

BUFFALO FORD

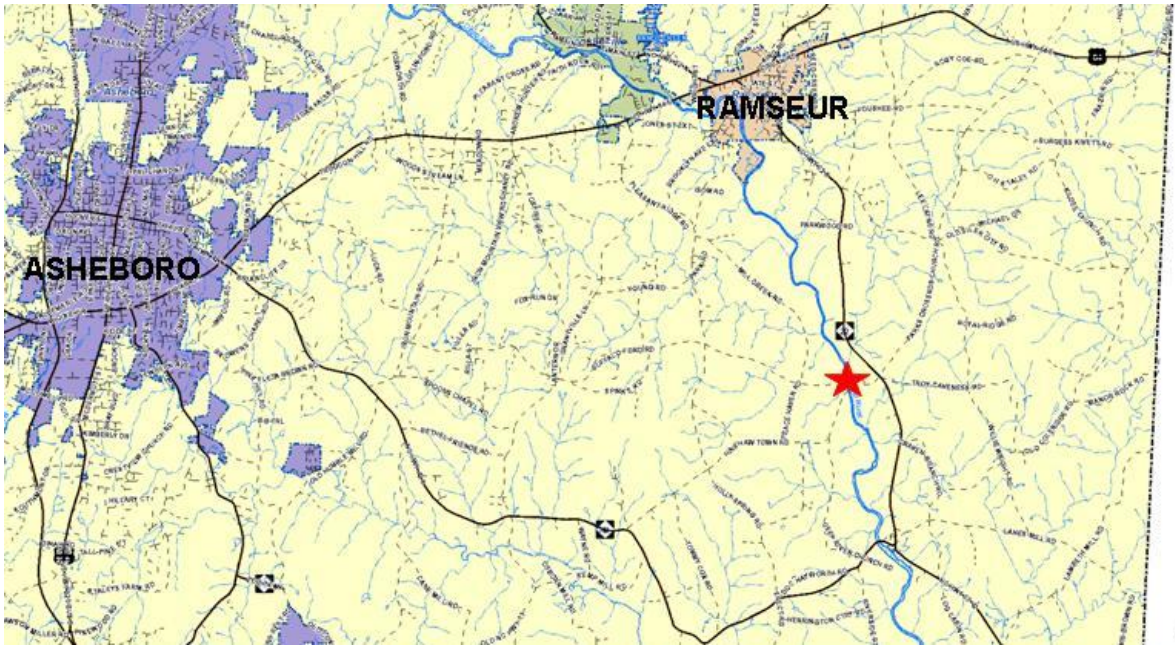
Cultural Heritage Site Nomination
By Warren Dixon



Randolph County Historic Landmark Preservation Commission
February 24, 2015



Likely site of Buffalo Ford and path of the road.



Location of Buffalo Ford within Randolph County

Buffalo Ford was one of Central North Carolina's most important prehistoric and colonial transportation junctions. Tradition has it that buffalo crossed the Deep River at the spot before Europeans arrived in the area. Native Americans followed ancient trails to shallow, fordable crossings such as



these and later immigrants turned the native trails into the first roads opening up the region for settlement. Buffalo Ford was an important colonial intersection where the east-west road from Salisbury to Cross Creek (Fayetteville) and Wilmington crossed the north-south road from Hillsborough to Camden, S.C. It was one of the four major crossing points of Deep River available before 1800.ⁱ

As to be expected of such a major river crossing, several related historic sites are located within a mile of Buffalo Ford. The area was known as Cox's Settlement by the early 1760's and its vicinity includes the Thomas Cox and Harmon Cox mill sites, scenes of much activity during the Regulation and Revolutionary War. David Fanning's Tory headquarters, known as "the Fort of Deep River at Cox's Mill" was nearby. Fanning carried out several ambushes at the ford and fought skirmishes with Patriot militia there while headquartered at Harmon Cox's Mill from 1781-82.ⁱⁱ

