armer,⁶⁰ William Davis⁶¹ & Alex. Gilaspey⁶² and myself. We set out together out of our company; we marched together about one mile & 1/2; and the aforesaid Wm Armer & Wm Armstrong leaving us, and went yet farther until they came to another town called Casquithehah, and meeting with William Hanna⁶³ & Samuel Moore,⁶⁴ they went together, and in crossing a creek that runs through the said town, being surrounded by thickets, & distant from our camps about 2 miles, the Indians fired on them, and raising the war hollow, set after them, but the aforesaid Hanna & Moore escaped, leaving the other poor boys as a prey to the Heathens—a couple of good soldiers, but overcome by numerous enemies, for Wm Armstrong was shot in the arm, yet he turned & shot, but immediately he was shot with six bullets in the body, & scalped. William Armer being behind was shot through the body & became a prey to his enemies also, & scalped. A couple of clever young men, gay, gallant & virtuous; also afraid of no enemies. I must mind also another of their company, the young man named John Greams,⁶⁵ who was a riding & shot at and deadly wounded through, that is to say from haunch to haunch, his horse shot also, yet the horse carried him out of their reach, which hindered them of getting his scalp. The camps not being apprised of this affair until the aforesaid Hanna & Moore came in riding—a merciful escape, for the Indians were all around them & especially between them & the camps; but through mercy they escaped, alarming the camps who followed them with a company of light Horse, but in vain. They could not overtake them, for there was great mountains on all sides, so that they cleared themselves. We next joined to cutting of corn and burning of houses, after burying our dead. The quantity of corn that is contained in these two towns is not easily comprehended; but to our judgment there are better than 9 hundred acres in this town on the waters of Highwassee. We made ready to march & started, putting our wounded men on a bier. We marched about two miles to a town called Theatugdueah, & camped by the aforesaid river—our day's march about 2 miles.⁶⁶

Sunday the 29th: This morning had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian Minister belong[ing] to the North Army. Where Brigadier General Rutherford delivered to us seventeen prisoners, that is to [say] first Nathan Hicks, Walter Scot, Mathew McMachMakess, Pritchard Katchief, William Thomas, Godfrey Isacks, Alexander Sannon, Hick's squaw named Peg, Scot's wife & child, one squaw & two children, one Indian fellow called by Barking Dog, Charlie Hicks, one old squaw. About 2 o'clock in the morning our wounded man died, suffering desperate pain. Then about 7 o'clock we started to march, and crossed the River Highwassee, and on to another town called Nacuchey, here we camped being convenient on account of corn—our day's march about 14 miles & camped.

Monday the 30th: We prepared to march. Our line of battle was ordered as follows: Col. Sumpter commander of the right wing; Col. Hammond⁶⁷ commander of the left wing, and Col. Neel commander of the front, & General Williamson commander of the whole. Our orders when attacked was for the two wings, that is to say right & left, to surround the enemies, us to fight our way in the front. These orders we obeyed, & marched as careful as possible, sending out flank guards on the mountains, allowing we should meet with an engagement at the head of Highwassee waters, on account of the Narrows thereat, and the mountain on each side, but with courage & great resolution striving to have satisfaction, or die in the attempt, for our lost brothers and friends. We marched to the head of said Narrows and waters, but finding no enemies there, it grieved us that we should not have an engagement to get satisfaction of them Heathens, for the great slavery and hardships they put us to, & more particularly the loss of so many gallant men. We marched over the top of said Mountain and came to the waters of the Great Oconie and branch called Oakemulay that runs into the River Saint Mary's above Agusteen. Down this we marched, crossing it above 20 times. At length we came to a town called Chote, a large town, also containing upwards of one hundred & ten houses, and of great bounds, confined under corn—more than I can comprehend. This town is in the Creek Indian line, lying on the waters that run through the Creek town, but given to the Cherokee Indians some time ago by the Creeks. Here we camped—our day's march about 17 miles, and camped by the said River Oakemulay.⁶⁸

Tuesday the first day of October: Our general ordered a party of Light Horse to go to another town, called Frogtown, distant 16 miles, and the remainder to cut corn [&] destroy vegetables during the interim. This being performed, we or they started, but being informed by the pilot that they were too weak to attack that town, being a town of rendezvous between the Creek & Cherokee Nations. This information being delivered occasioned the undertakers to retreat, or otherwise come back to the camps to get a reinforcement of men. By this time night coming on, we all camped here in order to prepare for the next day's orders, which were as follows:⁶⁹

Wednesday the 2nd day of October: Our orders was to raise 300 men & horses [&] go to the aforesaid Frogtown. These orders being obeyed, they marched until them came to the town, but finding it contrary to the representations given them by the pilot, they staid but a short time, finding no corn to cut, nor houses to burn, save one or two. After this discovery, they returned, & arrived at camp about eleven o'clock at night, it being distant about 16 miles, lying on the waters of the Great Oconie River, on a creek called Anuetucky-Watch, in the Creek Indian's line. After their return, we all camped near at the town Chote.

Thursday, 3rd day of October: We was ordered to march to another town, called Little Chote, distant about 2 miles, lying on the aforesaid Oconie River. Here we marched to with speed, & engaged the cutting of corn & destroying all things that might tend to the good or advantage of the Heathen enemies. Here we camped on account of the multitude of corn, potatoes, peas & beans. This town contained a great number of houses, to the number of about 50 or 60, and a large

bounds of corn to the number of 200 acres. Here we camped till further orders.

Friday, the 4th: We marched over Natanchee River. After 12 miles march, and came to Socoe Old Town, & crossed the river of the same name, our course being Eastward. This day Mr. Mark Kent being, by misfortune of his horse falling, got in the rear, says he was fired on by one Indian, & lost 80 lbs of flour, making his escape. This day there was one of our prisoners [was] released: that is to say, Col. Williamson gave orders for a horse to be given to an old squaw, and further he gave her leave to go to her own people on account of her loyalty in piloting us, & in giving us such true intelligence concerning them. She informed us, that the Indians of the Valleys had no notion of war, but the Over Hills came to them & encouraged them, after they had a wampum belt provided in order to send to us for peace. These & several such accounts this squaw gave us, which we found to be the truth. After this or her examination, the Col. ordered her to go home, telling her that he would have warriors all along the Indian line, and further that they would talk with them, that is the Indians; and likewise that we was ready to fight them any time, Likewise how we had above 5 battles with them, & defeated them all times, and likewise that he would continue destroying them while there was one of them. After telling her this, he ordered her off home. After this, [we] started homeward and marched, as I informed you in the beginning, and camped—our day's march 10 miles.

Saturday the 5th: We started and marched Eastward—our intent was for Seneca Fort; after 12 miles march we came to Tugaloo River, and crossed the same at Estatoee Town; at 17 miles march more crossed Tugo River at a very dangerous and rocky ford, by which means many of our baggage horses fell in and wet the plunder they carried, so that many of us was that night confined to wet blankets. We encamped by the bank of said river and camped.

