



Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution

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Vol. 3 No. 9

September 2006

Proudly sponsors & presents

The Eutaws Campaign of Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Companion to the Battle of Eutaw Springs Conference & Tour - September 9, 2006



Battle of Eutaw Springs painting by artist Alonzo Chappell (1829-1887) of General Greene mounted on a white horse.

Hosted by Rev. John F. Scott and

	<h1>THE HISTORIC CHURCH OF THE EPIPHANY</h1>
<p>Eutawville, South Carolina The Episcopal Church Welcomes You!</p>	

The Eutaws Campaign of Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Battle of Eutaw Springs Conference & Tour

Saturday, September 9, 2006
Church of the Epiphany, Eutawville, SC

- 8:30 – 9:00 am – Registration
9:00 – 9:10 am – Welcome & Opening Remarks - Rev. John F. Scott & Charles B. Baxley
9:10 – 9:50 am - **Dennis M. Conrad, "He thinks I have not done justice to his services": Nathanael Greene, "Light Horse Harry" Lee, and the battle of Eutaw Springs."**
9:50 – 10:00 am - Questions & Answers
10:00 – 10:20 am - Break – refreshments

10:20 – 10:45 am - **Lee McGee – “Cavalry Operations in 18th Century Combat”**
10:45 – 10:55 am - Questions & Answers
10:55 – 11:15 am - Break – refreshments

11:15 – 11:40 am – **Charles F. Price, “Eutaw Springs: Battle as Fact and as Experience, A Novelist’s View”**
11:40 – 11:50 am – Questions & Answers

11:50 – 12:45 pm - Lunch (included at the church)

12:45 – 12:50 pm – **SCAR presentations**
12:50 – 1:00 pm - quick break

1:00 – 1:10 pm – **Christine R. Swager, “British & Loyalists Troops at Eutaw Springs.”**
1:10 – 1:20 pm – **Steven J. Rauch, “Patriot Forces at Eutaw Springs.”**
1:20 – 1:30 pm - **Steven J. Rauch, “Weapons, Uniforms and Tactics.”**
1:30 – 1:40 pm - **Robert M. Dunkerly, “Post Battle Military Operations.”**
1:40 – 1:50 pm - **Jim Picuch, “Victory and Defeat – How Historians view the Battle of Eutaw Springs and Post Battle Strategic Changes.”**
1:50 – 2:00 pm – **Scott Butler, “Archaeological Research at Eutaw Springs.”**

- 2:00 – 2:10 pm – **Gen. George Fields**, Palmetto Conservation Foundation – Eutaw Springs Battlefield Preservation
2:10 – 2:30 pm - Questions & Answers

2:30 – 2:45 pm – Break - Refreshments - Carpool to the Eutaw Springs Battlefield

2:45 – 5:25 pm - **Eutaw Springs Battlefield tour** – David Reuwer, Charles Baxley, Lee McGee, Steve Rauch, Bert Dunkerly, Irene Boland, Scott Butler & Jim Picuch

5:30 – 5:55 pm - **SAR and DAR 225th Anniversary Commemoration Eutaw Springs Monument**

6:00 – 6:10 pm – drive to Numertia Plantation

6:15 – 7:30 pm - Reception at **Numertia Plantation – Eutawville, SC**



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Eutaw Springs

At Eutaw Springs the valiant died;
Their limbs with dust are covered o'er;
Weep on, ye springs, your tearful tide;
How many heroes are no more!

If in this wreck of ruin, they
Can yet be thought to claim a tear,
O smite thy gentle breast, and say
The friends of freedom slumber here!
Thou, who shalt trace this bloody plain,
If goodness rules thy generous breast,
Sigh for the wasted rural reign;
Sigh for the shepherds sunk to rest!

Stranger, their humble groves adorn;
You too may fall, and ask a tear:
'Tis not the beauty of the morn
That proves the evening shall be clear.

They saw their injured country's woe,
The flaming town, the wasted field;
Then rushed to meet the insulting foe;
They took the spear--but left the shield.

Led by thy conquering standards, Greene,
The Britons they compelled to fly:
None distant viewed the fatal plain,
None grieved in such a cause to die--

But, like the Parthian, famed of old,
Who, flying, still their arrows threw,
These routed Britons, full as bold,
Retreated, and retreating slew.

Now rest in peace, our patriot band;
Though far from nature's limits thrown,
We trust they find a happier land,
A bright Phoebus of their own.

Philip Freneau (1752 - 1832 USA)

The Eutaws Campaign of Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene: Battle of Eutaw Springs Conference & Tour Saturday, September 9th, 2006

**“Giving the enemy a deadly blow.
I have a good mind to put all to the hazard...”**

Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution and the historic Church of the Epiphany in Eutawville, South Carolina proudly present a conference on the Eutaw Springs military campaign of

“The Fighting Quaker” - Major General Nathanael Greene and Eutaw Springs battlefield tour.

The conference will be held at the historic Church of the Epiphany in Eutawville, South Carolina and on the Eutaw Springs battlefield from 9:00 am - 7:30 pm on Saturday, September 9th, 2006. Keynote presenter, Dr. Dennis M. Conrad, historian for the United States Navy and editor of the final volumes of the encyclopedic *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, will discuss Lt. Col. “Light Horse Harry” Lee’s role and reactions to Gen. Greene concerning the fight at Eutaw Springs. Dr. Lee F. McGee will discuss the role and uses of cavalry in the Southern Campaigns. All aspects of the battle, the troops engaged, strategy, and aftermath of the battle will be covered by Eutaw Springs scholars: author Dr. Christine R. Swager; historical novelist Charles F. Price; author Robert M. Dunkerly; author Dr. Jim Picuch; and military historian Steven J. Rauch. Gen. George Fields and Eutaw Springs battlefield project archaeologist Scott Butler will be on hand to discuss the modern battlefield research and preservation planning.



Saturday afternoon tour of the Eutaw Springs battlefield on the shores of Lake Marion will put you on the ground where Gen. Nathanael Greene pushed the British from the midlands of South Carolina to their tidewater enclave around Charleston. Guides will be David P. Reuwer (director of first archaeological project) and Charles B. Baxley, both renowned battle sites tour guides of the Tarleton, Camden Campaign, Thomas Sumter and Nathanael Greene symposia. Assisted by military historians Dr. Lee F. McGee, Steven J. Rauch and Dr. Jim Picuch, and geologist Dr. Irene Boland and archaeologist Scott Butler, this on-the-ground tour of the huge Eutaws battlefield will point out the battle chronology, tactical deployments and topography. Wrongly thought by many to be submerged under Lake Marion, the major battle fought on this preservation challenge was undoubtedly General Greene’s greatest victory.

Afternoon program includes a commemorative ceremony to honor those who fought at Eutaw Springs at the memorial park conducted by the Battle of Eutaw Springs Chapter of the SAR and the Eutaw Springs and William Thomson Chapters of the DAR at 5:30 pm. Attendees are also invited to a closing reception at Numertia Plantation Saturday evening complete with a “groaning board” of hors d'oeuvres.

Registration fees include the morning scholarly presentations, snacks, included Saturday luncheon, Eutaw Springs battlefield guided tour, and closing reception. Registration deadline: September 6, 2006. Registration fees: \$75.00 person or \$130.00 couple. Payment may be made by check made payable to the Church of the Epiphany and mailed to P.O. Box 9, Eutawville, S.C. 29048. All registrations are non-refundable after September 6, 2006.

For more information call Rev. John Scott at **The Church of the Epiphany** Post Office Box 9 Eutawville, SC 29048 (803) 492-7644 or see the symposium postings on www.southerncampaign.org/eutaw or <http://www.pietv.com/epiphany/index.htm>

www.southerncampaign.org/eutaw

Editor / Publisher's Notes

"I have left nothing unattempted to give protection and afford security to the Southern States and if our success has not been as great as could be wished I hope it is to be attributed to the want of means and not of zeal in the Army." Gen. Nathanael Greene, November 11, 1781. This could be SCAR's mission statement, attempting anything and affording discoveries for everyone. Research...and preservation. Where do you fit in?

SCAR Corps of Discovery

This fall and winter the **Corps of Discovery** will take advantage of the upcoming premier Southern battlefielding season with field trips:

- After the fall Southern Campaigns Roundtable meeting in Savannah, Georgia, on Saturday October 7th, the Corps of Discovery will tour the sites of the December 29, 1778 Battle for Savannah; the newly recreated Spring Hill redoubt, site of the allied French and Patriots' fall 1779 Siege of Savannah; Fort Morris; historic Midway Church and battle site on Sunday **October 8, 2006**.
- Our insiders' tour of the Kings Mountain National Military Park led by author and Park Ranger "Bert" Dunkerly is scheduled for **November 19, 2006**.
- Northwestern SC to site of Col. Andrew Pickens' Ring Fight and his Tamassee Mountain home site; extant 1791 Oconee Station; Historic Pendleton; visit Gen. Andrew Pickens' and Col. Robert Anderson's graves at the Old Stone Church; tour Gen. Pickens' Hopewell House and the site of the Hopewell Treaty Oak; the sites of Fort Rutledge; and Cherokee Wars battles; all hosted by Barbara Abernathy. This trip is tentatively scheduled for **December 10, 2006**.

We are still planning Corps of Discovery trips to:

- St. Matthews, SC to visit the Calhoun County Museum; sites of SC Patriot militia Gen. Francis Marion and Continental Legion Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Henry Lee's successful capture of Fort Motte; SC 3d Continental rangers regiment commander, Col. William "Danger" Thomson's home, Belleville, fortified and occupied by the British and unsuccessfully attacked by SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter; and the final resting place of SC Navy Commodore Alexander Gillon at Gillon's Retreat.
- Central North Carolina for more sites with military historian and living history reenactor Patrick J. O'Kelley.
- The Cherokee War sites and the Overmountain Trail in the western North Carolina and Tennessee.
- Tour the Tarleton raid sites in Virginia.
- Retrace the 1779 route of British Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell's campaign from Savannah to Augusta with stops at the major camps at Ebenezer; tour the site of the Patriots' loss at the Briar Creek battlefield; and site of the skirmish at the Burke County jail.

Corps of Discovery field trips are organized upon invitation of a host and guide. SCAR will publish a meeting date, time, and tentative Revolutionary War related sites to be visited. We invite

all interested to car pool, join the hike and enjoy informal on-the-ground, interpretive presentations of research. Plan to join us as it sounds like fun! SCAR will keep you posted on the details in the Calendar of Upcoming Events.

Tell us about your research and trips to discover our Revolutionary War heritage. Share in SCAR. ★

Event Planning

On **October 7-8, 2006** plan to travel to Savannah, Georgia for a public meeting of the **Southern Campaigns Roundtable**. The meeting will be held in the Coastal Georgia Center for Continuing Education, located at located at 305 Fahm Street (Room 111), Savannah, Georgia from 10 am to 4 pm. We will be guests of the Coastal Heritage Society's Savannah History Museum. On Sunday we are planning a **Corps of Discovery** tour of the important Savannah area Revolutionary War battlefields and other sites. Plan your weekend trip early as Savannah's historic district hotels book up very early. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org> ★

On-line Historic Library Resource

John Robertson has an exciting on-line library project he has been refining for several years to the point it has become encyclopedic. The [ONLINE LIBRARY of the SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR](#) is great for anyone wanting to read an old text; this is the place most likely to produce a link to an on-line version. The site also includes a comprehensive index to SCAR articles. SCAR suggests that you take a tour of this research resource. ★

Placefinders

John Robertson and others have started an on-line catalogue and data exchange of Revolutionary War sites – this exchange is called **placefinders**. If you are interested in actually locating 18th century battlefields, ferrys, roads, taverns, communities, military camps and skirmish sites, and sharing that data for more details, please contact [John Robertson](#). ★

Help Wanted

SCAR needs the services of a graphic artist and someone to help with magazine layout. We are also looking for articles, photos, maps, columnist, and feature editors for future SCAR editions. Volunteers are requested to contact SCAR editor [Charles B. Baxley](#). ★

Research Wanted

SCAR wants to publish materials on the Battles of Long Cane, 2d Cedar Spring (Thompson's Peach Orchard-Wofford's Ironworks-Clifton), Ramsour's Mill, Beaufort, SC and Beattie's Mill. We are looking for reports, pension statements, private letters, maps and plats, and archaeological finds to explain the action and put these battles on the ground. If you will share information you have gathered on these battles, either privately or are willing to submit something for publication, it would be greatly appreciated. SCAR has located historians who are researching SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter's battles at Blackstock's Plantation and Hanging Rock and Gen. Nathanael Greene's battles of Hobkirk Hill and Eutaw Springs. If you have any information on these battles, please let [SCAR](#) know so we may share information you have gathered. **A story unshared may become a site unspared.** ★

225th Anniversary Battle of House in the Horseshoe

Near Carthage, North Carolina is one of the more interesting Revolutionary War sites in the country. Many sites can boast of original houses, or of a known location of a battlefield, but the Alston House was the battlefield. The walls of the house are covered in the bullet holes that were made during the attack by Colonel David Fanning on July 29, 1781. It is known as the House in the Horseshoe, since it sits in a horseshoe bend of the Deep River.



Extant Alston Plantation called the "House in the Horseshoe". Photo by Patrick J. O'Kelley.

The reenactment of this battle has happened on the original location for over 25 years. During the 1980s the recreated fight happened on an open-air stage located nearby, but once the stage fell into disrepair, the reenactment moved to the actual house.

The original battle occurred when Colonel Fanning decided to eliminate one of his primary opponents, Patriot partisan Colonel Philip Alston. Fanning surrounded the house in the early morning hours with about 50 men and laid siege to it throughout the day. Alston had about 25 men inside the building and did their best to oppose Fanning's militia. Inside the house were Alston's wife, Temperance, and their children. The children were placed on top of tables, inside the fireplace, to protect them from bullets tearing through the walls. When Fanning decided to burn the house, Mrs. Alston negotiated the surrender. Colonel Alston knew that if he showed himself he would be killed, but no one would intentionally harm a woman.

Temperance was able to negotiate a surrender where no one would be harmed. Fanning knew that this was the best deal he could get, since he had lost so many of his men during the attack, and he would be unable to storm the house. Alston and all of his men were paroled.

The reenactment has not changed much in the years since the house was allowed to be used. Fighting occurs all around the house, while "Alston's" men fire out of the windows on the second floor, and from the porch on the first floor. Lit torches are used to attempt to set the house on fire, but the carrier always gets gunned down. A wagon is wheeled up to the house, while other men carry more torches, signaling the surrender negotiations. During the reenactment Mrs. Alston tries to convince Fanning to surrender, while the children cry and wail from inside the house.

I do not believe there is another site that will allow this much activity to occur within the confines of an original building,

and it makes history become that much more realistic for the spectators.

The one negative comment I have to make about this year's event is not due to the event, but due to the management of the site. Amazingly the site director built a wheelchair ramp up one side of the original building, tearing down the porch rail to do so. This is not a simple ramp, but is a mammoth wooden structure that zig-zags back and forth for an accumulated distance that must be over 75 feet. Ironically the ramp will only allow anyone in a wheelchair to have access to the porch. They cannot go inside any rooms, since the doors are not wide enough, nor can they go upstairs. I imagine that in the future doorways may be widened and an elevator can be built in place of the original stairs, so there can be handicap access.



Loyalist reenactor attacks Patriots in the Alston House. Photo by Patrick J. O'Kelley.

I would highly recommend that anyone near Carthage visit the Alston House, since it is a relic of the past that may be in danger of being altered for the politics of the present. <http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/sections/hs/horsesho/horsesho.htm> [Patrick J. O'Kelley] ★

SC Revolutionary War Movie: "For Liberty"

Chris Weatherhead and Clarence Felder of Actors' Theatre of South Carolina are hard at work finishing up their action-adventure independent feature film "For Liberty" (formerly Captain Felder's Cannon). The film, filmed at different SC historic locations, is an expanded adaptation of a play Felder wrote about his 9th great grandfather, German born Captain Henry Felder. Capt. Felder settles in the Orangeburg area and becomes a tough Indian fighter turned statesman. Embracing the "cause" as the Revolution erupts, he writes The Articles of Separation from The English King in 1776 and becomes a staunch revolutionary. "For Liberty" stars Felder, a film, theatre and television leading actor, and a strong supporting cast comprised of actors and extras from around the state. Two years in the making, "For Liberty" is the first major project of a new division of the company, Moving Images group, and will be ready for release in 2007. [Joanna Craig] ★

Nathaniel Greene to Daniel Morgan
August 26, 1781

"Don't you think we bear beating very well; and that we are something of the nature of stockfish, the more we beat, the better we grow....Fortune is a female and I am no gallant. She has jilted me several times this campaign, but in spite of her teeth I pursue her still, in hopes the old adage will be fulfilled, a coy dame may prove kind at last."



Maquette of new bronze of Gen. Francis Marion by Robert G. Barinowski of Camden, SC. Photo by artist.

Update on the Washington, DC Gen. Francis Marion Park Project

The US House of Representatives approved H.R. 5057, the "Brigadier General Francis Marion Memorial Act" on July 24, 2006. The same proposed act is pending before the United States Senate as bill S. 2822 where it has been referred to the Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee and is waiting on a hearing. If the bill does not pass and is not signed by President Bush before the end of the Congressional Session this fall, the House Bill will have to be reintroduced and we must start over. Project leader John McCabe of Columbia, SC, is asking supporters to call or email your US Senators and voice your support for Senate Bill 2822, The Brigadier General Francis Marion Memorial Act. Senators Lindsey Graham (R-SC) and Jim DeMint (R-SC) have pledged to do everything possible to obtain a hearing in the National Parks Subcommittee. Everyone's support is most graciously appreciated, and soon the Swamp Fox will be immortalized in our nation's capital. [John McCabe] ★

- Charles B. Baxley..... [Editor-Publisher](#)
- David P. Reuwer..... [grammarian & plenipotentiary](#)
- Steven J. Rauch..... [calendar](#)
- Jim Piecuch..... [book reviews](#)
- Werner Willis..... [artist](#)
- Lanny W. Morgan..... [photographer](#)
- John A. Robertson..... [cartographer](#)
- David McKissack..... [contributing editor](#)
- B. Caroline Baxley..... [webmistress](#)

Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution is dedicated to the study of the War for American Independence in the Southern Department from 1760 to 1789. We facilitate the exchange of information on the Southern Campaigns' Revolutionary War sites, their preservation, historic signage, interpretation, artifacts, and archaeology as well as the personalities, military tactics, units, logistics, and strategy, and the political leadership of the states. We highlight professionals and amateurs actively engaged in Revolutionary War research, preservation and interpretation and encourage an active exchange of information. All are invited to submit articles, pictures, documents, events, and suggestions. Please help us obtain information from the dusty archive files, the archaeology departments, and knowledge base of local historians, property owners and artifact collectors. We feature battles and skirmishes, documents, maps, artifacts, Internet links, and other stories. We also facilitate the discovery, preservation, interpretation, and promotion of historic sites on the ground.

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Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution's letter and email publication policy: the author must sign all letters and emails and include a telephone number and return address for verification. We reserve the right to select those letters and emails that contribute to the cause, and to edit them for clarity and length. Letters and emails published may not reflect the opinion of your editor. Please submit all proposed articles as a MS Word document.

1776 Virginia Light Dragoon used in the magazine's banner is from an illustration by Charles M. Lefferts (1873-1923) now in the collections of The New-York Historical Society. Later cavalry uniforms were probably green or buff. Used by permission of The New-York Historical Society.

Please contact us at P. O. Box 10, Lugoff, South Carolina 29078-0010 or cbbaxlev@charter.net or (803) 438-1606 (h) or (803) 438-4200 (w). www.southerncampaign.org ★

Calendar of Upcoming Events

Please submit items to post upcoming Southern Campaigns programs and events of interest to Revolutionary War researchers and history buffs. Before you go, always call ahead to confirm events and admission policies. To add events, please contact Steven J. Rauch, calendar editor at sjrauch@aol.com.

September 1, 2006 – Eutawville, SC – lecture by noted author Dr. Christine R. Swager on the **Battle of Eutaw Springs**. 7:00 pm at the Church of the Epiphany, Eutawville, SC. Book signing to follow.

September 2 - 3, 2006 – Jacksonboro, SC – 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Parker's Ferry Reenactment at Tuten Farm. Events on Saturday September 2nd include a 3 pm battle reenactment followed by a special ceremony commemorating the battle. On Sunday September 3rd a special church service will be held and in the afternoon another commemoration of the battle. Sponsored by the Colleton County Historical and Preservation Society, 205 Church Street. Walterboro, SC 29488. For further information contact: www.colletonhistoryandpreservation.com or Gale Doggette, Events Coordinator 843-542-9633 or cchaps@lowcountry.com or Dana Cheney, Re-enactment Coordinator 843-542-6222 or dancer1776@msn.com.

September 2-3, 2006 – Eutawville, SC – Reenactment to commemorate the **225th Anniversary of the Battle of Eutaw Springs** – event sponsored by Second Regiment SC Continental Line living history group. Saturday at 4:30 pm and Sunday at 1:30 pm living history and battle reenactments on Torrington Road, Eutawville, SC. <http://www.2ndsc.org/frames.html>.

September 2-3, 2006 – Kings Mountain National Park - Labor Day Weekend Militia Encampment. The park's Backcountry Militia will be camped at the battlefield this weekend offering living history demonstrations. Event is free, Saturday 9-6, Sunday 9-3. For more information contact Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

September 5, 2006 – Charlotte, NC - Mecklenburg Historical Association Docents Lecture - The next meeting and program of the Mecklenburg Historical Association (MHA) Docents will take place in the Fellowship Hall of Sugaw Creek Presbyterian Church, 101 West Sugar Creek Road, in Charlotte. Dr. Harry Watson, Professor and Director of the Center for the Study of the American South at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, will illuminate the life of William Richardson Davie: "Founding Father from the Waxhaws" in a program at 11 am. This year marks the 250th anniversary of the birth of Davie. Visitors are also invited for refreshments at 9:30 am and to attend the MHA Docents business meeting that will begin at 10 am. The meeting and program are free and open to the public. For more information, call Wanda Hubicki at 704.563.7080. Learn more about the MHA and the MHA Docents at www.mecdec.org.

September 9, 2006 – Eutawville, SC – 225th Anniversary - Battle of Eutaw Springs Conference & Tour. The conference will be held at the Church of the Epiphany in historic Eutawville, South Carolina and on the Eutaw Springs battlefield from 9:00 am - 7:30 pm on Saturday, September 9th, 2006. Keynote presenter, Dr. Dennis M. Conrad, will discuss Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee's role and reactions to Gen. Greene concerning the fight at Eutaw Springs. Dr. Lee F. McGee will discuss Lt. Col. William Washington and this Continental Dragoons at Eutaw Springs. All

aspects of the battle, the troops engaged, strategy, and aftermath of the battle will be covered by Eutaw Springs scholars: author Dr. Christine Swager; historical novelist Charles F. Price; author Robert M. Dunkerly; author Dr. Jim Piecuch; and US Army military historian Steven J. Rauch. Gen. George Fields and Eutaw Springs battlefield project archaeologist Scott Butler will be on hand to discuss the modern battlefield research and preservation planning. Saturday afternoon tour of the Eutaw Springs battlefield on the shores of Lake Marion will put you on the ground. Guides will be David P. Reuwer and Charles B. Baxley, assisted by military historians Dr. Lee F. McGee, Steven J. Rauch, and Dr. Jim Piecuch, with geologist Dr. Irene Boland and archaeologist Scott Butler. This tour of the huge Eutaw battlefield will point out the battle chronology, tactical deployments and topography. Afternoon program includes a commemorative ceremony to honor those who fought at Eutaw Springs at the memorial park conducted by the SAR and DAR at 5:25 pm. Attendees are also invited to a closing reception at Numertia Plantation Saturday afternoon complete with a "groaning board" of hors d'oeuvres. Registration fees include the morning scholarly presentations, snacks, included Saturday luncheon, Eutaw Springs battlefield guided tour, and closing reception. Registration deadline is September 6, 2006. Registration fees are \$75.00 person or \$130.00 couple. Payment may be made by check made payable to the Church of the Epiphany and mailed to P.O. Box 9, Eutawville, S.C. 29048. All registrations are non-refundable after September 6, 2006. For more information call Rev. John Scott at The Church of the Epiphany Post Office Box 9 Eutawville, SC 29048 (803) 492-7644 or see the symposium postings on www.southerncampaign.org/eutaw or <http://www.pietv.com/epiphany/index.htm>

September 10, 2006 – Clinton, SC - Musgrove Mill State Historic Site - author **William T. Graves** will present on Col. James Williams. The Laurens County (SC) Library, Friends of the Library, Musgrove Mill State Historic Site, and Laurens County Historical Society present a lecture by William T. Graves, Esq., graduate of Duke University and author of *James Williams: An American Patriot of the Carolina Backcountry*. Col. James Williams, from Laurens County, was a co-commander of Patriot forces at the Patriot victory at the Battle of Musgrove Mill and the highest-ranking officer to die from wounds suffered at the Battle of Kings Mountain. A catered supper will be available after this program for \$11 per person, which includes park admission, by advanced reservation only. Please call the Laurens County Library at 681-READ (7323) by 5 pm on Wednesday, September 6th to reserve your seat and meal.