Buffalo Ford will forever be tied to the disastrous Battle of Camden, one of the worst defeats of the Revolutionary War. Decisions made at the ford helped seal the Continental Army's doom at Camden, but it was also at the ford that the career of Francis Marion, one of America's most colorful Revolutionary characters, was launched. Some of the earliest histories of the war, such as Benson John Lossings' **Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution (1850)**, listed Buffalo Ford, Spinks' Farm and Bell's Mill among the Revolution's most important sites located in North Carolina.ⁱⁱⁱ

General George Washington himself started the chain of events which would quarter the Army at the Ford in April, 1780. In response to the British planned attack on Charleston, Washington ordered part of the Continental Army South to support General Benjamin Lincoln. He deputized command of the unit to Major General Baron de Kalb, the German-born commander of the Maryland brigade. The Continental Army had barely survived a disastrous winter in New Jersey, with provisions so minimal that the men had been reduced to boiling shoe leather.^{iv} Preparations for the expedition took until May, by which time Charleston was under siege. General de Kalb's forces rendezvoused in Richmond, Virginia, but little of the expected logistical support was available there. He moved the army on to Hillsborough, N.C., where he received word of the surrender of General Benjamin Lincoln and his 5,000 troops in Charleston. As second-in-command, de Kalb by default became theater commander of the entire Southern Continental Army.^v



*Johann von Robais,
Baron de Kalb*

De Kalb shepherded his surviving fragment of the Southern Continental Army to Buffalo Ford and evidently made [Harmon Cox's Mill](#) his headquarters, arriving July 6, 1780. With him were approximately 400 men of the 1st Maryland Brigade, 500 soldiers of the 2nd Maryland Brigade, 120 cavalrymen under Lt. Colonel Charles Armand and the Continental artillery with eight cannon and about 100 men. De Kalb's forces were joined on July 19 by some 280 regulars of the 1st Delaware, bringing his total troop count to an estimated 1,400 soldiers.^{vi}

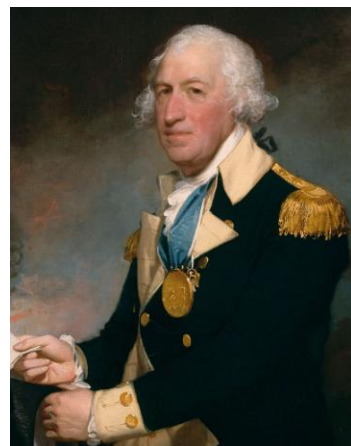
There is no way to know exactly how many troops De Kalb had at Buffalo Ford. Although most of the North Carolina Militia under General Richard Caswell were well ahead of De Kalb, a few straggling units joined him at Deep River including the Chatham County militia. Although surely exaggerated, James Hunt estimated that by the time the entire army assembled near Camden it had "the

appearance of five hundred baggage wagons.” On August 8, not quite two weeks after leaving Deep River, Colonel Otho Williams reported that the army was “encumbered with an enormous train of heavy baggage, a multitude of women and not a few children.” With an unknown number of militia units, camp followers, wagoneers, foragers and others, De Kalb’s camp on Deep River could have easily swelled to 2,000 or more inhabitants. In comparison, General Nathanael Greene marched to South Carolina after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse with just 1,500 men.^{vii}

The camp at Buffalo Ford probably stretched for over two miles along the river, most likely causing much of a stir to the local Randolph County inhabitants. Its size has also created confusion to historians, as contemporary writers refer not just to the Ford, but to the adjoining mill tracts and farms. The 1st Delaware reported that they “marched to Hollingsworth’s at the Buffalo Ford.” Jacob and Mary Hollingsworth owned land at the mouth of Broad Mouth Creek, a mile or so south of the ford. Cox’s mill was a mile or so north, so it’s evident that the army was fairly spread out.^{viii}

In spite of the two nearby mills, the army had arrived at Buffalo Ford at a bad time of year. Colonel Otho Williams said that “the crop of corn was exhausted and new grain was too young.” Soldiers ate green ears and boiled them, with no salt, with the meat of half-starved cattle found in the woods.^{ix}