Sunday, 6th: We marched Eastward. At 4 miles distance, [we] crossed a small branch—from thence about 10 miles came to a small river; 2 miles from the said river we encamped this day. As I was in the front, I met Mr. Harrison, the express from Seneca, and gave no intelligence further but the following: That is that the Indians had made no incursion on the settlements, only on the 16th of Sept. last, the body of Temperance Langston was found lying dead and scalped, lying between the forks of Rocky & Savannah Rivers.

Monday the 7th: Started and marched to Seneca Fort & camped—march about 3 miles.

Tuesday the 8th of Sept. [sic, Oct.] 1776: We started to march homeward, after discharged, that is to say, Col. Thomas' regiment & ours. We started and marched along the road. We went out and came along by the Branch. We lost our horses at going out over these branches; we came and on to another branch, distant 2 miles from the said branch & camped—our day's march about 33 miles, and camped.

Wednesday the 9th: We started and marched along to Davis's on Reedy River—from thence to Hight's; and marched from thence to the South Fork of Tyger, and continued our march to the Middle Fork of the said river from thence to a small branch of the above said waters, and encamped by said branch—a day's march of about 29 miles.

Thursday, 10th day of October: We started & marched over the North Fork of Tyger, thence to Prince's Fork, and on to Wofford's Fort on Lawson's Fork; from thence to Pacolet River, and on to within 4 miles of Goudilock's and camped—a day's march of about 34 miles.

Friday the 11th: We started and marched along to Gilkey's Creek, from thence to Broad River, crossing at Smith's Ford; from thence to David Watson's, and on home to Allison's Creek.

Towns

Over Hill towns on the River Highawassa: 1-First Highawassa; 2-Tiliqua; 3-Eqinsticonsee; 4-Sategoet; 5-Sililwee; 6-Talasse; 7-Chote; 8-Tinnissey; 9-Toco; 10-Kastegeh; 11-Taliquoeah; 12-Hamelecoheh; 13-Wayohheh; and 14-Thalululeah.

A list of the names of the Towns in the Middle Settlements on the river Watago: 1-Anucaca, the chief; 2-Thesinteah; 3-Canuchleh; 4-Nowweah; 5-Leaheadseath; 6-Watago; 7-Esocah; 8-Cowwee; 9-Thecaleackah; 10-Yesoke; 11-Tocreege; and 12-Cheehhet.

Valley Towns on the Timossey River: 1-Tholulewah; 2-Tamossee; 3-Nowesee; 4-Telica; 5-Canasty; 6-Sanuseah; 7-Cooksahoh; 8-Nottalay; 9-Couonak; 10-Highwassa; 11-Ecoheh; 12-Cusataluheh; 13-Itseheh; 14-Choweh; 15-Thasquittheheh; 16-Coostugesueh; 17-Chote; 18-Nacuche; and 19-Frogtown.

¹ That the Whigs felt threatened by the Cherokee is amply demonstrated by the hysterically overstated communication dated July 14, 1776, sent by General Griffith Rutherford to the North Carolina Council of Safety as follows:

I am under the necessity of sending you by express the alarming condition this country is in. The Indians are making great progress in destroying & murdering in the frontiers of this country. Thirty-seven, I am informed, were killed last Wednesday and Thursday, on the Catawba River. I am also informed that Col. McDowell [with] 10 men more & 120 women and children are besieged in some kind of fort, & the Indians round them, no help to them before yesterday, & they were surrounded on Wednesday. I expect to hear [in] the next account that they are all destroyed. Col. Backman's is the frontier of this country. Pray Gentlemen, consider our distress, send us plenty of powder & I hope under God, we of [the] Salisbury District will be able to stand them, but, if you allow us to go to the [Cherokee] Nation, I expect, you will order [the] Hillsborough District to join Salisbury. Three of our captains are killed & one wounded. This day I set out with what men I can raise for the relief of the distressed. (Spelling and punctuation modified for clarity of meaning and readability)(William L. Saunders et al, *The Colonial Records of North Carolina*, 30 vols. (Raleigh, 1886-1914), X, 669.)

² William Christian (1743-1786) had been awarded a colonelcy in the Continental Army in March 1776, but resigned that commission in July 1776 to assume command of the Virginia militia in its expedition against the Over Hill Cherokees. After the Revolution, he moved to Kentucky where he was killed on April 9, 1786 while leading a party against the Wabash Indians. See, J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton, "Revolutionary Diary of William Lenoir," *The Journal of Southern History*, Vol., VI, No. 2 (May 1940), 250, fn. 6. (Hereinafter cited as Hamilton, "Lenoir Journal.")

³ Griffith Rutherford (1731-c.1800) was commissioned as a brigadier general of the North Carolina state troops on June 26, 1776. He participated not only in the 1776 Cherokee Expedition but also in the battles at Ramseur's Mill and Camden. Wounded and captured at the latter engagement, he was held as a prisoner in Charleston and St. Augustine until November 1781 when he was exchanged and returned to the field to command the North Carolina forces at Wilmington. Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1994), (hereinafter cited as Boatner, *Encyclopedia*) 953.

⁴ Andrew Williamson (c. 1730-1786) was the commanding officer of the South Carolina backcountry militia from the inception of the war until the fall of Charleston on May 12, 1780. He led the South Carolina militia not only during the Cherokee Expedition in 1776 but also at Briar Creek, Stono Bridge and other engagements before taking parole in June 1780. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 1210. Early in the campaign, South Carolina's governor, John Rutledge, promoted Williamson to the rank of Colonel largely in an attempt to smoothen the ruffled feathers of several militia colonels serving under Williamson's command on this campaign.

⁵ Peter Clinton (c. 1745-1780) resided on Crowders Creek and served as a captain in the regiment commanded by Colonel Thomas Neel from the commencement of hostilities in 1775. Bobby Gilmer Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution*, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983 (hereinafter cited as Moss, *SC Patriots*), 178.

⁶ The transcription was made from the photocopy of the original in the collection of the South Carolina Department of Archives and History, call number E.83.775.F3, in Columbia, South Carolina (the South Carolina Department of Archives and History is hereinafter referred to as the South Carolina Archives). The original is in the collections of the National Archives in Washington, D. C.

⁷ Professor Moss in his roster of South Carolina patriots does not list any one by this exact name. He does list an "Arthur Faries" who he describes as having served as a private and lieutenant from June 1780 to May 1781 under Capt. Howe and Col. Thomas Brandon. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 302. Moss also lists an "Arthur Faris" who he describes as having enlisted in the Sixth Regiment in March 1776. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 303. Moss cites the Fairies Journal as one of his sources for listing of men who served during the Revolution. Moss, *SC Patriots*, xvii.

⁸ Doubt that the journal is the product of entries made contemporaneously with the events described also arises from the fact that the journal commences on the twenty-fifth page of a bound pocketbook in which some of the earlier pages contain descriptions of events that occurred well after the 1776 campaign. This leads to the conclusion that the journal was recorded on whatever paper happened to be available to the author. The entries on the pages preceding the beginning of the text of the journal range from an IOU signed by John Armstrong on October 24, 1785 on fourteenth page to a receipt for \$14 dated April 9, 1831 on eighteenth page of the manuscript.

