



# Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution

www.southerncampaign.org

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## Raising the Revolutionaries' Banner 1775-1776



19<sup>th</sup> century magic lanternslide depicting SC Patriot Sgt. William Jasper of the 2d South Carolina Continental Line, commanded by Col. William Moultrie, heroically re-raising the battered South Carolina standard over the parapet of the sand and palmetto log Fort Sullivan during the British naval bombardment of June 28-29, 1776. Mike Coker, the South Carolina Historical Society's image expert, reports that this image is from a lanternslide painted by artists at the C. W. Briggs Company. The title on the slide is: "Sergeant Jasper at Ft. Moultrie, 1776"; it is a transparency, collodion on glass; size 3 1/4 X 4 inches. The Briggs were an American family of lanternists, slide painters and manufacturers. Daniel Briggs started painting and selling slides in 1850. Later the firm became C. (Caspear) W. Briggs and Co. in Philadelphia. Slides were made from stock negatives and colored by hand. (1850-1930s) This slide's artist is unknown. Image is courtesy of the SCII Regiment. Artist Lucy Brown made a painting of this image in 1975, the original of which hangs in the main offices of the South Carolina Forestry Commission, 5500 Broad River Road, Columbia.

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## Editor's Notes

### This quarter's features

*Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* was privileged to discuss the July 13<sup>th</sup> conference with the Southern Revolutionary War Institute's management and advisory board. They decided to focus this year's papers and presenters on the early years of the Southern Campaigns. We too support taking a hard look at the complex political, economic and military situation in 1775 and 1776 in the South.

**Jeff Dennis'** article on **South Carolina's Indian Campaign of 1776** is illustrative of the depersonalization that historians of former years did - a carry-forward of the extremely anti-native American attitude that many revolutionaries in South Carolina shared - "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." One good popular trend in history is to put a face on this particularly nameless, faceless foe and attempt to analyze the forces that made the Creek and Cherokee pawns in the Europeans' global wars.

**Toby Turner's** article on a dispute concerning SC Patriot militia Capt. Polk and Lt. Watson gives us an unusual glimpse of insubordination early in the southern rebellion, recorded and told from several points of view, whose documents miraculously survive to this day. **The Polk Event** is illustrative of the challenges faced by the Council of Safety in winning over the South Carolina backcountry to Patriot rule. Through their own words, we can see how the political and military leaders of the revolutionary party handled the insubordination of a prominent man whose support they clearly wanted and needed. The piece covers the insubordination of Captain Ezekiel Polk and Lieutenant Samuel Watson in July of 1775 through letters and journal entries of most of the people involved.

**Don Gara's** article on **Virginia Royal Governor Lord Dunmore's** attempts to resecure his colony focuses on how a tactical decision - arming slaves and promising slaves and indentured servants freedom in exchange for fighting for the Crown - gave credibility for a uniting issue helping separate Loyalists from Patriots. This article gives additional perspective to David Wilson's article on the Battle of Great Bridge, Virginia published in the first quarter 2007 *SCAR* and to Walter Edgar's thesis that the three Southern pre- July 4, 1776 Patriot victories (Great Bridge, Moore's Creek Bridge and Sullivan's Island) played a significant precursor to Britain's ultimate defeat in the Revolution.

### New website look

*SCAR* is indeed fortunate to have our talented webmistress, Caroline Baxley, present the updated and face-lifted [www.southerncampaign.org](http://www.southerncampaign.org) website. Unfortunately, *SCAR's* new website, links and the website for the upcoming Cavalry in the American Revolution Conference are all having their birthing pangs at the same time. Please report any glitches, broken links and additional suggestions to improve its organization and transcription and digitization operations. We hope to add easy access to the pension records project and a direct link to the current Calendar of Upcoming Events. In the meantime, pension statements and all previous *SCAR* issues may be directly accessed via <http://lib.irshelby.com/skar.htm>.

### New staff at SCAR

*SCAR* is truly pleased to welcome several new key volunteers to our staff. **Rob McCaskill**, graphics artist of Asterisk Creative in Charlotte, NC will help with taking the look and feel of our magazine from an amateur journal to a more professional look and

flavor. **Dave McKissack** of Blacksburg, Va. brings his experience as a researcher, writer and reenactor as a feature editor. The *SCAR* team also welcomes **Ed Salo**, professional historian with Brockington Associates, a cultural resources firm in Charleston, SC, and graduate student in history will also try his hand as a *SCAR* feature editor. Those who have marveled at **Bob Yankle's** beautiful photo albums of Revolutionary War events posted on the NCSSAR website and published in *SCAR* will be glad to know that Bob has agreed to join *SCAR* as a staff photographer. Historian, manuscript librarian and Southern Campaigns scholar **Sam Fore** of Dallas, Texas will start a regular featured document column in *SCAR*. We also welcome **Ben Rubin** of Monroe, Ohio, a senior history major at Hanover College, Indiana, *SCAR's* summer intern. And last, but certainly not least, **Barbara Abernethy** of Seneca, SC has pitched in with her considerable talents as an associate general editor of the magazine. Yippee and welcome!

### Subscriptions and mailing list

We do not sell subscriptions to *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, **but we do accept all donations**. We do maintain a snail mail list and email list of folks who have indicated an interest in receiving the magazine. If you have not sent us your name, email address and snail mail address, and you would like to continue getting *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, please send me your email and mailing address so we can put you on my mailing list. Each month, I have spam filter issues and many email address changes so that we lose contact so we would like to build a list of our reader's snail mail addresses as well. We will not sell your address.

### Cavalry Conference

***SCAR* and its partners the South Carolina Historical Society, Wofford College and Cowpens National Battlefield have teamed up to present a high energy program on all aspects of mounted warfare on November 8-11, 2007 in Spartanburg, SC. We are overwhelmed with the quality presentations on cavalry battles, tactics and commanders, miniature battle displays, artifacts, mounted demonstrations, and especially folks who are pitching in to insure everyone has a great experience. Education – fun – fellowship are our guiding principals. Please plan to join us in Spartanburg the second weekend in November. See more details on p. 7 herein.**

### Submissions

*SCAR* is pleased with the great articles, photos, maps, and news shorts our generous researchers and authors share with us, but we are always looking for more! We also could use additional columnists and feature editors. We also need a volunteer to head up the marketing campaign for the upcoming Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference. Volunteers are requested to contact *SCAR* editor [Charles B. Baxley](mailto:Charles.B.Baxley@scarc.org).

### Mid-Summer Holiday

Think when you were or are in the midst of a real struggle of what this country's revolutionaries did for us, their heirs, and our mutual posterity. Could we be so thoughtful, radical, courageous, daring, passionate, enterprising, or committed to a worthy cause? We continue with hope that reading *SCAR* keeps this notion a little bit in mind for each of us all year through. If so, we count our rewards. Think, and go do some good. A most happy and blessed 231st July 4th to your family from the *SCAR* publisher, plenipotentiary and staff. ★

## Southern Campaigns Roundtable

You are invited to join the Southern Campaigns Revolutionary Roundtable at its **July 14th, 2007** meeting at the Cayce Historical



Museum in Cayce, SC. Leo Redmond, museum director of the reconstructed Chesnut & Kershaw trading post, later called the Cayce House, survivor of the siege of Granby, has graciously invited our next hosting of the SCR Roundtable. SCAR Editor Charles B. Baxley will serve as officer-of-the-day. A definitive highlight will be a guided tour of the Cayce Historical Museum and Leo's amazing 18th century artifacts gleaned from South Carolina's midlands. This is a participatory sport and each attending is encouraged to bring your papers (with copies to share), artifacts, maps, questions, problems and a 7 minute-or-so presentation of one's own choosing to share with our group. This Roundtable is free and open to the public. We will meet in the basement of the Cayce Historical Museum, 1800 12<sup>th</sup> Street, Cayce, SC at 10 am. We will break for a "Dutch treat" lunch around noon and finish up by 4 pm. Please invite your Revolutionary minded friends. For more information, please call the museum at (803) 796-9020. ★

## Corps of Discovery

The Corps has several trips in various stages of discussion and planning including:

- 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, and Belleville, home of Col. William "Danger" Thomson commander of the SC3d Continental Regiment which was 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 on Charlottesville 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.

- Barnwell County, SC – visit the Barnwell Museum, Slaughter Field, Healing Springs, John Town (Dean Swamp), earthworks at Morris Ford on the Salkehatchie River built in the spring 1780 by Loyalists under Ben John. Capt. John Mumford of the South Carolina Patriot militia was killed in action in a clash with John's Loyalists; he is buried at the site. Tarleton Brown of the Boiling Springs Community was a Revolutionary War militia officer, state representative and state senator. Brown enlisted as a private in the SC Patriot militia in 1776, was commissioned a Lieutenant in 1778 and promoted to a Captain in 1780.

March 29, 2008 – The Corps of Discovery will visit three battlefields in Alamance County, NC. "The Revolutionary War Battles of Alamance County, NC" - Pyle's Defeat (or Pyle's Hacking Match), the Battle of Clapp's Mill and the Battle of Lindley's Mill. These sites are within easy driving distance of one another, the most distant being Lindley's Mill which is about a 20 minute drive from the other two (and they are less than 10 minutes from each other). Join the resident experts for these on-the-ground tours: Sam Powell, PhD and Jeff Bright on Clapp's Mill; Dr. Carole Troxler on Pyle's Defeat; together with the addition of a number of local historians who have been involved in recording the history of these sites, including Pat Bailey, Stewart Dunaway and John Braxton.

The Clapp's Mill Memorial Site at Lake Macintosh in Alamance County will serve as our meeting place. The Memorial was built when the county dammed up Alamance Creek and the original mill site was covered by water. Pieces of the original stonework were moved to Lake Macintosh Park and 12 bronze plaques were erected to tell the history of the Battle of Clapp's Mill (also known as the Battle on the Alamance). There is a lodge that will serve as a good place to welcome visitors and explain the day's activities, and ample parking to leave behind the vehicles not involved in the car pool. We will have a morning and afternoon session, with lunch at a local restaurant.

"We are the boots on the ground on Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War sites." **Corps of Discovery** field trips are organized upon invitation of a host and guide. SCAR publishes 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! The tours are free and open to the public. SCAR keeps you posted on the details in the Calendar of Upcoming Events.

**Tell us about your research and trips to discover our Revolutionary War heritage. A story unshared may become a site unspared. Share in SCAR.** ★

## SCAR The American Revolution in the Caribbean Symposium -- 2008

SCAR is planning a cruise ship-based 2008 symposium on the American Revolution's maritime and land war in the West Indies (Caribbean) during 1778 – 1783. These land and sea battles influenced the course of the American Revolution and the Treaty of Paris. We will nail down the dates and costs soon so you can plan your 2008 vacation now to join SCAR's editors, naval historian Dennis M. Conrad (editor of Gen. Nathanael Greene's Papers) and other scholars for a laid-back family fun vacation, featuring shipboard lectures and battlefield tours in the beautiful West Indies along with all shipboard amenities and activities for the entire family. ★



SCAR is partnered with the Carolina Mountains Literary Festival to present two panel discussions on Revolutionary War literature on September 14 and 15, 2007 in Burnsville, North Carolina. Join panel discussions with Revolutionary War novelist Charles F. Price (historic novelist), Seabrook Wilkinson (literary critic); historians John Buchanan (author); Dennis M. Conrad (Greene Papers editor); Greg Massey (Col. John Laurens' biographer); Christine Swager (educator, youth writer); Charles B. Baxley (SCAR Editor); and Preston Russell (historian, textbook editor), all accomplished writers and scholars of the American Revolution.

SCAR Editor Charles B. Baxley will moderate the first panel that will look at historical fiction and history as great literature and the historian's craft as a good read. The 19<sup>th</sup> Century historian, historic novelist and poet William Gilmore Simms is a great example of a master of both crafts.

SO YOU THOUGHT THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS BORING? Did you know: That one of America's greatest generals slept with the governor of South Carolina—and a pig? That a high-ranking British officer was given credit for boasting that he had killed more men and ravished more women than any man in America? That the war's bloodiest battle for the numbers engaged was fought in a remote spot in South Carolina? That the mistress of a North Carolina tavern gave her life's savings for the use of the impoverished American army?

Historical novelist Charles F. Price will moderate the second panel that will focus on the writers' role in telling the story, especially to the younger generations who need to know about the founding of our nation and the ideas upon which it is based: "How the lessons of our past can inform our present and our future." This two-hour panel will examine the power of well-written historical materials to popularize history and foster enthusiasm for the learning of history among a general readership.