Anxious at the collapse of southern forces in Charleston, the Continental Congress ignored George Washington’s choice of de Kalb, an exceptionally qualified officer, to appoint “the Hero of Saratoga,” General Horatio Gates, to take full command of the Southern Continental Army. When he received word of his replacement on July 16, de Kalb wrote Gates from his Deep River camp. “I have struggled with a good many difficulties for provisions...there are no



Gen. Horatio Gates

immediate supplies to depend on...although I have put troops on short allowance for bread, we cannot even get that, no flour laid in..." He added, "You will find the Army at or near Coxes' Mill." ^x

On the night of July 24, Gates arrived at Buffalo Ford with thirty "life guards" from the Virginia militia. The next day he took command of the army from General de Kalb amid "great rejoicing in the army", "demonstrations of joy" and the firing of a 13-gun "Continental salute", one cannon round for each of the original states.^{xi}

Gates then called a meeting of his officers and announced that the army would leave Deep River immediately and follow a direct route to South Carolina through present-day Montgomery and Anson counties. Gates was adamant about leaving as soon as possible. As he told his aide-de-camp, Thomas Pinckney, "We might as well march on and starve as starve lying here." His officers, particularly Colonel Otho Williams, argued that the Anson route was mostly poor, barren country filled with Tories. They had no provisions at Deep River and would certainly suffer even more if they took the shorter route. Colonel Williams "ventured to reason with Gates, saying the country was barren, abounding with sandy plains, intersected with swamps and thinly inhabited. On the other hand, the Colonel represented that a route about north-west would lead to the little town of Salisbury in the midst of a fertile country." This route would also take them to Charlotte, a more friendly and prosperous country. The fact that the troops had come from Hillsborough to Buffalo Ford and were then considering one of two different routes, one to South Carolina, the other to Salisbury and Charlotte, illustrates just what an important intersection Buffalo Ford was at the time. ^{xii}

Gates refused to change his mind and commanded that the army take the shorter route, promising that supplies were on the way. On July 26, Gates ordered that the "Troops strike their tents tomorrow (July 27) at half an hour after three, cross the ford near the present encampment and proceed on the road leading to Spinks" This shows that the Continental Army was indeed camped on the east side of the river.^{xiii}

One unit which joined the Army in North Carolina was a band of about twenty horsemen, reported by Colonel Otho Williams to be “distinguished by small black leather caps and the wretchedness of their attire.. Some white, some black, some boys, all mounted, but most of them miserably equipped... their appearance was in fact so burlesque that it was with much difficulty the diversion of regular soldiers was restrained by the officers...”^{xiv}

It was Colonel Francis Marion, commander of the 2nd South Carolina Brigade of the Continental Army, who had evaded capture after the fall of Charleston. The ailing Marion and his ragtag group of soldiers had ridden from central South Carolina to receive their orders. Marion, recuperating from a broken ankle, had to be helped from his horse by a Negro servant and his adjutant, Peter Horry.



Francis Marion

According to Colonel Horry, Marion’s good friend who served with him for most of the war, the brigade had come to Hillsborough and had been told “Washington has sent a gallant detachment of Continentals who were now in full march to aid South Carolina. We hurried off to meet them at Roanoke where it was said they were crossing. On reaching the river, we found that they had all got over and had just formed their line of march.” When they were introduced to General de Kalb, he had told them they were “the first Carolinians he had seen.”^{xv}

Horry said that that they came to like de Kalb immensely. The night of July 24, while camped at Buffalo Ford, he related a meal with the general. “De Kalb said he hoped we had good military stomachs that could relish and digest plain fare,” Horry wrote. “Dinner was just half a side of a miserably poor pig, as miserably cooked and in such a small quantity...as to bread there was not even a hoe cake. By way of substitute, we had sweet potatoes. Our drink was admirably suited for the dinner...apple brandy and river water.” As they were smoking their

pipes after the meal, “an officer stepped in and announced the arrival of General Gates.”^{xvi}