September 12, 2006 – Savannah, GA - The Coastal Heritage Society will feature their Revolutionary War Perspectives series of speakers: "Destiny or Accident: The Revolution, the Constitution, and the Future" by Dr. Jamil Zainaldin, President, Georgia Humanities Council, Atlanta. A light reception is hosted in the lobby of the Savannah History Museum at 6:30 pm followed by the presentation at 7:00 pm. Info/contact: 912-651-2240, kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org or www.chsgeorgia.org.

September 16, 2006 – Cross Hill, SC – Bridge Dedication and Constitution Day. Dedication of bridge in honor of the Patriot Little River regiment. Includes the 4th annual SAR/DAR tour of Greenwood and Newberry County Revolutionary War sites, including Liberty Springs, Coronaca Plantation House, Battle of White Hall Plantation, Williamson's Fort and Ninety Six. For more info/ contact Joe Goldsmith at joeg5950@vahoo.com.

September 17, 2006 – Currie, NC - Moores Creek National Battlefield - Celebrate Constitution Day. National Constitution Week will begin with a special program at Moores Creek National

Battlefield at 3:30 pm in the new theater at the visitor center. The program will consist of Constitution-related readings by park staff and members of area Daughters of the American Revolution chapters. The Constitution was signed on September 17, 1787 at 4:00 in the afternoon. To commemorate that signing the program will conclude with a bell-ringing at 4:00 pm. Pocket Constitutions and small American flags will be given to participants at the program. All activities are free and the public is invited to bring bells and celebrate our Constitution. Moores Creek National Battlefield is located on NC Hwy 210 at 40 Patriots Hall Drive Currie NC 28435 and is open from 9-5 daily. For more information go to www.nps.gov/mocr Telephone 910-283-5591 Fax 910-293-5769

September 19, 2006 – Savannah, GA - The Coastal Heritage Society will feature their Revolutionary War Perspectives: the lecture will be “Culture & Music of the Revolutionary Period” by Dr. Christopher Hendricks of Armstrong Atlantic State University. A light reception is hosted in the lobby of the Savannah History Museum at 6:30 pm followed by the presentation at 7:00 pm. Info/contact: 912-651-2240, kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org or www.chsgeorgia.org.

September 20 – 28, 2006 - Central Virginia – “March to Victory” program commemorating the Washington-Rochambeau march to Yorktown. Reenactors and supporters will march the entire route of the W3R from Rhode Island to Yorktown. They will be passing through Virginia in September of this year and are looking for campsites along the route and they hope to join other Revolutionary War reenactments that are occurring during the period of their march. They are also inviting Boy Scout/Girl Scout troops or other organizations to join them in hiking/marching segments of the route. The marchers' tentative schedule through Virginia begins on either September 16 or September 17 but they are still seeking to make final plans for their encampments from September 20 until they arrive in Williamsburg on September 29. Tentative camps are planned at or near the following locations (which mostly coincide with the historical encampment sites used by the French wagon train on its way to Yorktown): Colchester, VA September 20, Dumfries, VA September 21, Fredericksburg, VA September 22, Bowling Green, VA September 23, Dawn, VA September 24, Hanover Courthouse, VA September 25, Old Church, VA September 26, New Kent, VA September 27, Toano, VA September 28. For more information visit <http://www.w3r-us.org> or contact Mike Fitzgerald at MajRobtRogers@aol.com or Kevin Vincent, Virginia Coordinator, Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Project. kevin.vincent@bakerbotts.com

September 23, 2006 – Kings Mountain National Park - National Constitution Event and Colonial Craft & Trade Fair. Park volunteer David Sherrill will portray Dr. Benjamin Franklin and discuss the signing of the Constitution. Craftspeople will demonstrate woodworking, blacksmithing, weaving, and more. Musician R.G. Absher will perform period music. Event is free, Saturday 9-5. Info/contact Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

September 23, 2006 – West Point, Virginia. First annual **Chelsea Ball** celebrating the 225th anniversary of the encampment of MG Lafayette before the Battle of Yorktown. Event held at the Chelsea Plantation, West Point Virginia. Cost is \$25.00 person, deadline for payment is September 15. Tea served 4-6 pm in the garden and dancing on the riverfront 6:30-10:30 pm. Appearance by Lafayette himself is possible. More information contact Bonnie Fairbank at 703-751-8887.

September 26, 2006 – Savannah, GA - The Coastal Heritage Society will feature their Revolutionary War Perspectives: “The Contradictions of Slavery in the Era of the American Revolution.” By Dr. Gregory Nobles, Georgia Institute of Technology. A light reception is hosted in the lobby of the Savannah History Museum at 6:30 pm followed by the presentation at 7:00 pm. Info/contact: 912-651-2240, kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org or www.chsgeorgia.org.

September 28, 2006 - 9:00 pm. WRJA/Sumter (Channel 27) SCETV will broadcast Bruce Mayer’s new documentary on the Battle of Camden.

October 3, 2006 – Savannah, GA - The Coastal Heritage Society will feature their Revolutionary War Perspectives: “A Revolutionary Debate: The British vs. The Americans” featuring Dr. Dan Morrill of UNC-Charlotte representing the British and Dr. Rory Cornish of Winthrop University representing the Americans with moderation by Sonny Dixon, WTOC-TV Savannah. A light reception is hosted in the lobby of the Savannah History Museum at 6:30 pm followed by the presentation at 7:00 pm. Info/contact: 912-651-2240, kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org or www.chsgeorgia.org.

October 6–8, 2006 - Knoxville, Tennessee - “Warfare and Society in Colonial North America and the Caribbean”. Sponsored by the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture and the University of Tennessee Center for the Study of War and Society at the University of Tennessee Conference Center. Info/contact: the Omohundro Institute at (757) 221-1115. <http://www.wm.edu/oieahc/conferences/warfare.htm>

October 7, 2006 – Roebuck, SC – Reenactment of Bloody Bill Cunningham’s raid on Walnut Grove Plantation during the Festifall at Walnut Grove, a 2 day colonial living history festival. Demonstrations of colonial skills, house tours and reenactment are featured. For more information contact 864-576-6546 or walnutgrove@mindspring.com or www.spartanarts.org/history.

October 7, 2006 – Savannah, Ga. – Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable. The fall 2006 meeting of the Southern Campaigns Round Table will be hosted by the Coastal Heritage Society (<http://www.chsgeorgia.org>) and held at the Coastal Georgia Center for Continuing Education, (Room 111), located at 305 Fahm Street, Savannah, Georgia from 10:00 am until 4:00 pm. The Roundtable consists of professionals and amateurs actively engaged in Revolutionary War research, preservation and interpretation; it is an active exchange of information on the Southern Campaigns’ sites, their location, preservation, historic signage, interpretation, artifacts, and archaeology as well as the personalities, military tactics, units, logistics, strategy, and the political leadership of the states. Events will include brief introductions at 10:00 am, a tour of the Revolution in Savannah museum exhibit and free flowing roundtable discussions. Admission is free, but we will “pass the hat” to pay for the conference room rental. A “Dutch Treat” lunch will be available at the Whistle Stop Cafe. Interested participants should bring a short presentation, pictures, artifacts, maps, their research interests, and/or a request for help to share. Info/contact roundtable host Scott W. Smith at (912) 651-6840 director@chsgeorgia.org or contact SCAR.

October 8, 2006 – Savannah, GA. - **Corps of Discovery** will tour the site of the successful 1778 invasion of the southern colonies by Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell and the 1779 allied armies’ Siege of Savannah. There is no more beautiful historic district in the United States and these important Revolutionary War battles were fought

in what is now that district. We plan to visit the Georgia Historical Society; the 1778 invasion and battle sites; the new re-constructed Spring Hill Redoubt which is the site of Gen. Casimir Pulaski's fatal charge, and ill fated Siege of Savannah; and graves of Patriot heroes. This tour may have a small fee to pay for bus transportation and is open to the public. For more information contact [SCAR](#).

October 7-8, 2006 – Savannah, Ga. – Living History Weekend at Battlefield Park, 10 am to 4 pm. March with troops to the Spring Hill Redoubt at 11 am, 2 pm and 4 pm. The battlefield is located at the corner of MLK and Louisville Road in Savannah. Free event open to the public.

October 7-8, 2006 – Kings Mountain National Park - Battle Anniversary Weekend. Commemorate the 226th anniversary of the Battle of Kings Mountain. Events will include a wreath laying ceremony on Saturday and re-enactor camps. Free, open Saturday 9-5, Sunday 9-3. Info/contact: Kings Mountain at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

October 9, 2006 – Savannah, Ga. – Battle of Savannah Anniversary March and Breakfast, 7 am. Meet in the Visitors' Center parking lot by the Savannah History Museum to participate in the march, then join the Coastal Heritage Society for breakfast at the Whistlestop Café. To place a wreath, call 912-651-6895.

October 18 - 22, 2006 – Yorktown, Va. – 225th Anniversary of the **Siege of Yorktown** - In a four day commemoration is sponsored by the [Colonial National Historical Park](#), the [Brigade of the American Revolution](#) will collaborate with [Endview Plantation](#) as well as the [British Brigade](#) and other living history organizations to mark the 225th anniversary of the British surrender, concluding a series of observances along the Washington-Rochambeau Trail stretching from Rhode Island to Virginia. Musket and artillery demonstrations; civilian and medical programs; and military engineering demonstrations at Colonial NHP and Endview Plantation. Recreations of the Allied assaults on Redoubts 9 and 10, defense of the Fusiliers' Redoubt, and Abercrombie's Sortie. Info/contact: info@siegeofyorktown.org and see www.siegeofyorktown.org.

October 21, 2006 – Williamsburg, VA – Yorktown Victory Ball. The 2006 Yorktown Victory Ball will be held at the Community Center on North Boundary Street in Williamsburg, from 7 pm to 11pm. The dances reflect those that may have been included in a similar ball in 1781. Tickets in advance: \$25 per person payable to Williamsburg Heritage Dancers, 710 South Henry Street, Williamsburg, Virginia, 23185-4113. Non-alcoholic punch and light snacks will be served. All attendees must wear 18th century attire, whether civilian or military (but definitely not British military!). For more information, call 757-229-1775.

October 21, 2006 – Clinton, SC – the Frontier Rifleman at Musgrove's Mill State Park. Learn about the lifestyle, arms, equipment and function of the frontier rifleman from 1-4 pm. For more information contact 864-938-0100.

October 27-28, 2006 – Manning, SC - 4th Francis Marion Symposium - "1781, The War Changes, Victory Starts in the South." At the FE DuBose Campus of Central Carolina Technical College, I-95, Exit 122, US Highway 521, Manning, SC. This is a unique opportunity to celebrate the story of the Revolutionary War in South Carolina as it approached victory in 1781. Christine Swager will set the stage & put into perspective: The Southern Campaign Overview. Patrick J. O'Kelley will tie together The Bridges Campaign of 1781: Watson & Marion Chase. Other

presentations will be: Nicki Sackrison: "The non-traditional 18th century woman"; Vernon Tanner: The Indian Participation; and Karen MacNutt: Marion, the Man. Reception at Historic Silver Lakes Plantation Trophy Room, Manning, SC will include cannon and military music. Tour the Catawba Path where Frances Marion rode and lunch at the historic Church of the Epiphany Community Center in Eutawville. The Saturday Dinner Theater will be casual or period clothes and include an evening in history with Joe T. Stukes as "Francis Marion Looking for Peter Horry and other Patriots". Bus tour, lectures, displays, one lunch, one reception, a dinner with entertainment, and refreshments are all included for only \$110, with discounts for couples, early registrations by September 25, 2006 and Murals Society members. Info/contact: organizer George Summers at 803-478-2645 or email gsummers@ftc-i.net or www.francismariontrail.com. Latest details and discounts: www.francismarionsymposium.com.

November 4-5, 2006 – Camden, SC - Historic Camden's **Revolutionary War Field Days**. Daily battle at 1:30 (Saturday, Battle of Hobkirk's Hill; Sunday, Battle of Eutaw Springs). Experience the rigors of military life, bustling civilian camps and nifty sutler shops. Watch skilled craftsmen, a period fashion show and colonial dancing. Learn about Old Ninety Six, the non-traditional roles of women during the war years, the recent archaeological discoveries at Camden's Hobkirk's Hill battle site. Delight in the Punch & Judy Show, kids' activities and much more!! Food Concessions • Free Parking • No Pets Daily: \$8/adults • \$6/seniors & military \$3 Ages 6-12 • Free/under six. Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site, 222 Broad Street, Camden, SC. (803) 432-9841. Units interested in attending this event, please contact John Thornton at john@rncr.org, Chuck Wallace at cwallace@scchr.org, or Joanna Craig, Historic Camden director, at hiscamden@camden.net or call (803) 432-9841 Tentative schedule: www.historic-camden.net.

November 11, 2006 – Kings Mountain National Park - Veterans Day Program. Reenactors from the Backcountry Militia will be camped at the park this weekend. Visitors may enjoy weapons demonstrations and military drill. Event is Free, Saturday 9-5. For more information contact Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

November 19, 2006 – Corps of Discovery – insiders' tour of the **Kings Mountain National Military Park** hosted by park ranger, author and SCAR contributor, Robert "Bert" Dunkerly. This tour is free and open to the public. More information phone: 864-936-7921 or email: bert_dunkerly@nps.gov.

December 10, 2006 - Corps of Discovery - Pendleton, SC to site of Col. Andrew Pickens' Ring Fight and his Tamasee Mountain home site, extant Oconee Station, Historic Pendleton, visit Gen. Andrew Pickens' and Col. Robert Anderson's graves at the Old Stone Church, tour Gen. Pickens' Hopewell House and the site of the Hopewell Treaty Oak, the sites of Fort Rutledge and Cherokee Wars battles hosted by Barbara Abernathy. This tour is free and open to the public. For more information contact [SCAR](#).

Long Range Planning:

July 13, 2007 – York, SC - the Southern Revolutionary War Institute (SRWI) will host their biannual symposium on the Revolution in the Southern states.

July 13-15, 2007 – Brattonville, SC – Battle of Williamson's Plantation (Huck's Defeat) reenactments. ★

Digging for Information – Southern Campaigns Archaeology Projects

SCAR needs sources to report on Revolutionary War archaeology projects in other Southern Campaigns states; more militia is needed for intelligence. New and follow-on archaeology projects at several interesting South Carolina Revolutionary War sites are underway.

The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology's (SCIAA) military archaeology team of Steve Smith and Jim Legg have finished some "quick and dirty" fieldwork for the Palmetto Conservation Foundation and the State of South Carolina – Parks, Recreation and Tourism at SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter's November 20, 1780 **Blackstock's Plantation** victory over British Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton on the Tyger River. The initial survey recovered a wide scatter of 18th century military artifacts and 18th century nails from the plantation's buildings described in the battle accounts.

Smith and Legg's archaeological survey of Continental Lt. Col. John Laurens' May 4, 1779 **Coosawhatchie** battlefield and SC Patriot militia Col. William Harden's capture of **Fort Balfour** from its Loyalists garrison at Pocotaligo, SC on April 13, 1781 is available on-line at

<http://www.lowcountryrevtrail.org/downloads/BalfourandCoosaRep.pdf>.

Smith and Legg are also working on an initial archaeological survey of the July 12, 1780 **Battle of Williamson's Plantation – Huck's Defeat** battlefield in York County, SC in conjunction with Historic Brattonsville. Their research thus far confirms the presence of Revolutionary War period military artifacts north and east of the Brattonsville visitors' center, but many finds have been artifacts from modern reenactments. If you have any relics from or knowledge about the Huck's Defeat site, please contact either York County historian [Mike Scoggins](#) or archaeologist [Steve Smith](#).

Smith and Legg are also conducting some fieldwork to delineate the Musgrove Mill battlefield. The State of South Carolina owns property on the east side of the Enoree River thought by many to be the actual battlefield. The state historic site clearly owns the old Edward Musgrove home, mill and ford sites, and purchased an elaborate battlefield model showing the battlefield just to the east, across the Enoree River. The location of the actual Musgrove Mill battlefield is subject to some debate until archaeology can confirm the site. SCAR is excited to add archeological evidence to aid in the preservation and accurate interpretation of this important Patriot victory during the lowest ebb of the Southern Campaigns. Preliminary results have failed to find the level of 18th century military artifacts on the state's battlefield property; this is a preliminary indication that the location of the battle is not as believed. The archaeologists plan to return to expand their search areas. If you have any relics from or knowledge about the Musgrove Mill battlefield site, please contact either historic site manager Frank Stovall or archaeologist [Steve Smith](#).

Smith and Legg are back in the field working on their third "dig" at the Battle of Camden site with some highly skilled volunteers doing an extensive metal detection survey in specific areas, some ground penetrating radar studies, and again interviewing collectors to catalog old finds on the master GIS system of collections gleaned over the years. The initial analysis of ground penetrating radar (GPR) returns indicates that the battlefield's sandy soils are not conductive to GPR studies. A project goal of locating the mass graves on the battlefield has eluded the researchers. If you have Battle of Camden artifacts in your collection, please contact

archaeologist [Steve Smith](#) or [SCAR](#) about sharing your data. Smith, Legg and Tamara Wilson's detailed report on the first two Battle of Camden archaeological surveys, called *Understanding Camden*, is available for sale for \$20.00 from the Palmetto Conservation Foundation.

<http://palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view-item&WebSiteID=127&ItemID=3040>

Scott Butler, military archaeologist with Brockington & Associates of Norcross, Ga. has completed a "cultural resources" survey of the **Battle of the Waxhaws (Buford's Massacre)** site near the intersection of SC Highways 9 and 522 in Lancaster County, SC. His metal detection survey located a wide Revolutionary War era musket ball scatter to the north and east of the monument site, indicative of the battle. This initial survey shows the period military artifact scatter over a wide area and that the National Register of Historic Properties boundaries need to be redefined. Hopefully, someone will obtain funding and landowner permission to organize a complete archaeological investigation of this important battlefield.

Butler has submitted his initial archaeological survey plan to the National Parks Services (ABPP) to do phase two reconnaissance at Gen. Nathanael Greene's **Eutaw Springs** battlefield in Orangeburg County, SC. This work will further delineate the boundaries of the battle building on the initial battlefield survey work by David P. Reuwer and Butler. The Palmetto Conservation Foundation's Military Heritage Program (Gen. George Fields and Nancy Stone-Collum) is planning for preservation of this important national heritage site. If you have Battle of Eutaw Springs or Buford's Massacre artifacts in your collection, please contact [SCAR](#) about sharing your data.

The **Hobkirk's Hill** battlefield archaeology project (ARCHH, Inc.) has begun its metal detection survey of the fourth property located on Hobkirk Hill. ARCHH Field Director John Allison is confident that with the coins, slugs and button recovered, they would have found anything else relevant if it were there. A volunteers meeting and workday was held on August 19th. If you are interested in volunteering to work with the Hobkirk Hill archaeology research project, please contact [SCAR](#). If you have Battle of Hobkirk's Hill artifacts in your collection, please contact [SCAR](#) about sharing your data. (see www.hobkirkhill.org)

The University of Georgia Lamar Institute, lead by archaeologist Daniel T. Elliott, has published their impressive archaeological survey of Ebenezer, Georgia, site of numerous British camps on the Savannah River is posted on-line at <http://shapiro.anthro.uga.edu/Lamar/PDFfiles/Publication%2073.pdf>. ★

Gen. Francis Marion Trail Commission

by Dwight Dana - Florence Morning News

"KINGSBURG -- If Gen. Francis Marion stopped to take a deep breath in Port's Ferry on the Great Pee Dee River, Steve Smith is determined to find out about it. Smith, an archaeologist at the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology, is working with the Francis Marion Trail Commission to locate sites associated with Marion.

Francis Marion Trail Commission (FMTC) Chairman Ben Zeigler and commission members Mark Buyck, George Summers and George Estes were among those visiting Port's Ferry sites to see what Smith has found.

Smith earlier discovered several artifacts dating to the late 18th century, including a side plate from a British Brown Bess Musket, buttons, a colonial period horseshoe and a buckle. "I've been to three locations in the Port's Ferry area where we found evidence that might be possible locations of Francis Marion camp sites," Smith said during an interview deep in the woods. "Port's Ferry was an important strategic point along the Pee Dee that Marion crossed several times. It is also where he camped during the early part of his partisan career, generally between August of 1780 and January and February of 1781."

Zeigler said Smith is under contract with the commission to provide an archeological survey throughout a 10-county area. Smith has spent the past several months trying to identify sites along the Pee Dee, Lynches and Black Rivers. The area consists of Georgetown, Florence, Marion and Williamsburg Counties. It is the heart of Marion's early partisan campaigns. Smith has been working on the sites to help the commission determine which sites need further work for possible development.

"Today's outing is just an update for the commissioners and other interested parties as to what Steve's been able to locate and where we are in terms of identifying these Marion sites," Zeigler said. Smith is a historical archaeologist who does plenty of historical research to find the sites he's looking for. "Steve probably spends as much time in the library as he does in the field," Zeigler said. "He also works with local collectors who have identified these sites, some of whom give him access to their collections."

Zeigler said the commission is fortunate to be working with a generous group of private landowners who have made their land accessible. He said any artifacts found are the property of the landowners. "We just ask that the archeologist be allowed to take them to have them cleaned, photographed and catalogued," he said. "We'll then return them to the landowners whenever they want them. We are very keen to work with private landowners and collectors and have them be a part of this endeavor."

Zeigler said the commission's goal is to create a heritage trail that will allow people to understand the contributions of Marion, the important events that happened in this area, to make the sites accessible to promote tourism and to help better appreciate the sacrifices that were made to build this country. "If nothing else in this process," Zeigler said, "the identification and exploration of these sites and the data that we will collect will make the creation of the trail commission, the work we have done and the money we've received from public sources worthwhile. He reiterated that Wednesday's excursion is the first step in a long process of locating, identifying, exploring and learning from these sites." [Florence Morning News]

The South Carolina Legislature organized the seven-member trail commission in 2005 to research, design and implement an on-the-ground interpreted automotive trail to significant Gen. Francis Marion sites. A panel of experts identified 15 Marion sites to study in January. The FMTC hired as its Executive Director Robert C. "Bob" Barrett.

Smith is searching to prove sites selected for identification of the military operations: Black Mingo Creek/Dollard's Tavern, Wadboo Barony (camp and Battle of the Avenue of the Cedars), Fairlawn Barony, Parker's Ferry, Tydiman's Plantation/Wambaw Bridge, Georgetown, Port's Ferry (redoubt), Quinby Bridge/Shubrick's Plantation, Birch's Mill, Snow Island/Tanyard, Blue Savannah, Sumter's Plantation (at Great Savannah), Jacksonboro Assembly, Witherspoon's Ferry, and route of the Col. Watson's chase "battle of the bridges". ★

"A Most Obstinate and Bloody Fight" The Eutaw Springs Battlefield Guide

by

Jim Piecuch and David Reuwer

The first detailed battle account and field guide of the Battle of Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, will be published next month. Co-authored by Jim Piecuch (Ph.D., College of William & Mary, and Assistant Professor of History in the American Revolution and Early Republic at Kennesaw State University, Georgia) and David P. Reuwer (historic preservation attorney and Revolutionary War historian who has done extensive research on the battle site), this book will tell the long-overlooked details of this major battle of the American Revolution.