<p>Lloyd Bailey Charles Baxley Bill Brooks John Buchanan Kathryn Stripling Byer Rick Chess Dennis Conrad Marshall DeBruhl Abigail DeWitt M. Scott Douglass</p>	<p>John Ehle George Ellison Elizabeth Ellison Anthony Grooms Elizabeth Baird Hardy Michael Hardy Irene Honeycutt Gloria Houston Dot Jackson Hunter James</p>	<p><b>Carolina Mountains Literary Festival</b> PO Box 355 Burnsville, NC 28714 828.682.7413 cmlitfest@gmail.com cmlitfest.org</p>
<p>most events held at the Burnsville Town Center 7 S. Main Street September 14 &amp; 15 2007</p>	<p>Steven Kirk Vicki Lane John Maass Myra MacPherson Greg Massey Karen Miller Sheryl Monks Robert Morgan</p>	<p>Rob Neufeld Michael Parker Charles F. Price Glenis Redmond Pat Riviere-Seel Preston Russell Timothy Silver Betty Smith</p>
<p>Given the participation and enthusiasm I observed, I think this celebration of the written and spoken word will very soon become a mainstay in the region, as it should. - Gloria Houston</p>	<p>Christine Swager Peter Turchi Kevin Watson Seabrook Wilkinson Perry Deane Young Isabel Zuber</p>	<p>photo &amp; design by bill brooks</p>

Charles Price: "We believe that historians can reach a broader audience through written history that rises to the level of literature even as it educates. Literature, both as fiction and nonfiction, tells stories with a vividness and immediacy that spur imagination and can make history live in ways dully-written textbooks cannot."  
<http://www.cmlitfest.org> ★

## On-line Historic Library Resource

SCAR is helping [John Robertson](#) to locate and identify research and literary materials to expand his on-line links to scholarly journal articles, newspapers and historic magazines that contain articles or letters, manuscripts, and diaries of significance to the study of the Southern Campaigns. We also need help in republishing these items in the public domain that are not already readily available on-line. Use the Internet to bring the library to us!

[Online Library of the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War](#) [<http://lib.shelby.com>]

Examples of historic resources we need to compile and make readily accessible are articles on relevant topics and personalities associated with the southern campaigns of the Revolutionary War in publications such as *Harpers Weekly*; *Historical Magazine*; *The Southern Literary Messenger*; *The Magazine of American History*; numerous state and local historical society journals; *Year Book, City of Charleston*; numerous history professional journals; and modern magazines such as *Military Collector and Historian*; *Muzzleloader*; *Journal of Military History*; *The Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* (London, England); and *Military History Quarterly*.

It would be useful for all researchers for SCAR readers to develop contacts at the Library of Congress' digitation project, Google books and Project Gutenberg to encourage them to make digital copies of relevant books, articles, journals, maps and other primary and secondary documents relevant to Revolutionary War research universally available on-line. Your suggestions are appreciated.

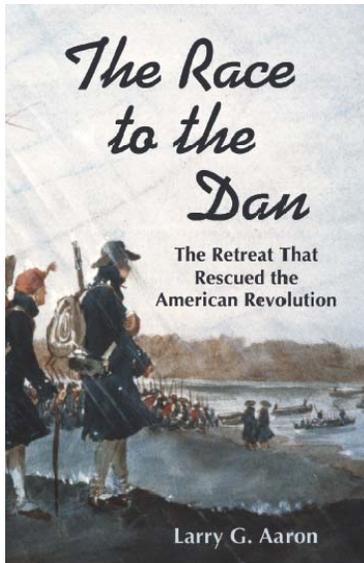
## New CD containing 35 historic volumes, [14,246 pages] is now available

Includes several hard-to-find works, such as McCrady's *History of South Carolina*; Charles Stedman's *History of the American War*; Henry Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution*; and William Johnson's *Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*. See description, full contents, how to get at "Online Library of the Southern Campaign" <http://lib.irshelby.com>.

While these downloadable books are extremely interesting, regrettably, many of them have over-sized margins, are missing volumes, missing maps, have missing, unreadable or useless pages. For his own use and that of his friends, John has spent several weeks refurbishing books on the Southern Campaigns of interest, more often than not, one page at a time. All works have been edited, repaired, missing pages replaced as possible, bookmarks and cross-links added, and formatted for on-screen readability. Adobe .pdx indexes have been provided where possible, and on-line text searches linked where available. Only 1 of the 35 volumes has neither; a few have both.

While this CD is of marketable value, terms of use requirements of the scanned books prohibit the books from being used in a commercial product. John may only charge a reasonable fee for materials and handling. If you would like to receive a copy of this CD, [email your request](#), providing your mailing address. After receiving the CD and having an opportunity for comparing the enhanced versions of these historic texts with the downloadable versions, John asks that you send payment of \$5 for materials and handling. Gratuity accepted but completely optional. ★

## ***The Race to the Dan* by Larry G. Aaron**



***A long forgotten saga of the American Revolution completes the story that began at the founding of Jamestown.***

Halifax County Historical Society, in cooperation with Warwick House of Lynchburg, has just published *The Race to the Dan* by Larry G. Aaron.

This year Virginia celebrates its 400<sup>th</sup>

anniversary since the establishment of Jamestown in May 1607, when the first English settlers planted a colony along the James River. Nearly two hundred years later, a little known retreat in 1781 during the American Revolution led to the British surrender at Yorktown, a small village only 23 miles from Jamestown. *The Race to the Dan* tells the dramatic story of this retreat and its pivotal role in bringing Virginia full circle from a British colony to part of an independent United States.

What history student has not heard of the Boston Tea Party, Paul Revere's Ride, the Battles of Lexington and Concord, and Washington's Crossing of the Delaware River. These events loom large in America's Revolutionary War history. Yet, the climax of that war played out with British General Cornwallis' troops dogging a ragged and suffering American army in a race that spread across the Carolinas, ending at South Boston, Virginia, on February 14, 1781. General Nathanael Greene's Southern Army - many barefoot and leaving bloody footprints on the ground - marched through winter snows and cold rain, over mud-encrusted roads to reach the Dan River just ahead of the hardened British veterans. As Greene's army escaped across the rain engorged river on waiting boats, Cornwallis was left stranded and turned back.

British cavalry leader Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton complimented his enemy years later with the remark, "Every measure of the Americans, from Catawba to Virginia, was judiciously designed and vigorously executed." George Washington, who anguished over the retreat along with the entire nation, wrote to Greene, "Your retreat before Lord Cornwallis is highly applauded by all ranks."

The retreat across the Carolinas became a heated race the last four days with the British troops rarely out of sight of the struggling Americans. The last of Greene's army had barely crossed the Dan River at Boyd's Ferry at present day South Boston, Virginia, when the British arrived on the far shore. As Greene's army was resupplied and reinforced in Halifax County, he declared, "I have some expectation of collecting a force sufficient in this country to enable me to act offensively and in turn race Lord Cornwallis as he has raced me."

Greene then turned the tables on Cornwallis, recrossing the Dan River and tracking Cornwallis' British force to Guilford Courthouse [located now in Greensboro, North Carolina]. There

Greene's much strengthened American force, in a bloody battle with Cornwallis's troops, so mauled the British army that Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington and then marched his troops on their fateful journey to Yorktown, where he surrendered.

*The Race to the Dan* not only brings to light the importance of Greene's march to the Dan River during the Southern campaign of the American Revolution, but also relates why this story has so long been minimized or neglected in histories of the Revolutionary War. *The Race to the Dan* gives this little known, nearly forgotten story its rightful place among the great events that gave our nation its independence.

Noted Revolutionary War authors select Greene's retreat across the Carolinas as one of the monumental actions of the War.

John Buchanan, award-winning Revolutionary War historian, who wrote the Introduction to *The Race to the Dan* notes, "The Crossing of the Dan River in Southern Virginia on 14 February 1781 was at least as important as the Battle of Bunker Hill.... The successful American crossing of the rain-swollen Dan River ahead of the British was one of the outstanding operations of the [Revolutionary] war..."

Dr. Lawrence Babits, George Washington Distinguished Professor of History at East Carolina University, writes, "The Crossing of the Dan was as significant to the southern campaigns as Washington's crossing of the Delaware. In fact, Greene's Crossing of the Dan led more quickly to long-term victories than at Trenton and Princeton. Greene's crossing led to Guilford Courthouse and, six months later, to Yorktown..."

Dr. Dennis Conrad, award-winning editor of *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene* and noted authority on the American Revolution, states, "In roughly six weeks an under-manned, ill-equipped, demoralized army reversed America's fortunes and recaptured a large part of the South. Makes crossing the Delaware on Christmas Eve seem like child's play by comparison..."

*The Race to the Dan* has something for everyone. It tells the story in a readable style for those unfamiliar with the retreat and also thoroughly discusses General Nathanael Greene's Southern campaign strategy. It tells why his magnificent maneuvers are still studied by modern day military strategists who find them relevant for today's insurgency-driven wars in the Middle East and elsewhere.

Included in the book is a time-line of the American Revolution, maps and illustrations, excerpts from period letters and diaries, an index, information about the celebration of Greene's crossing in South Boston, Virginia and the new exhibit honoring that event, an extensive bibliography for research that includes Internet listings as well as books for young people, and also music and movie selections relating to the American Revolution, especially the Southern Campaign.

### **About the Author**

Larry Aaron has been studying the Race to the Dan for over 25 years, after learning that his ancestors participated in the Southern Campaign and assisted Greene's army after it crossed the Dan River. He has presented the story to school, civic and historical groups and published articles about this epic event. He is also author of *Keppy's War* and *Barefoot Boy*, An Anthology of Blue Ridge Poems. His writings have been published in a wide variety of magazines and newspapers and he has received first place awards and Best-In-Show nominations from the Virginia Press Association.

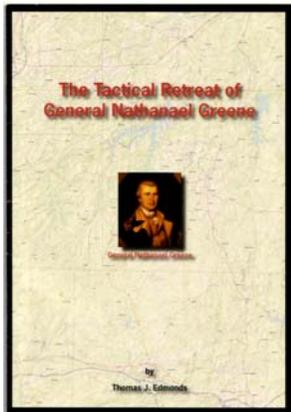
Aaron presently serves as Associate Editor of *Evince*, a regional arts, entertainment and lifestyle magazine and also as Science Department Chairman at Chatham High School in Pittsylvania County, Virginia. He and his wife Nancy live in Danville, Virginia.

### How to Purchase a Copy

*The Race to the Dan* can be purchased for \$18 including shipping and handling from P. O. Box 601, South Boston, Virginia 24592

Contact the author Larry Aaron at 185 Martindale Dr., Danville, Virginia 24541 or email [larry.aaron@gmail.com](mailto:larry.aaron@gmail.com). Phone 434-792-8695. ★

### *The Tactical Retreat of General Nathanael Greene* by Thomas J. Edmonds



Most scholars of the Revolutionary war in the South are aware of the Race to the Dan. Because of this, one of the critical events of the Revolution in the South, Cornwallis' army ceased to be an effective fighting force and eventual surrender at Yorktown. We are aware that the armies were very close and that the outcome of the race was never a foregone conclusion. We know that there were a number of skirmishes and small engagements along the way. But how many of us know, or can recite the play-by-play?

Thomas Edmonds' 2006 monograph is a concise but complete look at the critical five weeks between Greene's council of war at Guilford Courthouse on February 9, 1781, and the critical battle at the same place on March 15<sup>th</sup>. It is a day-by-day account of the marches of both armies including references to the modern day locations of routes, skirmishes and battle sites. In addition to a clear and easy to understand narrative of the strategic thinking of the commanding officers and of the various troop movements across North Carolina, Edmonds provides short, informative and exciting accounts of the major engagements of the campaign. Pyle's Defeat (February 25, 1780) and Weitzel's Mill (March 6, 1780).

Drawing on a wealth of resources such as muster records, marching orders and correspondence, Edmonds began piecing together a picture of exactly what the campaign looked like. Then he went into the field to actually find the places talked about. By identifying physical landmarks mentioned in his primary sources, scouring USGS topographic maps and searching out old country maps, deeds and land grants from the area, Edmonds tried to put the routes on the ground. He sifted through the stories of local historians and historical societies about folklore regarding the campaign, some of which was plausible, some not. He admits, however that in some cases it was impossible to replicate the exact route of old roads. Because this monograph was designed as a driving tour, a few compromises have been made to make sure the tourists do not have to stray too far from modern roads. Still, Edmonds assures me, the routes are thoroughly researched and about as close as you are going to get to the actual routes of the armies.

*The Tactical Retreat of General Nathanael Greene* is an easy afternoon read, but it is packed full of information about this

important and often overlooked part of the Southern Campaigns. This work, at only 20 pages, is certainly not the definitive work on this campaign, and those interested in the Race to the Dan should certainly go on to other more detailed accounts. This work is a perfect primer for those Southern Campaign enthusiasts among us who know very little about the details of this pivotal phase of Greene's campaigns.

Accompanying the monograph is a large, modern map of northwestern North Carolina with the routes of both armies and the important Race to the Dan landmarks imposed on it. While a good idea in theory, this version is hard to read. The way the text is written makes the map a perfect companion. The text on the map needs to be a little bigger and more readable, and the troop movements more clearly defined. The use of a modern map is helpful for those familiar with the area in conceptualizing the campaign, but a grid, tied to coordinates of locations would be helpful for those of us who are not.



**Map excerpt of Hyco Lake area of North Carolina showing red dashed line of Lord Cornwallis' march from the South and the gray dashed line of Greene's march on the Shephentown Road from the West.**

Do not expect the definitive, end-all-be-all account of the race to the Dan. However, Edmonds' book is a very useful tool in understanding the campaign, especially for new enthusiasts wanting to use it as a jumping-off point for a study of the campaign or for people wanting to travel the route for themselves.