Although Horry did not mention Deep River or Buffalo Ford, we know for certain he and Marion were there because of a short entry in Gates’ After Orders of July 26, 1780, which says, “Colonel Marion, with the Volunteer Horse of South Carolina, will march with and attend the General.”^{xvii}

Marion met with Gates and de Kalb and may have helped plan strategy for the move toward Camden. Certainly Marion and his men had the most current information on the state of food and forage along the Pee Dee Road. But Gates refused to take the advice of de Kalb or the other officers who advocated for moving the army towards Charlotte. Peter Horry was critical of Gate’s choice of a direct move on Camden, as was Otho Williams. “Instead of moving on as old de Kalb had done with a prudent regard to the health and refreshment of the troops...he drove them on without regard to either,” Horry wrote. Historians have said that Gates was anxious to rid himself of Marion and his picaresque horsemen. Williams said that Gates “was glad of an opportunity of detaching Colonel Marion, at his own instance, towards the interior of South Carolina, with orders to watch the motions of the enemy and furnish intelligence.” Horry said that “so confident was he (Gates) of victory that on the morning before the fatal battle he ordered Marion and myself to hasten on to the Santee River and destroy every scow, boat or canoe that could assist the British on their flight to Charleston.”^{xviii}

So it was that the legend of the Swamp Fox was launched at Buffalo Ford. After Colonel Thomas Sumter’s defeat, Marion would soon be the only Continental officer in command in South Carolina. General Gates, on the other hand, hampered by a bad decision to immediately move south, was destined to failure and disgrace.

As planned, the Continental Army moved from Buffalo Ford on the early morning of July 27, and established a new camp at the Spinks farm, 13 miles away. Other units struggled to catch up; 700 soldiers of the Virginia Militia under

General Edward Stevens began arriving at Buffalo Ford just a day behind Gates.^{xix}

The provisions Gates had promised never arrived and the Virginia men arriving at the ford found that the departing army had left them nothing to eat. “General Stevens arrived at Deep River,” Gates wrote General Caswell, “He is distressed even for flour.”^{xx}

Several days later, Gates again wrote Stevens, “To the Virginia Militia still at Coxe’s...the desert affords nothing, therefore the sooner you get through it the better. Calling the area between the Buffalo Ford and Camden “a desert” certainly describes what a poor, barren area it must have been that summer.”^{xxi}

On August 3, 1780, Gates wrote to Governor Nash that “General Stevens with the Virginia militia is halted at Buffalo Ford, fifty miles to my rear and cannot proceed for want of provisions Your Excellency cannot believe this miserable country.” The same day, he wrote General Caswell, “I suffer every distress from want of provision.” Then he added in a letter to Thomas Jefferson, “Since I joined the army at Deep River, my distress has been inconceivable.”^{xxii}

Gates had gotten himself in a bind. The Virginia militia was behind him, using up any of the meager supplies coming from the direction of Deep River, and Richard Caswell’s North Carolina troops were in front of him, scouring the countryside of every ear of green corn and scrawny cow. To General Caswell he wrote on August 3, “You have gleaned the country on both sides of the river and the Virginia militia devours all that comes forward.” Colonel Peter Horry remarked that “numbers were knocked down every night by agues, fluxes and other maladies brought on by excessive fatigue and lack of food.”^{xxiii}

Pension applications filed by some of the Virginia militiamen tell the tale:

Thomas Poindexter wrote that “We were detained for several days (on Deep River) by high water”. He told how he and fellow soldier “swam the river to get some unripe peaches on the other side.” Poindexter also noted that, when they finally got underway toward South Carolina, “We marched from four in the morning to twelve at night and ate mostly unripe fruit and green corn.”^{xxiv}

David Shepherdson, also a Virginian, said, “We marched to Hillsborough thence to Deep River where we nearly perished, fasting three days, having eaten nothing but a few green crab apples.”^{xxv}