Fought on September 8, 1781, near the Santee River about fifty miles from Charleston, the Battle of Eutaw Springs was one of the most hotly contested struggles of the Revolution. Four to five hours of attack and counterattack, violent close combat at bayonet point, artillery duels, and cavalry charges resulted in a total of 1,500 combined casualties in the American and British armies. When the clouds of gunpowder smoke finally cleared, the British losses suffered put an end to their efforts to hold at least part of the South Carolina interior. The American commander, General Nathanael Greene, had finally succeeded in his objective of confining the British to the lowcountry and around Charleston.

The field guide includes an account of the campaign leading up to and following the battle; a detailed account of the fight itself including the units present and the commanders' tactics; biographical sketches of key participants; and a selection of original documents related to the struggle. Illustrations and a series of maps portraying each stage of the fighting help readers follow the action in one of the most important engagements in the fight for American independence.

For further information or to reserve a copy, please contact Jim Piecuch by e-mail at Kingsranger@aol.com or David P. Reuwer at Davidreuwer3@aol.com or 803-425-8710 or P.O. Box 1716, Camden, South Carolina 29021. ★



**The Farmers and Merchants Bank of Holly Hill, sponsor
of the Battle of Eutaw Springs Conference.**



Annotated excerpt of SCDOT Highway map, 2000.

A Brief Sketch of the Families, People, and Events Surrounding the Earle's Ford Affair

by John Allison

The Revolutionary War in the Southern Colonies has received scant attention in comparison to the detailed scholarship afforded the great campaigns in the North. The nature of the struggle in the South is partly to blame for this neglect. Although there were some significant pitched battles in the South, we mostly have a long string of smaller skirmishes, many of which were similar to the Earle's Ford affair, and most of which receive little notice.

The heroes of the southern fighting were not the bigger-than-life officers of the Continental line, but were a common people who were intertwined through family relationships and friendships, relying on one another for survival in a beautiful but hostile Carolina Backcountry. Unlike soldiers of the Continental line, they were partisan fighters who had honed their skills fighting for survival against an Indian element.

The Earle's Ford affair is representative of one of these little known skirmishes involving several Carolina Backcountry families. This article uses the history and events surrounding Earle's Ford as its centerpiece, and endeavors to tie together several Backcountry families who were touched by, or connected to, this event. The design here is not to delve into the intricacies of military strategy and maneuvers but to peel off that first layer of military history in an effort to dig down to the people and personalities of this period of Backcountry history in 1780.

It is important to understand who these people were, where they came from, and some of the relationships that shaped their actions. This is done through a brief sketch of several family histories--specifically, the Earles, the Princes, and two different Hampton families. In an effort to assign the Earle's Ford affair a more prominent place in history, it is also important to examine the

possible effect this small battle may have had on subsequent events and people.

The Earles and the Princes

John Earle married Thomasine Prince, daughter of John and Sarah Berry Prince of Frederick District, Virginia in 1765. In that same year, the Princes and the newly married Earles moved to present day Spartanburg County, S.C. The Earles lived with the Princes until 1768, at which time they moved to the North Pacolet River and established a plantation that would later become known as Earlesville and Earle's Ford. In the meantime, John Prince had settled on Gray's Creek, one of the tributaries of the North Tyger River, about 20 miles south of his daughter and son-in-law. Here Prince built a home place that would later be fortified and become an outpost where neighbors sought protection from Cherokee hostilities. During the Revolutionary War, Prince's Fort became a strategic and often used location by both Tories and Whigs.

A second Prince daughter, Mary, had married John Earle's brother, Baylis, in 1757, in Virginia. In 1773, Baylis decided to move south and bought brother John's Earle's Ford property. John Earle and family moved 1½ miles up and across the North Pacolet River and built a home place that became known as Earle's Fort. Like Prince's Fort, Earle's Fort was built initially for protection against the Indians, but later was a strategic stronghold and meeting place for area Whig militia.^{1,2}

Some background on the Earles is appropriate. John and Baylis Earle, and the neighboring Princes, migrated south from an area east of present day Winchester, Virginia. Both John and Baylis were sons of Samuel Earle. Samuel Earle, educated at the College of William and Mary, was a large and very prosperous landowner and a close friend and neighbor of Lord Fairfax. Samuel Earle was also the first representative from Fredrick District elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses. He was elected in 1742 and served for five years. George Washington occupied this same Fredrick seat in the House of Burgesses from 1758 to 1761.³

The Earles and Princes moved from an area of Virginia that was commonly referred to as "Battletown". Intuitively, you

would assume some battle was fought there. Actually, it was the scene of many "battles" since Battletown was the location of several inns and taverns that were infamous for their barroom brawls. And who was the most famous tavern brawler living in Battletown in the 1760's? It was none other than Daniel Morgan. Morgan was somewhat of a barroom brawling folk hero in the Battletown area due to his quick temper and large size. Obviously, in January 1781, the little bully Tarleton found out how tough this barroom brawler really was. Interestingly, the Earle and the Prince children, and Daniel Morgan, grew up together as adolescents and young adults. It is recorded that Morgan spoke of John Earle as "such a devil", referring to his penchant for practical jokes. John's brother, Baylis, served as a witness to a will drawn by Morgan in 1773, the same year Morgan was married. Also, John Earle served with Morgan in Braddock's Expedition in 1765 and assigned Kentucky land grants he received for this service to Morgan.⁴ Eventually, Battletown was given a new name - Berryville, named after two brothers of John Prince's wife, Sarah Berry Prince.⁵

So, two Earle brothers, sons of a wealthy and famous Virginia family and friends of Daniel Morgan, moved south from Frederick District, Virginia. And in 1780, we have John Prince (Prince's Fort), father-in-law of both John Earle (builder of Earle's Fort) and Baylis Earle (Earle's Ford), all living in close proximity of one another.

Edward Hampton's Family

Another important player in the Earle's Ford affair was Edward "Ned" Hampton, one of six Hampton brothers, five of whom saw extensive service during the American Revolution.

Edward Hampton's father, Anthony Hampton, moved his family from Virginia to present day Rowan County, N.C. in 1766. The most lucrative trade in the Carolina backcountry at that time was in deerskins and the source was the Cherokee Nation. The Hamptons' three eldest sons, John, Edward and Preston, became highly profitable Indian traders. In fact, they were so successful that the family decided to move closer to the Cherokees and to Charlestown. In 1773, the Hamptons resettled on the Cherokee border at the headwaters of the South Tyger River, a couple of miles north of present day Greer, S.C.⁶

The Hamptons association with the Cherokees served them well financially, but resulted in several of their family members meeting a horrible end. In a coordinated effort, the British attempt to take Charlestown in 1776 was timed to take place with a Cherokee uprising on the Carolina frontier. Edward's mother and father, his older brother Preston, and an infant nephew, were all victims of this uprising. All four were brutally murdered early one morning in one of several attacks against settlers that took place over several days.^{7,8} Another family nearly wiped out in these attacks was the Hannons, who lived across the North Pacolet River from John Earle (Earle's Fort). Only three of the Hannon children survived and were "adopted" by their neighbors, the John Earles. Ultimately, two of the Hannon sons married daughters of John Earle.⁹

Shortly after the Hampton family massacre, and while surveying in the Dutch Fork area of South Carolina, Edward Hampton met and married George Dawkins' daughter, Elizabeth. Elizabeth died at childbirth in 1777. In 1778, Edward married his second wife, Sallie Earle, daughter of Baylis and Mary Prince Earle (of Earle's Ford).¹⁰ With his new wife, he built a home across the North Pacolet River from the Earles, where he was living in 1780.^{11,12}

It is worth a quick detour to elaborate on the connection between the Hamptons and Edward's first wife's family, the Dawkins. Elizabeth Dawkins' father was a staunch Loyalist who had extensive land holdings on Crim Creek, a tributary of the Broad River near the present day Newberry /Richland County line.

His across-the-river neighbor was Edward's brother, Wade Hampton (I).¹³ As relations between Dawkins and his Whig neighbors deteriorated, he took refuge at Fort Granby in modern Cayce, SC, just across the Congaree River from modern day Columbia. Very near Granby was a store owned and run by Wade Hampton, who had taken the British oath and parole after his capture fighting with Gen. Thomas Sumter at the Battle of Fishing Creek in August 1780.¹⁴ After Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee captured Fort Granby in May 1781, a march was begun down the Congaree River toward Charlestown of all British prisoners and sympathizers captured at Granby. On the first day of this march, a Whig assailant named Burke murdered George Dawkins. There were accusations at the time that Wade Hampton had hired Burke to kill Dawkins.¹⁵ It is interesting that Wade Hampton saw a need to violate the oath he had taken and reentered service against the Crown at this time.¹⁶ Under Gen. Thomas Sumter's orders, Wade raided Loyalist plantations up the Broad River north of Granby. One of these plantations belonged to his now deceased ex-neighbor, George Dawkins.¹⁷ It is obvious that Hampton and Dawkins knew each other well, not only due to Hampton's store being located in the immediate vicinity of Granby where Dawkins had taken refuge, but also because Wade had signed Edward his brother's and Elizabeth Dawkins', wedding certificate in 1777. What participation, if any, Wade Hampton had in George Dawkins' murder is left to speculation.

Edward Hampton joined Sumter's militia in the fall of 1780 and was dispatched to the Congarees by Sumter to visit his brother, Wade, in an effort to procure supplies for Sumter's militia. During his return, Edward was murdered in October 1780 by the infamous SC Loyalist militia Maj. "Bloody Bill" Cunningham when he stopped for breakfast at the Blasingame place on Fairforest Creek in Spartanburg District.^{18,19} All of Edward's surviving brothers (John, Wade, Henry, and Richard) became prominent Revolutionary War veterans.

So, we have Edward "Ned" Hampton, son-in-law of Baylis Earle (Earle's Ford), grand son-in-law of John Prince (Prince's Fort), and scion of what would become one of South Carolina's most prominent families.

Colonel Andrew Hampton's Family

Andrew Hampton headed another important family involved in the Earle's Ford skirmish. Although Andrew Hampton and Edward Hampton likely knew each other well, there is no known kinship between these two Hampton families.

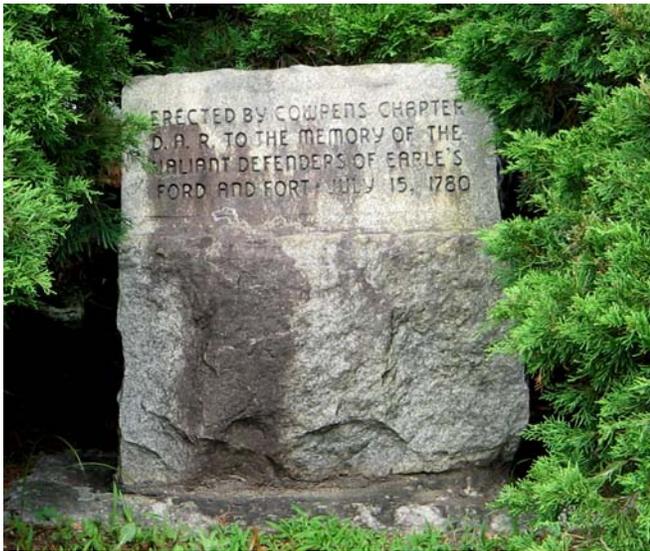
Most probably born in New Jersey, Andrew Hampton briefly migrated to present day Lincoln County, N.C. Before the Revolutionary War, Andrew moved to present day Rutherford County, N.C., and made his home on Mountain Creek, about four miles west of colonial Gilbertown. His rise in military service was meteoric. In 1775, he was a militia captain, and in 1778 he was a Lt. Colonel. In 1779, NC Patriot Governor William Caswell appointed him Colonel and gave him official authorization to raise a Rutherford militia. Hampton served against the Scotch-Tories when they fled south in 1779. Subsequently, he served at Earle's Ford, Thicketty Fort, and commanded the Rutherford troops at the battles of Kings Mountain and Blackstock's Plantation. In addition to his unselfish military service, he was also a signer of the Tryon Declaration of Rights and Independence in 1775.^{20,21} Col. Hampton had fifteen children, and among them were sons Noah and Jonathan, both of whom will be mentioned later. At his death in 1805, Col. Hampton mentioned fourteen of his children in his will, omitting only son Noah's name.

Not only have the families of Edward Hampton and Andrew Hampton confused many historians, but a "second" Andrew Hampton living in the Tar River area of North Carolina from 1753 to 1765 has added further to this confusion over the

Hampton name. This “second” Andrew Hampton served as a North Carolina militia captain, resigning his commission in 1763, and moving his family to Georgia. There is documentation that several of this “second” Andrew Hampton’s sons served the American cause during the Revolutionary War. In addition, he also had a singularly minded offspring, John Hampton, who was a Loyalist Lt. Colonel in the Granville District of North Carolina. As with Edward Hampton’s family, there is no documentation that either of these Andrew Hamptons was related.²²

So, we have Col. Andrew Hampton’s family involved in the Earle’s Ford affair. These Hamptons were the not-too-distant neighbors of the Earles and Edward Hampton, with a home place about 20 miles northeast of Earle’s Ford. But as previously stated, Andrew Hampton was of no known kin to Edward Hampton’s family.

Events Surrounding the Affair at Earle’s Ford



Earle’s Ford and Fort granite marker at Four Columns on SC 128 (Landrum Road) one mile east of Landrum, SC erected by the DAR. SCAR photo by CBB.

Below is a brief sketch of the events surrounding the fight at Earle’s Ford. This is not an exhaustive discussion of this affair, but is intended to pull together facts and simultaneously tie together the people involved in this little engagement.

On July 11, 1780, 140 mounted and well-armed Georgia militia under Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke gathered at Freeman’s Fort in Georgia and moved east across the Savannah River ten miles west of present day Abbeville, SC. Learning that a large force of British regulars and Loyalists were in their front, Clarke decided to backtrack into Georgia. Col. John Jones of Burke County, Ga., objected and asked for volunteers to proceed toward NC Patriot regional militia commander Col. Charles McDowell’s camp at Earle’s Ford. Thirty-six men joined him. Passing through an area friendly to the Crown, Jones and his men passed themselves off as Loyalists engaged in the King’s service. Under this guise, they were directed to Gowen’s Fort in present day Spartanburg County, SC, where a band of Tories had taken refuge after their unsuccessful attack on the Patriot militia assembled at Cedar Spring under Spartan Regiment Col. John Thomas, Jr. On the evening of July 13th, this small band of Georgians surprised and routed these Tories, killing one, wounding three, and having the remaining 32 sue for quarter. Not wishing to be burdened with prisoners, Jones paroled the survivors. Next, Jones and his Georgians moved on toward their original destination of Col. Charles McDowell’s camp at Earle’s Ford, arriving in the wee hours of July 14th. Exhausted

from their march, they crossed over Earle’s Ford to the east side of the North Pacolet River and hastily camped near the river bottom, a few hundred yards from where most of McDowell’s 300 men were bivouacked around Edward Hampton’s home on the ridge above the river.²³

Prince’s Fort, just 20 miles distant, was occupied by a British and Tory force under Col. Alexander Innes. Some of the parolees from Gowen’s Fort arrived at Prince’s Fort with news of their altercation with Col. Jones and the Georgians. Innes immediately dispatched Capt. James Dunlap with 79 dragoons, accompanied by local Loyalist militia Col. Ambrose Mills and some of his Loyalists, with orders to pursue Jones’ Patriots. Dunlap and Mills reached Earle’s Ford before dawn. They crossed the North Pacolet River upstream from the ford and attacked Jones’ camp in a full charge. Although there are conflicting accounts concerning the American sentinels, it is generally assumed that there was little or no alarm sounded on the approach of Dunlap and Mills. The Georgians were instantly routed, with Col. Jones receiving eight saber cuts to his head. Also camped along the river bottom near Jones was Noah Hampton who, when roused from his sleep, was asked his name. He simply replied “Hampton”, which was a family name afforded the most treasonous association by the Tories. Young Noah was immediately killed, or “run through”, as was his friend, Andrew Dunn. The surviving Georgians retreated and formed with McDowell’s men on the ridge above the river. Being greatly outnumbered, the British hastily withdrew back over Earle’s Ford and began slowly making their way back toward Prince’s Fort.

Just before sunrise on the morning of July 14th, fifty-two of the stoutest Whigs stepped forward, including fifteen of the Georgians, and were given the best mounts available. They were placed under the command of Capt. Edward “Ned” Hampton and given orders by Col. Charles McDowell to pursue Dunlap and Mills. After a rapid ride of just over two hours, just south of the modern community of Inman, SC, they began to catch the rear of the British stragglers, killing eight of them at first fire. The pursuit quickened and continued to within three hundred yards of Prince’s Fort. Around mid-afternoon, Capt. Edward Hampton and his contingent returned to Earle’s Ford with a large portion of the enemies’ baggage and horses in tow—all of this without the loss of a single man.^{24, 25, 26}

It is remarkable that three successive engagements, admittedly all quite minor, could occur in a twenty-four hour period and all related and in several miles of each other. First, the capture of Gowen’s Fort, followed by Dunlap’s charge into part of McDowell’s camp at Earle’s Ford, and finally Capt. Edward Hampton driving the British back into Prince’s Fort. But what are even more remarkable are the intertwining relationships, and their consequences, that resulted from this little known twenty-four hour series of events.

Setting the Story Straight on Noah Hampton’s Father

There are no less than seven different publications that state that Noah Hampton’s father was Edward “Ned” Hampton - but this is incorrect. Noah Hampton’s father was Colonel Andrew Hampton. There are two probable explanations for this error. First, the fight at Earle’s Ford is a lot more interesting and emotionally charged if we envision Noah’s father as seeking to avenge the death of his son by riding hard for fifteen miles, catching some of the slower-paced Loyalists, and felling them with one gallant charge - reminiscent of Mel Gibson’s character in *The Patriot*. In the investment business, this is referred to as “illusion of validity” and happens when an investor believes that which confirms his prior biases, choosing to ignore obvious evidence to the contrary. In this case, some scholars and historians fall prey to an “illusion of validity” and “wish” Noah Hampton’s father to be

Edward Hampton because it makes for a great story. But they are choosing to overlook the obvious.

Secondly, it is possible that many are just misreading a primary source used for the Earle's Ford affair which sets the record straight. In *Kings Mountain and its Heroes*, Draper writes about the Earle's Ford skirmish as follows:

"Besides the loss sustained by the Georgians, six of McDowell's men were killed, and twenty four wounded. Among those killed were Noah Hampton, a son of Colonel Hampton, with a comrade named Andrew Dunn."

Draper does not identify the first name of Noah's father, stating only that he is "Colonel Hampton". By the date of Edward Hampton's death a few months after the Earle's Ford fight, he had been appointed a "Lt. Colonel". But in July 1780, he was only a captain. Draper writes further:

"Before sunrise the ensuing morning, fifty two of the most active men, including Freeman and fourteen of his party, mounted upon the best horses in camp, were ordered to pursue a retreating foe under the command of Capt. Edward Hampton."

Over the years scholars have undoubtedly read into Draper's account something they wanted to believe---that "Colonel Hampton" in the first paragraph above was Edward Hampton, perhaps subconsciously skipping over the fact that Edward Hampton was mentioned as a Captain two paragraphs later. Draper certainly got it right.

In addition, there is indisputable genealogical evidence that Edward Hampton had only one child, a daughter, with his first wife, Elizabeth Dawkins. He had two more children with his second wife, Sallie Earle. Again, both were daughters.²⁷ So, our Edward Hampton fathered no sons. There is equally strong genealogical evidence that Noah Hampton was one of Colonel Andrew Hampton's fifteen children.

This nighttime skirmish at Earle's Ford, and its related engagements, was certainly not a pivotal point in the Revolutionary War in the South. In fact, it could be added to a lengthy list as just one more minor battle that occurred in the Carolinas and Georgia. Standing alone, none of these little fights meant a lot, but taken in aggregate they served to send a message to the invading British and looting Loyalists. Tough and brave people like the Earles and Hamptons would not stand idly by and be victimized by murderous depredations and pillaging in the name of a King.

Even though the Earle's Ford affair had little demonstratable bearing on subsequent Revolutionary War events, it did likely leave its mark on several situations that occurred later. It is interesting and worthwhile to examine some of the events that may have been affected by the Earle's Ford affair and its participants.

Col. Andrew Hampton and Maj. Patrick Ferguson

There is no evidence that Col. Andrew Hampton and British Maj. Patrick Ferguson ever met, but there is strong evidence that Ferguson knew and despised the Hamptons.

Jonathan Hampton was the oldest son of Col. Andrew Hampton. He was born with a clubfoot, but still served as a messenger, spy and recruiter for his father during the Revolutionary War. Jonathan was arrested in September 1780, at his father's home by a scouting party dispatched from Gilbertown by Maj. Ferguson. He appeared before Ferguson the next day as ordered and was immediately accosted by Capt. James Dunlap who bragged of recently killing a rebel on the Pacolet River with the last name of "Hampton". Dunlap accused Jonathan of being a rebel of the worst sort and insisted he be strung up at once. Cooler heads prevailed

and Ferguson, being fairer and more humane than Dunlap, paroled the crippled Jonathan.^{28, 29}

Shortly after Jonathan's arrest and parole, and in an attempt to intimidate residents of the Carolina Backcountry, Ferguson issued a handbill that threatened action against those who did not align themselves with the King. Ferguson's choice of words was so strong that some scholars have watered down (no pun intended!) the tone of his writing. Over time this infamous handbill became known as Ferguson's "Pissing Proclamation" because of the inclusion of the word "pissing" in it. In his communication, Ferguson mentions four "backwater men", likening them to a "set of mongrels". Those mentioned were referred to by last name only---"McDowell, Hampton, Shelby and Cleveland".³⁰ The Hampton mentioned was Col. Andrew Hampton. A month later Maj. Ferguson was killed at Kings Mountain, a battle in which Col. Andrew Hampton and his Rutherford militia figured prominently.

Col. Andrew Hampton and Col. Charles McDowell

Colonel Charles McDowell was well liked and respected for his patriotism and courage. However, he was tactfully passed over as a potential commander of the over-the-mountain men as they assembled in Gilbertown prior to the Battle of Kings Mountain. Scholars have given various reasons for this slight including McDowell's age, overcautious nature, lack of tact, and even his affinity for the bottle. One of the most compelling reasons cites concerns expressed by Col. Andrew Hampton. When Col. McDowell's battlefield experience was privately questioned, Col. Hampton shared with the other colonels his experience at Earle's Ford. Specifically, the carelessness exhibited by McDowell on the night Noah Hampton was killed. Col. Hampton always believed that too few pickets were out and were improperly placed as a result of McDowell's carelessness - indirectly blaming McDowell for the death of his son. Regardless of the exact reason, the over-the-mountain colonels voted to send Col. McDowell on a face-saving mission to Gen. Gates headquarters two hundred miles away in Hillsborough, N.C.³¹ Three days later the Battle of Kings Mountain took place - without Col. Charles McDowell on the battlefield.

Colonel Ambrose Mills

Loyalist Colonel Ambrose Mills was made a prisoner at the Battle of Kings Mountain. The victors at Kings Mountain immediately marched north with their prisoners, finally stopping at Biggerstaff's plantation near Gilbertown, NC not far from Col. Andrew Hampton's home place. There they tried, convicted and condemned to the hangman's noose thirty-six of the vilest Loyalists, including Ambrose Mills. In the end, only Mills and eight others were hanged. There is no evidence of Col. Andrew Hampton's direct participation in these proceedings, but it is possibly more than just an irony that Mills was hung, and that he had been in the company of Capt. James Dunlap when the Loyalists attacked at Earle's Ford, killing young Noah Hampton.

Afterthought

There is no evidence that events surrounding the Earle's Ford skirmish resulted in Col. Andrew Hampton's participation in the battle of Kings Mountain and Maj. Ferguson's demise, but it may have contributed in some small way. Equally, Col. McDowell's lapse of judgment concerning pickets at Earle's Ford cannot be cited as the sole reason he was passed over as commander of the militia at Kings Mountain. And Ambrose Mills' death at the end of a noose was not the direct result of his participation in the attack on Earle's Ford and the killing of Noah Hampton. It is likely that what happened at Earle's Ford in the

early morning hours of July 14, 1780 may have helped to shape the attitudes of some its participants and influenced the outcome of these events.