⁹ The journal was evidently attached to one of two claims filed in 1850. One pension application was filed by Joseph Clinton as the heir of Frances Clinton, the deceased widow of Captain Peter Clinton. This is pension application W9390. The copy of this application is very difficult to read. The other possibility is the claim for a pension filed by Thomas Davis on behalf of himself and his siblings as the heirs of their mother, Martha Davis. This is pension application W8653. Martha Davis was the widow of Captain William Davis, one of the men named in the journal as serving in the company of Captain Peter Clinton. The pension application is supported by an affidavit from Joseph Clinton, the son of Captain Peter Clinton. Joseph states in his affidavit that the William Davis, husband of Martha, is identical to the William Davis "whose name appears in the Journal of his father Captain Peter Clinton's service in the Indian Campaign." This statement, coupled with correspondence from Daniel Wallace, one of South Carolina's Congressmen, in which he makes reference to the journal having been filed with a pension application received and endorsed by him in 1850, presents strong evidence that the journal was filed with either the Clinton application or the Davis application.

¹⁰ Watson was the pastor of the Bethel Presbyterian Church in Clover, South Carolina, at the time he published this article.

¹¹ There is at least one other journal covering the Cherokee Expedition. Then Lieutenant, later Major General, William Lenoir of the North Carolina militia kept a journal of his participation in the expedition under the command of then Maj. Benjamin Cleveland and Gen. Rutherford. Lenoir's journal has been published by Hamilton, "Lenoir Journal" as cited in endnote 2 above. In addition, Lenoir wrote an unpublished account of the expedition in June 1835. This account can be found the Manuscripts Department, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, Lenoir Family Papers, No. 426, Series 2 (Diaries and other writings, 1776-1839), Folder 239. Lenoir was born in 1751 in Virginia and died in 1839 in North Carolina after having served that state in a number of public service offices including being the first president of the board of trustees of the University of North Carolina.

¹² *Yorkville Miscellany*, Saturday, June 15, 1850. A copy of this can be found in the Lyman Copeland Draper Manuscript Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society, Sumter Papers, 3VV162-175 (the Draper collection is hereinafter referred to as the *Draper Manuscripts*). No copy of the actual pamphlet cited by Watson has been found by me. My best guess is that the Archives' Version was prepared first and later used by the same author to embellish the account of the Expedition, thereby resulting in the Watson Version. If anyone owns or has seen the pamphlet containing the Watson Version, I would appreciate hearing from them.

¹³ There appear to be several years written and scratched out by the author.

¹⁴ Watson Version reads as follows:

July the eighth day, being Monday, we assembled at Captain Peter Clinton's, in the province of South Carolina and on or by the waters of Ellison's creek, to engage the Indians on account of the insurrections they made on the white inhabitants, killing and plundering all they come to. This express occasioned us to rise to stop them in their present undertaking. Being commanded by Colonel Neel, and under Captain Clinton, we started, and marched to William Hall's, and encamped after a day's march of about fourteen miles.

¹⁵ Thomas Neel (1730-1779) was the commanding officer of a regiment of South Carolina militia formed in the "New Acquisition" (the area acquired from North Carolina just below Charlotte). Moss, *SC Patriots*, 719.

¹⁶ Watson Version reads as follows:

Tuesday, the ninth day of July, 1776, we marched over Broad River, about two miles, and meeting a party of our men, it gave us fresh fortitude in the pursuing of our heathen enemies. We encamped here after a day's march of about eighteen miles.

¹⁷ Wofford's Iron Works was located on Lawson's Creek in present day Glendale community in Spartanburg County, South Carolina, near where State Road 33 crosses the creek. The Iron Works was the site of a battle fought on August 8, 1780. It was later burned by Loyalist Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham in November 1781.

¹⁸ Watson Version reads as follows:

[Thursday, the eleventh] We continued our march next day, fifteen miles to one Mr. Walford's fort, on Lawson's fork, hearing that the Indians had persisted as far as Prince's fort, on Tiga, and killing and plundering all before them, hurried us on in our march to the aforesaid fort, where we arrived Friday, the twelfth instant.

¹⁹ Prince's Fort was located just off of State Road 129 northeast of present day Wellford community in Spartanburg County. The DAR erected a monument there that reads: "Site of Fort Prince. Built by the

early settlers as a place of refuge during the Indian Wars 1756-1761. Occupied by the Whigs from Nov. 22, 1776 to March 17, 1777. The British under the command of Col. Alexander Innes were driven from the Fort by the Americans under Col. Edward Hampton, July 16, 1780. *Amor Patriae*. D. A. R."

²⁰ John Thomas, Sr. (1720-c - 1811) was the commander of the Spartan Regiment of militia during 1775 and 1776. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 925.

²¹ A name given to white Tories who dressed up like Indians when attacking patriot fortifications in the hope of deflecting their neighbors' animosity away from themselves and onto the Cherokees who constituted a constant threat to the frontier settlers prior to and throughout the period of the Revolutionary War. The name derived from Joseph Scoffel, a Tory, who was active in the loyalist cause from an early period of the war. For an excellent discussion of the "Scoffel Lights," see, Rachel N. Klein, "Frontier Planters and the American Revolution: The South Carolina Backcountry, 1775-1782," in Ronald Hoffman, Thad W. Tate and Peter J. Albert, eds., *An Uncivil War: The Southern Backcountry During the American Revolution*, (Charlottesville: United States Capitol Historical Society by The University Press of Virginia, 1985), 37-69.

²² Watson Version reads as follows:

[Monday, the fifteenth] We encamped on a hill all night, in order to attack the house and inhabitants there in the morning, but, contrary to our expectations, we found no Indians there, for they had left that place, and had embodied themselves together and marched to another fort called Lindly's fort, being assisted by or with a number of white men, in order to destroy the same; but by the conduct and valor of the inhabitants of the fort, the designs of the heathen enemy were frustrated, being forced to retreat after a smart firing from both sides. After a retreat of these heathens, the battle ended with little or no slaughter on either side, save some few wounded. We will next return to Perris's, and let you know that we took his wife and daughters, and, in short, all his family, as likewise some tories that harbored there; so taking all prisoners, and committing his houses to the flames, we took his effects, as free plunder, driving cows, steers and horses, and brought all to our camp at Prince's fort, distant twenty-five miles. When we arrived, we saw a man that had gone that night to a mill, about six miles off, with a wagon for provisions, who intended to return that night; so as he was returning, within two miles of the fort, and riding a horse across the creek, not thinking of danger, on a sudden there was an Indian within two rods of him, and to his surprise fired at him, and shot him through the thick of the thigh, and the horse scaring, threw him down. The Indian immediately made to him, but to save himself he jumped into the creek; then rushed forth another Indian with his gun ready to fire, which made the poor water-prisoner expect nothing but death. But to be short, he fired at him, and the bullet took him below the shoulder and out by the left breast. By this last shot the poor helpless white man fell back into the water. The Indian seeing this, drew his tomahawk and made to him, thinking to have sunk it into his brains; but, contrary to his expectations, the wounded man snatched it out of his hand, and made to the Indian, who retreated with the halloo of "hoboy, hoboy." When the white man saw this, he made his best way back to the mill, knowing that the Indians were between him and the fort, and got some men mill to conduct him back to the fort. This was remarkable deliverance that one man could escape from four Indians, well armed, as says the beholder. This aforesaid man is of the name of Reed, a man of superior dignity, courage and flexibility, which appears by his valor during his escape from the Indians. I am next to inform you, that we began to vendue the aforesaid plunder on the sixteenth, and continued till the eighteenth instant, and, by a vulgar guess, amounted to seven

thousand, seven hundred and thirty-three pounds, South currency.