Edmonds is a development officer at the North Carolina Division of Tourism, Film and Sports Development. His purpose in writing this monograph is to familiarize readers with the historical significance of the area. Edmonds has agreed to conduct a car tour of the route for an upcoming Corps of Discovery. The monograph is available at Guilford Courthouse National Military Park or can be ordered directly from the author for \$5.00 at 2216 West Meadowview Rd. Suite 201, Greensboro, NC 27407.

**Review by Ben Rubin, SCAR's intern  
Hanover College, Indiana**

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# Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference & Battlefield Tours Wofford College Spartanburg, SC

November 9-10, 2007



Not until NASCAR invaded North Carolina could you feel the thundering horsepower in “The Assault” - painting by SCAR artist, Werner Willis of Charlotte, NC.

SCAR, the South Carolina Historical Society, Wofford College, and Cowpens National Battlefield will present an international conference on cavalry operations in the Revolutionary War on November 9-10, 2007 at Wofford College in Spartanburg, SC.

Featured will be the personalities, tactics and the uses of cavalry in specific battles and campaigns of the Revolution, ample opportunities of quality fellowship with scholars and others interested in the martial equestrian sciences and arts are our trademarks.



**Keynote presentation: “There Is No Carrying on the War without Them’: The Continental Light Dragoons, 1776-83” by Prof. Gregory J. W. Urwin, author (*The United States Cavalry: an Illustrated History; Facing Fearful Odds: The Siege of Wake Island; and six other military history books*), SCAR contributor, reenactor, military historian, and The History Channel contributor. Gregory Urwin serves as a Professor of History at Temple University; Associate Director, Center for the Study of Force and**

Diplomacy at Temple University; General Editor, *Campaigns and Commanders*, University of Oklahoma Press, and is a Fellow, Company of Military Historians.

**Pre-Conference Tour - Thursday, November 8, 2007** Revolutionary War Sites Bus Tour – Gen. Thomas Sumter stops Lt. Col. Ban Tarleton at Blackstock’s Plantation, Patriot victory at Musgrove Mill, Lt. Col. William Washington’s victory Hammond’s Old Store, and the battles and siege of Ninety Six guided by David P. Reuwer.

## Friday afternoon, November 9, 2007 Wofford College, Spartanburg, SC

- Scott Miskimon - “Col. Anthony Walton White and his Defeat at Lenud’s Ferry.”
- Mark Danley - TBD
- Michael Scoggins - “Mounted troops in the Southern backcountry”
- Samuel Fore - “The personalities of a few mounted commanders, their interaction with others, and its affect on operations.”
- Moderator - Patrick O’Kelley
  - Steve Haller - “William Washington - Sword of the Army”
  - Lee McGee - “William Washington operated as clear patterns of 18<sup>th</sup> century European cavalry practices and how he came to know how to do that.”
- Moderator - Rory Cornish
  - Jim Picuch – “The British Black Dragoons”
  - Todd Braisted – “Lt. Col. John Graves Simcoe and the Queens American Rangers.”

**Saturday morning, November 10, 2007  
Wofford College, Spartanburg**

**Robert A. Selig - "Lauzun's Legion/Battle of the Hook at Gloucester"**

**Charles Price - "Eutaw Springs: Cavalry Operations as Fact and as Experience: A Novelist's View"**

**John Hutchins - "Fight at Poundridge"**

**Jim Sieradzki - "Gen. Casimir Pulaski & his Legion"**

**Presentation at the Cowpens Battlefield by Prof. Larry Babits, author of *A Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens***

We will also enjoy mounted cavalry tactical demonstrations presented by Daniel Murphy, Ron Crawley and a troop of skilled cavalry reenactors at the Cowpens National battlefield. Dan will also cover cavalry training, logistics, equipment, and drills.

**Battlefield tours** at Cowpens National Battlefield

**Post-Conference Tour - Sunday, November 11, 2007**

Revolutionary War Sites Bus Tour – Patriots' ambush at Cedar Spring and heroine Jane Black Thomas' role therein, Patriots fight at Thompson's Peach Orchard – Wofford's Iron Works, and the brilliant Patriot victory at Kings Mountain guided by David P. Reuwer.

At Wofford we will have book, map and antiquarian book vendors; miniature dioramas depicting important battles; book-signings by our presenters; artifact and ephemera displays; with plenty of opportunities to discuss your theories and questions with the presenters and colleagues. Join us for informative presentations, fellowship and great entertainment.



**Period Musician Ken Bloom will perform at our reception and dinner on Friday night.**

**Conference Hotels**

We have reserved blocks of rooms at two conference hotels that have given us great conference rates. Located one block from Wofford College, the Marriott Conference Hotel at Renaissance Park adjoins the conference site at 299 N. Church Street and features a bar and restaurant. [www.spartanburgmarriott.com](http://www.spartanburgmarriott.com) Our group reservation code is **CAMCAMA**. Conference hotel rates are \$89.00 per room per night plus taxes.

About two and ½ miles from Wofford College is the Courtyard by Marriott located at 110 Mobile Drive in Spartanburg, SC 29303 Phone (864) 585-2400 and Fax (864) 585-8121

<http://www.marriott.com/hotels/travel/spach-courtvard-spartanburg> Our group reservation code is **SOUN**. Conference hotel rates are \$59.00 per room per night plus taxes. Reservations must be made by telephone only; when reserving your rooms, for the special conference rates, please mention the Cavalry Conference or group code.



**Join noted thespian Howard Burnham who will recreate old Ban Tarleton, Member of Parliament, the old rake himself, for your enjoyment on Saturday night.**

For more information contact [Charles B. Baxley](mailto:Charles.B.Baxley).

**Registration**

Early registrations are \$175.00 per person before 10-01-07. These registration fees include three meals and snacks, all presentations, evening entertainment, and handout materials. Bus tours are \$40.00 per seat per tour, meals and admission included.

Registrations contact Gloria Beiter at the South Carolina Historical Society. [gloria.beiter@schsonline.org](mailto:gloria.beiter@schsonline.org)

**The South Carolina Historical Society • The Fireproof Building  
100 Meeting Street • Charleston, SC 29401  
Phone: (843) 723-3225 Fax: (843) 723-8584**

For more detailed program and registration information see:

[www.southerncampaign.org/cavconf](http://www.southerncampaign.org/cavconf) ★

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*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, including their preservation, historic signage, interpretation, artifacts, and archaeology as well as the personalities, military tactics, units, logistics, and strategy, and the political leadership of both sides in this magazine. We also organize conferences, roundtables, field trips, and archeological expeditions. 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 make more easily accessible information from the dusty archive files, archaeology departments, and the knowledge base of local historians, property owners and artifact collectors. We feature studies of 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 by the cooperative exchange of information.

Woodward Corporation publishes *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. All editions may be downloaded from the website below or purchased from John Robertson [[scar@jrshelby.com](mailto:scar@jrshelby.com)] on a comprehensive, fully-searchable CD. SCAR suggests that you print each magazine in color as color graphics enhance the magazine.

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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 for publication 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 editors. 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 uniform jackets 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 [cbaxley@truvista.net](mailto:cbaxley@truvista.net) or (803) 438-1606 (h) or (803) 438-4200 (w). [www.southerncampaign.org](http://www.southerncampaign.org) ★

## Carolina Day Celebrations on June 28, 2007 New Gen. William Moultrie Statue

Hundreds gathered at White Point Gardens at the end of the Charleston peninsula on Carolina Day (June 28, 2007) to watch the unveiling of a statue to honor Revolutionary War hero and former South Carolina governor, Maj. Gen. William Moultrie. This monument commemorates the heroism of Gen. William Moultrie during the 1776 Battle of Sullivan's Island, Moultrie's most famous battle. At the outset of the American Revolution, William Moultrie was elected colonel of the Second South Carolina Regiment; he was in command of the out-manned, outgunned defenders of Fort Sullivan, who on June 28, 1776 turned back a massive British naval and amphibious assault on the defenses of the city of Charleston. Moultrie and about 400 men held the fort made of sand and palmetto logs on Sullivan's Island now named in his honor. Moultrie's unit held firm against the Royal Navy's ferocious cannonade. Erecting the new statue was undertaken by several revolutionary heritage societies. This statue project was announced during the observance of Carolina Day in 2001 and has been overseen to completion by the General William Moultrie Statue Commission, chaired by retired Air Force Gen. Francis D. Rogers, Jr. For his part in the Patriot victory, Moultrie became an instant national hero. He received the thanks of Congress, the palmetto-log fort on Sullivan's island was renamed Moultrie, and he was soon promoted to brigadier general in the Continental Line. Most recognized the Palmetto tree in the SC State Seal symbolic of Moultrie's Sullivan's Island fort but few know what is at its base: a prostrate, torn-up oak tree, its branches lopped off, typifying the British fleet. After the war, Moultrie served two terms as governor of South Carolina. The much-anticipated William Moultrie statue will join the statue of another hero of the battle, Sergeant William Jasper, erected at Charleston's White Point Gardens by the Palmetto Guard in 1876.

The British eventually captured Charleston in May 1780 where they also caught Moultrie, who was later released in a prisoner exchange. After the Revolution, Moultrie twice served as governor. While in office, he moved the state capitol from Charleston to Columbia.

John Ney Michel sculpted the 8-foot monumental statue. Local groups raised \$250,000 for the project. Moultrie's statue shows him in uniform with his sword sheathed. He is holding his hat at his side as he appears to look out at Charleston Harbor. ★

## Research Opportunities

SCAR wants to publish materials on the Battles of Long Cane, 2d Cedar Spring (Thomson's Peach Orchard-Wofford's Ironworks-Clifton), Ramsour's Mill, Beaufort, SC, Parker's Ferry, Granby, 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 is working with 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 unshared.

SCAR is interested in publishing research on NC Patriot militia **Col. Charles McDowell**, his family and their role in the backcountry war, especially in 1780. Although he was not selected to field command of the Patriots at Kings Mountain, he functioned as a regional general during the critical period of the summer and fall of 1780 and the winter 1781 in the Carolinas' backcountry. His intelligence system was always watching the Cherokee threats and the Loyalists rising in response to Patrick Ferguson's call to arms in the western NC and SC backcountry. He was a key member of the Patriot organization, command and intelligence force behind the combined Patriot militia's firm stand at the 2d Battle of "Cedar Spring" – often called Thomson's Peach Orchard - Wofford's Ironworks; the Patriot victories at Musgrove Mill and Kings Mountain; the capture of Thicketty Fort; supporting Gen. Thomas Sumter's successful stand against Tarleton at Blackstock's Plantation; and providing local militias to support Gen. Daniel Morgan's victory at Cowpens. Was Col. Charles McDowell the lynchpin in the coordination of the western NC and SC and north Georgia Patriot and Virginia militia backcountry militias cooperating at Kings Mountain? An interesting article would analyze this hypothesis to see if McDowell was the critical link between the Patriot forces in the western NC and (later) Tennessee "overmountain" settlements. The family and military relationships between Col. Charles McDowell, "Quaker Meadows Joe" McDowell and "Pleasant Valley Joe" McDowell need to be explored. SCAR does not know if there is any modern scholarship on the McDowells or if any of their correspondence survives. We are also unsure of which Patriot NC militia general officer was over western NC at this critical time, but it seems Col. Charles McDowell was well filling that role.

SCAR also desires to publish biographical research on some of the British and American Loyalists field grade officers who operated independently in the Southern Department about which there is little modern published scholarship. For example: Alexander Innes, Nisbet Balfour, Patrick Ferguson, Alexander Leslie, John Harris Cruger, James Henry Craig, Wellbore Ellis Doyle, John Maitland, Robert McLeroth, John Marjoribanks, George Turnbull, James Webster, Archibald McArthur, James Wemyss, Alexander McDonald, George Campbell, Isaac Allen, James Coates, Henry Sheridan, Andrew Maxwell, Charles O'Hara, James Dunlap, Thomas Barclay, John Goodricke, James Stewart, Chapel Norton, Timothy Newmarsh, Colin Graham, James Moncrief, Alured Clarke, Paston Gould and James Grant. Marg Baskin has some biographical information posted on her great website, "Oatmeal for the Foxhounds" at <http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/btfriends.html> for Nisbet Balfour, Patrick Ferguson, Alexander Leslie, John Harris Cruger, Wellbore Ellis Doyle, James Webster, and James Wemyss.