The Earle's Ford affair was quite typical in many ways of other impromptu militia actions where family backgrounds played an important part in explaining why certain individuals were motivated to become involved in these minor Carolina backcountry clashes. Actions at Mobley's Meeting House, Williamson's Plantation (Huck's Defeat), Alexander's Old Field (Beckamville), and Wahab's Plantation come quickly to mind. Without people like the Earles and Hamptons, and many other Backcountry families, the war in the South might have had a very different outcome. We owe a great deal to these little-known participants who fought so bravely in one corner of the Revolutionary War.

Footnotes

- ¹ Meynard, *The Venturers*, p. 947.
- ² Birnie, *The Birnies and the Earles*, pp. 48-49.
- ³ Birnie, p. 41.
- ⁴ Birnie, pp. 47-48.
- ⁵ Meynard, p. 940; Thomas Sumter's family also lived in this area.
- ⁶ Meynard, pp. 64 and 68.
- ⁷ Meynard, p. 72.
- ⁸ Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina*, p. 87.
- ⁹ Landrum, p. 95.
- ¹⁰ Meynard, pp. 455-456.
- ¹¹ Anthony, Revolutionary War Era Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files, p. 4.
- ¹² Draper, *Kings Mountain and Its Heroes*, p. 83.
- ¹³ Meynard, p. 457.
- ¹⁴ Meynard, p. 85.
- ¹⁵ Smith, *Royal Gazette*
- ¹⁶ Johnson, *Traditions and Reminiscences, Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South*, p. 444.
- ¹⁷ Meynard, p. 93.
- ¹⁸ Meynard, p. 56.
- ¹⁹ Landrum, p. 354.
- ²⁰ Draper, pp. 474-475.
- ²¹ Griffin, *History of Old Tryon and Rutherford Counties, North Carolina*, p. 89.
- ²² Hampton, familytreemaker.genealogy.com
- ²³ Anthony, p.4.
- ²⁴ Russell, *The American Revolution in the Southern Colonies*, p. 158.
- ²⁵ Draper, pp. 78-79.
- ²⁶ Hope, *The Spartanburg Area In the Revolution*, p. 40-44.
- ²⁷ Meynard, ii, p. 456.
- ²⁸ Draper, pp. 153-157.
- ²⁹ Griffin, pp. 57-58.
- ³⁰ Messick, *Kings Mountain*, pp. 88-89.
- ³¹ Messick, pp. 108-109.
- ³² Messick, p. 163.

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William Richardson Davie (1756-1820) A Great Man in a Time of Great Men

by Bob Yankle

It was a late birthday present. Very late. About 200 years late. But on June 24th, 2006, the North and South Carolina Societies of the Sons of the American Revolution combined efforts with the Grand Lodges of the North and South Carolina Masons to permanently recognize the life and contributions of Revolutionary War hero Colonel William Richardson Davie. The occasion was the 250th Anniversary of his birthday and the organizers chose the Old Waxhaw Presbyterian Church in Lancaster County, South Carolina to stage this memorial event.



Waxhaw Presbyterian Church north of Lancaster, SC, burial place of William Richardson Davie.

Steve Pittard, Eastern Area Vice President for the North Carolina Society of the SAR, assembled a noteworthy group of authors, lecturers, reenactors, SAR and Masonic dignitaries, family members (descendants of William R. Davie), and everyday citizens, brought them together in one place, and bedazzled everyone. Here was history, drama, a family reunion, reverence, patriotism, and even a hint of controversy. Great stuff, this.



Kip Carter of Hanging Rock [left], site of Maj. William R. Davie's successful August 1, 1780 raid against the embodied North Carolina Loyalists, acted as the Master of Ceremonies. Here shown with Steve Pittard [right], organizer of the event.

Do you know of William R. Davie? Many who attended the ceremony didn't. This is what they learned.

William Richardson Davie was a cavalry officer who commanded a group of militia horsemen that he himself funded. He was severely wounded at the Battle of Stono Ferry, South Carolina, but survived to fight another day. He defeated forces at a place called Hanging Rock; pursued retreating Tories from Ramsour's Mill; and harassed the army of Earl Lord Cornwallis when that officer pursued Daniel Morgan into North Carolina after being handed a signal defeat at Cowpens. He came to the notice of Major General Nathanael Greene who decided that Davie was just the kind of man he needed to take on the onerous duties of Commissary General of the Southern Army. It was a job with which Greene was well familiar – he had served in that capacity for George Washington. Greene recognized that Davie knew the country, the people, and the temperament of the natives. While the Southern Army lacked for much, this is certain: it stayed in the field until all British forces were driven out of the Carolinas. William R. Davie saw to it.

If such a military career were not already enough to distinguish the man, his post-war accomplishments would have done it for him. He was selected as the third man to hold the position of Grand Master of the North Carolina Masons. More on that later.

This is what *else* William R. Davie did in his lifetime: served at the Constitutional Convention and is considered to be one of the Founding Fathers of our nation; served as Governor of North Carolina; was appointed as one of our nation's first Ministers to France; earned promotion to his state's Brigadier General; founded the University of North Carolina (the first state college in the United States of America); urged the ratification of the United States Constitution; and made such decisions as the creation of the state of Tennessee while negotiating the boundaries between the states of North and South Carolina.

Unfortunately for history, the *written* record of many of these accomplishments was destroyed in the Civil War, including almost all the papers written by Davie himself. Because of this, the lecturers at the 250th Birthday Anniversary had to dig deep and range far to gather their source materials. And that's exactly what they did.

Dr. Dan L. Morrill, Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, presented a lecture he entitled "William R. Davie, More than a Soldier". Some historical facts are more durable than paper records. For instance, the cornerstone of the University of North Carolina is still standing. William R. Davie selected the site for this university (Chapel Hill, NC), designed the

buildings, created the curriculum, selected the teachers, and offered the presidency of the college to the Rev. David Caldwell (who refused the title – however, he later accepted that college's Doctorate of Divinity). Dr. Morrill referred to William R. Davie as a "muted trumpet" – while his accomplishments were truly amazing, his views on slavery and the killing of other men bothered the professor.



Dr. Dan L. Morrill, Professor of History at UNC, Charlotte, NC speaks on William R. Davie's accomplishments after the Revolutionary War.

Holding a more sanguine view of Colonel Davie's life was the Reverend Dr. D'oyle G. Moore, a noted Revolutionary War reenactor. Dr. Moore appeared in persona as William R. Davie, and delivered a first person historic dramatic monologue he called "Deliberate Long, Act Quickly". Using thespian talents honed from many hours on stage, he brought William R. Davie to life. No shrinking violet was he (Davie). He charged through life with gleeful enthusiasm. This was an action hero with brains, and he certainly left his stamp on the North Carolina landscape, from Halifax, where he served as Governor, to Chapel Hill, founding the University of North Carolina, and finally to the lands south of Charlotte, where he eventually settled down and was buried.



Rev. D'oyle Moore, dressed as William Richardson Davie.

After a brief pause for lunch, the Anniversary celebration continued. Mr. Kip Carter, a reenactor from the state of South Carolina serving as Master of Ceremonies asked some special guests to introduce themselves. These are the descendants of William R. Davie, many of whom had met their cousins only

earlier that morning. One of them was William Davie Beard. Coincidentally, he said, he had been born in the same month as his ancestor, so that while we were celebrating the 250th Anniversary of the birth of William R. Davie, he had celebrated his own 50th birthday only days before.

It was Dr. Charles Marshall Ingram, Past Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina Masons, who coined the words used in the title of this piece. His speech, "A Great Man in a Time of Great Men", detailed Grand Master Davie's successes as a Mason. He helped design the Grand Lodge in which he presided as Grand Master for many years. During his tenure a great many new lodges were opened in North Carolina, many of which are still in operation today. Davie was particularly adept at forming organizations that were keenly adapted to advancing the tenets of Masonry.



Dr. Charles Marshall Ingram, Past Grand Master, North Carolina Grand Lodge.

D'oye Moore took the podium again, dressed as the Reverend Dr. David Caldwell, to deliver William R. Davie's eulogy. He called it "I remember William R. Davie". He recalled the many debates he had with Davie, the Federalist, while he, himself, was staunchly anti-Federalist. But for all that they argued and harangued each other, at day's end, they were staunch Presbyterian friends.

The Revolution in the South [including Georgia] has something for everyone: historical and genealogical research, battlefielding, ballistics, archaeology, monument building, material conservation, commemoration, biography, tours, re-enactments, books, preservation, and - best of all - discoveries for the asking. Our little magazine, like the little engine that could, proves it. Your personal interest and financial contributions to support the publication of SCAR is appreciated. We are still adding interested folks to our mailing list....tell a friend and share the enthusiasm! Editor



Rev. D'oye Moore, dressed as the Reverend Dr. David Caldwell, delivered a eulogy in honor of General Davie.

Upon conclusion of the Memorial Service, participants gathered outside for a processional to the gravesite of William R. Davie. With William Davie Beard in the lead, the SAR Color Guard, Masons, and family walked in the warm sun to General Davie's final resting place. There, the Reverend David Caldwell (D'oye Moore) made his final remarks. President Joe Harris of the North Carolina Society and President Charles Porter of the South Carolina Society, Sons of the American Revolution, unveiled an SAR grave marker which had been affixed to the brick wall of the enclave which surrounds Davie's grave site. Shortly thereafter, Former Grand Master Charles Ingram from North Carolina and Deputy Grand Master Gerald L. Carver of the South Carolina Grand Lodge used corn, wine and oil to consecrate a memorial stone which had been declared straight, plumb and level. Following this, the joint ceremony concluded with a traditional wreath-laying ceremony and rifle salute. Participants included members of the SAR, SAR Ladies Auxiliary, DAR, CAR, Grand Lodges of the NC and SC Masons, the SC New Acquisition Militia, the descendants of William R. Davie, and the Daughters of the American Colonist John Lawson, Surveyor General.



Davie Beard of Camden, SC and Rhett Adams, Mason, both descendants of William R. Davie, place memorial wreath on the Davie grave with others.



Firing musket salute.



New SAR Patriot grave marker installed at the Davie grave enclosure.



New granite Masonic marker honoring Davie, a past Grand Master of the North Carolina Masonic Lodge.

And so, in a ceremony that stretched across the boundaries of two states and tapped into the talents of many different organizations, William R. Davie was finally recognized and celebrated. It was not only “better late than never” – it was the best that could have been.

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Michael C. Scoggins, *The Day It Rained Militia: Huck’s Defeat and the Revolution in the South Carolina Backcountry May-July 1780*

The fighting in the South Carolina backcountry often stands as a mere sideshow for many Revolutionary historians who focus primarily on the movements of the Continental Army. For those who follow this interpretation, the chief relevance of this sanguinary conflict lies in the fact that it pushed Cornwallis into the series of campaigns that led him to Yorktown, where he met defeat at the hands of a combined Franco-American force composed predominantly of regular troops. As a result of this predilection for the actions of the regular forces, these historians miss the profound contribution made by local irregular troops in sustaining the Revolution in the Southern Department. Michael A. Scoggins moves this sideshow to center stage and simultaneously presents a stunning description of the power of local resistance in *The Day It Rained Militia*.

The focus of this book is the defeat of the ironically named Captain Christian Huck. Huck was one of numerous provincial officers who accompanied Sir Henry Clinton to the South for his expedition against Charleston, South Carolina in 1780. In the aftermath of the fall of the city in May of that year, these troops fanned out across the South Carolina countryside in order to consolidate British control of the state. Among their first accomplishments was the destruction of the last organized Continental resistance in the state with defeat of troops under the command of Colonel Abraham Buford on May 29. From this point until August, there were no Continental troops in the state to oppose the British. Thus, the activities of the militia stood as a crucial rejection of British power. If local forces had not taken to the field, the drive to continue the fight among the local populace may have withered and died. By the same token, as Michael Scoggins adroitly observes, the decision of many backcountry inhabitants to take the field as partisans came as the direct result of changes in British policy toward the South Carolina Whigs.

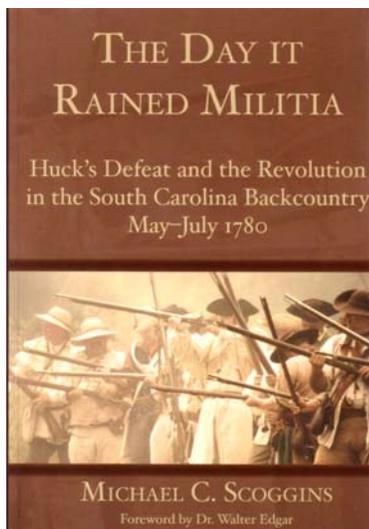
The central event during the period of purely local resistance was the defeat of Captain Christian Huck of the British Legion. This defeat was not the first armed resistance in the backcountry to British rule. As the author makes clear, Whig and Tory militia had already crossed swords at Alexander’s Old Fields and Mobley’s Meeting House. These engagements were limited in scope, however, in that they were both between local units only. Huck’s Defeat, on the other hand, stood as the first time that residents of the area took up arms successfully against British regulars. In doing so, “The one-sided victory over Captain Huck energized the Whigs and raised their spirits tremendously” (p. 121). Simply put, this engagement demonstrated to the local Whig units that they could in fact stand up to British regulars with a reasonable chance of achieving victory.

Scoggins’s work should not be seen as just an account of a battle, however, although he does present a fine examination of the confrontation. As the remainder of the title implies, the book examines the entire course of the Revolution in the South Carolina backcountry up to the Battle of Williamson’s Plantation (Huck’s Defeat) in meticulous detail. The author traces the internal tensions in the region back to its rapid growth in population after the French and Indian War, and gives particular attention to the Regulator Conflict of the late 1760s. What emerges from Scoggins’s diligent efforts at setting the battle in context is a portrait of the War of Independence in the South Carolina backcountry as a true civil war. This conflict split immediate families, as is often remarked of the Civil War some seventy years later. One example of the polarizing effects of the conflict lay in the relationship between Edward Lacey, Sr. and Edward Lacey, Jr. The elder Lacey was a staunch Loyalist while the younger held rank in the Whig militia.

Furthermore, the author's attention to detail does not end with setting the scene for Huck's Defeat. In reconstructing the flow of events at the battle itself, he takes into account numerous contributing factors such as the weather and even the hour of sunrise, 4:52 a.m. (p.114).

In order to accomplish such an in depth reconstruction, Scoggins draws on a wide variety of sources to present as complete a portrait of both the period and the various actors as possible. In researching his account, the author utilizes church records as well as ships' manifests in order to determine the origins many of the participants. In addition, he makes great use of pension applications from many of the militia veterans of the fight.

Implicit in the author's use of various church records is the notion that religious affiliation played some role in the political choices of the various participants. The connection between church membership and political affiliation was one often bandied about even by contemporaries, such as British Major James Wemyss who insisted that Presbyterian churches were in fact "sedition houses." But insofar as coming to a final explicit statement on this point, the author is strangely quiet.



By the same token, Scoggins is far from quiet when it comes to his discussion of the role of the militia in the War of Independence. While he can only speak with real authority on the role of those troops in the South Carolina backcountry, in his epilogue the author presents a stunning reappraisal of their utility that challenges much of the accepted wisdom concerning these troops. The author's attempt at revision draws attention to the fact that for much of the summer and even into the fall of 1780, the militia

stood as the only military force opposing the British. While a Continental army did march into South Carolina under the command of Horatio Gates in August, it was promptly defeated at the Battle of Camden. Thus, the militia formed the bulwark of Whig resistance and demonstrated a degree of determination and fortitude in combat that it is not often recognized as possessing in many accounts of the war. Though a short section of the work, these pages are certainly worth perusal with thoughtful consideration.

Finally, *The Day It Rained Militia* will be a useful addition to the library of anyone concerned with doing serious research on the War of Independence in the South Carolina backcountry, as well as those with a more casual interest in the southern campaigns. Not only does it offer careful reconstruction of an engagement that usually receives little more than a footnote; it uses this as a means to call into question much of the perception of the role of the militia in the war. Scoggins includes in his appendices a listing of all the soldiers who took part in the engagement. Likewise, he presents the pension applications of a sampling of the participants in the battle, as well as reproductions of some of the key British correspondence concerning the occupation of South Carolina in 1780 — all materials valuable to the serious student of the war in this region. On the other hand, the more general reader will benefit from a strong narrative that, while centering on Huck's Defeat, tells much of the story of the War of Independence in the backcountry in a broader sense. If there is a

flaw in the narrative, it comes in the fact that the discussion trails off after the battle of Huck's Defeat and therefore fails to follow through on the remainder of the fighting in the theater. Still, anyone interested in the fighting in South Carolina during the war, as well as the role of the militia, will find reading Michael Scoggins's *The Day It Rained Militia* time well spent.

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Michael C. Scoggins, *The Day It Rained Militia: Huck's Defeat and the Revolution in the South Carolina Backcountry May-July 1780* (Charleston, SC: The History Press, 2005). ISBN 1-59629-015-3. Maps, photographs, illustrations, appendices, bibliography, index. 317 pp. \$34.99; available from Amazon.com, The History Press and the Museum of York County gift shop. ★

Colonel Thomas Waters Georgia Loyalist

by **Robert S. Davis**

The story of Thomas Waters of Georgia presents an excellent example of an historical character whose name appears frequently in the records of the American Revolution in such a way as to invite further exploration of his life. In the last years of the American Revolution, he represented the best and the worst of British plans to restore the rebelling Southern colonies by "Americanizing" the war. Waters also left an important son among the Cherokees about whom living descendants today have made extensive efforts at research.

More should be known about Thomas Waters. He clearly came from a background of wealth and prominence. In the 1783 Spanish census of East Florida, he appears as born in England and as having in his household a wife, two children, and an orphan girl. A descendent believes that he was the son of a Richard and Mary Morgan Waters. James Wright found Thomas Waters as a quartermaster of the Second Troop of colonial rangers when Wright arrived in Georgia in 1760 to become governor. The rangers maintained civil order, patrolled for escaped slaves, and scouted for marauding whites and Indians. Most of that troop had been recruited on the then northwest Georgia frontier, near Augusta.

Hardly much more information survives about Thomas Waters before 1773. He acquired a great deal of property in Georgia and South Carolina. In 1765, he became a commissioner for building a public fort and barracks in Augusta and won election from frontier St. Paul Parish to the colonial Georgia House of Assembly. The following year, he became a justice of the peace for the same and in 1767 he joined his neighbors in warning the governor of the potential for trouble when settlers on the Little River [Georgia] burned the village of alleged Indian horse thieves.

James Wright led a project in 1773 that would exasperate such situations in the future. Through his efforts, Georgia acquired some 1.6 million acres of territory from the Cherokee and Creek Indians to the northwest of Augusta and St. Paul Parish that became known as the Ceded Lands (today's Wilkes and surrounding counties). Thomas Waters became a major player from the beginning in the history of this new acquisition. Wright created a new troop of rangers to be paid from sales of the new lands. Waters served as first lieutenant in this unit under Edward Barnard (who died June 6, 1775), formerly second lieutenant, and then under James Edward Powell, formerly captain, of the old Second Troop of the 1760s rangers. As an officer in the new troop of horse rangers, he also received a commission as justice of the peace, as

the rangers served both as a civilian and military unit. The rangers operated out of Fort James at the fork of the Savannah and Broad Rivers in the northeast and from a stockade on the north fork of the Ogeechee River near Wrightsborough in the southwest. Each ranger wore a blue coat faced in red, blue cloth boots trimmed in red with a black straps and buckles, and blue or buckskin pants. The rangers attended the formal treaty negotiations at Augusta, accompanied the survey of the area, and served with the St. Paul Parish militia in 1774 when hostile Creek Indians, upset by the loss of these lands, attacked settlements along the Little River. The militia and rangers suffered defeat but now Sir James Wright ended the crisis through negotiations that resulted in the assassinations of the leaders of the war parties.

Thomas Waters, however, had ambitions that went far beyond serving as a ranger. Around the mouth of the Broad River and along the Savannah River, as well as near Wrightsborough, he established plantations of some 4,500 acres where he and his eleven slaves raised Indian corn, oats, peas, wheat, indigo, sheep, hogs, horses, and cattle. His operations included a large two-story house, three mills, a blacksmith shop, and a fort. Additionally, he loaned money to many of the 200 families who settled in the Ceded Lands with which they could make their initial land payments.

The American Revolution began as the Ceded Lands opened. Waters and his neighbors, some of whom would later join the Patriots (Whigs), signed public protests against the rebellion in 1775. The resistance proved stronger and that same year, Georgia Patriot militia Captains Pannel and Walton arrived at Fort James to demand that the rangers surrender that post. Captain Powell and Lieutenant Waters refused but their men defected. They would serve as a company in the Georgia Continentals until later ambushed and destroyed by Indians on the southern frontier.

Thomas Waters would not join the rebels although he had every encouragement to do so. Loyalist leader Thomas Brown, exiled to British East Florida, could not learn Waters' politics in 1776. In 1777, the rebel Georgia Executive Council tried to commission him as a justice of the peace but local Patriot leaders insisted (for reasons not known) on commissioning someone else. The new State of Georgia demanded that all known supporters of the King promise not to work against the Revolution in 1778 and Waters took an oath not to fight against the Revolution. At that time, John Coleman, commander of the new state Patriot militia in what the Georgia constitution of 1777 designated as Wilkes County, considered Waters as his trusted friend.

By February 1779, however, British soldiers occupied Augusta, Savannah, and all of European-settled Georgia except the Ceded Lands. Even there, Loyalist horsemen made a circuit to obtain the submission of all men and forts. They visited Waters' plantation. Thomas Waters then finally and clearly determined for the King's cause and became one of Georgia's most important Tories. A Wilkes County court in August 1779 reported him as having joined the British army.

The southern colonies' largest city, Charleston, South Carolina, surrendered along with the American army that defended it in May 1780. British regulars and Loyalists swept across the Georgia borders and into most of South Carolina. Georgia Patriot militia Col. John Dooley of Wilkes County surrendered what remained of Georgia's state militia although guerrilla bands under such men as Georgia Patriot militia Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke remained in the field. The situation became pacified enough, however that British leaders could now implement a southern strategy, an experiment to restore colonial authority in Georgia. Sir James Wright returned as Royal colonial governor and, with the reestablishment of the assembly, Georgia became the only American state reduced to colony status. Thomas Waters became colonel of the Fifth Colonial Militia Regiment (Ceded Lands) and a magistrate. Stephen Heard, the state Patriot governor in exile, regarded Waters as one of the Patriots' greatest enemies at the same

time that Wright wrote of Waters as a man of property and character.

Sir James Wright and many other loyal American leaders feared that the revolution in Georgia and South Carolina only smoldered and that it could rekindle at any time. Sir Henry Clinton, British commander in North America, made matters worse on June 3, 1780 by ordering almost all male citizens in Georgia and South Carolina to join the colonial militia. Wright's restored colonial assembly banned from public office men who had been Whigs.

Under these circumstances, these same Loyalists readily believed that the war had begun again when, in September 1780, Elijah Clarke led some 400 partisans in almost capturing the Loyalist and Indian garrison in Augusta. Rescued and reinforced by South Carolina Loyalist provincials, the King's men, white and red, took their revenge on the families of Wilkes County, the source of most of Clarke's following. Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger, the leader of the relief column from Ninety Six, South Carolina, dispatched Col. Thomas Waters and his militia to destroy the forts, courthouse, and settlements of the Whigs in Wilkes County. They and their allies destroyed at least 100 homes. Men who did not join Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke in exile became prisoners in Augusta. [Vol. 2, No. 9, September 2005 SCAR.]

The Loyalists had actually created rather than suppressed a widespread uprising. Reportedly, Clarke's band had largely come from an apolitical class of frontier brigands that had been fighting civil authority long before the war. Other members of his party had consisted of individuals who only came along under threats to their lives and property. Now those men and other Georgians who had retired from the war were driven back into it on the side of the rebellion. Royal Lt. Gov. John Graham took a census of Wilkes County and came away anything but encouraged. He found that of 723 men, only 255 could be counted on for the King's militia and that at least 411 had now joined the rebels.