²³ Watson Version reads as follows:

Friday, the twenty-first day of July, 1776, our next orders was to make to our enemies. So we started with a silent and secure march, being determined to rout and scatter them if possible. We continued our course to one Hight's and seeing there what slaughter was made by our heathen enemies, by killing and scalping all they met with; this sight seemed terrifying, to see our fellow creatures lying dead and massacred in such a manner, as hindered us almost from interring or burying them, their effects being destroyed, their houses lying in ashes; this, with all other of their actions, occasioned us to vow revenge or die in the attempt.—So we continued in the pursuit of revenge, and marched on to Perris's place; beholding with satisfaction the ruins of the same, we lay here encamped till Thursday, the third day of August.—Then, Friday, the fourth, we marched about fourteen miles, and encamped on a round hill.

²⁴ This is probably a reference to the homestead of Jacob Hite. The killing of Hite and other members of his family along with the kidnapping of his wife and two daughters by a small band of renegade Cherokees was used by the Whigs to justify their attack on the Cherokees.

²⁵ Richard Pearis was a Tory militia leader and very substantial landowner in the portion of South Carolina now in Greenville County. His homestead was near the Reedy River Falls.

²⁶ Watson Version reads as follows:

Saturday, the fifth, our orders were to form ourselves in a hollow square, with the wagons around us. Then there was a party appointed to stay with the wagons and baggage, as guards, while the rest of us marched to our enemy's towns. We continued our course to Streke, an Indian town, called Estatoe. When within two miles of the same, we parted in divisions as follows: Colonel Thomas ordered his men to the right flank to surround our enemy's towns, and light horse of both regiments to the left, and us, to Colonel Neel's regiment, in the front or center.—We marched very carefully till coming within sight of the town, then rushed in with all speed possible, but, contrary to our expectation or desire, we got no Indians there, save one that escaped with being shot in his thigh. After this we set the houses on fire, and marched as quick as possible to another town called Qualhatchee; and our enemies having left that also, we committed it to the flames, and started with rather running than marching to another town called Taxaway. And the inhabitants thereof being deserted, we stayed there but a short time, and left it on fire to warm themselves by at their return. We well remember this also, that while we marched to the aforesaid town, a few of our men detained in this Qualhatchee town, gathering peaches, and roasting ears, being tired with traveling, they laid themselves down to rest, and the enemy, who always watches such opportunities, coming close to two of our aforesaid men, fired at them, and shot one of them through the thigh. This shot coming so unexpectedly, set the men in great surprise; for no assistance being nigh, they expected nothing but death. But making the best speed they could up a neighboring mountain, being tired with running, and the wounded man almost ready to faint, they halted to rest themselves; and casting their eyes towards the ground that they left, they espied about sixteen Indians there, looking as earnestly for blood as a hunter after his game. After this discovery, they started to our baggage guard, and got safe there. By this time we came up, wishing for such game, but finding none we made to our wagons, and arrived about sunset, being distant about nine miles.

²⁷ Watson Version reads as follows:

Sunday, the sixth of August, we started, wagons and all, and marched to our aforesaid towns again, to help them off with some of their crops and vegetables, of which they were very well stored, far beyond our conception. But to be short, we persisted in that undertaking as far as the furthestmost of the aforesaid towns. After these performances, we were yet ordered to continue, and marched down Savannah river to Sugartown, in order to meet General Williamson there, according to his own appointment. When we arrived, we found the town destroyed, and them gone. We set out after them, down the aforesaid water, to another town called Keewee, where we met with a party of the aforesaid General's regiment, whilst the other party was hunting for towns, camps, or any other place of harboring for or of our enemy.

²⁸ Watson Version reads as follows:

Thursday, the eighth, we started in our turn, scouting the Cane Brakes that was confined by the aforesaid Savannah river, and continued to Taxaway, where we routed a camp of Indians in the said town. In discovering us they all fled, save one sturdy fellow, who allowing himself to fight some, but being prevented of his design, was forced to surrender up his camp, and worse for him, his life also, with doing no other execution than wounding one of our men through the side of his belly. Then we had to leave two companies of our men with the wounded man, and the rest of us continued hunting for more of such game, and came along the said Savannah river to a town called Chittitogo, where we started some more of our foresters, and killed one squaw, and captivated a squaw and two negroes, and got information from the captives of an Indian camp up in the mountain, where was confined old Mrs. Hite and her two daughters, whom they took prisoners, when they killed the remainder of the family. They likewise informed us, that there were three hundred warriors started to Keewee, and were determined that there was a body of them yet guarding the camps.—This information put us to a stand, whether it would be expedient to return, or advance to relieve the poor prisoners; after a long consultation, it was concluded by our good Colonel Neel to pursue our enemies, which we willingly complied to, and started with a small body of men; for Colonel Thomas was ordered by him to go back to camp. But to proceed, we marched over mountains very difficult to climb, but allowing not to be conquered, we crossed them with some difficulty, and persisted as far as a mountain within three miles of the camp. Being to our view unclimbable we ascended partly to the top of the same, and making our best speed up were halted by a shot of a gun, which came from our enemies, who were screened by blinds made with broken limbs of trees; and no sooner we stopped, but they fired about fourteen guns, killed one horse and wounded another. We received no more damage, but spread round the mountain to surround them; but they cleared themselves, night coming on. We had to encamp here all night upon this mountain.

²⁹ Watson Version reads as follows:

So on Friday, the ninth, we started about daylight, and marched down to their camp. But they were all fled, and had carried Mrs. Hight about one hundred yards from their camp, and had killed her there, leaving her on her face, naked. After burying her, we ransacked the camps, getting some plunder, they not having time to carry all off.—So started back to Keewee to our camps, and lay there till an express arrived from General Williamson's scouting party, which gave the following intelligence, to wit: That on the twelfth instant, General Williamson came to Towmossy, where he saw signs of Indians very fresh—Detached Captain Perkins [sic, Andrew Pickens] and Captain Anderson [Robert Anderson] with sixty men to reconnoiter or track the enemy; likewise Major Downs [Jonathan Downs] went out with twenty men, Captain Anderson with twenty-five, parted from Captain Perkins, and crossed a creek. Soon after Captain Perkins and his thirty-five