Good stories could be told about Maj. Thomas Fraser and the SC Royalists who pop-up often in the Southern Campaigns. Fraser was an aggressive soldier, sometimes with infantry and sometimes with mounted infantry, who fought at Musgrove Mill in August of 1780; whose infantry chased Gen. Thomas Sumter from Stirrup Branch to Ratliff's Bridge (near Bishopville, SC) in February 1781; Hobkirk Hill and Ninety Six; captured Col. Isaac Hayne; fought at Biggin Church; Parson's Plantation; Parker's Ferry; Wambaw Creek and Tydiman's Plantation; and led the Loyalists to attack Gen. Francis Marion's camp, at the Avenue of the Cedars at Colleton's Wadboo Barony....what do we know of SC Royalists provincial regiment and Maj. Thomas Fraser? The SC Royalists were ostensibly Col. Alexander Innes' regiment; Innes was appointed to serve as Inspector General of Provincial Forces and was patrolling around the Spartanburg County (SC) area in July/August 1780 with cavalry officer, Capt. James Dunlap. Innes was severely wounded at the Battle of Musgrove Mill on August 19, 1780 and he does not seem to be with Fraser in his subsequent actions. The 1781 Battles of Parson's Plantation and Parker's Ferry have been linked [as retribution] by some scholars. After his losses at Parker's Ferry, Fraser and his horsemen were conspicuously absent from the Battle at Eutaw Springs 8 days later where they would have been useful to the British commander, Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart for gathering intelligence. Gen. Greene moved his army to within 3.5 miles of the British camp before being discovered. Stewart however later wrote that he had enough cavalry that day. ★



**Luther Lyle, chairman of the Oconee County Arts and Historical Commission points to Oconee Mountain on the new county flag which he designed with cooperation and direction from the Eastern Band Cherokee tribe with headquarters in Cherokee, North Carolina. The showing was at the same time as the dedication of a new state marker showing the Cherokee Boundary of 1777. Prominent in this area is Oconee Mountain, a name used on British and French maps going back to the 1730s as it was the first mountain encountered coming up the Cherokee Path from Charleston. By mistake in 1959 the surveyor for the National Geological Survey labeled it Station Mountain as it is very close to Oconee Station. Luther, with the help of the Wizard of Tamassee Chapter of the DAR, succeeded in having the proper name restored. ★**

## Letters to the Editor

Charles,

Augustine Prévost (1723-1786), "old bullet-head", on his return to England was given the Freedom of Exeter, Devon on July 17th, 1780. He purchased the estate of Greenhill Grove, East Barnet, Hertfordshire of which I have a picture. Unfortunately the house no longer stands. Gen. Augustine Prévost is buried in the Prévost crypt in the grounds of St. Mary-the-Virgin in East Barnet along with his wife and son George (Governor-General of Canada and Commander at Plattsburgh in 1814) and his wife. There seemed to be a bit of confusion in the latest SCAR as to where this was located.

One of Augustine's sons, William Augustine Prévost was born at St. Augustine, Florida in 1777 and was christened in the house of the Reverend Doctor Forbes with Lt. Governor Moultrie and his uncle, Jacques Marc Prévost his godfathers and Mrs. Gardner, his godmother. Was this Moultrie related to the one written up in the latest newsletter?

I see that Jacques Marc Prévost (1736-1781) as above, the younger brother of Augustine (Battle of Briar Creek, etc.) was appointed Lt. Governor of Georgia on March 4th 1779 (CO5/182, PRO, Kew). In the same CO5/182 is a letter from Major General Augustine Prévost to their Lordships in London dated August 4th 1779 at Savannah, Georgia saying how sorry he is to lose Lt. Colonel Prévost who has been relieved in the Civil administration of British held Georgia by Sir James Wright.



**The Prévost crypt in the grounds of St. Mary-the-Virgin in East Barnet, Hertfordshire, UK.**

**(Sir) Christopher Prevost, Bt.  
Kent, United Kingdom**

SCAR believes that British East Florida's Lt. Gov. John Moultrie is one of SC Patriot hero Gen. and SC Governor William Moultrie's brothers. Gen. William Moultrie was captured in May 1780 at Charles Town until Moultrie was exchanged for British Gen. John "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne. **Ed.**

Charles,

In response to the question raised by Mr. O'Kelley in SCAR Vol. 3, No. 12, p. 10 as to which Continental Capt. Finley served at Guilford Courthouse, as well as with Pickens and Lee at Ft. Motte and Augusta; my original source for stating "Ebenezer," rather than "Samuel," was Conrad/Showman's *The Papers of Nathanael Greene*, Vols. VII and VIII; that cites him as "Ebenezer," except at

one point where it identifies him as "Samuel." Apparently, this making him "Samuel" there (by the Greene papers' editor) is in error; or alternatively we might conclude all the "Ebenezer" references (with respect to the commander of Pickens/Lee's artillery) are, rather, in error.

In support of Mr. O'Kelley view, he might also add Benson J. Lossing to his list of works and authors saying it was "Samuel;" as Lossing gives a facsimile signature of Samuel Finley's in the *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*; while identifying him (at least by implication) as Greene's artillery officer.

Despite all this, it is still not yet entirely clear to me exactly which Finley it was who served under Pickens and Lee. According to the *Heitman Register*, Samuel Finley was an infantry officer; while Ebenezer Finley was an artillery officer. At the same time, if we accept Mr. O'Kelley's and others interpretation, then it would indeed seem both Capt. Finleys were with Greene in 1781; for on page 386 of Vol. VIII of the Greene papers we have a plain reference to Ebenezer Finley, the Maryland artillery officer, in a letter of his to Greene of 23 September 1781; though regrettably the location he wrote Greene from is not given. If then there were two Capt. Finley's with the southern army, it is all the more odd seeing as how there were also two Capt. John Smiths, both of the Maryland Line, simultaneously serving with Greene for most of 1781 -- but certainly not impossible, of course.

I would like to thank Mr. O'Kelley for bringing this to my attention as well as others; not least of which because I happen to be again back at work on what, this time, will be the fourth edition of my *Calendar and Record of the Revolutionary War in the South*, and so will have the additional opportunity to further to consider this question more closely. The current, third edition of my book, by the way and as always, can be downloaded at:

<http://battleofcamden.org/sherman.htm> or  
<http://www.americanrevolution.org/warinthesouth.html>

**William Thomas Sherman**  
[guniones@netscape.com](mailto:guniones@netscape.com)

In response to Mr. Joseph C. M. Goldsmith's letter to the editor in the second issue of the fourth volume of *Southern Campaigns* on the use of the word "skirmish," I submit the following. Webster's first definition of skirmish reads: "minor fight in war usually incidental to larger movements." Further, the first definition of the word skirmish in the *Oxford English Dictionary* reads: "To engage in a skirmish or irregular encounter; to fight in small parties." It was apparently first used in the year 1470, with the spelling "scarmussh."

I seriously doubt anyone that contributes or reads this publication would be guilty of "demeaning" or "devaluing" the participants of a proper military skirmish during the War for American Independence.

**Sam Fore, Dallas, Texas**

★

## Second Biennial Southern Revolutionary War Symposium

### The Beginning of the End: The Campaigns of 1775-1776 in the Southern Colonies



The Southern Revolutionary War Institute will host the Second Biennial Southern Revolutionary War Symposium at the McCelvey Center in York, South Carolina on Friday, July 13, 2007. The McCelvey Center at 212 East Jefferson Street is

home to the Southern Revolutionary War Institute, a research center dedicated to the study of the American Revolution in the Southern colonies.

This year's symposium will focus on the important but often overlooked years of 1775 and 1776, the "beginning of the end" of British rule in the colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

**Friday, July 13, 2007 McCelvey Center**  
212 East Jefferson Street York, SC

8:00 am - 9:00 am -- Registration and Book Signings

**Morning session: Moderator -- Charles B. Baxley, Esq.**  
**Editor/Publisher *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution***

9:00 am - 9:10 am -- Greetings, introductions, announcements

9:10 am - 9:30 am -- **Michael Scoggins**, Culture & Heritage Museums. "The Southern Revolutionary War Institute: An Overview."

9:30 am - 10:15 am -- **Robert "Bert" Dunkerly and Eric Williams**, National Military Park Rangers. "First Blood: The Battle of Ninety Six, November 19-21, 1775."

10:15 am - 11:00 am -- **Dr. John Chappo**, North Carolina Center for the Advancement of Teaching. "Shock and Awe: General Griffith Rutherford's Revolutionary War Campaign against the Cherokees in Western North Carolina."

11:00 am - 11:45 am - **Dr. Jeff Dennis**, Kennesaw State University, Georgia -- "Independence and the 1776 Cherokee War."

11:45 am - 12:00 noon -- Q & A, panel discussion

**Lunch** (12:00 noon - 1:00 pm) -- Jane Bratton Spratt Reception Room, McCelvey Center

**Afternoon session -- Moderator: David P. Reuwer, Esq.**  
**Editor *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution***

1:00 pm - 1:15 pm -- Introductions, announcements, etc.

1:15 pm - 2:00 pm -- **Peter Wrike**, Rockefeller Library, Colonial Williamsburg. "Dunmore's Wars 1774-1776."

2:00 pm - 2:45 pm -- **Dr. Chris E. Fonvielle, Jr.**, UNC-Wilmington. "The Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge."

2:45 pm - 3:00 pm -- Q & A, discussion, break

3:00 pm - 3:30 pm -- **Michael Scoggins** - "Historical Overview of the Huck's Defeat Battlefield."

3:30 pm - 4:15 pm -- **Steve Smith**, South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology. "The Search for the Huck's Defeat Battlefield."

4:15 pm - 5:00 pm -- Q&A, discussion, book signings.

**Dinner** (7:00 pm - 9:00 pm) - City Club of Rock Hill, 140 E. Main Street, Rock Hill -- **Special guest: noted character actor Howard Burnham presents "A Dog with a Bad Name: Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson Defends Himself."**

Mr. Burnham will debut a new first-person historical interpretation of SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Williamson, the colorful and controversial leader of the SC backcountry militia who was accused of betraying his country after he surrendered to the British at Ninety Six in June 1780.

For pre-registration information, address any inquiries to research director Michael Scoggins at [micscoggins@chmuseums.org](mailto:micscoggins@chmuseums.org) or the above address.

<http://www.chmuseums.org/ourmuseums/mccelvey/srwi.htm>

## Huck's Defeat -- 2007 Schedule of Activities

These events will be held at **Historic Brattonsville**  
**1444 Brattonsville Road, McConnells, SC**

### Saturday, July 14, 2007

Time	Activity
10:00 am	Event opens
10:30 am	Book signing (Mike Scoggins)
11:00 am	Uniform and firearm presentation
11:15 am	Kid's Militia Drill
11:30 am	Skirmish at Stallions Plantation
12:30 pm	"A Question of Liberty" - theatrical presentation
1:00 pm	Huck's Raid on the Bratton House
2:00 pm	Battle of Huck's Defeat
3:00 pm	18 <sup>th</sup> century music performance
3:00 pm	Huck's Defeat battlefield tour
5:00 pm	Event closes for the day

### Sunday, July 15, 2007

Time	Activity
11:00 am	Event opens
11:30 am	18 <sup>th</sup> Century Worship Service
11:45 am	Kid's Militia Drill; Book signing (Mike Scoggins)
12:00 noon	18 <sup>th</sup> Century Music
12:30 pm	Uniform and firearm presentation
1:00 pm	Kid's Militia Drill
1:30 pm	18 <sup>th</sup> century music performance
2:00 pm	First Battle of Fort Watson
3:00 pm	Book signing (Mike Scoggins)
4:00 pm	Event ends

★

## Global Gazetteer of the American Revolution

John A. Robertson's **Global Gazetteer of the American Revolution** was officially made public at <http://gaz.shelby.com> on 1 January 2007; however, less than one-third of the database is documented in a fashion that represents what it could and should become. For this one-third, the history has been married to the geography, with benefit to both. More than two-thirds of the entries are simply geographical coordinates based on no more than the name of the site. This "marriage" consists of nothing more than determining for each site, in a terse fashion, "*who did what, where, when, and with what result*". In most cases, this results in revised coordinates and the addition of other events at the same location.

The cartographical work required in this, that which would generate discomfort in most, amounts to no more than 10% or 15% of the effort to "marry" the history with the geography. Among those with a deep interest and commitment to study of the Revolutionary War, there are many capable of researching the historical aspects of any Revolutionary War battle/skirmish/significant site. This is the type of contribution that is most time-consuming and thereby most lacking in the completion of the stated objective of marrying the history with the geography.

When you first access this website, it will become apparent that that the Gazetteer finds its place on the menu of "Southern Campaign ~ Rev War", the menu for which appears at the top of the page. Each site is found on its own alpha page listing.

### Collaboration Sought

The design and intent of this online database is to encourage collaboration. Collaboration can be taking the time to point out errors or omissions, or suggesting a map that would enhance the description of a site. It is a great help if you can provide the opposing commanders in any action if they are missing or incorrect. Suggesting an additional site with which you provide much of the needed substantiating information would be a real contribution. Field verification is also useful to increase accuracy and generate more than a field guide to historical markers.

**John A. Robertson** [[scar@jrshelby.com](mailto:scar@jrshelby.com)] of Shelby, NC is an avocational Revolutionary War historian and cartographer and contributor to *SCAR*; he often participates in Corps of Discovery outings and Roundtables and gives an insightful battlefield tour at Cowpens when you can catch him there. ★

## SCAR Editor's Vision for the Global Gazetteer

We need your help! Working together, *SCAR* readers, professional and amateur historians and archaeologists, local historians, and property owners are amassing an accurate database of the geographic location of all relevant Revolutionary War sites. To make a comprehensive geographic database, we need to start with the known points including: taverns and public houses; courthouses and jails; churches and meeting houses; bridges, fords and ferries; villages, towns and communities; mills, forges, mines, and factories; plantations; battlefields, campgrounds, muster fields; forts, defensive works and barracks extant in 1775-1783, with their period names.