Even that number of Waters' men would soon severely decline. Cruger, who now took command of both the Georgia and South Carolina frontier, ordered those Georgians to the Ninety Six region to meet out punishment to suspected supporters of the Revolution in the Fair Forest Creek area of South Carolina. At Hammond's Store, near South Carolina's Bush River, on December 28, 1780, Lt. Col. William Washington with seventy-five Continental horsemen and 200 dragoons under SC State troops Lt. Col. James McCall, and Georgia Patriot militia Major James Cunningham of Wilkes County, attacked Col. Waters and his 250 member Georgia Loyalist militia regiment. The two sides lined up across from each other. The Loyalists fled without firing a gun in the face of a cavalry charge by Washington and his men. Waters left 150 of his men dead on the ground. Wilkes County neighbors had thus fought each other and men must have died as Loyalists at Hammond's Store who had been Georgia Whigs almost two years earlier when they had defeated South Carolina Loyalists from Raeburn Creek (near Hammond's Store) at the Battle of Kettle Creek in Wilkes County, Georgia. [See articles on the Battle of Hammond's Store in Vol. 1, No. 3 - November 2004 and Vol. 2, Number 12 - December 2005 SCAR.]

The situation turned worse for the King's men. Clarke, Cunningham, McCall, and many other Whig partisans returned to Georgia to win back the state from British control. Captains Cane and Tillett of what remained of Waters' regiment won some local victories but saving the area for the king became a lost cause. Local killings became so famous that in the South the murder of prisoners came to be cynically called "granting a Georgia parole." By February 1781, Waters reported that eleven of his neighbors had so died. Two months later, Thomas Waters provided slaves to help in the building of a massive new fortification at Augusta called Fort Cornwallis. He would be among the Loyalists who surrendered there on June 5, 1781 to Continental Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry"

Henry Lee, SC Patriot militia Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, and Georgia Patriot militia Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke. With Col. Thomas Brown and the other prisoners, Waters was transported under guard to Savannah but not before his Major Henry Williams was seriously wounded in an assassination attempt by one of Clarke's men. [Vol. 3, Nos. 6-7-8, June- July-August 2006 SCAR.]

Thomas Waters took on entirely new duties shortly afterwards. Gen. Clinton appointed him as deputy superintendent to the Cherokees in January 1782. He moved to the Indian village of Long Swamp, near present day Ball Ground, Georgia, where he organized the warriors there for the King's cause. At one point, he led 1,000 Indians. Waters took as his wife Sally, a half Cherokee, by whom he fathered later Indian leader George Morgan Waters and Mary Waters (later wife of Alexander McQueen Netherclift). In September 1782, Pickens' 400 men with Clarke's 100 men invaded the Cherokee territory in search of Thomas Waters. They destroyed Long Swamp but, after a long chase, Waters and his Cherokees escaped to St. Augustine, Florida.

The British completely evacuated Georgia by then and South Carolina soon followed; Florida was returned to Spain in the following year. Thomas Waters first moved to New Providence in the Bahamas and then to England in 1786. He took one child with him and left the other with his wife in America. He filed a claim with the British government for his losses that came to £9,111, of which he eventually received £4,824 and a £60 per annum pension. Some of his kinsmen believe that he returned to South Carolina for a time. Waters died in England between 1812 and 1815. The state of Georgia not only attained him of treason and confiscated his property but it also gave his extensive Savannah River plantation to Elijah Clarke as a gift. (Clarke had already occupied the property.)

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Fortitude and Forbearance

The North Carolina Continental Line at Eutaw Springs -- September 8, 1781

by Joshua B. Howard

The North Carolina Continental brigade fought on September 8, 1781 with intense bravery in a bayonet-to-bayonet struggle with some of the best soldiers of the British army. At least one field officer as well as nearly ever company commander and junior officer in three North Carolina regiments were killed, wounded or captured. The brigade left nearly half of its 350 men

on the field dying or wounded. Yet they had covered themselves in glory. As Nathanael Greene wrote, "they fought with a degree of obstinacy that would do honor to the best of veterans, and I could hardly tell which to admire most, the gallantry of the Officers or the bravery of the Troops."¹

The North Carolinians who fought on September 8th, however, were not all willing enlistees into the Continental service. Six months prior to that bloody day at Eutaw Springs the great majority of these men had run at the first sight of British bayonets at Guilford Courthouse while serving as militia. Nathanael Greene had blamed the American loss on their flight, and, in turn, the state legislature had passed a bill forcibly drafting them into the Continental army. They would receive no bounty, no clothing or uniforms, and absolutely no support would be given to their families while they were away. Formed into "punitive" battalions, the state intended for the men to be rendezvoused at Salisbury and then sent south to join Greene's army at the High Hills of the Santee.²

The first group, numbering roughly 180 men, headed south in late April under the command of Major Pinkatham Eaton. They served in the Fort Grierson (2d Siege of Augusta) and Ninety-Six campaigns, the former of which Major Eaton was killed. By the late summer of 1781, two more detachments of these "twelve months men" had been organized and sent south under Brigadier General Jethro Sumner to join the Southern Army.



Lt. Col. John Baptiste Ashe³

These men arrived at Greene's headquarters in early August. Combined with what was left of Eaton's detachment, the Continentals formed into three small regiments, later augmented by one hundred men, mostly conscripts from the eastern part of the State, who arrived on September 7th under the command of Major Reading Blount.⁴

Command of these units fell to a number of capable Continental veterans. Overall control of the brigade fell to Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner, a 48 year-old veteran of nearly five years service and one of the most capable brigadiers in the American army. The 1st North Carolina was commanded by Lt. Col. John Baptiste Ashe, 33, a veteran of Washington's northern campaigns described by Nathaniel Greene as "an exceedingly good officer." Control of the 2nd North Carolina went to Major John Armstrong, a hard charging officer, twice wounded, who most recently had commanded a militia light infantry at Camden. Also a veteran of the northern campaigns, Armstrong carried a unique nickname as a result of a wound to his shin at Germantown in 1777. Hugh McDonald, a former soldier recalled, "we afterwards called him 'Hickory Shins' making out, from his hard visage and lean appearance, that the shin had cut the ball." Details are quite sketchy concerning command of the 3rd North Carolina. Some

¹ Hugh Rankin, *The North Carolina Continental Line in the American Revolution* (Raleigh, 1977), pp. 70-71.

² Hugh Rankin, *The North Carolina Continentals* (Chapel Hill, 1971), pp. 324-326 and 340-346; Rankin, *The North Carolina Continental Line*, pp. 65-66.

³ North Carolina State Archives.

⁴ Rankin, *The North Carolina Continental Line*, pp. 65-67.

sources point to an experienced former Continental officer, Lt. Col. Henry "Hal" Dixon [hero of the Battle of Camden], while others state that Maj. Reading Blount led the unit. It seems likely that Blount may have taken command of the unit when Dixon was wounded, however other sources point to Dixon actually serving as a brigade major and aide to Sumner. Regardless, either man was up to the job. Considered to have "been endowed with Courage and Conduct," Dixon had served since 1775 and been wounded at Stono Ferry and at Camden where he commanded the North Carolina militia regiment that stood and bravely fought like the Maryland and Delaware Continentals. Like Dixon, Blount served since the war's beginning year and had been twice mentioned for gallantry.⁵

The company officers of the three regiments can be placed in one of three categories. One group were veterans of the northern campaigns who had avoided capture at Charleston in May 1780. Many, such as Captain William Goodman and Lieutenants Jesse Read and James Dillon were retired officers called back into service in the aftermath of the debacle. Others such as Captains Anthony Sharpe, Charles Goodin, Edward Yarborough, and Alexander Brevard had simply been in the right place at the right time, away from their units on furlough or other assignments. Others had been at captured at Charleston, exchanged and in direct violation of their parole had rejoined their units such as Captain Griffith McRae, and Lieutenants Peter Bacot, Richard Andrews, and Samuel Budd among others. Their members included Hal Dixon's brother, Captain Tilman Dixon, a tough frontiersman recorded by one of his men as, "a Dirty Buckskin." These men risked death if captured in arms while on parole. While the majority of the officers were combat veterans of several years experience, still others were as young and inexperienced as many of the troops. This third category included Lieutenants Abner Lamb, 19, and James Moore, Jr., 21, both sons of distinguished officers, who had been with the army for less than a year.⁶

Regardless of their level of experience, these men whipped the small North Carolina brigade into shape in the few short weeks before September 8, 1781. Although the majority of the rank and file were former militia, it is likely that the non-commissioned officers and some privates were veterans. For example, Pvt. Willoughby Blackard had served at Stono Ferry, Camden and Guilford as a North Carolina Continental under Capt. Edward Yarborough before serving on the field at Eutaw. Cpl. Jesse Alsobrook had three previous tours as a Continental before being drafted in June 1781. Recent analysis has also potentially placed a small number of North Carolina Continentals at both Camden and Guilford Courthouse guarding the American artillery in both cases. These same men likely served as the twenty-two man Continental detachment that defended the guns at Eutaw Springs as well.⁷

The brigade, albeit under-supplied and under-clothed, participated in its first action as an advance force during Greene's

demonstration against British Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart's forces along the Santee on August 23rd, however they saw no combat. Instead their baptism of fire began in the early morning hours of September 8th as Greene's army advanced once again on Stewart, this time at Eutaw Springs. The springs were located at the head Eutaw Creek, 1 3/4ths miles from Nelson's Ferry. Stewart encamped his troops in a clearing near the two-story brick home and palisaded garden at the head of the creek. As Greene's army approached, a minor clash developed between Patriot and Loyalist cavalry and two large British "rooting parties" were captured while scavenging for food. When Stewart sent out his skirmishers, they ran head long into a blast of canister from two 3-pounders commanded by Capt.-Lt. William Henry Gaines and recoiled back to the safety of the British lines.⁸

Greene's lines followed basically the same tactic he had used at Guilford Courthouse. The first line was composed of militia, South Carolinians under Generals Francis Marion and Andrew Pickens on the right and left respectively, with two battalions of North Carolinians under Col. Malmady in the center. In addition, Gaines's two guns were posted in the center, protected by a 22 man detachment from Maj. Blount's 3rd N.C. regiment, most likely led by Capt. Yarborough. The second line consisted of three brigades of Continentals, the Marylanders on the left, the Virginians in the center, and Sumner's North Carolinians on the far right. A second set of 3-pounders under Lt. Browne were placed along the center of this line. In addition, Greene utilized Lee's Legion to protect his left flank, while giving the right flank to Colonel William Henderson's South Carolina State Troops. Kirkwood's Delaware Continentals and Lt. Col. William Washington's dragoons made up a reserve.⁹

As the Americans advanced, the militia performed better than Greene had expected. They held their ground against the British, and according to one estimate fired seventeen rounds. Greene recalled that they fought with, "a degree of spirit and firmness that reflected the highest honor upon this class of soldiers." Slowly, however, British fire intensified, and the militia began to falter, specifically on the right. Greene ordered Sumner's North Carolinians to their support. That decision must have been one of consternation for Greene, since the North Carolinians were the least experienced of his Continental soldiers. However, as Greene noted afterwards, "These were all new levees, and had been under discipline but little more than a month," and yet they "discovered a Confidence that does honor to young soldiers."¹⁰

The North Carolinians traded volleys with men from the 63rd and 64th Regiments of Foot as well as Delancey's Loyalists for several minutes. The fire began to take a great toll as they stood almost muzzle-to-muzzle. Brig. Gen. Sumner's horse was killed under him Lt. Col. Dixon was wounded as was his younger brother Capt. Charles Dixon. Major Blount lost nearly two-thirds of his men at this juncture. One of Lt. Col. Ashe's officers, Capt. Alexander Brevard, lost nearly half of his "beleaguered company" and twenty-nine men of Capt. Anthony Sharpe's company in the 2nd NC were killed or wounded. All total in the first minutes of the fight, five company commanders and a regimental commander were down. In addition, three lieutenants were wounded, one killed and included among the casualties were the two most inexperienced young officers, Abner Lamb and James Moore, Jr. Moore would

⁵ Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua B. Howard, *Fortitude and Forbearance: The North Carolina Continental Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783* (Raleigh, 2004), pp. 127-128, 132, and 152; Hugh McDonald, "Extract from a Revolutionary War Journal," *North Carolina University Magazine* (1856), p. 469.

⁶ Babits and Howard, *Fortitude and Forbearance*, pp. 126, 129, 134-137, 151-153, 160-161, 176, 185, 190, 201-204, and 221; McDonald, "Extract," p. 459.

⁷ Willoughby Blackard pension application, North Carolina State Archives; Jesse Alsobrook pension application, North Carolina State Archives; Recent analysis comes from an unpublished manuscript prepared by Joshua B. Howard and Lawrence E. Babits, "The North Carolina Continentals at Guilford," presented as part of the lecture series at Guilford Courthouse Battleground for the 224th Anniversary of the Battle in 2005.

⁸ Rankin, *The North Carolina Continentals*, pp. 352-355; Rankin, *The North Carolina Continental Line*, pp. 68-70.

⁹ Rankin, *The North Carolina Continentals*, p. 352; Rankin, *The North Carolina Continental Line*, pp. 68-70.

¹⁰ Rankin, *The North Carolina Continentals*, pp. 354-358; Rankin, *The North Carolina Continental Line*, pp. 70-71; Greene to Lincoln, 11 September 1781, Nathanael Greene Papers, William L. Clements Library.

recover fully from his wounds, but Lamb suffered the amputation of his arm.¹¹

Major Reading Blount¹²



Facing such deadly fire, the North Carolina brigade began to waver. The South Carolina militia on the left exposed their flank to Major John Majoribanks's 19th Foot as the State Troops were prevented by terrain from covering them as they advanced. In response, Greene pushed in the Maryland and Virginia Continentals on "a brisk

charge with Trained arms, through a heavy cannonade and a shower of musquet [sic] balls." The North Carolinians, having recovered from their momentary falter, fired a volley and charged alongside them. The British left began to fall back as did the center, but their right flank (the American left) held steady under the protection of the thicket and brick house. Greene realized that the British right had to be broken, and ordered William Washington's dragoons and Wade Hampton's South Carolina cavalry to dislodge them from the thicket. Their horses however could not penetrate the terrain, and they lost heavily in the venture, Washington himself having been shot down and captured. After another attempt by Hampton's men, Greene resorted to utilizing Kirkwood's Delaware regiment, who engaged in hand-to-hand combat against Majoribanks's men as the remainder of the British line fell back.¹³

A few British soldiers fled into the palisaded garden or to the house, as they ran through their own encampment. Many British and Loyalists took shelter inside the large brick house at the springs under the command of Maj. Henry Sheridan of the New York Volunteers. From that position they delivered a tremendous fire upon the Americans outside. The Continentals followed closely on their heels but as they passed through the camp many stopped for loot and food. The unfinished British breakfasts and foodstuffs for the starving Continentals could not easily be passed up. The American artillery though continued to advance, until Gaines found his cannons and North Carolina infantry detachment completely alone and under fire from the house. A detachment of British soldiers sallied forth capturing his guns and killing or wounding nearly every man in the party. Corporal Jesse Alsobrook, a North Carolinian detached to the guns, recalled watching as his two messmates and comrades for nearly three years, Privates John McCoy and John Russell, fall by his side. The lieutenant in charge of the detachment, Thomas Dudley, an enlisted musician turned officer, fell with a gunshot wound to his leg but managed to escape. As Greene stated, "Never were pieces better served, most of the Men and Officers were either killed or wounded."¹⁴

As Capt. Brown's guns were dragged off by the enemy, a number of North Carolinians evidently launched an assault on the main house. Captain William Goodman and Captain Dennis Porterfield, known as "Denny" to his men, reportedly died charging the dwelling. As the American attack slowed and collapsed under the British fire, Majoribanks, although wounded, counter attacked and drove Greene's men back from the camp. Some of the North Carolinians may have been involved in plundering, as Lieutenants Jesse Read and Samuel Bush were both captured, as was Lieutenant James Clendinin, acting quartermaster for the 3rd N.C. As quartermaster, Clendinin may have been attempting to collect much needed supplies for his men.¹⁵

As Greene's soldiers fell back, both armies settled back roughly into their original positions. Greene decided that "our Ammunition mostly consumed, tho' both Officers and Men continued to exhibit uncommon acts of heroism, I thought proper to retire out of the fire of the House." Four hours had passed since the opening phases of the engagement and both armies were physically and mentally exhausted. The British left Eutaw Springs the next day and marched for Charleston having suffered 85 dead, 351 wounded, and nearly 300 missing, mostly captured. The Americans had lost 119 men killed, 382 wounded and 78 missing. The North Carolina Continentals suffered the highest number of these losses with a total of 160 casualties. Three captains and a lieutenant had been killed in action, as well as 44 enlisted men. Lt. Col. Dixon was wounded, alongside four company commanders, four lieutenants and 90 enlisted men. In addition, three officers and 10 enlisted were reported captured or missing.¹⁶

Eutaw Springs did not end the American Revolution. A month later, Cornwallis' main army surrendered to Washington at Yorktown, and sporadic fighting continued for another year. The majority of the North Carolina Continentals who survived Eutaw Springs either returned home at the end of their enlistments or soldiered on until the end of the war. Eutaw had been their bloodiest and arguably greatest day. Former militiamen once labeled cowards and serving under duress, combined with veteran Continental non-commissioned officers and seasoned commanders, faced, fought, and bested some of the best the British army had. Perhaps their finest compliment came from one of their own officers. In February 1782, Major John Armstrong praised them as "men of the greatest fortitude and forbearance in the world."¹⁷

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¹¹ Babits and Howard, *Fortitude and Forbearance*, pp. 134-135, 151-153, 176, 190, 204, and 209-210; Jesse Alsobrook pension application.

¹² North Carolina State Archives.

¹³ Rankin, *The North Carolina Continentals*, pp. 355-360; Rankin, *The North Carolina Continental Line*, pp. 70-71; Greene to Lincoln, 11 September, 1781, Nathanael Greene Papers, William L. Clements Library.

¹⁴ Rankin, *The North Carolina Continentals*, pp. 356-361; Rankin, *The North Carolina Continental Line*, pp. 70-72; Jesse Alsobrook

pension application; Greene to Lincoln, 11 September 1781, Nathanael Greene Papers, William L. Clements Library.

¹⁵ Howard and Babits, *Fortitude and Forbearance*, pp. 137, 142, 161, 198, and 201.

¹⁶ Rankin, *The North Carolina Continentals*, pp. 361-362; Rankin, *The North Carolina Continental Line*, p. 70; Greene to Lincoln, 11 September 1781, Nathanael Greene Papers, William L. Clements Library; Babits and Howard, *Fortitude and Forbearance*, p. 119.

¹⁷ Armstrong to Sumner, 6 February 1782, Jethro Sumner Papers, Southern Historical Collection. See also Vol. 3, Nos. 6-7-8, June-July-August 2006 SCAR article by Steven J. Rauch on the 2d Siege of Augusta; Maj. Eaton's NC Continentals were there also. ★

“One of the most important and Bloody Battles that ever was fought in America”:

The Battle of Eutaw Springs September 8, 1781

**Dr. James Piecuch
Kennesaw State University**

The Battle of Eutaw Springs, one of the largest and bloodiest engagements of the American Revolution, was fought on September 8, 1781 along the Santee River road and Eutaw Creek, 50 plus miles from Charles Town. It was the last major open-field battle of the war. Some four thousand American and British troops participated in the four hour struggle, and more than thirteen hundred were killed, wounded, or captured - an astonishing casualty rate of over thirty-three percent.

The battle was a draw in tactical terms. The British held the field and captured some of the Americans' artillery, but suffered higher losses. Strategically, however, the result was an American victory. Although the British had earlier been forced to abandon their posts at Camden and Ninety Six, they still hoped to hold part of the South Carolina interior. But the casualties they suffered at Eutaw Springs so weakened their field army that their leaders dared not risk another confrontation outside of the Charleston defensive lines against the numerically superior Americans. The British withdrew to the vicinity of Charleston, and while they continued to launch raids in various areas to seize provisions and slaves, never again did they attempt to occupy and hold positions away from the coast.

The Commanders

American

Nathanael Greene (1742-1786)

A native of Rhode Island, Greene had worked in his family's ironworks before the Revolution. Although he had no formal military training, he was extremely interested in military affairs, a trait that led to his expulsion from the pacifist Quaker sect. In the spring of 1775 he began organizing troops to serve against the British at Boston, and his success earned him an appointment as brigadier general of Rhode Island troops. The Continental Congress appointed him to the same rank in the Continental army in June.

During the siege of Boston, Greene impressed George Washington, and soon became one of his most trusted subordinates. Greene, promoted to major general, fought at Long Island, Trenton, Princeton, and Germantown in the 1776 and 1777 campaigns before Washington, desperate to improve the army's supply system, appointed him quartermaster general of the army.

Greene returned to combat duty as commander of the post at West Point, New York, in the summer of 1780. After the disastrous American defeat at Camden, South Carolina, in August, Washington named Greene commander of the Continental army in the Southern Department.

In December, Greene took command of the troops in North Carolina. His strategy of dividing his forces led to the defeat of a British detachment at the Cowpens, South Carolina, in January 1781. The British commander, General Charles, Earl Cornwallis, then pursued Greene's army all the way to Virginia before the exhausted British troops withdrew. Greene then moved against Cornwallis, bringing on the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781. Greene was defeated, but inflicted heavy casualties that crippled Cornwallis's army.

Ignoring Cornwallis, who was marching into Virginia, Greene led his troops back to South Carolina. Despite suffering defeats at Hobkirk Hill in April and Ninety Six in June, Greene's operations tied down the British field army and allowed American partisans to sever British supply lines, forcing the British to abandon the interior of the state. Greene then marched toward Charleston in hopes of defeating the British army, an operation that culminated in the Battle of Eutaw Springs.

Greene kept British forces confined to the vicinity of Charleston until they evacuated South Carolina in December 1782. With independence secured, Greene retired to a plantation in Georgia where he resided until his death.

Otho Holland Williams (1749- 1794)

Orphaned at the age of twelve, Williams worked as a county clerk in Frederick, Maryland, and a merchant in Baltimore until 1775, when he joined a the Frederick Rifle Corps as a lieutenant. He participated in the siege of Boston and the campaign in New York, and had attained the rank of major by November 1776. That month he was wounded and captured when the British overwhelmed Fort Washington on the Hudson River. The British suspected he was a spy and held him for fifteen months before he was finally exchanged. Williams was promoted colonel of the 6th Maryland while still a prisoner of war.

Upon his release from captivity, Williams assumed command of his troops and led them at the Battle of Monmouth, New Jersey, in June 1778. His unit was sent to the Carolinas in 1780, where Horatio Gates appointed him deputy adjutant general of the southern army. Williams fought at Camden and when Nathanael Greene replaced Gates, he became Greene's most trusted subordinate. Throughout the 1781 campaign, although he was colonel of the 1st Maryland Regiment, he acted as a brigade commander and for part of the time, as Greene's deputy adjutant general. Williams's outstanding performance at Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk Hill, and Eutaw Springs earned him a promotion to brigadier general in 1782.

He settled in Baltimore after the war, was elected officer of the city's port in 1783 and later was appointed customs collector. In 1792 he was asked to return to duty as second-in-command of the U. S. Army, but declined because of poor health. Williams planned the town of Williamsport, Maryland, in 1786, which was incorporated a year later. Seeking relief from chronic illness, he moved to Barbados afterward, but eventually returned to Maryland.

John Eager Howard (1752-1827)

The son of a Maryland planter, Howard was a well-educated young man who volunteered his services to the patriot cause. In July 1776, he became a captain in the 2nd Maryland Continental Regiment and fought in the Battle of White Plains, New York. He continued to serve in George Washington's army, winning promotions to major in 1777 and lieutenant colonel of the 5th Maryland in 1778. He took part in the Battle of Monmouth later that summer, and in October 1779 was transferred back to his original unit, the 2nd Maryland. He accompanied his troops when they were ordered to the South in 1780, and fought in all the major battles of the southern campaign: Camden, Cowpens, Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk Hill, and Eutaw Springs, where he was wounded. He repeatedly distinguished himself in action, and won praise from superiors and subordinates alike for his calmness in battle.

Howard returned to Maryland after the war and became heavily involved in politics. He was elected to Congress in 1788 but left after being elected governor of Maryland, an office he held from 1788 to 1791. He went on to serve in the U. S. Senate, 1796-1803, and was the Federalist Party's candidate for vice-president in

1816. The Federalists lost the election, bringing an end to his political career.

Jethro Sumner (1735-1785)

A native of Virginia, Sumner served in that colony's militia during the French and Indian War. In 1764 he moved to North Carolina, where he established a plantation and ran a tavern, two activities that eventually made him wealthy. Sumner was active in politics and held various local offices; he was elected to the North Carolina provincial congress in 1775. Turning his attention to military affairs, he became major of the Halifax County minutemen and in April 1776 was appointed colonel of the 3rd North Carolina Continental Regiment.