men saw two Indians, and fired at them. The Indians instantly set up the war whoop and ran. The party followed, and was quickly met by a party of the enemy, supposed to be between two and three hundred, who engaged them very furiously, when Major Downs fortunately came up in the rear, and Anderson falling on the back of the enemy. To the right the firing was heard at the town, when Williamson turned out with one hundred and fifty men, who coming close on the back of the enemy, made them quickly give way. The furthestmost of their party being almost surrounded, and were entirely cut off, sixteen were found dead in the valley where the battle ended. These our men scalped, but did not look any further: it being now near sunset, they were called off by beat of a drum. We had two killed and sixteen wounded: three of the latter died next day, of whom was Captain Neel [Thomas Neel, Jr.] and Captain Lacy [Edward Lacey], a couple of brave officers and good men. So close was the engagement, that a stout Indian engaged a sturdy young white man, who was a good bruiser, and expert at gouging. After breaking their guns on each other, they laid hold of other, when the cracker had his thumbs instantly in the fellow's eyes, who roared and cried, "Canaly," "Enough" in English; "Damn you," says the white man, "you can never have enough while you are alive." He then threw him down, set his foot upon his head, and scalped him alive; then took up one of the broken guns and knocked out his brains. It would have been fun if he had let the latter action alone, and sent him home without his nightcap, to tell his countrymen how he had been treated. I am next to inform you that our provision being out, we concluded to return for a fresh supply of the same, and steered homewards with but one day's allowance.—Marched eastward, crossed Six Mile Creek—next to Twelve Mile Creek; from thence to Eighteen Mile Creek; from thence to Reedy River; the next waters were Lawson's Fork; so continued to Pacolet; next to Tiga River; next marched to Broad River; so continued our course home; and the number of miles that we marched from Keewee was one hundred and seventy-three miles, traveling the chief of the same on the one day's allowance; yet for all that slavery and hardship it did not deter nor daunt us from trying it again, for as soon as we got a supply of provisions, we all assembled at our noble Captain's again, the day appointed, voluntarily, to go and destroy all opposing enemies, and to pursue the Indians as far as mountains and roads admitted of.

³⁰ Col. Thomas Fletchall (1725-1789) was a prominent Tory and militia commander who lived in the Fairforest Creek area of what is now Union County, South Carolina.

³¹ Watson Version reads as follows:

Saturday, the twenty-fourth, we started from camp, and marched to Mr. Smith's, at Broad River, distant about nineteen miles. This night we received an account that Major Robinson had made his escape, being some time ago confined on account of his misbehavior; after this account, Colonel Neel ordered off Captain Andrew Neel to the aforesaid Robinson's habitation, where they found none but his wife, whom they mislabeled [mistreated?] not, but committed his effects to the flames. After this they returned to our camps.

³² Watson Version reads as follows:

Sunday, the twenty-fifth, we started, to march by order, to Sinacha Fort, where we were to meet General Williamson, our head commander, which orders we obeyed, and marched to Mr. Gondelock's meeting, nothing material happening, distant twenty miles. So we continued from thence to Waford's fort, on Lawson fork, finding nothing worth our relating, distant twenty-one miles. From thence we steered our course to Tiga River, and made the best of our way to Prince's fort, on the aforesaid waters. From thence to one Varner's, a day's march of about twenty-three miles.

³³ The Watson Version has "Perris's" [sic, Pearis] instead of Davis'.

³⁴ Watson Version reads as follows:

Friday, the thirtieth, in the morning, a little after the wagoners started to hunt their horses, our camps were surprised by a negro of Captain Ross's, who had lately arrived from hunting, who gave us the following relation: viz: That after hunting for his horses some time, he finding them by a thicket, distant from camp about one mile, and when mounting on one of them, there was a shot fired from the thickets, and he casting his eyes about, perceived a sturdy Indian rushing out therefrom and making to him, who, when he perceived, trusting to his horse for safety, set off with all speed possible, and kept his distance pretty well for about one hundred yards; but, on a sudden, the horse fell dead, occasioned by the aforesaid shot; which, when the Indian perceived, increased his pace, thinking to have had a negro to wait on him. But contrary to his expectation, the boy being supple and unwilling to have an Indian for his master, he cleared himself, and came to the camps. After this account, we instantly started in the pursuit of them, though all in vain, for we could not find them. So they cleared themselves, and took with them nine horses, and shot at another horse hunter, but he happily escaped, with having his horse shot in the rump. So close was the Indian to him that the smoke and powder lashed against him, but he fortunately escaped. After these surprises, we started and marched across the Ninety-six road, so on that course about two miles, encamped, after a day's march of about sixteen miles. This night came a man to our camp, who gave the following account of his adventures, to wit: That he was at Senica Fort, with General Williamson, and being so necessitated that he had to go home, and missing his road, happened on an Indian town called Soquani, and alighted off his horse to gather peaches or such like; and being some distance off his horse, casting his eyes round towards him, espied Indians coming to him, when he made the best of his way to our camps. This information being delivered, our Colonel ordered forty-two light horsemen to go to the aforesaid Soquani town, it being all we could raise; so they steered to the town, and coming into the same, they found the aforesaid man's horse tied where he left him; and searching further, they found four Indian horses—a small restitution for upwards of nine they took from us before. After this, we started, and marched down to Senica Fort, where we met or found General Williamson and regiment, and encamped.

³⁵ Catawba Indians.

³⁶ Watson Version reads as follows:

Sunday, the first day of September, there was a company of light horse scouts raised, and taking the Cotappo Indians with them, they being entire foes to the Cherokees, they marched along through Sugartown, likewise through Taxaway, and coming upon some fresh signs of their enemies, one of the Cotappo's being detached to track the enemy, and made out the sign as far as their camps, confined in a hallow. After this reconnoiter of the Indian, he returned to the white men, and informed them as follows: That there was a great many of them, too numerous for our white men that were there. This information occasioned them to send down an express to Sinache, our camps, for a reinforcement of men and some more provision. This being delivered, we started as quick as possible to their assistance very securely; but they not having patience to wait for our arrival, and doubting that the enemy would not stay long there, they attacked the camps; but being deceived by the situation of the same, they attacked the wrong end, and gave them a clear passage to run—as they did the first shot. The Cotappos being in the front, espied a Cherokee coming out of one of their houses, and being so confounded by the surprise, ran the wrong road for him, for instead of clearing himself, as the rest of his countrymen did, he made right in the face of our

Indians, who, willing to see such a chance, embraced the opportunity, and committed him to the terrors of death. After the departure of those cowards, the Cotappos searched next for plunder, and got a great parcel of beads, wampum, garters, and deerskins, and likewise some horses; and in getting this booty were vastly encouraged; but as they were returning with their prize, and ascending up a hill, some small distance from their camps, the Cherokees waylaid the Cotappos, and being unperceived by being behind trees, fired at them, and killed one of the head warriors among them, he who first discovered their camps. Our men instantly rushed up; but as soon as our enemies fired, they ran so that they cleared themselves. After this they started down to Taxaway, where we met them with the reinforcement; and having nothing more to do there, we all marched back to Senica Fort, and arrived Thursday the third (sic, the 5th), and lay there waiting for Colonel Sumpter and regiment, before we could start to the Middle Settlements, being too scarce for ammunition; so lay encamped till Thursday, the twelfth instant, when arrived two hundred and seventy men of Colonel Sumpter's, who encamped.

³⁷ Thomas Sumter, 1734-1832, was a lieutenant colonel in the 2nd (later, 6th) Rifle Regiment of South Carolina state troops in the spring and summer of 1776. He and his regiment were later transferred to the Continental Line. He resigned his commission as a Continental officer on September 19, 1778 and remained inactive until after the fall of Charleston in May 1780. He was promoted by Governor John Rutledge to the rank of Brigadier General in October 1780 and thereafter was the ranking officer of the South Carolina militia until the end of the war. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 395.