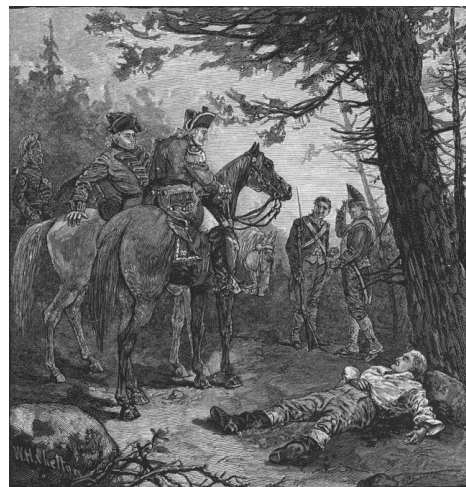
The Virginia militia finally linked up with the Continental Army August 15, the day before the fateful battle. Gates and the majority of General Caswell’s North Carolina Militia, estimated to be 1500-1800 men, joined forces August 7.^{xxvi}

The heat and humidity of August didn’t help matters and once the entire army did arrive near Camden, the soldiers were in bad shape. Joseph Reany of the North Carolina Militia said that, “In the evening (before the battle) the soldiers drew molasses and drank freely and by 10:00 the ground was strewn with men moaning, vomiting and purging.” Colonel Otho Williams said, “One gill (four ounces) of molasses per man and a hasty meal of quick baked bread and fresh beef acted as to disorder very many of the men who were breaking ranks all night and were certainly much debilitated before the action commenced in the morning.”^{xxvii}

That night, August 15, a starved, emaciated army, two-thirds of which was “raw troops” and had never been in a battle, stumbled into Cornwallis’s British troops. The next morning, Cornwallis attacked.^{xxviii}

The Virginia militia almost immediately fled, followed by the North Carolina militia. As Joseph Reany later said, “The North Carolina Militia did not run until the Virginia militia had ‘cut dirt’. I was pretty bad scared.”^{xxix}

Gates later said both militias “ran like a torrent.” De Kalb’s Maryland brigades and the 1st Delaware, along with a militia unit from Caswell County, N.C., held their ground until almost surrounded. Then they too retreated. De Kalb fought bravely to the end, wounded from three musket balls and eight bayonet wounds. He died at Camden three days later.^{xxx}



The death of de Kalb at Camden

Gates, however, fled with the militia. By the evening of the battle, he was in Charlotte, sixty miles away. By August 19, mere days after the defeat, he was in Hillsborough, what must have been a record breaking horseback ride of a total of 170 miles. Colonel Peter Horry said that, "It was common talk in those days that he (Gates) killed three horses in his flight." De Kalb's biographer, Friedrich Kapp, said, "It was not a fight but a chase and scamper." Congress soon replaced the disgraced Horatio Gates by Nathanael Greene, Washington's choice all along, and the Battle of Camden became widely known as "Gate's Defeat."^{xxxix}

While Gates may have skedaddled to safety in Charlotte, many of his men evidently retraced their weary steps up the Pee Dee Road, and at some point would have passed through Buffalo Ford on the way to Hillsborough, where they rendezvoused. The guards left in guard of the baggage and provision wagons evidently did just that.^{xxxix}

After the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in March 1781, General Nathanael Greene's army passed through Chatham County and crossed Deep River at nearby Searcy's Ferry, but may not have used the former camp at the Ford. But even deserted by the Continental Army, Buffalo Ford remained a rendezvous point for the state militia throughout the remainder of the war. Several militia companies report spending as much as two months at a time at the ford and companies from as far away as Wilkes County often camped in the area, at what they termed "Fanning's stronghold", looking for the Tory Colonel and his band. James Scott of the Orange County, N.C. militia reported that on his retreat from the Battle of Camden, he "came up to Deep River where a company of Continentals were stationed." This was evidently the group left to guard the ford and hospital corpsmen attending to artillery Colonel Harrison, who had been "severely wounded by the kick of a horse...and was left at Buffalo Ford on Deep River," when the Army moved toward Camden.^{xxxix}