Hopefully, the database will also ultimately include the tracks of late 18<sup>th</sup> century roadways and trails. We need to join the efforts of the Trading Path Association to map the old paths, trails and roads. <http://www.tradingpath.org>

With this cultural data, combined with modern accurate base mapping with the 18<sup>th</sup> century names of the rivers, creeks, springs, hills, mountains, and other natural features. From this ever-

evolving dataset, cartographers can display on a geographically accurate 21<sup>st</sup> century base map with modern roads and towns a geographically orientated 18<sup>th</sup> century sites map. This powerful new graphic tool helps us better depict and understand the trade and travel, mobility and relationships of the times and events of the Revolution. ★

## Scholar John R. Maass Awarded The Society of the Cincinnati Fellowship and will work for the US Army in DC

The Society of the Cincinnati awarded *SCAR* contributor, Revolutionary War scholar John R. Maass its first Tyree-Lamb Research Fellowship. It provided John with funds to use the Society's library in Washington, DC for a week. The Society of the Cincinnati library collections include contemporary books, manuscripts, maps, and works of art on paper which support the in-depth study of 18th-century naval and military history and the art of war during that period. The library also houses books and archives related to the formation and history of the Society of the Cincinnati, as well as materials related to the life of Larz and Isabel Anderson, whose Gilded Age home now serves as a museum and the headquarters of the Society. John completed his week of research on North Carolina in the Revolutionary War in March 2007.

John has finished his dissertation for his PhD in history from The Ohio State University and has accepted a job with the United States Army Center for Military History as a military historian at Fort McNair, Washington, DC starting this fall.

John reports that while he was at the Society of the Cincinnati doing research in their extraordinary library, he came across an interesting item that seems to have been overlooked by a number of scholars, probably due to the fact that it was mis-catalogued (he asked the staff make corrections). It is the "Letterbook of Lieut. Col. Nesbit Balfour, British Commandant of Charleston, S.C." The manuscript covers all of 1781 and it gives great detail on the war in the South during that year, especially the British expedition to Wilmington. It is in excellent condition as well, and can be photocopied.

The catalog description from OCLC is this:

Most in a single, unidentified secretarial hand and signed N.B.; 3 are in a different hand, possibly that of Balfour himself, and signed N. Balfour./ Correspondents: Benedict Arnold (2 letters), Sir Henry Clinton (18 letters), Lord Sackville, Secretary of State (12 letters), Sir James Wright, British governor of Georgia (4 letters), and others./ Context: Sir Henry Clinton captured Charleston in January, 1780; and Balfour, appointed commandant six months later, played a strategic role in evaluating and transmitting information, money, and supplies north to Clinton and south to Tarleton during the southern campaign, many details of which are recorded here./ Includes reports of actions by Americans Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Henry Lee, Gen. Nathanael Greene, Gen. Francis Marion, and Gen. Daniel Morgan; and British officers Col. John H. Cruger, Col. Thomas Brown, Lord Cornwallis, Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, Lord Rawdon and others./ For bookseller's digest of contents, see case file./ Watermarks: Britannia and JC within double-ringed circle./ Marbled wrappers with partial title label on front cover.

The Society is at 2118 Massachusetts Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20008-2810; Telephone (202) 785-2040 Telefax (202) 785-0729. Point of contact is Librarian Ellen Clark.

[emclark@societyofthecincinnati.org](mailto:emclark@societyofthecincinnati.org) ★

## Francis Marion's December 1778 Regimental Muster Roll Given to the University of South Carolina

Francis Marion's regimental muster roll from December 1778 has found a new home at Thomas Cooper Library at the University of South Carolina, thanks to the generosity of a university alumnus. James P. Barrow, a 1962 business graduate of the university, saw the historical document for sale and bought it to give to the university. The muster roll, a roster of men who served in the Second South Carolina Regiment on the Continental Establishment under Marion, is considered an important document because it conveys the significance of South Carolina's role in the American Revolution.

A native of Bishopville and collector of rare books and papers, Barrow has given notable items to the university's libraries through the years so that they can remain in the state. He is a founding partner of Barrow, Hanley, Mewhinney & Strauss, one of the nation's largest investment firms based in Dallas. "He wanted this important piece of our state's history to come back to South Carolina, where it could be accessible to South Carolinians, especially students," said Dr. Patrick Scott, director of special collections.

The muster roll will be on public display on the main floor in Thomas Cooper Library beginning July 1 and remain on display until early August. People also can view and learn about the muster roll on line at

[www.sc.edu/library/spcoll/marion/fmarion.html](http://www.sc.edu/library/spcoll/marion/fmarion.html).

"It is an impressive manuscript document showing the strength of the revolutionary forces in South Carolina between the time of the Battle of Sullivan's Island and the surrender of Charleston," Scott said. The document shows the regiment at less than half strength, a fact that does not surprise university historian Dr. Walter Edgar. The muster roll shows the regiment with 277 men on board and 337 men needed. He said at that time, in 1778, the war was somewhat in a lull in the Charleston area, and the army had a difficult time filling the ranks with common soldiers. "During this period, the General Assembly tried all sorts of things to get people to enlist," Edgar said. "They offered bounties and bonuses. Eventually, they resorted to dragooning people, almost like a draft. If you were convicted of certain crimes, like having hunted deer by fire at night, you would be drafted in service."

Marion did not always have trouble filling the ranks, Edgar said. South Carolina men were ready to serve whenever the British were present in the state. "Francis Marion had the same problem of filling the ranks when he was the Swamp Fox after the fall of Charleston," Edgar said. "However, when the British were around, he always could get a large company of men. Otherwise, he had a small cadre of a couple dozen men. That was true of all the guerilla bands." The muster roll features an impressive list of officers, a who's who of late 18th-century Lowcountry elite. "You have names like Harleston, Motte, LeSesne, Moultrie, Masyck and Proveau, all prominent Lowcountry names," Edgar said. "They were the Lowcountry elite, wealthy individuals who, instead of being loyalists as one would have thought, were rebels for the American cause."

Edgar, who wrote *South Carolina: A History* and *Partisans and Redcoats: The Southern Conflict that Turned the Tide of the American Revolution*, said the muster roll is an important document that helps tell the story of South Carolina's pivotal role in the American Revolution. "The role of South Carolina in the Revolution often has been under-appreciated, sometimes almost

neglected," Edgar said. "The American Revolution was won here in South Carolina – absolutely and no question about it. It didn't happen up north in New Jersey or Pennsylvania." Edgar said the British thought they had the Revolution won after the capture of Charleston in May 1780 and that it was just a matter of rolling up the rest of the Southern colonies. That is when Francis Marion and other South Carolina revolutionaries took to using guerrilla warfare and when Marion became the legendary Swamp Fox. "Thanks to guerrilla fighters like Francis Marion, Andrew Pickens, Thomas Sumter, they beat the British," Edgar said. "Lord Cornwallis' army was pretty much torn apart here in South Carolina before they straggled up to Yorktown and surrendered to George Washington."

Edgar said Francis Marion was considered not just a South Carolina hero but an American hero through his leadership and South Carolina's role in the revolution. These facts were well known among people in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. "Then, things changed," Edgar said. "A little something called the Civil War happened in between, so a lot of folks did not want South Carolina to have anything to do with the revolution. They wrote South Carolina out of the history books, but people are now discovering its part."

The 17- by -13-inch muster roll complements many 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19<sup>th</sup>-century South Carolina holdings in the university's libraries, which are a rich repository for the Palmetto State's early history. All too often, documents associated with South Carolina end up on the rare document market auctions. Local archives, libraries and museums are not able to purchase them to keep them in the state. The muster roll is valued at \$25,000. "Thanks to this generous donor, this muster roll, which is a little bit of history of South Carolina that deals with the American war for independence that was won right here by people like Francis Marion, is staying put," Edgar said. [USC] ★

## Revolutionary Generation Achievements

The creation of a nation, the contrivance of a federal system, the subordination of the coordinate state for colonialism, the invention of the constitutional convention, the drafting of state and federal constitutions, the effective separation of governmental powers, the fixing of limits on government through checks and balances, bills of rights, and judicial review, the transformation of factions into parties, establishment of complete religious freedom and the separation of church and state, the subordination of the military to the civil authority, the abolition of censorship and the guarantee of freedom of speech and of the press, the development of manhood suffrage and the leveling of class distinctions, and the creation of the most equalitarian of western societies...

Henry Steele Commager

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## 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](mailto:sjrauch@aol.com).

**July 6 - 8, 2007 - Fort Laurens - Bolivar, Ohio** – “Revolution on the Tuscarawas.” Three days of Revolutionary fun and history starting on Friday, July 6th with a "Learning Day" covering topics such as camp life, period cooking, spinning, military and civilian clothing, 18<sup>th</sup> century games, animal tracking, Moravian/Delaware clothing and cooking, 18<sup>th</sup> century weapons demonstrations, and more. Activity stations will be located throughout the grounds to test your Revolutionary skills so bring the children. Saturday, July 7 -- Frontier Family Reunion III and the Brigade of the American Revolution's (BAR) Annual Encampment at Ft. Laurens with mock battles, artillery demonstrations, ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Patriot of the American Revolution, camp life, and more. Family descendants of Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, Simon Girty, Lewis Wetzel, William Crawford, Alexander McKee and representatives from the Delaware and other Ohio based Native American tribes converge at Ft. Laurens to share history and retell tall tales of great feats and adventures. Sunday, July 8<sup>th</sup> - The Brigade of the American Revolution continues its Revolution on the Tuscarawas and grand encampment with additional mock battles and demonstrations until 4:00 pm. Ft. Laurens State Memorial 11067 Ft. Laurens Road, Bolivar, Ohio - Exit 93 of I-77. Re-enactors contact - Tom Pieper [tip@neo.rr.com](mailto:tip@neo.rr.com); general public contact - Esther Hawkins [ehawkins@ohiohistory.org](mailto:ehawkins@ohiohistory.org) (330) 874-4336.

**July 8 - 13 and July 15 - 20, 2007 – Spartanburg, SC - The American Revolution in the Southern Backcountry:** A National Endowment for the Humanities Landmarks of American History and Culture Workshop will be held at Converse College. This one-week workshop, offered twice, provides teachers with fresh perspectives on the complex dynamics of the American Revolution in the Southern backcountry, a place where long-standing hostilities between American settlers erupted into a full-scale civil war between Loyalists and Patriots. For more information, email project director Melissa Walker at [Melissa.walker@converse.edu](mailto:Melissa.walker@converse.edu)

**July 13, 2007 – York, SC** - the Southern Revolutionary War Institute (SRWI) will host their Second Biennial Southern Revolutionary War Symposium at the McCelvey Center in York, South Carolina on Friday, July 13, 2007. This year's symposium



Southern Revolutionary War  
I N S T I T U T E

The Beginning of the End: The Campaigns of 1775-1776 in the Southern Colonies.”

will focus on the important but often overlooked years of revolution in the Southern colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Program begins with 8 am – 9 am registration. First session from 9 – 12 am will be moderated by SCAR editor Charles Baxley and includes talks by Michael Scoggins on the Southern Revolutionary War Institute; Bert Dunkerly and Eric Williams on the first battle of Ninety-Six, 1775; Dr. John Chappo on Rutherford's Campaign against the Cherokees;

and Dr. Jeff Dennis on impact of 1776 campaign on the Cherokee nation then followed by a panel discussion. Afternoon session from 1 – 5 pm features Peter Wrike on Dunmore's Wars 1774-1776; Dr. Chris Fonvielle on the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge; Michael Scoggins on Huck's Defeat Battlefield, and Steve Smith on archaeological aspects of Huck's Defeat battlefield. Event will include book signings by authors. A special dinner event from 7-9 pm at City Club of Rock Hill will feature a presentation by character actor Howard Burnham titled, "A Dog with a Bad Name: Brig. Gen. Andrew Williamson defends himself." Cost for symposium is \$75.00. Contact Mike Scoggins at [micscoggins@chmuseums.org](mailto:micscoggins@chmuseums.org), or call (803) 684-3948, ext. 31 for more information and registration details.

**July 14 - 15, 2007 – Brattonville, SC** – Battle of Williamson's Plantation (Huck's Defeat) reenactments. Ongoing demonstrations, scheduled scenarios and the anticipated battle reenactments will fill this weekend of fun, education and adventure for the entire family. The tumultuous times of the American Revolution return to Historic Brattonville on July 14 and 15 for the reenactment of the Battle of Huck's Defeat. This Revolutionary War reenactment brings to life the war in the Carolina backcountry with camp life demonstrations, music, firearms presentations, and theatrical performances. Visitors will see costumed interpreters portray the lives of Americans during this turbulent period of American history. During the event, three significant battles will be reenacted including Huck's Defeat, Stallions Plantation, and Musgrove Mill. Younger visitors are invited to explore the Children's Encampment area where they can try their hand at historic toys and games, take part in military drills, explore a Revolutionary war camp and hear kid friendly ghost stories. Shopping and foods will be also be available. Hours on July 14 from 10 am – 5 pm and July 15 from 11 am – 4 pm. For more information see <http://www.chmuseums.org/ourmuseums/hb/index.htm> or call (803) 684-2327.