³⁸ Watson Version reads as follows:

Friday, the thirteenth day of September 1776, we started by beat of drum to march; our intent was for the Middle Settlements, a habitation for Indians. We, or our lines of battle, were ordered as follows: We were drawn up in three lines of wings, Colonel Sumpter commander of the right wing, Colonel Hammon commander of the left wing and Colonel Neel commander of the front or center. In this manner we marched to the waters of Cane Creek, and encamped after a day's march of about eight miles.

³⁹ Watson Version reads as follows:

Tuesday, the seventeenth of September, we started as formerly, and marched to the waters of Tennesy River, from thence to the Grassy Plains, and on to the Narrows made by the mountains on one side, and Tennesy River on the other, where we expected to have an engagement with our enemies, being so advantageous for them, being the spot where they repulsed General Grant the last war, with killing upwards of fifty men, a great many horses, and lost a vast deal of provision; so much that a great many suffered before they returned. But to be short: we came through these narrows with great courage, and continued our march to the first town in the Middle Settlements, called Thisintheagh, and finding the Indians all had fled, we encamped in this town, it being convenient on account of houserom. Here we stopped till further orders, which soon came;

⁴⁰ This is a reference to the North Carolina troops under the command of Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford.

⁴¹ Frank Ross served as a captain in Col. Thomas Neel's regiment. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 831.

⁴² Moss, *SC Patriots*, 930.

⁴³ William Patrick served as an officer in the militia in 1776 through 1782. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 756.

⁴⁴ This may be James Simril who is listed in Moss, *SC Patriots*, 866, as having served under Capt. John Anderson and Col. Thomas Neel.

⁴⁵ No one with this or any similar name was found listed in Moss, *SC Patriots*.

⁴⁶ Moss, *SC Patriots*, 699.

⁴⁷ Moss, *SC Patriots*, 135.

⁴⁸ Moss, *SC Patriots*, 95.

⁴⁹ Moss, *SC Patriots*, 587.

⁵⁰ Probably someone named Lynch. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 588.

⁵¹ Watson Version reads as follows:

Thursday, the nineteenth day of September, 1776, we started to the vallies, and a most difficult road it was, marching along Tennessey River or branch, called Cowechee; the path or road we marched led us into a long valley, or rather a hollow, surrounded by mountains on all sides, only the entrance. This place goes by the name of Black Hole, and well it deserves that title. But to proceed: on our entering, our front guard, commanded by Captain Ross, was about half through these narrows, and seeing some very fresh signs of Indians, had a mind to halt, until the two wings, that is, Colonel Sumpter and Colonel Hammon's would come up even with him; but they being tedious, the passage being narrow and difficult, and he being hurried by one John Sentspeers, who was hurrying fast to his aid, as appears by his conduct. But to be as short as possible: as I informed you, the aforesaid Captain, being about half through these narrows, the enemy was all ambuscaded around us, and not being discovered until Captain Hampton, who was Captain of the main guard, and marched on the front of the right wing, had ascended up the mountain, when he espied Indians behind a tree. After this discovery he instantly fired at them. This alarm opened or rather emptied our enemy's guns. To our surprise they poured down their bullets upon us beyond the standing of any common soldiers; but we being resolute, were determined not to be conquered, which plainly appears by our valor and magnanimity, our noble Colonel Neel being partly in the front, fought most admirably, considering his age and frailty; but casting these infirmities away, and putting on the coat of invincibleness, and rushing through his enemies like a Hercules or one fearless of danger, with his men at his back, determined to fight while there was one of them; and by our obedience to his orders we, through mercy, defeated our enemies, with the loss of thirteen gallant men. A merciful escape, considering the wonderful form those heathens were placed in; likewise the impossibility of our getting an equal chance with them. The greatest and indeed almost all the killed and wounded were in Colonel Neel's regiment, on account of our being in front of the battle. The engagement may be spoken of as a miracle, considering the multitudes of enemies, and an admirable place they had to fire on us, that we were not almost all killed; for nature never formed such an advantageous place for our enemies, which was allowed of by all spectators. This mountain is of a hemispherical form, and had to march over the center of the same, where our enemies had us partly under their fire before they were discovered. This battle continued the space of two hours very warm. But according to our orders, which was as follows: the first fire, or line (that is Colonel Neel's regiment) was ordered to the right, to assist the guard who was first attacked; and leaving our line, according to order, and none to fill up our place, the poor front guard was left amongst their heathen enemies, with none to assist them, so that them that could not get retreating died by the hand of the enemy; for Colonel Sumpter was ordered with his regiment to a mountain to the right, distant almost a mile; the chief design of that, I suppose, was to hinder our enemies from coming round on our baggage and provisions, which orders they executed very manfully; but as for Colonel Hammon's regiment, I cannot give

any account of their orders, as I had not an opportunity of seeing them; the line however that they ought to have cleared of our enemies was the left, which kept up a constant and hot fire against us; but by risking and running upon them, cleared them off their mountain, which seemed an impossibility to do, considering the advantage they had on us, on account of the situation of the mountain they were on, and likewise the grass being so admirably long, that they always had the first shot; and also the mountain being so steep, that they could handily clear themselves, so that we had, to appearance, but little chance with them. One thing, we pretty soon cleared them off their mountain; for there was no other way to conquer them than the method we took, which was to run right upon them as hard as we could run; for it would have been next to vanity to stand and fight them. But to be short, we cleared them off their mountain, without giving them so much time as to take off all their luggage; for they left baggage of about two hundred of them, that is to say, blankets, moccasins, boots, some guns, matchcoats, deerskins, &c &c. I must here give a sketch of the conduct of some of Colonel Neel's men who were wounded and escaped, first of Captain Ross, who was in the front, was slightly wounded; the Indian that fires at him thought to have his scalp, and making to him, his head being down and bleeding, struck with the gun in his hand until the force of the stroke broke the butt thereof; but the Captain recovering, and acting like a gentleman becoming his station, with all the intrepidity that nature ever endowed a hero with of this age, soon overcame him and got his scalp. This aforesaid Captain ought to be extolled to the utmost for his wonderful conduct and patriotism, who is always acting for the good and advantage of his country; and none who is not bigoted up in enthusiasm, that is to say, heat of imagination. If we were here to applaud him according to his deserts, we should neither have room nor expression to accomplish the same. But to proceed: we will next take notice of a lieutenant that was that day in the front with him, named William Patrick, a man of distinction as well as property: he was in the midst of his enemies during the whole engagement, and showed all the valor and dexterity imaginable. Next our noble Captain Clinton, who ought to be in the front of our journal on account of his valor and elegance, being a gentleman of superior dignity and flexibility, his courage is unbounded, and his conduct inexpressible, as plainly appeared by the sudden retreat of these foresters, occasioned by the undaunted courage of such superior officers, and the assistance of their good soldiers; but more particularly by the hand of Providence that interposed in our behalf, we conquered our heathen enemies.—The number of Indians that fought us that day, by information, was six hundred; the number of them that was killed is not exactly known, but we found but four dead on the ground. We had to encamp here all night, on account of burying our dead and attending the sick and wounded: a most dreadful sight to behold our fellow creatures lying massacred in such a manner by the heathens; for there was three or four scalped and one sadly speared and tomahawked. His name was John Sentspeers, who, when the battle began, ran violently up among the thick of them; so that they had time and liberty to do with [him] whatsoever they wished. There was also killed Samuel Thompson, a young man of great courage and valor, likewise a man of conduct, and gained the good will and esteem of all that ever was acquainted with him; in short, he was of that evenness of temper, that all his acquaintance desired his company. If I had time and room to display his merits, or was really able to do so, it would make the most obdurate heart lament the loss of such a hero, to think that power or authority over such a good man. But why should I say so; who by appearance was in that assembly fitter to go and attend the call he was commissioned or summoned unto? It was allowed he was deceived, by thinking it was one of our own Indians, until the Cherokee shot him with two bullets in the body. There was likewise killed John Guyton, William Moore, James Caldwell, John Branne, James Lusk and one the name of Linch,

the remainder I cannot recollect; but there was killed on the ground thirteen, and eighteen wounded; in all, killed and wounded, the number of thirty-one gallant and brave soldiers.