In 1781, David Fanning took over what remained of the Army camp, probably making use of what had been the headquarters near Cox's Mill. The actual facilities that had been created there by the Army during the summer of

1780 were never recorded, but can be extrapolated from Army practice in other areas. The Continental Army's winter camp of 1778 in Redding, CT, was actually three separate camps, a half mile or more apart, "strategically positioned to defend the main highways." One camp had 116 log huts set up in an avenue a quarter mile long and several yards wide.^{xxxiv}

The Army at Buffalo Ford and Cox's Mill may not have built log huts, but certainly the soldiers created some kind of shelter, whether tents or pole sheds covered with leaves and branches. Virginia militia veterans of the Camden campaign who assembled at Hillsborough built and spent several miserable weeks in August and September 1780 living in a "bush barracks" (similar to a revivalist's brush arbor) that extended a quarter to a half mile long.^{xxxv} Something similar may have kept the enlisted men at Buffalo Ford out of the summer sun and rain. More elaborate quarters, however, were certainly provided for Baron de Kalb and his officer corps. Three other generals were present at Buffalo Ford, with their headquarters staff, and each regiment would have had its colonel or lieutenant colonel, major, and various staff officers.

In addition to housing, the Army would have had work areas for blacksmiths and farriers; corrals for horses, storage areas for food and supplies, latrines, kitchens and bake ovens. Harmon Cox's Mill could process whatever wheat and corn was available, and there may have been an official county commissary storehouse or "magazine" there, meant to provide supplies to the local Militia. Whether that or some other structure at Cox's Mills was somehow fortified and subsequently used by Fanning as his headquarters is open to debate. What is clear, however, is that the Continental Army's use and improvement of the area, together with its location as a transportation hub, made it very attractive to David Fanning when he was looking for a base of operations.

After the war Buffalo Ford gradually lost some of its importance as those transportation routes changed. When Asheboro was established as the county seat in 1792, official "post roads" and "stage roads" that had formerly followed the ancient Indian trails were realigned to feed traffic to the center of government. Local property owners attempted in 1797 to establish a village named

Coxborough. It was authorized to be laid out at or near one of the Cox's mills but it never developed. Local residents received mail at the Buffalo Ford post office from 1850 to January 1904 when it was discontinued and mail was sent to Ramseur. Braxton Craven, one of the founders of Trinity College, later Duke University, grew up just north of the ford.^{xxxvi}

In 1812, residents petitioned "to keep the Buffalo Ford in repair, that part of one side had nearly become impassable." But the ford was most convenient to pedestrian and animal traffic and the increasing use of wheeled vehicles required bridges.^{xxxvii}

In 1835, the County contracted with Tidence Lane "to build a bridge on Deep River at Buffalo Ford". In January, 1838, a committee examined the bridge and reported that "the bridge was neither put in the place laid out and not according to plan" and that furthermore Lane had failed to complete it by the time agreed. Nevertheless, the County agreed to pay Lane \$675. In August, 1854, a contract was let with Thomas Allred to build a bridge at Buffalo Ford for \$2,673. The bridge was finished in 1855. Both early bridges would have been covered bridges, to protect the wooden structure from rot.^{xxxviii}

In the 1880's, Buffalo Ford became the site of Randolph County's first iron and steel bridge. Today's traffic crosses Deep River on a bridge built in 1956, evidently built about a hundred yards south of the original ford.^{xxxix}

ⁱ Compleat Map of North Carolina, John Collet, 1770, www2.lib.unc.edu/dc/NCMaps

ⁱⁱ Cox's Mill: In Search of David Fanning's Headquarters, Warren Dixon, 2009; The Narrative of Colonel David Fanning, A Tory in the Revolutionary War With Great Britain, Giving an Account of His Adventures in North Carolina, David Fanning.