Sumner marched his men to the defense of Charleston in June 1776, and after the British were repulsed, they joined George Washington's army for the 1777 Philadelphia campaign. Sumner and his regiment suffered through the difficult winter at Valley Forge, 1777-1778, which took a toll on Sumner's health, causing him to return to North Carolina in 1778 to recuperate. Upon his recovery, he recruited a new brigade in his home state and led them to Charleston when the British invaded South Carolina in 1779. He fought at the Battle of Stono River in June before returning to North Carolina.

After the fall of Charleston, Sumner again took the field, and took part in the unsuccessful defense of Charlotte in September 1780. When his state troops were placed under the command of Continental General William Smallwood shortly afterward, however, he considered it an insult and left the army. Nathanael Greene convinced him to return to duty in February 1781, but no troops were available for him to command until the summer, when he took charge of North Carolina's reconstituted Continental regiments and led them into battle at Eutaw Springs.

Sumner gave up military life at the end of the war and resumed his life as a tavern owner and planter.

Richard Campbell (?-1781)

Little is known of Campbell's early life, except that he was born in Virginia and joined the Patriot forces in that state in 1776 with the rank of captain. He was assigned to the frontier garrison at Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to guard against Indian attacks. He took part in an expedition against British-allied Indians in Ohio in 1778, and in June 1779 led the force that relieved Fort Laurens, which had been surrounded by the Indians. After a commanding the fort for some time, Campbell was promoted to lieutenant colonel and in early 1781 led a force of Virginia Continentals sent to reinforce Greene's army. He fought at Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk Hill, and Ninety Six before he his death in battle at Eutaw Springs.

Henry Lee (1756-1818)

A member of one of the most prominent families in Virginia, Lee attended the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) and was about to leave for England to study law when the Revolution began. He immediately joined the Virginia cavalry as a captain. He served in his home state until March 1777, when his unit was incorporated into the 1st Continental Dragoons, part of George Washington's army. Although his tendency to act on his own authority led to a court-martial, which acquitted him, he generally served with distinction in Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

Lee was promoted to major in 1778 and given command of a legion, a mixed force of infantry and cavalry. By November 1780 he had attained the rank of lieutenant colonel, and was ordered south with his troops to reinforce the patriot forces there. He joined Greene's army in January 1781, and performed well in

the North Carolina campaign. Greene then ordered him to cooperate with Francis Marion in operations against British lines of communication in South Carolina. Lee and Marion captured several key forts in April and May, forcing the British to abandon the interior of the state.

Lee next went to Georgia, participating in the successful siege of Augusta before joining Greene in the failed attempt to capture Ninety Six. He fought at Eutaw Springs, then journeyed to Virginia to observe the capture of the British army at Yorktown. After returning to South Carolina, exhaustion and depression caused him to leave the army in February 1782.

His postwar career mixed great success and disaster. Lee was elected to Congress in 1785 and served until 1788, became governor of Virginia, 1792-1795, and as a major general led the force that suppressed the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1794. However, he also engaged in land speculation and other business ventures, failing repeatedly until he was jailed for debt in 1809. Released the following year, Lee was unable to redeem his fortunes, and left for the West Indies in 1813. By 1818, he was seriously ill and decided to return to Virginia, but died shortly after reaching Georgia. His military exploits in the Revolution were largely overshadowed by those of his son, Civil War general Robert E. Lee

William Washington (1752-1810)

Like his distant relative, General George Washington, William Washington was a Virginian, but originally did not share his famous relation's interest in military matters. When the Revolution began, William Washington was studying to become a minister. He put aside his religious pursuits and heeded the call to arms, becoming a captain in the 3rd Virginia Continental Regiment in February 1776. He was wounded in the Battle of Long Island six months later, recovered in time to participate in the attack on Trenton in December, and was again wounded. In January 1777, he was promoted to major in the 4th Continental Dragoons. He became lieutenant colonel of the 3rd Continental Dragoons in 1778.

Washington and his troops were ordered to the South in 1780 and participated in the defense of Charleston. Washington's British opponent, Banastre Tarleton, inflicted serious defeats on the American cavalry at Monck's Corner and Lenud's Ferry, and Washington was ordered to take the remnants of his unit to North Carolina to refit, a move that saved him from capture at the fall of Charleston.

Washington's reconstituted cavalry returned to action under Nathanael Greene in late 1780. He captured a large force of loyal militia at Rugeley's Mill and crushed another loyalist unit at Hammond's Store in December, then joined Daniel Morgan to play a key role in the American victory at the Cowpens in January 1781. Washington fought in Greene's North Carolina campaign, at Hobkirk Hill, and at Eutaw Springs, where he was wounded again and captured.

When the war ended, Washington settled in Charleston and served in the South Carolina legislature.

William Henderson (1748-1787)

A North Carolina native, Henderson moved to South Carolina and when the Revolution began was working as a merchant. He joined the Patriot forces and was commissioned a lieutenant colonel. He served in the 1780 defense of Charleston, was captured at the town's surrender, and exchanged in 1781. He then took command of a unit of Gen. Thomas Sumter's South Carolina State Troops who fought at Eutaw Springs.

Francois Lellorquis, Marquis de Malmedy (dates of birth and death unknown)

The Marquis was one of many French officers who came to America to volunteer their services to the Patriots during the Revolution. Formerly a lieutenant of cavalry in the French army, Malmedy arrived in America in 1775. Congress appointed him major in the Continental Army, a rank he considered unsuitable to his skills. He served as an engineer in George Washington's army during the 1776 campaign, and in December of that year procured a commission as brigadier general of the Rhode Island state forces. When that commission expired in May 1777, Congress promoted Malmedy to colonel in the Continentals. Dissatisfied and insulted that he did not get a higher rank, he protested to Washington, who dismissed his complaints. Malmedy was sent to the South, where he took part in numerous battles and campaigns including Stono River in 1779, Camden in 1780, and Greene's North Carolina campaign in 1781. At Eutaw Springs he commanded the North Carolina militia.

Francis Marion (1732-1795)

Known as the "Swamp Fox," Marion was the most famous and capable partisan leader of the Revolution. A South Carolina native, he went to sea briefly as a young man but soon returned to work on his family's plantation. He served in the militia and took part in the Cherokee War in 1761.

He joined the 2nd Regiment of South Carolina Continentals at the start of the Revolution as a captain and had been promoted to major when the British attacked Charleston in June 1776. Marion commanded artillery in the defense of the town, and later in the year became lieutenant colonel of his regiment. He served in Charleston until September 1779, when he led his unit to Savannah to join the unsuccessful Franco-American attack on the city. He avoided capture when Charleston fell to the British in 1780 because he was at home with an ankle injury.

Marion organized a partisan unit in August to resist the British occupation. He led his men with considerable success against loyalist militia in the Pee Dee River area and against British troops based at Georgetown. In the spring of 1781 Marion, now a brigadier general, cooperated with Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee to capture key posts on the British supply line between Charleston and Camden, which forced the British to evacuate the latter town and most of the South Carolina interior in May. Afterward, his militia cooperated with General Nathanael Greene's army in its campaigns, including the Battle of Eutaw Springs.

Marion was elected to the South Carolina senate at the close of the war, but soon left public life to manage his farm, "Pond Bluff," where he died in 1795.

Andrew Pickens (1739-1817)

Born in Pennsylvania, Andrew Pickens accompanied his family in a series of moves that finally brought them to the Long Cane region of South Carolina, where he worked as a farmer and Indian trader. During the 1760-1761 Cherokee War, Pickens served with the provincial militia.

Pickens was commissioned a captain in the patriot militia when the Revolution began, and fought against the Cherokees in the summer of 1776. He also worked to suppress the loyalists in the South Carolina backcountry. On February 14, 1779, he led three hundred militia against a much larger force of loyalists who were attempting to link up with the British army, and decisively defeated them at the Battle of Kettle Creek, Georgia.

After the British captured Charleston in 1780, Pickens remained at his home on parole. For reasons that remain uncertain – some accounts say that loyalists destroyed his property, others

that he simply could no longer tolerate British rule – Pickens declared his parole violated and himself no longer bound by it. He assembled a group of militia to wage partisan warfare against the British. At the Battle of Cowpens in January 1781, Pickens and his troops played a major role in defeating the British. His efforts earned him a promotion to brigadier general.

Pickens continued to serve extensively throughout the South: in North Carolina during the Guilford Courthouse campaign, at the capture of Augusta, Georgia, in June 1781, and in Nathanael Greene's unsuccessful siege of Ninety Six later that month. He served at Eutaw Springs, where he was slightly wounded, and led an expedition against the Cherokees in 1782.

Pickens was elected to the South Carolina legislature after the war and served several terms, along with one term in the U. S. Congress. In 1795 he was appointed major general of the state militia.

British:

Alexander Stewart (c. 1741-1794)

Stewart, a Scot, was a career army officer. He purchased a commission as ensign in the 37th Regiment in April 1755, and rose slowly through the ranks until July 1775, when he was promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 3rd Regiment, the "Bufs." Stewart remained with his regiment in Ireland until 1781, when the unit was ordered to Charleston. The troops arrived in South Carolina on June 3, and several weeks later Stewart assumed field command of the British army in that state when Lieutenant Colonel Francis, Lord Rawdon, returned to England. He remained in command until four days after the Battle of Eutaw Springs, when he was succeeded by Colonel Paston Gould. Stewart commanded part of the Charleston defenses until the British evacuated the town, and was promoted to colonel in May 1782. He continued to serve in the army and eventually attained the rank of major general in 1790.

John Harris Cruger (1738-1807)

A Loyalist, Cruger was part of a prominent New York family and cemented his status when he married the daughter of Oliver De Lancey, perhaps the most influential man in the colony. Cruger was a member of the provincial council and also served as mayor of New York City. When the war began, Cruger fled to Long Island, where he joined the British army in August 1776. The following month he was commissioned a lieutenant colonel commanding the first battalion of De Lancey's loyalist brigade. In November 1778 he and his troops joined the expedition that captured Savannah, Georgia. Cruger played a conspicuous role in defending Savannah from a combined French and American attack in the fall of 1779. After the British overran South Carolina in 1780, he took command of the garrison at Ninety Six, and successfully defended the town against Nathanael Greene's siege in June 1781. He served with the army under Rawdon and Stewart after the evacuation of Ninety Six, and was Stewart's second-in-command at Eutaw Springs. Cruger remained in South Carolina until the evacuation of Charleston and eventually settled in England.

Isaac Allen (1741-1806)

English-born, Allen immigrated to America at an unknown date and when the Revolution began was practicing law in Trenton, New Jersey. Apparently a man of considerable local influence, Allen recruited a battalion of fellow loyalists after the British occupied New Jersey in 1776. He was commissioned lieutenant colonel and assigned with his troops to the defense of

New York City. The unit participated in minor operations but saw no major combat.

In November 1778, Allen and his New Jersey Volunteers were sent to capture Savannah. They participated in several battles, including the defense of Savannah in 1779, the siege on Ninety Six in 1781, where Allen was John Harris Cruger's second-in-command, and Eutaw Springs. Allen was a competent officer, but seemingly lacked the skills that earned Cruger his distinguished reputation.

Allen and his battalion served in the Charleston garrison until the town's evacuation in 1782 and then went to New York. From there he was sent to Nova Scotia to seek settlement sites for loyalist refugees. Allen, many of his men, and their families eventually settled in New Brunswick, where he became a judge.

John Marjoribanks (?-1781)

Little is known about Marjoribanks, despite his long military career. He joined the British army as an ensign in 1749, and during the Seven Years' War he served in Europe. In November 1780 he was promoted to major in the 19th Regiment, and accompanied that unit when it was ordered to Charleston in 1781. He accompanied Lord Rawdon's expedition that relieved Greene's siege of Ninety Six. At Eutaw Springs he commanded the flank battalion, made up of the light infantry and grenadier companies of the various regiments there. He was widely praised for his role in the battle. Marjoribanks suffered a wound in the battle that proved fatal; he died on October 23.

John Coffin (1756-1838)

Coffin was born in Boston, Massachusetts, and educated at the famous Boston Latin School. He went to sea as a merchant officer and at the outbreak of the Revolution was master of his own vessel. His ship was assigned to ferry British troops to attack Bunker Hill in June 1775, after which Coffin went ashore himself and took part in the fighting. As a reward for his conspicuous courage, he was commissioned an ensign in the British army. He went to New York with the British expedition that captured the city, and recruited a corps of mounted riflemen known as the King's Orange Rangers. He later transferred to the New York Volunteers and sailed to Georgia in 1778, where he saw extensive service. In 1780 he became major of the South Carolina Royalists, and that unit was later mounted as cavalry. Coffin commanded the British Army's cavalry at Hobkirk Hill, Eutaw Springs, and the defense of Charleston until its evacuation. He moved to New Brunswick after the war, remained on the army roll at half-pay, and eventually became a general shortly before his death in 1838.

The Armies

American

Nathanael Greene's American force consisted of units that varied greatly in experience and fighting ability. The backbone of the army was its Maryland and Delaware Continentals. Although the original seven Maryland regiments had been consolidated to two, and the Delaware regiment reduced to two companies after the Battle of Camden in August 1780, these troops had, after many long, arduous, and bloody campaigns, earned their reputation as the best in Greene's command. Henry Lee's Legion of Continental infantry and cavalry was also a skilled veteran unit, as was William Washington's cavalry.

The two battalions of Virginia Continentals had joined Greene's army only six months earlier, but had already seen plenty of action. They arrived in North Carolina in time to take part in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, then fought at Hobkirk Hill and

served at the siege of Ninety Six. They had acquired a great deal of experience in their brief service. North Carolina's Continentals, organized into three battalions, were newly formed units that had only about one month's training.

South Carolina provided both state troops and militia. Soldiers in the state troops had enlisted for several months of service and were better trained than the militia, though not as professional as the Continentals. The North and South Carolina militia were armed citizens who did duty for brief periods, and their quality varied. By this point in the war, most of the militiamen had probably served several tours of duty and had some combat experience. Their reliability in battle was uncertain – under capable commanders the militia usually fought well, but in several engagements the militia had fled, and these untrained troops seldom could withstand a British bayonet charge. Greene knew he could count on Marion's and Pickens's militia, who were mostly veterans under outstanding leaders, but he must have harbored some doubts about the less-experienced North Carolinians under their prickly commander, the Marquis de Malmedy. This French officer had shown plenty of aggression when fighting for promotions, but had an undistinguished battlefield record.

Altogether, Greene brought an estimated 2,200 men to the field at Eutaw Springs; another 200 had been left at Howell's Ferry on the Congaree River to guard the army's baggage.

British

The British army at Eutaw Springs consisted of three regular regiments and elements of a fourth, along with several provincial units – American loyalists organized and trained as regulars. The 3rd Regiment, nicknamed the "Bufs," was one of the most famous in the British army. However, it had remained in garrison in Ireland until ordered to South Carolina in 1781, and its men had no combat experience. The Bufs also had one company of light infantry and another of grenadiers. Stewart combined these elite soldiers with the light infantry and grenadier companies of the 19th and 30th Regiments to form a separate "flank battalion" under the command of Major John Marjoribanks. The 63rd and 64th Regiments were veterans, having served throughout the Revolution and seen extensive combat. There were also a handful of troops from the 84th Regiment, from Wilmington, North Carolina. These were probably convalescents and recruits who had been held in South Carolina awaiting the arrival of the 84th which had been ordered to withdraw from Wilmington but did not do so until November.

The loyalist troops were all seasoned veterans. The New York and New Jersey Volunteers, and the 1st Battalion of DeLancey's Brigade had been recruited and trained in the North, saw limited service there, and then were sent to serve in the South. They had fought in most of the major battles there, as well as in operations against rebel partisans. American Continental officers considered these loyalist troops to be every bit the equal of the best British regulars. In addition to these three battalions, Stewart had a battalion of Provincial Light Infantry, many of them southerners who were skilled marksmen. John Coffin's cavalry was made up of the remnants of the South Carolina Royalists, a former infantry unit that had been mounted because of a shortage of cavalry. Despite Coffin's able leadership, the outnumbered British cavalry had been beaten frequently by the Americans, and often seemed demoralized and more inclined to flee than to fight.

A small number of loyalist militiamen were also with the British forces. Since Stewart later noted that they did not take part in the fighting, they must have been assigned to guard the wagons and supplies in the rear.

Altogether, Stewart had about 1,900 men of all ranks fit for duty on the battlefield. More than 300 other British soldiers had been organized into rooting parties and left the camp at dawn to

forage for sweet potatoes. Many of them were captured before the battle began, but a few did manage to rejoin Stewart and participate in the battle.

Documents

In the following three letters, written shortly after the engagement, the American and British commanders, and an American soldier, describe the battle.

I. On September 11, Nathanael Greene sent a detailed report of the battle to Thomas McKean, the president of the Continental Congress. The letter can be found in Dennis M. Conrad, editor, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, Vol. 9 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 328-333. Greene wrote from "Martin's Tavern near Ferguson's Swamp."

"In my dispatch of the 25th of August I informed your Excellency that we were on our march for Frydays Ferry to form a junction with the State Troops, and a Body of Militia collecting at that place, with an intention to make an attack upon the British Army laying at Colo Thompsons near McCords Ferry. On the 27th on our arrival near Frydays Ferry I got intelligence that the enemy were retiring.

"We crossed the River at Howells Ferry, and took post at Mottes plantation. Here I got intelligence that the Enemy had halted at the Eutaw Springs about forty miles below us; and that they had a reinforcement, and were making preparations to establish a permanent post there. To prevent this I was determined rather to hazard an Action, notwithstanding our numbers were greatly inferior to theirs. On the 5th we began our march, our Baggage and Stores having been ordered to Howells Ferry under a proper Guard. We moved by slow and easy marches; as well to disguise our real intention, as to give General Marion an opportunity to join us, who had been detached for the support of Colo Harding, a report of which I transmitted in my Letter of the 5th dated at Maybricks Creek. General Marion joined us on the evening of the 7th at Burdells plantation, 7 miles from the Enemies Camp.

"We made the following disposition, and marched at 4 oClock the next Morning to attack the Enemy. Our front line was composed of four small Battalions of Militia, two of North, and two of South Carolinians; one of the South Carolinians was under the immediate command of Gen Marion, and was posted on the right, who also commanded the front line; the two North Carolina Battalions under the command of Colo Malmady was posted in the center, and the other South Carolina Battalion under the command of General Pickens was posted on the left. Our second Line consisted of three small Brigades of Continental Troops, one from North Carolina, one from Virginia, and one from Maryland. The North Carolinians were formed into three Battalions under the command of Lieutt Colo Ash, Majors Armstrong and Blount, the whole commanded by General Sumner, and posted upon the right. The Virginians consisted of two Battalions commanded by Major Snead and Captain Edmonds, and the whole by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, and posted in the center. The Marylanders also consisted of two Battalions, commanded [by] Lt Colonel Howard, and Major Hardman, and the Brigade by Colo Williams Dy Adjutant General to the Army; and were posted upon the left. Lieutt Colo Lee with his Legion covered our right flank, and Lieutt Colo Henderson with the State Troops commanded by Lieutenant Colonels Hampton, Middleton and Polk, our left. Lieutenant Colo Washington with his Horse, and the Delaware Troops under Captain Kirkwood formed a Corps de reserve. Two three Pounders under Captain Lieutenant Gaines advanced with the front Line, and two sixes under Captain Browne with the second.

"The Legion and State Troops formed our advance, and were to retire upon the flanks upon the enemy's forming. In this

order we moved onto the attack, the Legion and State Troops fell in with a party of the Enemy's Horse and foot about four Miles from their Camp, who mistaking our People for a party of Militia charged them briskly, but were soon convinced of their mistake by the reception they met with, the Infantry of the State Troops kept up a heavy fire, and the Legion in front under Captain Rudolph charged them with fixed Bayonets, they fled on all sides leaving four or five dead on the ground, and several more wounded. As this was supposed to be the advance of the British Army our front Line was ordered to form and move on briskly in Line, the Legion and state Troops to take their position upon the Flanks. All the Country is covered with Timber from the place the Action began to the Eutaw Springs. The firing began again between two and three miles from the British Camp. The Militia were ordered to keep advancing as they fired. The Enemies advanced parties were soon driven in, and a most tremendous fire began on both sides from right to left, and the Legion and State Troops were closely engaged. General Marion, Colo Malmady and General Pickens conducted the Troops with great gallantry and good conduct, and the Militia fought with a degree of spirit and firmness that reflects the highest honor upon this class of Soldiers. But the Enemies fire being greatly superior to ours, and continuing to advance the Militia began to give ground. The North Carolina Brigade under General Sumner was ordered up to their support. These were all new Levies, and had been under discipline but little more than a month, notwithstanding which they fought with a degree of obstinacy that would do honor to the best of veterans; and I could hardly tell which to admire most the gallantry of their Officers or the bravery of the Troops. They kept up a heavy and well directed fire, and the Enemy returned it with equal spirit, for they really fought worthy of a better cause, and great execution was done on both sides. In this stage of the Action the Virginians under Lieutt Colo Campbell, and the Maryland Troops under Colo Williams were led on to a brisk charge with trailed Arms, through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of Musquet Balls. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and firmness of both Officers and Soldiers upon this occasion. They preserved their order, and pressed on with such unshaken resolution that they bore down all before them. The Enemy were routed in all quarters. Lt Colo Lee had with great address, gallantry, and good conduct, turned the Enemy's left flank, and was charging them in rear at the same time the Virginia and Maryland Troops were charging them in front. A most valuable Officer Lieutt Colo Henderson got wounded early in the Action, and Lieutenant Colo Hampton who commanded the State Cavalry, and who fortunately succeeded Lt Colo Henderson in command, charged a party of the Enemy and took upwards of 100 Prisoners. Lieutt Colo Washington brought up the Corps de reserve up on the left, where the Enemy seemed disposed to make farther resistance, and charged them so briskly with the Cavalry and Captain Kirkwoods Infantry as gave them no time to rally or form. Lieutenant Colonels Polk and Middleton who commanded the State Infantry, were no less conspicuous for their good conduct than their intrepidity; and the Troops under their command gave a specimen of what may be expected from Men naturally brave, when improved by proper discipline. Captain Lieutenant Gaines who commanded the three Pounders with the front Line did great execution, untill his pieces were dismantled. We kept close at the Enemy's heels after they broke, untill we got into their Camp, and a great number of Prisoners were continually falling into our hands, and some hundreds of the Fugitives run off towards Charles Town. But a party threw themselves into a large three story brick House which stands near the Spring, others took post in a picquetted Garden, while others were lodged in an impenetrable thicket, consisting of a cragged shrub called a black Jack. Thus secured in front, and upon the right by the House, and a deep Ravine upon the left by the Picquetted Garden, and in impenetrable Shrubbs, and the rear also being secured by the Springs and deep hollow ways, the Enemy

renewed the Action. Every exertion was made to dislodge them, Lt Colo Washington made the most astonishing efforts to get through the Thicket to charge the Enemy in the Rear, but found it impracticable, had his Horse shot under him, and was wounded and taken Prisoner. Four six Pounders were ordered up before the House, tow of our own, and two of the Enemys, which they had abandoned, and they were pushed on so much under the command of the fire from the House, and the party in the Thicket as rendered it impracticable to bring them off again when the Troops were ordered to retire. Never were pieces better served, most of the Men and Officers were either killed or Wounded. Washington failing in his charge on the left, and the Legion baffled in an attempt upon the right, and finding our Infantry galled by the fire of the Enemy, and our Ammunition mostly consumed, tho' both Officers and Men continued to exhibit uncommon acts of heroism, I thought proper to retire out of the fire of the House and draw up the Troops at a little distance in the Woods, not thinking it adviseable to push our advantages farther; being persuaded the enemy could not hold the Post many Hours, and that our chance to attack them on the retreat was better than a second attempt to dislodge them, which, if we succeeded, must be attended with considerable loss.