⁵² Watson Version reads as follows:

Saturday, the twenty-first instant, we continued our march as formerly, and as I have mentioned, of the day's march before, of the difficulties contained therein, I think this day will afford us little restitution therefor, only this, it seems something descending, we marched through laurel swamps and thickets, a place where we had not the happiness of the sun to shine on us, neither the privilege of marching without great difficulty, occasioned by the narrowness of the path, being closed in by mountains on both sides; and, also the thickets of laurel so closed over our heads, that it hindered us, I might say, from the light of the firmament. It also hindered our flankers to march, and confined us almost to one path. In this manner we marched about five miles, and on a sudden the front espied an Indian squaw; at her they fired two guns, which put us all in an alarm, allowing it an attack, but soon found to the contrary. Seeing no more Indians there, we sent up one Bremen, a half Indian, that was in [our] company, to ask her some questions; for although she was wounded in the shoulder and leg, yet she could speak, and told the interpreter as follows, viz: That all the Over Hill Indians, and the chief of the Indians of the towns we had gone through, were at that battle that was fought the day before; and further, that they were encamped about four miles ahead, and was preparing to give us battle by the river or waters of Tennesse. Hearing this account we started, and the informer being unable to travel, some of our men favored her so far that they killed her there, to put her out of pain. But to proceed, we marched as quick as possible to the aforesaid waters, beholding, as we marched, the backs and forms they had to lay their guns on, in case of an engagement, as we conjectured; and by the appearance of the same, there, appeared to the great numbers of them, which gave us fresh assurance of our having another engagement with them, which we much wished, if we could get an equal chance with them in the ground, which is almost an impossibility to do, they having such opportunities of choosing it; and likewise, they will not stand a battle with any, but when they have such advantages. By this time we came within sight of the aforesaid river, which seemed the most advantageous place for our enemies of any water we had hitherto met with, being closed in by a thicket on one side and by a large mountain on the other; however, placing our men in order, as follows, we sent the left wing over the river, the right wing up the mountain, and us in the front or centre. These were the orders of our head commander, General Williamson, which we obeyed, and marched through a dreadful valley and wonderful thickets. At length we came to a place more clear, and encamped there, after a day's march of nine miles. We are to mind, that the number of men that marched from Sinachee Fort, that drew provisions were one thousand eight hundred and sixty, but the aforesaid battle reduced us to the number of one thousand six hundred, exclusive of one hundred and sixty-four who were sent back with the sick and wounded.

⁵³ Watson Version reads as follows:

Sunday, the twenty-second day of September, 1776, we started, and it seemed as if we were never to get a road again that was travelable, for this day showed us the worst road we hitherto met with; the reason was, this day Colonel Neel's regiment was appointed for the right wing flank, which occasioned us to take to the tops of the mountains, which seemed a task hard enough for birds; but it was not a time then to hesitate; go we must, and go we did all with one consent, knowing that there was no danger or material affair to happen. Colonel Neel's regiment was all they depended upon in the execution of it, and it always happened that we came off fortunately and victorious, being crowned with fortitude capable to bring us through the greatest difficulties. So

we marched from one mountain to another, which seemed an impossibility even for fancy to accomplish it, or for the most curious writer to describe. At length we came to a mountain more curious than the rest, because it gave us a more clearer view of the neighboring mountains, and a small valley or grassy plain. This we wished to be our desired port; the distance we could not give an exact account of. I have taken notice of this extraordinary mountain which was almost impassable, being nearly perpendicular. The next mountain that offered was named by us Slaty Hill, on account of its natural produce, abounding brightly with slates. Over this we came also, and arrived at the path where the army had to march, which was little inferior to ours, only not high so high, but abounding with laurel swamps and sidelings thickets. After this manner we marched to the waters of Highwasee and encamped between two mountains, after a day's march of nine miles.

⁵⁴ Watson Version reads as follows:

Monday, the twenty-third, we made ready to march. The orders from our General was, that there should be forty men chosen out of each regiment for front guards, or rather spies, to discover the situation of the towns; so we set off, and always minded to take possession of all the hills and mountains we came to. We crossed a small mountain named Knotty Hill; from thence we steered to another, where we had a full view of a town called Burning-town, distant from us about one mile. So took to the right to surround it, and continued in that course about half way. By this time we espied the main body of our army marching into it. The front of the town we took, where we got peaceably, without shooting a gun, though a large town, having upwards of ninety houses, and large quantities of corn; but they had cleared themselves, and took with them the chief of all their effects, save some of their horses. A party of Colonel Thomas's regiment being on the hunt of plunder, or some such thing, found an Indian squaw and took her prisoner, she being lame, was unable to go with her friends; she was so sullen, that she would, as an old [?] is, neither lead nor drive, and, by their account, she died in their hands; but I suppose they helped her to her end. Here we encamped among the corn, where we had a great plenty of corn, peas, beans, potatoes and hogs. This day's march about three miles.

⁵⁵ Watson Version reads as follows:

Wednesday, the twenty-fifth of September, 1776, we engaged our former labor, that is, cutting and destroying all things that might be of advantage to our enemies. Finding here curious buildings, great apple trees, and whiteman-like improvements, these we destroyed, and marched down said vallies to another town named Nowyouwee; this we destroyed, and all things thereunto belonging, distant two miles. From hence we started to another town called Tilicho, a brave plentiful town, abounding with the aforesaid rarities; I may call them rarities; why so? because they are hemmed in on both sides by or with such large mountains, and likewise the settlements of the soil, yielding such abundance of increase, that we could not help conjecturing there was great multitudes of them; the smallest of these valley towns by our computation, exceeded two hundred acres of corn, besides crops of potatoes, peas and beans. These creatures are most curious in their way of building, according to their opportunity of instruction; they raise in each of their towns a large house, which they call a town, or in other terms, a Fowwoing-house; they raise it partly round, first by four large forks stuck in the ground upright, then from each of these forks there goes a beam to the other, which forms a frame, and by laths and other small pieces of timber, forms it a hollow square, and brings it to a tip much resembling our home-made barrack-sheds, covered with bark or grassy sods; the door or entrance is extremely narrow or straight, and when in, it is a dark as a dungeon, having no chimneys, windows, or any other hole wherein light might shine. We

allowed that in these houses they hold their idolatrous worship, it being all so tramped around, where they have had a fire. Their dwelling houses is mad some one way, and some another; some is mad with saplings stuck in the ground upright, then laths tide on these, with splits of cane or such like; so with daubing outside and in with mud nicely, they finish a close warm building. They have few or no chimneys and their fires in the middle of their houses. I am next to inform you that we marched to another town called Cannastion, and encamped; this day's march six miles.