**July 14, 2007 – Cayce, SC** – Southern Campaigns Roundtable public meeting at the Cayce Historical Museum.

**July 15, 2007 – Brandywine Battlefield, Pa.** – 2:00 pm Brandywine Battlefield is hosting a lecture on the life of Patrick Ferguson and the invention of his breech-loading rifle. The rifle, which was patented in December of 1776, was used for the first and only time in battle at Brandywine in September of 1777. Following the lecture a firing demonstration of a reproduction of the breech-loader will be provided. For more information contact Mike Harris, Museum Educator at the Brandywine Battlefield: 610-459-3342 ext. 3003 [michharris@state.pa.us](mailto:michharris@state.pa.us)

**July 17, 2007 – Elkton, MD** - Historic Elk Landing Quarterly Lecture series. Begun in 2005, the series has addressed topics such as 18<sup>th</sup> century music, being a soldier in the Revolutionary War, cooking, and gardening. The lectures are held on a Tuesday night at the Hollingsworth House at the foot of Landing Lane in Elkton, Maryland starting at 7 p.m. Nancy Gardner's "Tempest in a Teapot" tells the rest of the story about the tea protests and the lead up to the Revolutionary War, from the perspective of the women of the period as they dealt with the economic and political issues of the day. For more information see <http://www.elklanding.org/> Phone: (410) 620-6400 or email [elklanding@comcast.net](mailto:elklanding@comcast.net)

**July 18-22, 2007 - Williamsburg, Va. - The 1st Annual Founding of North America Symposium: The History, Archaeology, and Architecture of Jamestown.** The inaugural Founding of North America Symposium, based in Colonial Williamsburg July 18 to 22, will bring together the considerable resources of three leading institutions in the study of Jamestown: the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, the

Virginia Historical Society and the University of Virginia. This seminar on "The History, Archaeology and Architecture of Jamestown," was developed in concert with the upcoming "Founding of America" exhibits, created by curators of the National Museum of American History and the Virginia Historical Society. Both the exhibits and the seminar will investigate, challenge and celebrate Jamestown from many angles. Much of the seminar will involve specially hosted, behind-the-scenes site visits and lectures, including one-and-a-half days in Historic Jamestowne. The seminar is led Jeffrey L. Hantman, director of U.Va.'s Archaeology Program and associate professor of anthropology, and Barbara Clark Smith, a curator at the National Museum of American History. Contributing faculty include William Kelso, director of archaeology for the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities (APVA) at Historic Jamestowne, and leader of the many new discoveries at the site; James C. Kelly, exhibition curator and director of museums for the Virginia Historical Society; and Andrew Veech, an archaeologist with the Colonial National Historical Park. This five-day program is open to anyone and costs \$2,210, including four nights single lodging at the Woodlands Inn of Williamsburg. Lower prices are offered for double lodging or for a companion of a full registrant. A \$350 deposit is due upon registration, with the balance due by May 21, 2007. This is the first of three Founding of North America symposiums offered by the University of Virginia School of Continuing and Professional Studies as part of its portfolio of Travel & Learn Programs for Adults. The second program in the series, based in Quebec, will follow in 2008, with a Santa Fe, N.M., seminar in 2009. Learn more at [www.virginia.edu/travelandlearn](http://www.virginia.edu/travelandlearn) or by calling (800) FIND-UVA (800-346-3882) or (434) 982-5252 or e-mailing [travelandlearn@virginia.edu](mailto:travelandlearn@virginia.edu).

**July 28, 2007 - Bolivar, Ohio – "Tribute At The Tomb of the Unknown Patriot of the American Revolution"** - 11:00 am - 12:30 pm. The Ohio Society Sons of the American Revolution (OHSAR) and several other states gather at Ohio's direct link to the American Revolution to pay homage to this Unknown Soldier who died in action defending the fort. Each SAR chapter presents a wreath at the ceremony along with a special presentation of the colors and a 21 gun salute. A luncheon for the Ohio SAR is held shortly after for SAR members. Location: Tomb of the Unknown Patriot of the American Revolution, Ft. Laurens State Memorial 11067 Ft. Laurens Road, Bolivar, Ohio Exit 93 of I-77. No admission for attending the ceremony at the tomb. Admission to the museum is \$6 for non-Ohio Historical Society (OHS) members and \$1 for OHS members. Contact: Richard Fetzer, Western Reserve Society SAR (330) 562-5781 [treeclimber123@yahoo.com](mailto:treeclimber123@yahoo.com) or visit <http://www.friendsoffortlaurens.org/events.cfm>

**August 4, 2007 – Richmond, VA** - The American Revolutionary Round Table of Richmond will conduct a field trip on Saturday, August 4, 2007. We will visit Green Spring and Yorktown. Lynn Sims, our vice president, and John Pagano, our last speaker, will lead us as we tour the battlefields. There will be no charge for the trip, but you must provide your own transportation, with car pooling recommended. Details and directions to be published on web site. For more information, contact Bill Welsch [wmwelsch@comcast.net](mailto:wmwelsch@comcast.net)

**August 18-19, 2007 – Elkton, Maryland – 230<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Observance of the British Invasion of 1777.** British and Cecil Militia encampment at Elk Landing with a Revolutionary War physician, the Delaware Fife and Drum Corps, and skirmishes between Cecil County defenders and British invaders. Refreshments will be available for a fee. For more information see <http://www.elklanding.org/> Phone: (410) 620-6400 or email [elklanding@comcast.net](mailto:elklanding@comcast.net)



**August 17 - 19, 2007 – Blue Licks State Park, Ky.** - 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Blue Licks. Blue Licks is the site of the last Revolutionary War battle in Kentucky. In 1782, Kentuckians engaged Indians and British soldiers near the Licking River. Outnumbered, Kentucky Patriots suffered great losses, including one of Boone's sons. Boone's words, "Enough of honour cannot be paid," are inscribed on the monument dedicated to the fallen soldiers in the Battle of Blue Licks. For more information <http://www.battleofbluelicks.org/html/home.html> or (800) 443-7008 or [BlueLicks@kv.gov](mailto:BlueLicks@kv.gov).

**August 21, 2007 – Elkton, Maryland** – Lecture at 7 p.m. Thomas McGuire, author of *The Philadelphia Campaign* will speak about the British invasion of Elkton on their way to the Battle of the Brandywine. Hollingsworth House. Phone: (410) 620-6400 or email [elklanding@comcast.net](mailto:elklanding@comcast.net)

**August 25 - 26, 2007 – Wilmington, Del.** - 230th of the Battle of Cooch's Bridge. Reenactment event will be held at Brandywine Creek State Park. It will be hosted by [Delaware Division of Parks and Recreation](http://www.delaware.gov/parks) and sponsored by the [Brigade of the American Revolution](http://www.americanrevolution.org) and the [2d Virginia Regiment](http://www.2dvirginia.com). Actions both days will be based on the running battle between Howe's advanced guard and Maxwell's Light Corps. Preliminary details, maps and photos of the site can be found at [www.battleofcoochsbridge.org](http://www.battleofcoochsbridge.org) for more information contact Todd Post, Event Coordinator, 230th of the Battle of Cooch's Bridge at [todd.post2@verizon.net](mailto:todd.post2@verizon.net).

**August 31 - September 2, 2007 – Jacksonboro, SC** - The Battle of Parker's Ferry. Dana A. Cheney (843) 542-6222 [dancer1776@msn.com](mailto:dancer1776@msn.com).



**September 8 - 9, 2007 – Eutawville, SC – Battle of Eutaw Springs** reenactment. Hosted by the SCII.

**September 11, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Revolutionary Prospective Lecture.** Savannah History Museum Theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Light reception in the lobby at 6:30, lecture at 7:00 p.m. Free. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calendar/?ThisCal=9-1-2007>



**September 14 - 15, 2007 – Burnsville, NC – 2d Annual Carolina Mountains Literary Festival - Revolutionary War Authors' Forum.** Will feature two moderated panels on historic fiction and historians discussing their and their predecessors' word craft. Plan to join Dennis M. Conrad, Seabrook Wilkinson, Charles Price, John Buchanan and Greg Massey

discussing their craft as modern writers of engaging history on The Revolution. <http://www.cmlifest.com>

**September 18, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Revolutionary Prospective Lecture.** Savannah History Museum Theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Speaker TBA. Light reception in the lobby at 6:30, lecture at 7:00 p.m. Free.

<http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calendar/?ThisCal=9-1-2007>

**September 19, 2007 – Richmond, Va. - American Revolution Round Table of Richmond.** The American Revolution Round Table of Richmond is devoted to the study of all aspects of the revolutionary period (ca. 1763 – 1789). Composed of a group of eclectic, yet historically minded individuals, the ARRT-R provides a forum for the exploration, discussion, and sharing of knowledge about this interesting and critical period of our history. All are welcome to participate in this enlightening and enjoyable pursuit, regardless of knowledge level. Yearly dues are \$15.00. The next meeting will be at the University of Richmond in the Westhampton Room of the Heilman Dining Center. The optional dinner will begin at 6:00 pm, with the meeting starting between 6:30 and 6:45 pm. For more information please contact Bill Welsch at [wmwelsch@comcast.net](mailto:wmwelsch@comcast.net).

**September 22, 2007 – Charleston, SC** – The South Carolina Historical Society presents a reception, black-tie dinner followed by a keynote address by Dr. Walter Edgar, “It Didn’t Happen Up North: South Carolina in the Revolutionary War.” Ticket price: \$200.00 per person. To reserve your seat or for more information call the society at (843) 723-3225, ext. 11.

**September 25, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Revolutionary Prospective Lecture.** Savannah History Museum Theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Speaker TBA. Light reception in the lobby at 6:30, lecture at 7:00 p.m. Free.

<http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calendar/?ThisCal=9-1-2007>

**September 28, 2007 – Bolivar, Ohio** - 12th Annual Moccasin Roast Fund Raising Dinner. 6:00 p.m.-8:30 p.m. An original 18th century meal is served up at this annual event that commemorates the near starving conditions many of the Ft. Laurens soldiers suffered during their time at this wilderness outpost. Although moccasins aren't really served, the three course dinner as become one the most unique and sought after tickets in northeast Ohio. The dinner is held under tent on the Ft. Laurens grounds. A special guest speaker will entertain you as well as a silent auction. Guests are requested to bring dry and/or can food that the Foundation donates to local food banks in the Tuscarawas Valley area. **Location:** Ft. Laurens State Memorial 11067 Ft. Laurens Road, Bolivar, Ohio Exit 93 I-77. **Admission:** \$30 per person. Kids under the age of 15 \$10. **Contact:** Scott Fisher (513) 732-6603 [stonelick1@fuse.net](mailto:stonelick1@fuse.net) or visit

<http://www.friendsoffortlaurens.org/events.cfm>

**September 30, 2007 - Pineville, SC** – noon – program honoring the 275<sup>th</sup> birthday of Gen. Francis Marion hosted by the South Carolina Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Free, public invited, no bathroom facilities. At the Marion tomb.

**October 2, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Revolutionary Prospective Lecture.** Savannah History Museum Theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Speaker TBA. Light reception in the lobby at 6:30, lecture at 7:00 p.m. Free. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calendar/?ThisCal=10-1-2007>

**October 6, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Battle of Savannah Living History Day** - Join us at Battlefield Park for a full day of activities that bring the time of the Revolutionary War back to life, including musket and cannon fire demonstrations as well as demonstrations

of life during the period. We will recreate the Allied attack on the Spring Hill Redoubt several times during the day. The schedule and hours for this event are still in the planning stages. For more information, please contact Michael Jordan at (912) 651-6895 or [mjordan@chsgeorgia.org](mailto:mjordan@chsgeorgia.org).

**October 8, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Unveiling of Haitian Monument in Franklin Square** - The Haitian American Historical Society is so very pleased to announce the Grand Unveiling of the Haitian Memorial Monument. If you would like to purchase a memorial brick, give a donation or become a corporate sponsor, please visit their website at [www.haitianhistory.org](http://www.haitianhistory.org). The deadline to purchase a brick for Phase I is July 31, 2007. For more information, contact at (786) 621-0035 (telephone), (305) 759-0800 (fax) [haitianhistory@bellsouth.net](mailto:haitianhistory@bellsouth.net) (email).

**October 9, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Battle of Savannah March** - annual dawn observance commemorates the anniversary of the Revolutionary War Battle of Savannah on October 9, 1779. Participants gather at 7am in the Savannah History Museum/Visitors Center parking lot (303 MLK, Jr. Blvd.) in downtown Savannah and form into a loose column and march behind drummers and an honor guard to Battlefield Park. There we will proceed in the footsteps of the French, Haitian, and American soldiers who attacked the British-held fortifications.

Members of heritage groups and descendants of Revolutionary War soldiers will place wreaths on the battlefield during the ceremony.