"We collected all our Wounded, except such as were under the command of the fire of the House, and retired to the ground from which we marched in the morning, there being no Water nearer, and the Troops ready to faint with the heat, and want of refreshment, the Action having continued near four Hours. I left on the field of Action a strong Picquett, and early in the Morning detached General Marion, and Lt Colonel Lee with the Legion Horse between Eutaw and Charles Town, to prevent any reinforcements from coming to the relief of the Enemy, and also to retard their march should they attempt to retire, and give time for the Army to fall upon their Rear, and put a finishing stroke to our successes. We left two pieces of our Artillery in the hands of the Enemy, and brought off one of theirs. On the Evening of the 9th the Enemy retired, leaving upwards of 70 of their Wounded behind them, and not less than 1000 stands of Arms that were picked up on the field, and found broke and concealed in the Eutaw Springs. They stove between 20 and 30 puncheons of Rum, and destroyed a great variety of other Stores which they had not carriages to carry off. We pursued them the moment we got intelligence of their retiring. But they formed a junction with Major McArthur at this place, General Marion and Lieutt Colo Lee not having a force sufficient to prevent it. But on our approach they retired to the neighbourhood of Charles Town. We have taken 500 Prisoners, including the Wounded the enemy left behind; and I think they cannot have suffered less than 600 more in killed and Wounded. The Fugitives that fled from the field of Battle spread such an alarm that the Enemy burnt their Stores at Dorchester and abandoned the Post at Fair Lawn, and a great number of Negroes and others were employed in falling Trees across the Road for some Miles without the Gates of Charles Town. Nothing but the brick House, and the peculiar strength of the position at Eutaw saved the remains of the British Army from being all made Prisoners.

"We pursued them as far as this place but not being able to overtake them we shall halt a Day or two to refresh; and then take our old position on the High Hills of Santee. I think myself principally indebted for the victory we obtained to the free use of the Bayonet made by the Virginians and Marylanders, the Infantry of the Legion, and Captain Kirkwood's Light Infantry, and tho' few Armies ever exhibited equal bravery with ours in general, yet the conduct and intrepidity of the Corps were peculiarly conspicuous. Lt Colo Campbell fell as he was leading his Troops to the charge, and tho' he fell with distinguished marks of honor, yet his loss is much to be regretted. He was the great Soldier and the firm patriot.

"Our loss in Officers is considerably more from their value than their number, for never did either Men or Officers offer

their blood more willingly in the service of their Country. I cannot help acknowledging my obligations to Colo Williams for his great activity on this and many other occasions in forming the Army, and for his uncommon intrepidity in leading on the Maryland Troops to the charge, which exceeded anything I ever saw. I also feel myself greatly indebted to Captains Pierce, and Pendelton, Major Hyrne and Captain Shubrick, my Aids de Camp, for their activity and good conduct throughout the whole of the Action.

"This dispatch will be handed your Excellency by Captain Pierce to whom I beg leave to refer to you for farther particulars."

II. Alexander Stewart was still on or near the battlefield when he composed his report to his commander, General Lord Cornwallis, on September 9. Like Greene, he claimed to have won a victory. The letter appears in K. G. Davies, editor, *Documents of the American Revolution*, Vol. 20 (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1979), 226-229.

"My Lord, with particular satisfaction I have the honour to inform your lordship that on the 8th instant I was attacked by the rebel General Green with all the force he could collect in this province and North Carolina, and after an obstinate engagement which lasted near two hours I totally defeated him and took two six-pounders.

Soon after I had the honour of writing your lordship from Thompson's, I received information of Greene's having moved with the rebel army towards Camden and crossed the Wateree near that place, and from the best intelligence I could collect was on his march to Friday's Ferry on the Congarees.

The army under my command being much in want of necessities, and there being at the same time a convoy with provisions on the march from Charleston which would have necessarily obliged me to make a detachment of at least 400 men (which at that time I could ill afford, the army being much weakened by sickness) to meet the convoy at Martin's, 57 miles from my camp; the distance being so great, a smaller escort was liable to fall by the enemy's cavalry which are very numerous.

I therefore thought it advisable to retire by slow marches to the Eutaws where I might have an opportunity of receiving my supplies and disencumber myself of the sick without risking my escorts or suffer myself to be attacked at a disadvantage should the enemy have crossed the Congarees.

Notwithstanding every exertion being made to gain intelligence of the enemy's situation, they rendered it impossible by waylaying the bypaths and passes through the different swamps and even detained different flags of truce which I had sent on public business on both sides.

About 6 o'clock in the morning I received intelligence by two deserters who left General Green's camp the preceding evening about 7 miles from this place, and from their report the rebel army consisted of near 4000 men with a numerous body of cavalry and 4 pieces of cannon.

In the meantime I received information by Major Coffin, whom I had previously detached with 140 infantry and 50 cavalry in order to gain intelligence of the enemy (as none could be collected by spies), that they appeared in force in his front then about 4 miles from my camp.

Finding the enemy in force so near me, I determined to fight them as from their numerous cavalry a retreat seemed to me to be attended with dangerous consequences. I immediately formed the line of battle with the right of the army to the Eutaw branch and its left crossing the road leading to Roache's Plantation, leaving a corps on a commanding situation to cover the Charleston road and to act occasionally as a reserve.

About 9 o'clock the action began on the right and soon after became general.

Knowing that the enemy were much superior in numbers, and at the same time finding that they attacked with their militia in front, induced me not to alter my position unless I saw a certain advantage to be gained by it, for by moving forward I exposed both flanks of the army to the enemy's cavalry which I saw ready formed to take that advantage, particularly on the left which obliged me to move the reserve to support it.

By some unknown mistake the left of the line advanced and drove their militia and North Carolinians before them, but unexpectedly finding the Virginian and Maryland lines ready formed and at the same time receiving a heavy fire occasioned some confusion. It was therefore necessary to retire a little distance to an open field in order to form, which was instantly done under cover of a heavy and well-directed fire from a detachment of New York Volunteers under the command of Major Sheridan whom I had previously ordered to take post in the house to check the enemy should they attempt to pass it.

The action was renewed with great spirit but I was sorry to find that a 3-pounder posted on the road leading to Roaches had been disabled and could not be brought off when the left of the line retired.

The right wing of the army being composed of the flank battalion under the command of Major Marjoribanks, having repulsed and drove everything that attacked them, made a rapid move to their left and attacked the enemy in flank, upon which they gave way in all quarters leaving behind them two brass 6-pounders and upwards of 200 killed on the field of action and 60 taken prisoners, amongst which is Colonel Washington, and from every information about 800 wounded although they contrived to carry them off during the action. The enemy retired with great precipitation to a strong situation about 7 miles from the field of action, leaving their cavalry to cover their retreat. The glory of the day would have been more complete had not the want of cavalry prevented me from taking the advantage which the gallantry of my infantry threw in my way.

I omitted to inform your lordship in its proper place of the army's having for some time been much in want of bread, there being no old corn or mills near me. I was therefore under the necessity of sending out rooting parties from each corps under an officer to collect potatoes every morning at daybreak, and unfortunately that of the flank battalion and Buffs having gone too far in front fell into the enemy's hands before the action began, which not only weakened my line but increased their number of prisoners.

Since the action our time has been employed in taking care of the wounded, and finding that the enemy have no intention to make a second attack, I have determined to cover the wounded as far as Monk's Corner with the army.

My particular thanks is due to Lieut.-Colonel Cruger who commanded the front line for his conduct and gallantry during the action, and to Lieut.-Colonel Allen, Majors Dawson, Stewart, Sheridan and Coffin, and to Captains Kelly and Campbell, commanding the different corps and detachments, and every other officer and soldier fulfilled the separate duties of their stations with great gallantry; but to Major Marjoribanks and the flank battalion under his command I think the honour of the day is greatly due. My warmest praise is due to Captain Barry, deputy adjutant-general, Major of Brigade Coxon, Lieutenant Ranken, assistant quartermaster-general, and to acting Major of Brigade Roorbach for the great assistance they rendered me during the day.

I hope, my lord, when it is considered such a handful of men attacked by the united force of Generals Greene, Sumpter, Marion, Sumner and Pickens, and the legions of Colonels Lee and Washington, driving them from the field of battle and taking the only 2 six-pounders they had deserve some merit.

Enclosed is the returns of the killed, wounded and missing of His Majesty's troops.

From the number of corps and detachments which appears to have been engaged it may be supposed our force great, but your lordship will please to observe by the enclosed state taken the morning of the action that the army was much reduced by sickness and otherwise. I hope your lordship will excuse any inaccuracy that may be in this letter as I have been a good deal indisposed by a wound which I received in my left elbow, which though slight from its situation is troublesome. It will give me most singular pleasure if my conduct meets with the approbation of His Majesty, that of your lordship and my country."

III. Several American soldiers also wrote accounts of the battle. One of them, Sergeant-Major William Seymour of the Delaware Continentals, recorded events in his diary. It was later published as *A Journal of the Southern Expedition, 1780-1783*, in *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, Vol. 15 (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1896), 30-32.

"On the fourth of September crossed the Congaree River at Culpeper and encamped on Mr. Johnston's farm, fifteen miles. The fifth marched, and encamped with the main army at Everett's Creek, six miles below Colonel Thompson's, fourteen miles. Sixth, marched to Medway Swamp, six miles. Seventh, marched within seven miles of the Eutaw Springs, twenty miles. Eighth; this day our army was in motion before daybreak, resolved to fight the British Army. We marched in the following order of battle, viz.: the South and North Carolina Militia in front and commanded by Generals Marion and Pickens, having Colonel Lee's horse and infantry on their left. The second line was composed of North Carolina Regulars, Virginians and Marylanders, with two three-pounders and two six-pounders. Colonel Washington's horse and infantry were the corps-de-reserve. In this order we marched down to action. Coming within three miles of the enemy's encampment, we fell in with a foraging party of sixty men, loaded with potatoes, most of whom we either killed, wounded, or took prisoners. We met with no farther opposition till we came within one mile of their encampment before discovered, and with their front line began the action, which soon brought the action general. We drove their first and second lines, and took upwards of five hundred prisoners. They took shelter in a large brick house and a hollow way in the rear of the house. At this time our men were so far spent for want of water, and our Continental officers suffering much in the action, rendered it advisable for General Greene to draw off his troops, with the loss of two six-pounders. Major Edmund with a small party of men joined our infantry in the British encampment, keeping up fire for a small space of time; found our army had withdrawn from field made it necessary for us likewise to withdraw. We brought off one of their three-pounders, which was with much difficulty performed through a thick wood or four miles, without the assistance of but one horse. We got to the encamping ground, where we left in the morning, about two in the evening.

"Tenth. Received intelligence that the enemy had left Eutaw Springs the evening before, on the road to Monck's Corner. The General pursued them to Mr. Martin's, within twelve mile of the Corner.

"Twelfth. Returned as far back as Whistling George's, six miles."

The Losses

Actual casualties in the battle are difficult to determine. In every engagement, both sides tended to understate their own losses and exaggerate those of the enemy. American commanders found it particularly difficult to make accurate counts, since many militiamen came and went at will, some militia officers kept poor records (or none at all) of their men, and if the commander of a small militia unit was killed or wounded, no report of losses was

compiled. Henry Lee believed that both Greene and Stewart considerably understated their casualties in official reports.

There are actually several different "official" compilations of American losses. This one was recorded by Robert Kirkwood, commander of the Delaware Continentals, and later published in *The Journal and Order Book of Captain Robert Kirkwood of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line*, Rev. Joseph Brown Turner, editor, *Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware*, Vol. 16 (Wilmington: The Historical Society of Delaware, 1910), p. 25.

“Return of Killed, Wounded & Missing in the Action of the 8th. Sept’r. at the Eutaw Springs.”

Continent al	Lt. Col.	Maj	Capts	Lieuts	Serj ts	Rank & file
Killed	1		6	4	4	94
Wounded	2		7	19	24	202
Missing					1	31
Total	3		13	23	29	327
<i>South Carolina State Troops</i>						
Killed		1		2	4	6
Wounded	2		4	4	7	26
Missing						
Total	2	1	4	6	11	32
<i>South Carolina Militia</i>						
Killed						2
Wounded			1	2		24
Total			1	2		26
<i>N.C. Militia</i>						
Killed						6
Wounded						31
Missing						8
Total in the Army	5	1	18	31	40	430
Total						525

British officers prepared this report of their losses, which did not include 140 soldiers from the rooting parties who were missing at the time and believed captured. The document is in the British Colonial Office Papers, CO 5, Vol. 104.

“Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing in the Army Commanded by Lieutt. Colonel Alexander Stewart in the Action at Eutaws September 8th, 1781.”

Corps	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Total
Cavalry	2	10	18	30
Flank Battalion	13	90	3	106
3 rd Regiment	30	78	74	182
63 rd Regiment	8	37	22	67
64 th Regiment	12	52	56	120
84 th Regiment	6	23	2	31
New York Volunteers	0	3	7	10
New Jersey Volunteers	2	26	3	31
1 st Battalion DeLancey’s	5	9	35	49
Provincial Light Infantry	3	19	26	48
Artillery	3	4	11	18
Total	84	351	257	592