⁵⁶ Watson Version reads as follows:

Thursday, the twenty-sixth, we started, and marched about two miles to another town called Canucy; here we stopped to destroy their handy work. From thence to another town named Ecochee; here we stopped, and served it as the last mentioned. From hence we steered to another, called Highwassah, where we met the North army, and encamped. This evening, we had the prayers of Mr. Hall, a Presbyterian minister, being in the North army, where Brigadier General Rutherford brought us sixteen prisoners, that is to say, Nathan Hicks, Walter Scot, Matthew McMahan, Richard Rattleiff, William Thomas, Godfrey Isacks, and Alexander Vernon, Hick's old squaw, named Peg, Scot's squaw and two children, one Indian fellow, named the Barking Dog, Charles Hicks, and one old squaw; these prisoners were committed to our care to secure or commit them for punishment according to their deserts, being confederates of assistants of the Indians.

⁵⁷ Watson Version reads as follows:

Friday, the twenty-seventh, we and the North army started, and marched one road about half a mile, then took different ways: We will leave them to Fortune's smiles, and relate farther of our adventures. We continued our march to a town called Great Echohech, it being destroyed by the North army, we marched through it with speed to another town called Chowwee, very large, affording vast quantities of corn, and horses beyond our numbering, without great trouble. At the end of this town there is another as large as it called Casquettheheh. These towns is allowed to be five miles in length, and in some places 2 miles breadth. I am to inform you, that the North army had took this town, and had killed 2 Indians, and captured 2, but had not destroyed the corn or houses, leaving that for us to do, knowing we would go that way. All this they did without the loss of a man, except one man who was shot that night gathering potatoes: He was shot dead on the spot: And one wounded in the arm; for the Indians takes all such opportunities to kill and destroy by lurking by creeks and thickets, when none thinks of it or is aware; an instance of this I am to relate to you in the next day's journal. Here we encamped in the Chowwee town, after a day's march of eleven miles.

⁵⁸ Moss, *SC Patriots*, 26.

⁵⁹ Moss, *SC Patriots*, 25.

⁶⁰ William Davis (?-1820) served under Cols. Neel and Thomas Bratton. He fought at Hanging Rock, Fishing Creek, King's Mountain and Guilford Court House. His children filed a claim for pension benefits by right of their mother. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 241 and endnote 7 above.

⁶¹ Probably William Gillespie was filed a pension application: S32267. Moss, *SC Patriots*, 359.

⁶² Moss, *SC Patriots*, 411.

⁶³ Moss, *SC Patriots*, 698.

⁶⁴ Moss, *SC Patriots*, 382.

⁶⁵ Watson Version reads as follows:

Saturday, the twenty-eighth day of September, 1776, this morning there was a party of us agreed to go out through the corn fields in search of some potatoes and hogs, that is to say, Wm. Armstrong and William Armer, the subject of this discourse. We marched from camp about one mile and a half, and not dreading enemies nor fearing and we came across Highwassah river, and into this Casquettheheh town, and the aforesaid Armstrong and Armer leaving us, and meeting William Hannah and Samuel Moore, they went yet further, and in crossing a creek that ran thro' the town, being surrounded by thickets and distant from camp two miles, on a sudden there rushed out of the thickets, we supposed, 20 Indians, and surrounded them, raising the war whoop, and fired, and fired at them; but the aforesaid Hannah and Moore, being riding, escaped, leaving the other poor footmen, a couple of good soldiers, as an easy prey for the heathens. Armstrong was shot in the arm, yet he returned the shot, as says the spectators, when the Indians were within three rods of him, and having to pass by an Indian house, being hemmed in by a creek, almost on all sides, and knowing, I suppose, that they could not escape, seeing the enemies between them and the camp, Armstrong turned and fired at them, then striving to escape, making to clear the [?] when the Indians seeing this took the nigh cut of them, and as they got clear of the creek, the Heathens met them and shot Armstrong through with six bullets; Armer being behind, was shot dead also and scalped—a couple of clever young men, gay, gallant, and virtuous, not being afraid of any enemy. I must take notice of another of their company, a young man named Greams, who was riding, and was deadly wounded, that is to say, from haunch to haunch; his horse shot also, yet the horse carried him out of their reach, which hindered them of getting his scalp. The camps not being apprised of this affair until Hannah and Moore came in riding: A merciful escape, for the Indians were all around them, and also between them and our camps, but by riding swift, and taking such a circuit, they came safe in; when delivering their tragical express, there was a party of light horse sent to pursue the enemy; but in vain, there being such great mountains on all sides, they cleared themselves.—We next joined the cutting of corn, after burying our dead.—The quantities of corn that is contained in these two towns is not easily comprehended, but to appearance there is better than nine hundred acres of the waters of the High Wassa.

⁶⁶ LeRoy Hammond, 1729-1790, commander of a SC Patriot backcountry militia regiment under the command of General Andrew Williamson. Like Williamson, Hammond took parole from the British following the fall of Charleston, but he later reentered the war as a patriot commander under General Andrew Pickens. LeRoy Hammond was the brother-in-law of Andrew Williamson.

⁶⁷ Watson Version reads as follows:

Monday, the 30th, about two o'clock, our wounded man dyed in great misery. About seven o'clock we started, and crossed Highwassah river to a town called Nacuchy. Here we encamped, being convenient for corn, after a day's march of 14 miles.

⁶⁸ Watson Version reads as follows:

Tuesday the 1st day of October, we prepared to march, our lines being regularly viewed, and placed in order as follows: Col. Sumpter commander of the right wing, Col. Hammons commander of the left, Col. Neel commander of the front and centre, and Gen. Williamson commander of the whole. Our orders, when attacked, was for the two wings, that is to say, right and left, surround the enemy, and our division to fight our way into the front. — These orders we willingly consented to, and were ready to obey when occasion served. We marched with all care possible, sending out flanking guards on the mountains, thinking we should have an engagement at the head of

Highwassah waters, on account of the narrows thereat, and mountains on both sides, which, by the account of the pilot, was as convenient for them almost as Black Hole: But with great courage and resolution, resolving to have satisfaction, or die in the attempt, for the great slavery and hardships they put us unto, and more particularly the loss of so many gallant men, we marched up said mountain, and after crossing the same, we came to the waters of the great Ocany river to the head of Oakmulgy Creek, that runs into the river Saint Mary's above Augusteen ; down this we marched, crossing it about 16 times:--at length we came to a large town called Chote, containing upwards of one hundred houses, and great quantities of corn. This town is in the Creek Indian Line, lying on the waters that runs through the creek towns, and did formerly belong to them; but given to the Cherokees some time ago by the Creeks. Here we encamped till further orders. **[END]**