To add your name to the list of organizations laying wreaths, please contact Coastal Heritage Society Public Relations Director Michael Jordan at [mjordan@chsgeorgia.org](mailto:mjordan@chsgeorgia.org). A light breakfast is served in the WhistleStop Cafe following the march. Reservations are requested. Please leave a message at (912) 651-3673 and be sure to mention the Battle Anniversary March when you leave your name and number. You may also e-mail Jocelyn Xamis at [jxamis@chsgeorgia.org](mailto:jxamis@chsgeorgia.org).

**October 12-14, 2007 - Ewing, Va. – Wilderness Road State Park – America’s First Frontier** at Wilderness Road State Park brings the frontier to life with a weekend of history and adventure. At Historic Martin’s Station, you will be immersed in living history; you will meet historical figures such as Joseph Martin, William Preston, Ebenezer Titus and others. Visit an 18th century market fair and meet skilled colonial tradesmen and participate in life as it was on Virginia’s frontier. Fri. 9:00 am – 5:00 pm, Sat. 10:00 am – 5:00 pm, Sun. 10:00 am – 3:00 pm: Admission \$3 Adults, \$1 Children (includes admission to Wilderness Road Heritage Festival) Special evening hours Saturday night 6:00 – 8:00. Martin's Station is located in Wilderness Road State Park, at the intersection of Routes 58 and 923, five miles west of Ewing, Va. and six miles east of Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, Middlesboro, Ky. For more information contact Billy Heck at Wilderness Road State Park at (276) 445-3065 email [WildernessRoad@dcr.virginia.gov](mailto:WildernessRoad@dcr.virginia.gov) or visit the website for the latest information at [www.martinsstation.com](http://www.martinsstation.com).

**October 19 - 20, 2007 - Manning, SC - 5th Francis Marion/Swamp Fox Symposium:** “Explore the Revolutionary War in the South with Francis Marion.” Program includes Dr. Christine Swager on Francis Marion after Eutaw Springs, March Tacky Owners on the use of Tacky horses, Nicki Sackrison on Women in the Revolution, Scott Hodges on Revolutionary medicine, Scott Withrow: "Francis Marion Among the Cherokee & the Grant Expedition, 1761 " Peter Horry may be presented. J. Stukes and T. Powers: Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter converse and more. Symposium Site: FE DuBose Campus of Central Carolina Technical College, I-95, Exit 122, ½ mi E on US 521, Manning, SC. Prices have been reduced since we will omit the bus tour this year. All events included: \$95/person, \$165/

Couple Early Bird Fee by 9/28/07: \$85 / person (\$155 / couple), registration closes October 10, 2007. For more information contact Mr. George Summers through <http://web.ftc-i.net/~gcsummers/fmarionsymposium.html> Questions call: 803-478-2645 or E-mail [gcsummers@ftc-i.net](mailto:gcsummers@ftc-i.net).

**October 20 - 21, 2007 – Yorktown, Va. - Yorktown Victory Celebration** – Demonstrations of military life and tactics mark the 226th anniversary of America’s victory at Yorktown. To experience Continental Army life firsthand, visitors can enroll in “A School for the Soldier” to try on uniforms, march to the beat of a Revolutionary drum and join in other hands-on military activities. Special programs also are held in Yorktown and the Yorktown Battlefield, administered by Colonial National Historical Park. Yorktown Victory Center.



**November 3 and 4, 2007 – Camden, SC - Historic Camden Revolutionary War Field Days** – South Carolina’s Revolutionary War years come alive as some 500 re-enactors interpret life on the Southern Campaign trail. At 1:30 pm cannons roar as Redcoats and Patriots portray tactics from the

Battle of Camden (Saturday) and the Battle of Hanging Rock (Sunday), followed by military courts martial scenarios. Watch period craftsmen ply their trades; listen to civilian interpreters share their lifestyles as you stroll through the camps; enjoy shopping on Sutlers Row; and watch a period fashion show and colonial dance demonstrations. Lots of hands-on activities for kids of all ages. Daily from 10 am - 5 pm, admission is \$8/adults, \$6/Seniors over 65 and military, \$3/ages 6-12 and under six free. Food concessions and free parking. No pets. Historic Camden, South Broad Street in Camden, SC, 1.4 miles on US Highway 521 North from I-20/Exit 98. <http://www.historic-camden.net>

**November 8 - 11 – Spartanburg, SC – Wofford College and the Cowpens National Battlefield** will host the Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference and Revolutionary War battlefields bus tours sponsored by SCAR and the South Carolina Historical Society. See page 6 for details. [www.southerncampaign.org/cavconf](http://www.southerncampaign.org/cavconf)

**November 14, 2007 – Richmond, Va. - American Revolution Round Table of Richmond.** The American Revolution Round Table of Richmond is devoted to the study of all aspects of the revolutionary period (ca. 1763 – 1789). Composed of a group of eclectic, yet historically minded individuals, the ARRT-R provides a forum for the exploration, discussion, and sharing of knowledge about this interesting and critical period of our history. All are welcome to participate in this enlightening and enjoyable pursuit, regardless of knowledge level. Yearly dues are \$15.00. The meeting will be at the University of Richmond in the Westhampton Room of the Heilman Dining Center. The optional dinner will begin at 6:00 pm, with the meeting starting between 6:30 and 6:45 pm. For more information please contact Bill Welsch at [wwwelsch@comcast.net](mailto:wwwelsch@comcast.net).

**December 1 - 2, 2007 – 13<sup>th</sup> Annual Battle of Great Bridge, Va.** – For more information please contact Ron Phelps, Event Coordinator [ronphelps11@cox.net](mailto:ronphelps11@cox.net).

**November 30 - December 1 & 2, 2007 - Saint Augustine, Fla. The 32nd Annual British Night Watch Parade of The City of St. Augustine** to be held on Saturday Evening, the 1st of December 2007 at 8 o'clock Commemorating the 225th Anniversary of the Loyalists arrival in Saint Augustine Commencing from the Governor's House at the Plaza thence to the City Gate and return.



from Government House. Events include encampments and demonstrations throughout the weekend. For detailed information visit [www.britishnightwatch.org](http://www.britishnightwatch.org).

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**March 29, 2008 – Burlington, NC – the Corps of Discovery** convenes at the Alamance Battlefield Park, Burlington, NC.

**July 18 - 20, 2008 – Shelburne, Nova Scotia - Loyalist Landing 2008.** Anticipate a Grand Time in Nova Scotia during the observation and celebration of the 225th Anniversary of the flight from America and Arrival in Canada of Thousands of Subjects



Loyal to His Majesty, King George. In conjunction with the Loyalist Landing 2008 Society, the Prince of Wales American Regiment, will be organizing this great event, which will include several opportunities for re-enactors. During the prime reenactment period there will be a large Encampment, many Suttlers, a re-creation of the Landing and arrival of Gov. Parr, some planned skirmishes, ships battles, longboats, parades &tc, &tc. For more information contact Robert Guay, Commander, Prince of Wales American Regiment Shelburne, Nova Scotia Canada at [princeofwales@canada.com](mailto:princeofwales@canada.com). ★



**SCAR intern Ben Rubin and his friend Dana pose at the Battle of Cedar Spring marker, Spartanburg, SC site of the Patriot ambush set up as a result of Jane Black Thomas’ heroic ride on 12 July 1780.** ★

## “Under the Crown” Living History Event

by Ben Rubin

The “Under the Crown” living history event was held on June 2nd-3rd, 2007, at the Living History Park in North Augusta, SC. The park puts on four events every year: The Artisan’s Fair, the 3rd weekend in April; Under the Crown, the 1st weekend in June; Colonial Times: A day to Remember, the 3rd weekend in October; and Christmas for the Birds, the 1st Saturday in December. The park also hosts living history demonstrations on the last Saturday of each month, and arrangements can be made to hold graduation parties, weddings or private demonstrations at any time.

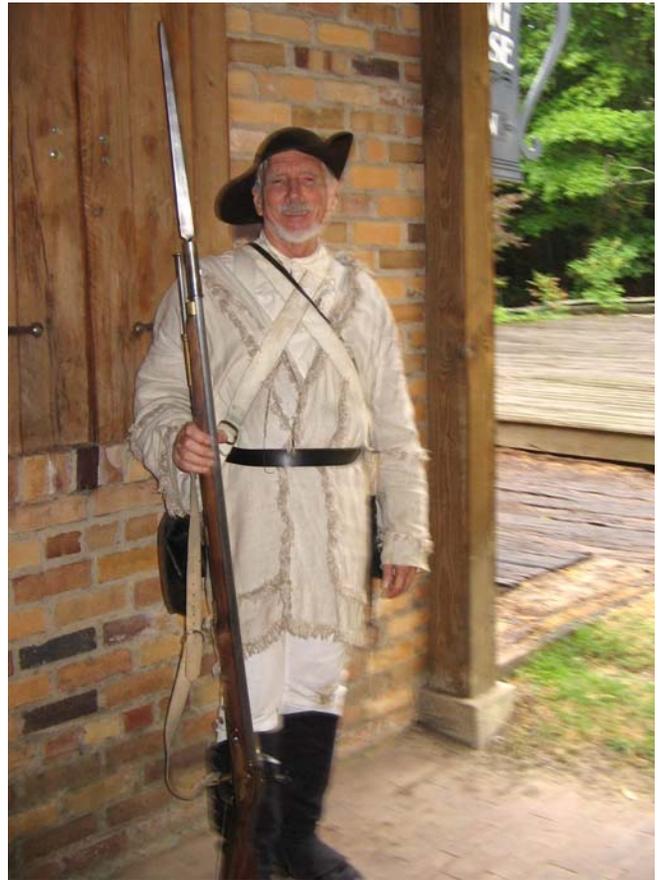
The inspiration for building the North Augusta Living History Park came when the grave of North Augusta local Continental Army officer Col. Samuel Hammond, Assistant Quartermaster at the siege of Savannah, and four others were accidentally uncovered while constructing the adjacent municipal Riverview Park. Because Hammond was the first governor of the Missouri territory, local citizens including Lynne Thompson applied for and received a South Carolina Historical marker. The first event at what would become the Living History park was a recreation of Gov. Hammond’s burial.

North Augusta is located on the Savannah River opposite Augusta, Georgia. It is also the site of an early colonial period stronghold and trading post, Fort Moore that was built in 1715 to protect South Carolina’s trade with the Cherokee and Creek. According to Larry Ivers’ *Colonial Forts of South Carolina*, Fort Moore was the most important of South Carolina’s early frontier forts because of its control of the vitally important Savannah River trade route. The fort contained a number of structures including officers’ houses, barracks, a guardhouse, a magazine, trader’s storehouses, a corncrib, and other buildings (Ivers).

Georgia’s founder, James Oglethorpe, to limit that same Carolina-Cherokee trade and take a larger share of it for his colony of Georgia, established Augusta in the 1730s. The two colonies were on the verge of war when the French and Indian war broke out and its Cherokee uprising. Marauding Cherokee wiped many of South Carolina’s western settlements out and the surviving settlers moved to Georgia for greater protection, ensuring the viability of Augusta over Fort Moore. The largest landowner left in North Augusta was George Galpin, an ardent Patriot, whose land and belongings were seized by Loyalist Col. Thomas Brown when the city, along with its neighbor to the south, fell into British hands.



**Michael and Marybeth Adams entertaining guests in the Spring House Tavern.**



**Don Wilkinson, a member of the 2nd South Carolina reenactment group, portrays the backcountry hunting dress.**

The North Augusta Living History Park is open 365 days a year and admission is always free. The goal of the park, as stated by Lynn Thompson, is to keep the area’s history alive and accessible to all citizens, especially the children, and to kindle in them a love of history. That is the reason for the park’s free admission policy. Every person involved with the program is strictly volunteer, and 99.3% of all donations go directly to support the park, which was built directly over the old city waterworks. No one at the park draws a salary and all revenues come from donations and government grants. The park is the only destination in South Carolina to win both the Hey and Bundy awards for tourism in the same year.



**Bob Perry portraying his own ancestor, backwoodsman Rob Peden, a native of Fort Moore-North Augusta.**



**Ernst Wingeroda (far right) and the Hesse Kassel Jagers enjoying some down time.**



**My hostesses Lynn Thompson (right) and Brenda Bancroft in the settlements beautifully reconstructed meetinghouse.**



**The 2<sup>nd</sup> Company, Georgia artillery family.**

Lynn Thompson is an Antiques Dealer and Interior Designer. She sells jewelry along with her husband, a jeweler and metalworker. She also does appraisals on 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century furniture. Thompson is one of the founders of North Augusta Living History Park, and has been with the park since its beginning 15 years ago.



**Barry Myers educating a generation of future revolutionaries in the art of metalworking.**



**The aptly named Ike Carpenter fashions a spoon of wood with an adze the old fashioned way.**

To learn more about North Augusta and the Living History Park, please contact Lynne Thompson at (803) 279-7560 or [lynn@colonialtimes.us](mailto:lynn@colonialtimes.us) or visit their website at [www.colonialtimes.us](http://www.colonialtimes.us). See you in October for the “Day to Remember” festival.