ⁱⁱⁱ Benson John Lossing, The Pictorial Field-book of the Revolution; Or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the War for Independence, Volume 1 (Harper & Brothers, 1850).

^{iv} Private Joseph Plumb Martin's memoirs: "We are absolutely, literally starved. I do solemnly declare that I did not put a single morsel of victuals into my mouth for four days and as many nights, except for a little black birch bark which I gnawed off a stick of wood. I saw several men roast their old shoes and eat them..." ---"Winter of 1779-1780 in New Jersey," by Donald N. Moran (SAR Magazine, Fall 2004), at <http://www.revolutionarywararchives.org/coldwinter.html>

^v The Life of John de Kalb, Major General in the Revolutionary Army, Friedrich Kapp, 1884

^{vi} www.battleofcamden.org ; Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene, William Johnson, Vol. 1, 1822; Colonel Otho Williams (see #6) said that Gates left two cannon at Deep River for want of horses and that these cannon were retrieved and taken to Hillsborough after the battle.

Gates said he brought eight cannon to Deep River and in a letter to the President of Congress after his defeat he said “We only lost eight cannon.” (see #29)

^{vii} Pension applications of James Hunt (R5394), Matthew Keys (S1681) Thomas Steel (S7603); A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780, Colonel Otho H. Williams, Adjutant General, www.battleofcamden.org

^{viii} Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line, Part 1, 1780-1782, www.battleofcamden.org ; Letter from de Kalb to General Gates, July 16, 1780 from Deep River Camp, Life of de Kalb, by Kapp, p. 204-5, “I am to move towards Cox’s Mill higher up on Deep River...”; Randolph Deed Bk 5, page 23, Oct 9 1788, Jacob and Mary Hollingsworth sell land on “east side of Deep River beginning at mouth of Broad Mouth Creek...” Jacob and Mary are the only Hollingsworth’s in Randolph County deeds until the 1900’s.

^{ix} Life of John de Kalb, Kapp

^x Baron de Kalb to Gates, July 16, 1780, Clark, State Records of North Carolina, p. 503; Life of John de Kalb, Kapp, p. 8

A lack of provisions wasn’t the only discomfort de Kalb suffered. In a letter to his wife dated June 21, 1780, while de Kalb was camped in Granville County, N.C., he wrote: “Here I am at last considerably south suffering from intolerable heat, the worst of quarters, the most voracious of insects of every hue and form. The most disagreeable of the latter is what is commonly called the tick, a kind of strong black flea which makes its way under the skin and by its bite produces the most painful irritation and inflammation...my whole body is covered with these stings...of the violence of thunderstorms in this part of the world, Europeans cannot form any idea...” Life of de Kalb, Kapp, p. 16-17.

^{xi} Journal of Lt. Thomas Anderson of the Delaware Regiment, 1780-1782, www.battleofcamden.org “July 25, 1780, This day General Gates took command.”; Pension applications of Matthew Key (S1681), William Cook (R2280), Constantine Clarkson (S32180), www.revwarapps.org

^{xii} A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780 by Colonel Otho Williams, p. 487 www.battleofcamden.org ; Biography of John de Kalb, Kapp, p. 207-208; Letter from Thomas Pinckney to William Johnson, July 17, 1822, August 1866 Historical Magazine, p. 244.

^{xiii} Orders issued by Major General Gates While Commanding the Southern Army July 26-August 31, 1780, www.battleofcamden.org ; “Spinks Farm” is undoubtedly Enoch Spink’s widow’s farm on Fork Creek. In 1781, Nathanael Greene’s army camped at “the Widow Spink’s” on April 8, 1781 on the way to South Carolina after the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Journal of Lt. Thomas Anderson of the Delaware Regiment, 1780-81.

^{xiv} A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780, Otho Williams, www.battleofcamden.org ; Colonel Peter Horry said (see #14, p. 110) when he and Marion left Gates, their men “were about 30 in number.”