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Camden

**Fort Granby
Friday's Ferry**

**High Hills of the
Santee**

Howell's Ferry

**McCord's Ferry
Fort Motte
Belleville**

**Richardson's
Plantation**

Fort Watson

Orangeburg

Burdell's Tavern

**Nelson's Ferry
[under Lake
Marion]**

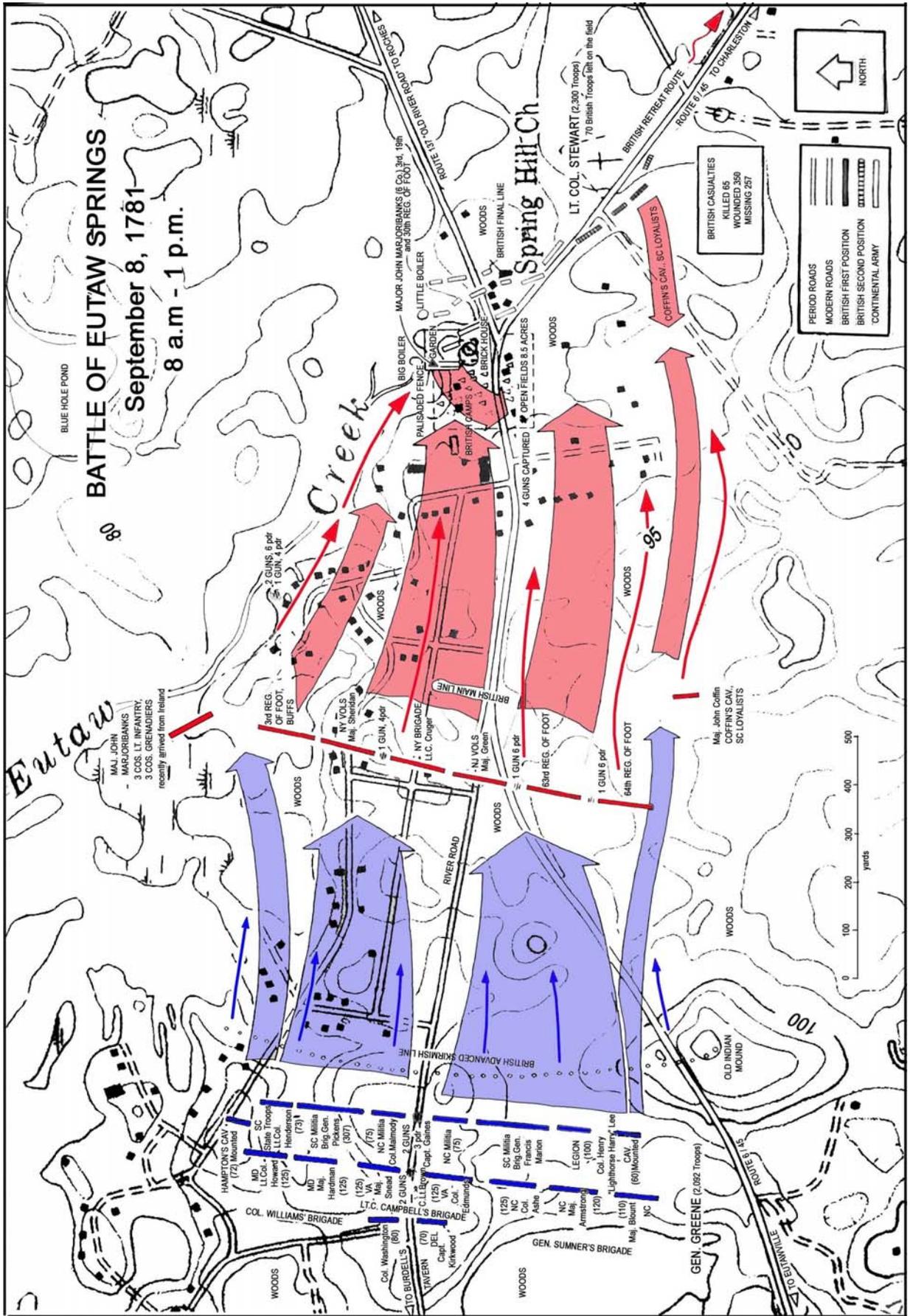
Eutaw Springs

**Martin's Tavern
[under Lake
Moultrie]**

**Ferguson's
Swamp [under
Lake Moultrie]**

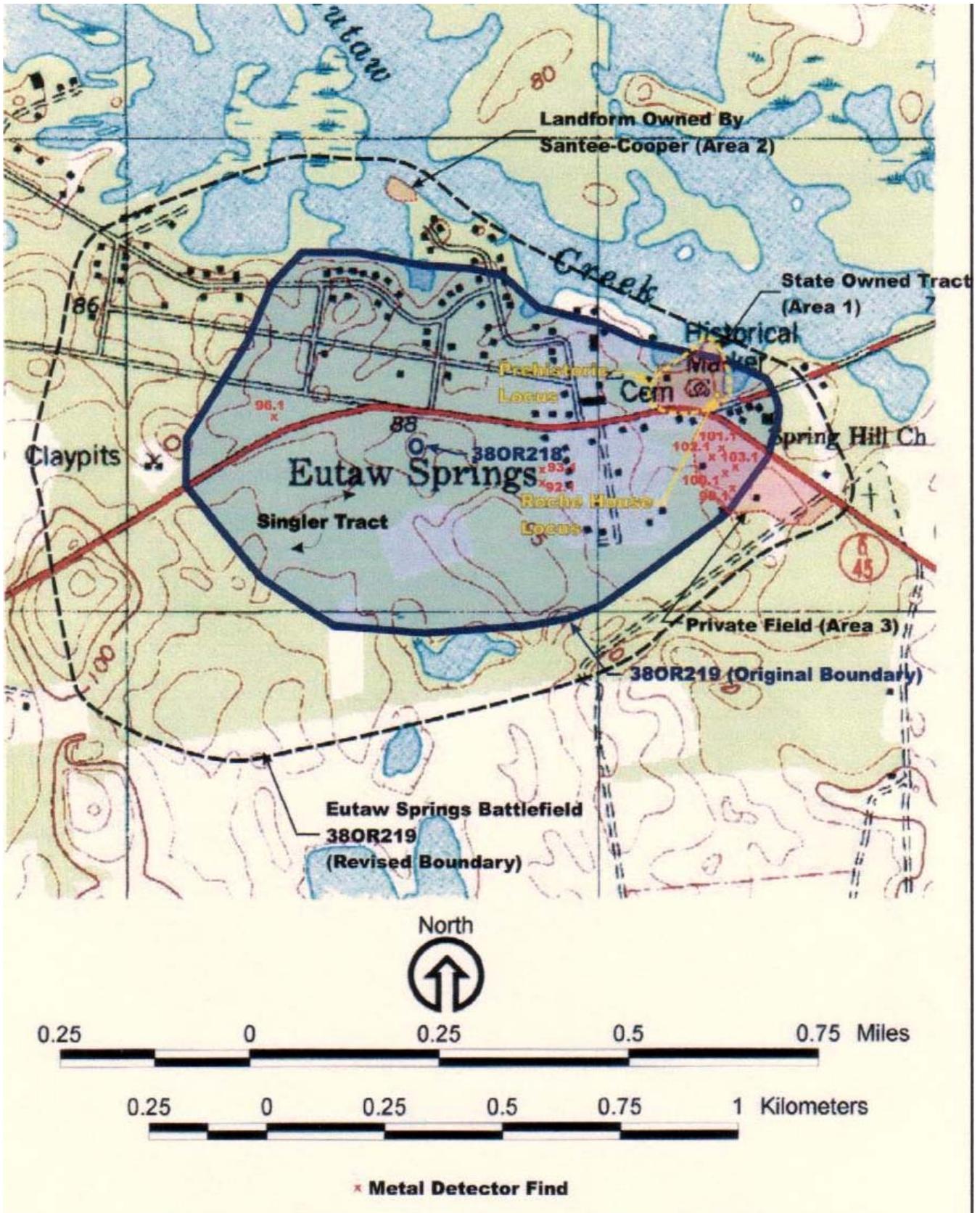
Parker's Ferry

Stono Ferry

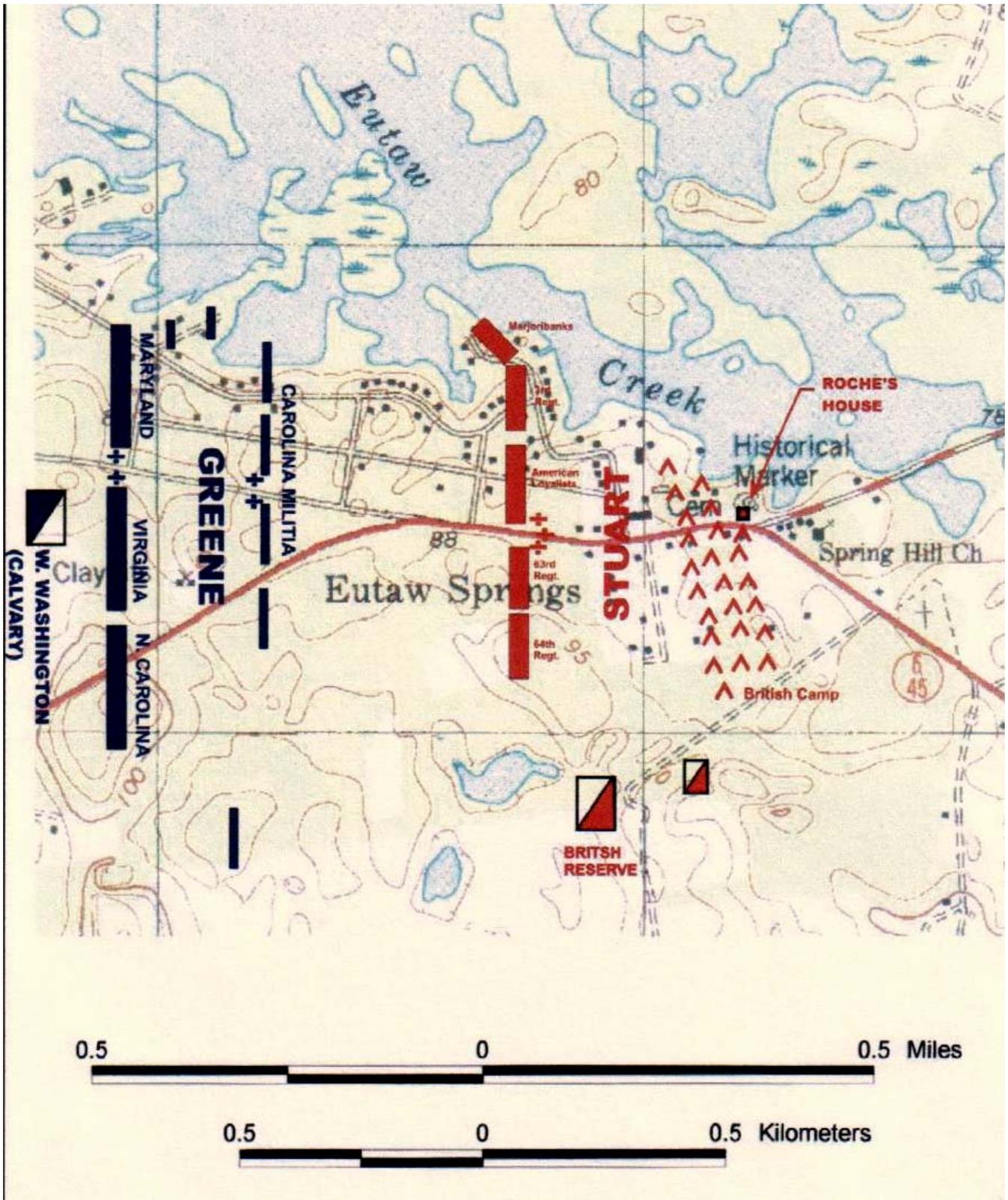


Map of the Battle of Eutaw Springs by David Reuwer. Used by permission

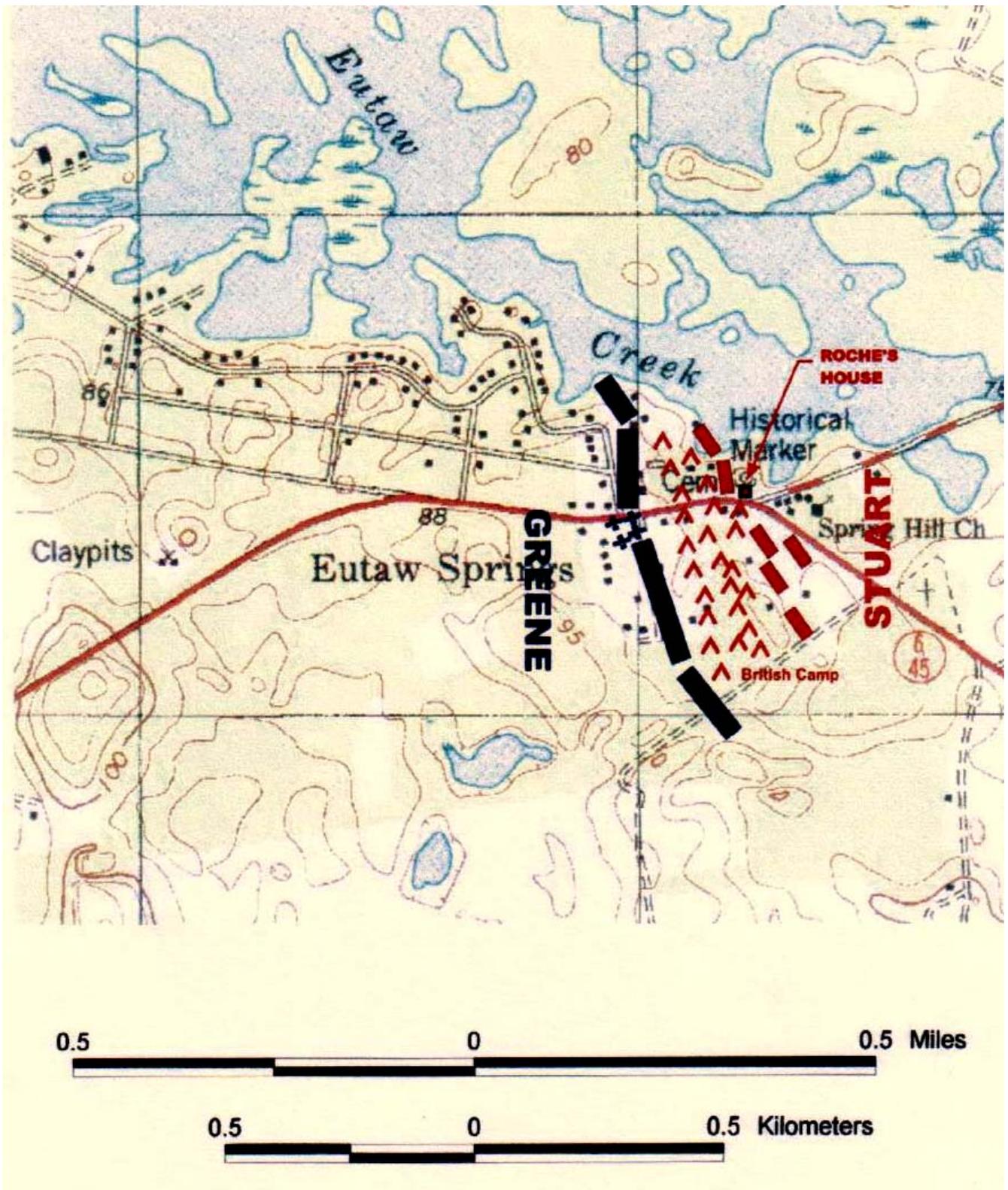
Minor editing for legibility and format.



Eutaw Springs Battlefield landmark revised boundary map as recommended by David Reuwer and Scott Butler. The U.S. Congress named no boundary when it designated the battlefield in 1936. The National Register listing mentioned the small park but also failed to delineate boundaries. Reuwer thinks the core battlefield is over a square mile.



Initial deployments of the Battle of Eutaw Springs as cited in the American Battlefield Protection Program, U.S. Dept. of Interior, report (July, 2004) authored by David Reuwer and Scott Butler. Much research and field analysis have subsequently been performed by Reuwer and Jim Picuch to further recount the battle. Updated, detailed explanatory maps, hourly, will be published in their forthcoming: *"A Most Obstinate and Bloody Fight": The Eutaw Springs Battlefield Guide*.



Final positions of troops at the Battle of Eutaw Springs by David Reuwer and Scott Butler.

SCAR heartily advocates the preservation of battlefields as part and parcel of putting the action on the ground. New resources, ideas and models are welcome and needed as we deal with such varied fields as pristine Camden, heavily developed Hobkirk Hill, and half built-over Eutaw Springs. Liberty's sacred fields, such as we find them, are our responsibility to bequeath to the next generation of Americans. Will you get involved in your back yard?

Battle of Eutaw Springs Conference & Battlefield Tour Speakers Biographies

Dr. Dennis M. Conrad works as an historian at the early history branch of the Naval Historical Center. There he helps edit the *Naval Documents of the American Revolution* series. Prior to coming to the NHC, he served as editor and project director of the monumental *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. He directed the completion of volumes 7 through 12 of that series covering Greene's campaigns in the South. He also served as contributing editor for volume 13, the final volume in the series that was published late last year. Gen. Greene was also the subject of Conrad's doctoral dissertation at Duke University. Dennis also wrote on John Paul Jones with E. Gordon Bowen-Hassell and Mark L. Hayes in *Sea Raiders of the American Revolution: The Continental Navy in European Waters*.

Dr. Lee F. McGee is a physician and historian who published insightful articles on the Battle of Hammond's Store, Lt. Col. William Washington's capture of Rugeley's Fort, and his cavalry actions at the Battles of Eutaw Springs and Hobkirk's Hill.

Charles F. Price, novelist, is the author of the *Hiwassee* series, four works of historical fiction set in his native western North Carolina. *Hiwassee: A Novel of the Civil War*; *Freedom's Altar* (won the Sir Walter Raleigh Award as the best fiction of 1999); *The Cock's Spur* (Independent Publisher Book Award and the Historical Fiction Award of the North Carolina Society of Historians); and *Where the Water-Dogs Laughed* (Society of Historians' award, nominee for Sir Walter Raleigh Award, and was a first finalist for the Independent Publisher Book Award.) Price was named Story Teller of the Year. Price has been a Washington lobbyist, management consultant, urban planner, and journalist. He holds a Masters in Public Administration from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and an undergraduate degree in History and Political Science from High Point University. His novel about Nathanael Greene's 1781 South Carolina campaigns, *Nor the Battle to the Strong*, will be published in 2007.

Dr. Jim Piecuch received his Ph.D. in history from the College of William and Mary. His dissertation, "Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, Slaves and the American Revolution in the Deep South," is the first study of the Southern Campaigns undertaken from the viewpoint of the British and their supporters. He is also the author of five articles and book chapters on colonial and revolutionary history, and contributed articles to several historical encyclopedias. Jim has written a compendium of accounts of the Battle of Camden and serves as an assistant history professor at Kennesaw State University in Georgia.

Robert "Bert" M. Dunkerly holds a degree in history from St. Vincent College and a M.A. in historic preservation from Middle Tennessee State University. Bert is a contributor to *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* and serves as a park ranger at Kings Mountain National Military Park. His books include *More than Roman Valor* and *Kings Mountain Walking Tour Guide* and *Old Ninety Six* written with Eric K. Williams.

Dr. Irene Boland has a Ph.D. in Geology from the University of South Carolina and is an Associate Professor of Geology at Winthrop University. Her areas of expertise and research are structural geology, the geologic history and tectonic evolution of the Southern Appalachians, Piedmont, and Coastal Plain, and the influence of geology on troop movements and strategy during the Southern Campaigns of the Revolutionary War.

Dr. Christine R. Swager is a retired professor of education, storyteller and author of three award winning youth books on the Southern Campaign: *Black Crows and White Cockades*, *If Ever Your Country Needs You*, and *Come to the Cow Pens!* Her latest book, aimed at general readers, *The Valiant Died* is the first modern study that covers in detail the Eutaws Campaign of Gen. Nathanael Greene. Born in Canada, a descendent of both an American who served with the British Army and settled in Canada after the war, and Continental soldiers who fought in Connecticut and Maine. Being in an area settled by tens of thousands of Loyalists, Chris reports that she grew up knowing that there had been a sizable Tory resistance and a bitter civil war during the Revolution. Chris is a highly sought speaker, commentator and newspaper columnist.

The Rev. John Franklin Scott is Rector of The Historic Church of the Epiphany, near Lake Marion, in Eutawville, SC. Father Scott is a native of Mobile, Alabama where he was educated in the Parochial School System. He is a graduate of St. Mary's University, Baltimore, Maryland. He was ordained a Roman Catholic Priest for the Archdiocese of Mobile, AL. in 1962. He resigned from the active ministry in 1969, petitioned for and received a Papal Dispensation from priestly vows, married and continued to serve his church as a layman. In 1985 he and his wife were received into the Episcopal Church at Christ Church, Mobile. In 1992 John and his wife, Toni were sent to The Anglican Studies Program at the University of the South in Sewanee, TN. by the Central Gulf Coast Diocese. He was received as a priest in the Episcopal Church in 1993 and accepted the call to The Church of the Epiphany in the Diocese of South Carolina. In 2002 Fr. John was Appointed Dean of the Orangeburg Deanery. John and his wife, Toni have three grown children and two grandchildren, all living out of state.

Charles B. Baxley earned a B.A. and J.D. from the University of South Carolina. He is a practicing attorney in Lugoff, SC, and is the publisher and editor of the magazine, *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. Charles has served as

president of the Kershaw County Historical Society, numerous local civic and charitable organizations, a USAF reserve officer, a Municipal Judge, adjunct professor of law, and as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Kershaw County public school system. Charles likes to "put the action on the ground" and has served as a planner, host, and tour guide at the Tarleton, Camden Campaign, Thomas Sumter, and the Nathanael Greene Symposia, for US Army staff rides, and other tours of Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War sites. He is the co-founder of the Southern Campaigns Roundtable, Corps of Discovery tour group, and the Archaeological Reconnaissance and Computerization of Hobkirk's Hill battlefield (ARCHH, Inc.) project. Charles is the chair of the Battle of Camden battlefield preservation project advisory council.

David Paul Reuwer earned a J.D. from Pepperdine University and a B.A. from Towson University. David is an historian and practicing attorney, emphasizing real estate and historic preservation law. He was an adjunct professor of historic preservation at the College of Charleston. He was the lead investigator of the initial Eutaw Springs battlefield survey and is the associate editor of the magazine, *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. David is an engaging Southern Campaigns battlefield tour guide who co-planned and led the Camden Campaign, Thomas Sumter and Nathanael Greene Symposia tours, for US Army staff rides, and other tours of Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War sites. He is the co-founder of the Southern Campaigns Roundtable, Corps of Discovery tour groups, and the Archaeological Reconnaissance and Computerization of Hobkirk's Hill battlefield (ARCHH, Inc.) project.

Steven J. Rauch is the Command Historian at the US Army Signal Center at Fort Gordon, Georgia. He is a retired Army officer who has written and taught military history at the US Army Command and General Staff College, the University of Michigan, and the US Army Ordnance School. Steve holds BS and MA degrees in history from Eastern Michigan University where he specialized in early American history, particularly the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. He has conducted numerous military staff rides to battlefield sites related to the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, US Civil War, Plains Indian Wars, and the Korean War as part of the US Army Staff Ride program. Steve published numerous essays in several multi-volume military history encyclopedias, including the *Encyclopedia of the American Revolutionary War* to be published by ABC-CLIO. He is an adjunct instructor at Augusta State University where he teaches courses on American Military History and the United States to 1877.

Scott Butler, (M.H.P., University of Georgia, RPA) has served as a Brockington and Associates archaeologist, historian and project manager since joining the firm in 1990. Long an historian of military strategy, tactics, equipment, and weapons, Scott specializes in the archaeology of forts, battlefields and military encampments. He has compiled a base of comparative historical and archaeological data for military sites, as well as developed effective field methods to discover and record them. He is Director of the Flank Company (www.theflankcompany.com), a division of Brockington and Associates that focuses on research, identification, and evaluation of military-related historic properties. Scott is a company Vice President and serves as a senior project manager in Brockington and Associate's Atlanta office.

Dr. George D. Fields, Director of the Military Heritage Program of the Palmetto Conservation Foundation, provided advocacy and leadership for successful programs to preserve the following Revolutionary War battlefields in South Carolina: Battle of Camden, Musgrove Mill State Historic Site, Blackstock's State Historic Site, Snow Island, and Lee's Trenches at Ninety-Six National Historic Site. The program has also assisted in various improvement programs at Cowpens National Battlefield, Earle's Ford Battlefield, Eutaw Springs, Fish Dam Ford Battlefield, Cedar Springs, and Fort Charlotte. Dr. Fields is a native of Lamar, SC and a graduate of Wofford College, Emory University, and three senior military colleges and universities. He has been an advocate for preservation of battlefields since his retirement in 1997 as a United Methodist Church Minister and President of Spartanburg Methodist College. He is also a retired army Brigadier General with 43 years of active and reserve duty in the artillery, infantry, and Chaplaincy. He and his wife Mildred live in Spartanburg and have four adult children and four grandchildren. ★



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Pension application of Meredith Taylor

Transcribed and annotated by Will Graves

State of South Carolina, District of Fairfield

On this third day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty two, personally appeared in open Court before the Honorable William D. Martin, one of the Judges of the Court of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions of the State of South Carolina, now sitting at Fairfield Court House, Meredith Taylor, a resident of the District of Fairfield aforesaid aged Sixty Eight years, who being first duly sworn according to law, doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the act of Congress passed June 7th, 1832.

Deponent was born near the line opposing North Carolina and Virginia, does not recollect the County. It was tolerably high up in the State. Has no record of his age and knows of none. Received his account of his age from his parents who informed a witness of the time when he was liable to do militia and other public duties.

Was living in Fairfield District then called Craven County when called into service on the waters of 25 Mile Creek. He has lived in the same District and neighborhood ever since the revolutionary war and still lives there.

He entered the service of the United States under the following named officers and served as herein stated. He was first drafted in a tour of militia duty after the Florida expedition¹⁸ and before the Eutaw Battles to the Savannah River opposite Augusta, called the Augusta campaign.¹⁹ The British had possession of

¹⁸ The Whigs mounted three expeditions against the British and Tory strongholds in East Florida, an area ceded to the British by Spain in 1763 as part of the peace negotiated to settle the French and Indian War. All three expeditions were unsuccessful. Taylor is probably referring to the last of the three expeditions that ended in early July 1778 with the defeat of the Whig rear guard by British regulars. Randy Golden, *The Florida Expeditions*, <http://ourgeorgiahistory.com/wars/Revolution/revolution12.html>.

¹⁹ Taylor is probably referring to what is known as the second Siege of Augusta, a campaign the story of which is masterfully told by Steven J. Rauch, "A Judicious and Gallant Defense" The Second Siege at Augusta, Georgia (The Battle of Forts Grierson and Cornwallis) 22-May-5 June 1781, *Southern Campaigns of the*

Augusta and their uniforms could sometimes be distinguished from the American camp. Went out under Lieutenant John Taylor, brother of Thomas Taylor,²⁰ the latter still alive and was commanded by him as Captain. His Captain William [? name illegible] stayed at home, it not being his turn to go out. Robert Goodwyn²¹ commanded the Regiment and went out this tour. Genl Williamson²² [Andrew Williamson], Brigadier, commanded the Army. His brother Jeremiah Taylor²³ was along. Also James Wilson, Cameron Cayon [?] & Doctor Justin Faust [sic, Jasper Faust]²⁴, still living. [Our] Object was to prevent the British from cutting the Savannah [River] and to protect South Carolina. [He] Was out three months in this tour. [He] Never received a written discharge in any tour. The relief company arrived and the Captains were ordered verbally to take charge of their Companies and conduct them home.

The next tour was to the Eutaw [Springs].²⁵ Thomas Trapp [sic, Thomas Trappe]²⁶ was the Captain; Henry Hunter²⁷ [was] Lieutenant Col; Thomas Taylor [was] 1st Colonel. Was in the battle of Eutaw in the year 1781. General Greene [Nathanael Greene]²⁸ commanded the Army at the Battle. In the Battle, Genl.

American Revolution, Vol. 3, Nos. 6-7-8, 2006 posted at www.southerncampaign.org.

²⁰ Bobby Gilmer Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution* (Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983) (hereinafter cited as "Moss, *SC Patriots*"), p. 920.

²¹ Moss, *SC Patriots*, p. 371.

²² 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. He took parole in June 1780 along with such other notable backcountry Whigs as his brother-in-law, LeRoy Hammond and Andrew Pickens. Unlike Pickens and Hammond, however, Williamson never resumed active participation in the Whig militia causing him to be labeled as the "Arnold of the South." This label is unjust because, unlike Benedict Arnold, Williamson never took up arms against his country and he did provide Nathanael Greene with intelligence regarding British activities in and around Charleston until the end of the war. His spying on behalf of the Whigs lead the South Carolina legislature to lift the confiscation order against Williamson's estate, but his estate was amerced. Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania, 1994), (hereinafter cited as Boatner, *Encyclopedia*), p. 1210.

²³ Jeremiah Taylor's application for a pension from the Federal Government is NARA # S21527.

²⁴ Jasper Faust's application for a pension from the Federal Government is NARA # R3468.

²⁵ The story of the Battle of Eutaw Springs is wonderfully told by Dr. Christine R. Swager, *The Valiant Died: The Battle of Eutaw Springs September 8, 1781* (Westminster, Maryland, Heritage Books, 2006).

²⁶ Moss, *SC Patriots*, p. 939.

²⁷ There is no listing for an officer by this name in Moss, *SC Patriots*.

²⁸ Nathanael Greene (1742-1786) was the commanding officer of the Southern Department of the Continental Army from December 2, 1780 when he assumed command from Gen. Horatio Gates in Charlotte, North Carolina, until the end of the War. Theodore Thayer, *Nathanael Greene: Strategist of the American Revolution* (New York, Twayne Publishers, 1960); Francis Vinton Greene, *Nathanael Greene* (New York, The Confucian Press, Inc., 1981); Terry Golway, *Washington's General: Nathanael Greene and the*

Greene was on the right and Genl. Pickens [Andrew Pickens]²⁹ on the left. Col Washington [William Washington]³⁰ and horse were there and Colonel Washington was taken prisoner in the action. The battle was a very severe one. The British had possession of a large brick house and fought through port holes made in the walls. They fought from within and from without the house. The battle commenced by Col Wade Hampton³¹ of the horse driving in the pickets. The infantry engaged between daylight and sunrise in the morning and the battle lasted until between 8 and 9 o'clock. Genl Greene returned to his place of encampment the night before about 2 miles from the scene of action. And the British retreated to Charleston that night. Genl Greene lost in killed and wounded scarcely. The British were believed to have suffered more than the Americans. Was out about two months on this tour and believes it to have been longer.

Next tour [was] to Orangeburg after the battle of Eutaw. Lieutenant William Smith commanded the company. Sumter [Thomas Sumter]³² was not there this tour. [He] Belonged to Col. Thomas Taylor's Regiment but Colonel Taylor [was] not there this tour. A Wallace from Chester or York commanded the whole time out.

Triumph of the American Revolution (New York, Henry Holt and Company, LLC, 2006); and Lee Patrick Anderson, *Forgotten Patriot: The Life & Times of Major-General Nathanael Greene* (NP, Universal Publishers, 2002). See, also, Dennis M. Conrad, Ed., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, Vols. I-XIII (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press).

²⁹ Andrew Pickens (1739-1817) was active in the campaigns against the Cherokees as early as the expedition commanded by James Grant in 1761. He was commissioned a captain in the militia formed by Andrew Williamson in the Ninety Six District and remained active until the fall of Charleston in May 1780. Along with Williamson, LeRoy Hammond and others, he took parole in June 1780 but re-entered the war in late 1780 after the British or Tories burned his plantation. As a man of the utmost honor, he had resisted repeated Whigs' urgings to resume his role as a Whig commander until he felt discharged from the terms of his parole by the burning of his plantation. He distinguished himself by the leadership demonstrated at Cowpens and was awarded a sword by the US Congress. After Cowpens, Governor John Rutledge promoted Pickens to the rank of Brigadier General in the state militia. Wounded at Eutaw Springs, he recovered and led an expedition against the Cherokees in the final stages of the military operations in the South during the Revolution. The brutality of that expedition led to its being known as the "Punitive Expedition." Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, pp. 866-867.

³⁰ William Washington (1752-1810) was a Continental Line cavalry officer. He was a cousin of George Washington. Stephen E. Haller, *William Washington: Cavalryman of the Revolution* (Heritage Books, Inc., Bowie, Maryland, 2001).

³¹ Moss, *SC Patriots*, p. 409.

³² 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. After election as general officer by his militia peers in June 1780, he was officially 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. Robert D. Bass, *Gamecock: The Life and Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1961) and Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* (R. L. Bryan Company, Columbia, South Carolina, 1931).

The next tour was also to Orangeburg. Captain William Goodwyn³³ shot one ~~Stallions~~ Stallions in jail for some language used by Stallions. This [occurred] a few days before deponent arrived there. Lieutenant Hicks Chappel³⁴ was there. Captain William Robertson³⁵ was there either at this time or the one preceding. Does not now recollect who commanded the whole. [He] Was out in these two tours to Orangeburg six months in all. Guarded some Tory prisoners to Orangeburg [illegible words] were put in jail there.

Next tour to the four holes [sic, Four Holes Swamp]. Went from home under Sergeant Ponds and was put under Captain Lester [sic, Andrew Leister?]³⁶ at the four hole bridge [sic, Four Holes Bridge]. Col William Bratton commanded the whole detachment. Jeremiah Taylor and Dr. Justin Faust were along. Was out three months in this tour.

Deponent is fully satisfied that he served the full period of fourteen months in the tours of duty mentioned and served several other tours and in scouting parties against the Tories in addition but cannot state with certainty the dates nor the length of time of these tours but is satisfied that in all these expeditions amounted to one month making fifteen months service in all.

He hereby relinquishes every claim to a pension or annuity except the present and declares that his name is not on the pension roll of the agency of any state.

Sworn & subscribed the day and year aforesaid in open court.

S/ Meredith Taylor, M his Mark

This is found as pension number S32547 in the National Archives. ★

Conference Thanks - SCAR offers its appreciation for cooperation with the Battle of Eutaw Springs Conference & Tour from: The Church of the Epiphany and Father John Scott; Toni Scott and her crew at The Tea Room; Gerald Brown and the First National Bank of SC; Jennifer P. Szorosy and the Farmers & Merchants Bank of SC; Robert Norris of St. Julian's Plantation; James Lane; Dave Evans and Santee-Cooper; Gen. Buford Mabry and the SC DNR; Walter & Pat Hilderman; and William S. Connor, Esq. and Douglas B. Doster of the Battle of Eutaw Springs Chapter SAR and Lynn B. Doster, Regent of the Col. William Thomson Chapter and Mrs. W. G. Irick, Regent of the Eutaw Springs Chapter DAR.

³³ William Goodwyn's widow's application for a pension from the Federal Government is NARA #R4134. She makes no reference to her husband's having shot a jailed Tory during the war.

³⁴ Hicks Chappell's application for a pension from the Federal Government is NARA #W22758.

³⁵ There is no likely listing in Moss, *SC Patriots*, for this officer.

³⁶ Moss, *SC Patriots*, 562.