^{xv} The Life of General Francis Marion, a Celebrated Partisan Officer in the Revolutionary War against the British and Tories in S.C. and Georgia, by Brig. General Peter Horry of Marion’s Brigade, published in 1891 p. 90-91. Horry said that he wrote this “28 years after the events.”

^{xvi} Ibid p. 97

^{xvii} Orders Issued by General Gates, www.battleofcamden.org

^{xviii} The Life of General Francis Marion, by Peter Horry; A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780, Otho Williams, p. 102.

^{xix} Letter of General Gates to General Caswell, July 29, 1780 from Camp Kimbrough, www.battleofcamden.org ,

^{xx} Ibid

^{xxi} Ibid

^{xxii} Ibid

^{xxiii} Ibid; The Life of Marion, by Colonel Peter Horry p. 102. Horry also wrote on p. 101: “We were in such a miserable country where many a family goes without dinner. We did sometimes fall in with a little corn but then the poor skinny, sun burnt woman with long uncombed tresses... would run screaming to us with tears in her eyes declaring that if we took away their corn they and their children must perish...” p. 101.

^{xxiv} Pension application of Thomas Poindexter, (W5556) www.revwarapps.org

^{xxv} Pension application of David Shepherdson (S6076) ibid

^{xxvi} Pension application of Sturdey Garner (S16819) ibid; Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene by William Johnson, 1822; Otho Williams said “Caswell evaded every order to join Gates...” A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780, p. 488

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- xxvii Pension application of Joseph Reany (W11127) www.revwarapps.org; A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780 by Colonel Otho Williams., p. 494.
- xxviii www.battleofcamden.org
- xxix Pension application of Joseph Reany.
- xxx Letter from Gates to the President of Congress, from Hillsborough, August 20, 1780. Gates wrote "In the deepest distress and anxiety of mind I am obliged to acquaint you with the total defeat of the troops under my command." letter from Le Chevalier Du Buysson to unknown person, September 2, 1780. Du Buysson was with De Kalb when he was wounded and captured. www.battleofcamden.org
- xxxi Letter from Gates to Major General Richard Caswell, from Hillsborough, August 22, 1780, "Upon my arrival at Charlotte the night of the 16th..." www.battleofcamden.org
- xxxii Revolutionary War pension application of Allen Christian, a Virginia militiaman, <http://revwarapps.org/s32170.pdf>.
- xxxiii Letter from Horatio Gates to Gov. Thomas Jefferson, 3 August 1780, www.battleofcamden.org; Pension applications of James Scott (S6062), Lot Strickland (S7657) and James McDaniel (S9432) Francis Holt(R5182), David Black (S10393), James Sullinger (W27638), William Barrett (S8046) www.revwarapps.org
- xxxiv The History of Revolutionary War in Redding, CT; edited by Brent M. Colley (2008) <http://www.historyofredding.com/HRrevwar.htm>
- xxxv "They now according to orders retreated to Hillsborough North Carolina where they put up what they called "Bush Barrack's", being constructed by setting poles on end in a leaning position after the manner of the rafters of a house, and then covering them with bushes of trees. These Barracks must have been from a quarter to a half mile in length. In these they lived miserably for several weeks until they were almost literally starved." Pension application of Allen Christian, S32170, <http://revwarapps.org/s32170.pdf>
- xxxvi The Architectural History of Randolph County, Lowell McKay Whatley, Jr., 1985; Life of Braxton Craven by Jerome Dowd, Duke University Press, 1939; Post Offices and Postmasters of North Carolina, Volume III, North Carolina Postal History Society; Randolph County Road Records, Vol. 1, 1791-1835, edited by Stewart E. Dunaway.
- xxxvii Randolph County Road Records, Vol. 1, page 107, Dunaway.
- xxxviii Ibid p.15-24 and p. 94.
- xxxix The Architectural History of Randolph County, Whatley, 1985; Analysis of Randolph County Deed Bk 19, page 286, 1832, Jacob Cox to Nathan Cox, "line a little above Buffalow Ford".