Photos by Ben Rubin. Ben is a senior history and political science major at Hanover College, Indiana and is SCAR’s summer intern.



## NATIVE AMERICANS and the SOUTHERN REVOLUTION, Part II:

### The 1776 Cherokee War “Creates” Story of Independence

By Jeff W. Dennis

This article is the second in a series of five essays for *SCAR* concerning Native Americans in the Southern Department of the American Revolution. Unmistakably chauvinistic and cruel by the light of today, the southern war against Indians nonetheless helped facilitate American independence. Inveterate Patriot invasions of the Cherokee homelands between 1776 and 1782 proved especially effective for securing backcountry support; for recruiting, enlisting and seasoning militia; for pre-empting well coordinated Indian attacks; and for wresting away millions of acres of native lands. The first essay [*SCAR* Vol. 3, No. 6-8, summer 2006] described Indian relations leading up to the 1776 Cherokee War. This second article discusses the campaigns and outcomes of 1776. Subsequent essays will: (III) investigate two years of relative frontier quiescence, 1777-78; (IV) examine the reinvigoration of conflict during 1779-80; and (V) narrate and analyze three invasions led by SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Pickens in 1781-1782.

#### Introduction

1776 would be the defining year of the Revolution in South Carolina. Independence was announced, a British invasion was beaten back, and a series of Patriot invasions reached deep into Cherokee lands. These events clearly signaled that there would be no reconciliation with England and no accommodation for native allies of the Crown. During 1776, in fact, to be pro-American in South Carolina nearly became concomitant with being anti-Native American. According to Patriot historian David Ramsay, the “double success” of the year’s anti-British, anti-Indian campaigns “diffused military ideas, and a spirit of enterprise among the inhabitants. Previously, . . . some well-meaning people could not see the justice or propriety of contending with their formerly protecting parent State; but Indian cruelties, excited by Royal artifices, soon extinguished all their predilection for the country of their forefathers.”

Ramsay exaggerated. There were still many Loyalists in South Carolina at the end of 1776. But few openly supported the Indians or wanted to be identified with them. Further, they could not hope to match the momentum and organization of the victorious Whigs. The War against the Cherokees in 1776 forced Loyalists into several years of quiescence until British troops returned to South Carolina in 1779-80.<sup>1</sup>

Americans in 1776 lacked any distinguishing language, ethnic heritage or common history. They also held a widely diverging range of ideas about what the goals of the Revolution should be. Consequently, Patriots defined themselves more by what they were not, than by what they were; they created common cause by aligning themselves against various “others.” British, Loyalists, Catholics, **Indians**, and blacks all qualified as the “other,” but each had certain limitations. Among other things, the first three groups were of white European descent. Slaves were seen to be racially distinct, but to sleep at night their owners somehow had to convince themselves that “my people” were simple and content. To dwell on the alternative would have been too terrifying.<sup>2</sup>

Native Americans, on the other hand, were “non-white,” non-Christian, and non-essential to a plantation society.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, conflict with them could be used to slave-holders’ great economic

gain: war long had been one of the colonists’ chosen tools for wrenching away native lands. Moreover, Native Americans were the group that many backcountry settlers most greatly despised. Even prior to Lexington and Concord, lowcountry radicals had sensed the value of associating “anti-British” with “anti-Indian.” Now as they prepared for independence, Whig leaders paired these terms over and over again, almost as if to classically condition the backcountry into perceiving such a schema as meaning “American.”<sup>4</sup>

#### Moderates and Radicals

In February 1776, an eleven-man committee was nominated to frame a new government for South Carolina. As historians E. Stanly Godbold and Robert H. Woody have described it, this body’s work could be called “the epitome of vagueness,” as it neither recognized independence nor denied it. Moderate members were dismayed by Christopher Gadsden’s open attack upon British sovereignty; they especially did not appreciate his quoting of Tom Paine’s “indecent” *Common Sense*. John Rutledge smelled treason. He declared that he would ride day and night to Philadelphia to preserve the bond with mother England. Still, he and other conservatives conceded that the British ministry had excited “domestic insurrections” and “the Indian nations to war” -- such behavior as “would disgrace even savage nations.” To head the new government, Rutledge was selected as president, Laurens as vice-president, and William Henry Drayton as chief justice.<sup>5</sup>

Drayton took office in April. Immediately, he drafted a series of instructions for each of the province’s grand juries. More than technical guidance, Drayton’s circulars clearly were designed as radical propaganda. The chief justice elaborated among other charges, upon the connection between British and Indian “savages.” In particular, he accused General Thomas Gage and Southern Indian Superintendent John Stuart of conspiring with the southern natives “indiscriminately to massacre man, woman and child.”<sup>6</sup>

On August 2, 1776, a courier from Philadelphia arrived in Charleston to announce the news of independence. Radicals rejoiced, but the news hit many conservatives hard. Crestfallen, Laurens said he felt like the devoted son who had been forced “by the hand of violence out of his father’s house” and “in truth, I wept that day.” The Declaration made special note of the Crown’s effort to “bring on . . . the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an indistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.”



An inveterate critic of Indians since the Anglo-Cherokee War, Christopher Gadsden must have been pleased by Jefferson’s choice of words.

Six months earlier, Gadsden in February had returned from Philadelphia in a parade featuring his famous “DONT TREAD ON ME” flag. Just a coincidence, no doubt, but the rattlesnake was the animal most abhorred by southern natives.<sup>7</sup>

It is significant that the most radical revolutionaries were the same individuals who voiced the least tolerance for Native Americans. These super-patriots “did not share in the psychological trauma of separation from Great Britain.” They did not cling to the former political and socio-cultural contexts. Instead, the radicals were eager to locate a new identity quite opposite the old. Even

Jefferson's most celebrated phrase, "that all men are created equal . . ." probably was intended first as an indictment of the monarchical system rather than as an affirmation of universal rights.<sup>8</sup> Jefferson usually did not disparage Indians. As with other southern revolutionaries, however, the "spirit of '76" led him deep into radical ethnocentrism. Outraged by the "unprovoked" and "treacherous" Cherokee raids that summer, Jefferson wrote: "I would never cease pursuing them while one of them remained on this side of the Mississippi . . . [they] should never be forgiven while one of them remains near enough to do us injury."<sup>9</sup>

### **"A Word to the Wise"**

Christopher Gadsden and William Henry Drayton were the leading radicals in South Carolina. Following the 1760-61 war with the Cherokees, Gadsden had scathed British commander Col. James Grant for not having killed more Indians by "getting upon their backs and cutting their throats." Writing under the pseudonym "Philopatros," the proud provincial claimed that the true "lover of country" would show no mercy to Indians.<sup>10</sup> In similar manner, Drayton now championed a second call for blood-letting. In an unauthorized letter to the 1776 Williamson expedition, he advised:

*And now a word to the wise.* It is expected you make smooth work as you go -- that is, you cut up every Indian cornfield, and burn every Indian town - and that every Indian taken shall be the slave and property of the taker; that the nation be extirpated, and the lands become the property of the public.<sup>11</sup>

Fortunately, moderates held considerable influence in the South Carolina Assembly. They forbade at least a portion of Drayton's unholy crusade. Unwilling to project their patriotism with such xenophobic fury, they were more forgiving of white and native foes alike. During the summer of 1776, Laurens "pitied" the "perfidious foolish" natives for "having been tempted & egged on by a more detestable Enemy." Years earlier, he had defended Grant's relative leniency, confiding that "I do not wish to see these creatures extirpated." John Rutledge also wished only limited revenge. Following the Cherokee attack, he freed Stuart's family<sup>12</sup> and pardoned a group of Loyalists caught in Indian guise whom Drayton had sentenced to death.<sup>13</sup>

Conservative revolutionaries sought to reject only certain elements of British identity. They hoped that Imperial corruption was something less than endemic -- perhaps the work of particular ministers who misdirected the Crown and Parliament, and who had deluded the Indians. As Laurens wrote to a Bordeaux merchant in February 1777: "We have been driven from & not Rebelled against our King, the harshest epithet we merit is that of Refugee."<sup>14</sup>

Even so, events in 1776 worked to great advantage for those who sought to define a more radical American identity. At almost the very hour a British fleet tried to reduce Charleston harbor, the Cherokees swept down upon the Carolina frontier. In retrospect, this only could have been a coincidence. Two hundred miles of dilapidated road separated the warriors from the coast; they did not even hear of the British arrival until several days after the fleet had been defeated. Yet the curious timing of these attacks convinced most white Carolinians that the British and Indians had acted in collusion. The radical prophecy seemed to have come to pass. Even Rutledge and his conservative Council took note of the two campaigns' "critical commencement," that the Cherokees' "barbarous acts of hostility" occurred just as "the enemy lay in full view" of the capital.<sup>15</sup>

Add to these dual offensives the signing of the Declaration of Independence, which came less than a week later, and the radical momentum was too much for even Henry Laurens to bear. As he

informed his son that August, the Cherokees were "treacherous Devils" goaded into action by "hellish" whites. These Indians would have to be disciplined, he continued, and "the only possible way of reducing the Barbarians" would be to destroy their towns and crops. While Drayton's call for enslavement and full-scale genocide never secured Assembly approbation, much of his remaining "word to the wise" became official policy. The militia was directed to eliminate enemy homes and foodstuffs. South Carolina would pay £75 for each adult male Cherokee scalp. Finally, much of the nation's remaining land would be demanded as the price for peace.<sup>16</sup>

### **South Carolina under Siege**

On June 28, 1776, Patriot forces repulsed a combined British naval and ground attack upon Charleston. The centers of action were Col. William Moultrie's and Col. William Thomson's defense of Sullivan's Island. To conserve his sparse supply of powder, Moultrie returned only one cannonball for each fifty or so lobbed in by British warships. Nonetheless, Sir Peter Parker's fleet slowly was wrecked as Fort Sullivan's spongy palmetto logs and sand absorbed a huge barrage without fatal damage. SC Patriot President John Rutledge and Cols. Christopher Gadsden and Francis Marion were present at the fort. Cols. William Thomson and Thomas Sumter were also among those who contributed to American success that day on the other end of the three-mile long island repulsing Sir Henry Clinton's 2,500 men invasion at Breach Inlet. Also present were over fifty Indian riflemen, mostly Catawbas that Sumter had helped recruit five months earlier.<sup>17</sup>

South Carolinians gloried over their victory, which even today is commemorated in the state flag and official seal. After months of careful preparations, lowcountry leadership and backcountry rifles had managed to save their citadel. Meanwhile, very little was done to ready the backcountry against impending Indian attack. During the spring of 1776, the *Gazette* expressed confidence that the Cherokees would remain quiet. As late as June 27<sup>th</sup>, SC Patriot Maj. Andrew Williamson assured Drayton that the two Lower Town headmen he had met with were "well satisfied" and wanted peace. Thus when the piedmont war came it caught the province unprepared. It would take several weeks before any kind of effective response could begin to be coordinated.<sup>18</sup>

Left to fend for themselves, backcountry settlers huddled together in rough stockades while the Cherokees killed stragglers and destroyed property. A turning point came on July 15<sup>th</sup>, when defenders at Lyndley's Fort near the Saluda River were able to hold off an attack by nearly 200 Cherokee warriors and war-painted Loyalists. This success encouraged frontier whites to enroll under Williamson and SC Patriot militia Capt. Andrew Pickens for a proposed counterattack against the Lower Cherokee settlements. Eleven hundred South Carolina and Georgia militia, accompanied by a score of Catawba scouts, soon were on the march. Hoping to nab British Assistant Indian Superintendent Alexander Cameron, on July 31<sup>st</sup>, Williamson detached 330 mounted men and set off ahead of the main Patriot corps.<sup>19</sup>

At about two o'clock on the morning of August 1, Williamson's militia stumbled into the waiting British Deputy Superintendent and 1,200 warriors. Only darkness and a desperate counterattack saved Williamson's panicked troops from disaster. Before daybreak, Pickens came up with reinforcements. These were placed upon a ridge from which an enfilading fire was directed. The Cherokees finally abandoned the position, leaving Williamson's men to ransack Essenecca, Keowee, Estatoe, Tugaloo, and several other Lower Towns.<sup>20</sup>

## ***Ring Fight***

Captain Pickens was more experienced in Indian-fighting than his superior officer. He had pleaded without success for Williamson to forgo sounding evening and morning formations.<sup>21</sup> But Pickens made mistakes too. On August 12<sup>th</sup>, Williamson sent him ahead on reconnaissance, to spy out enemy strength and to forewarn of any ambush along the provincials' line of march. Soon two warriors were sighted. Pickens and his 35 men set off in hot pursuit. Racing into tall grass, the militia suddenly found themselves surrounded. Pickens' detachment fortunately included a Cherokee-speaking guide, who could understand the enemy's orders. As it turned out, the Indians had little ammunition and so were planning a tomahawk attack. Forming a circle and staying low in the grass between relays of firing, Pickens' men managed to hold off the warriors until reinforcements arrived. Outnumbered at least five-to-one, four of his troops were killed and eleven wounded before the Cherokees finally withdrew.<sup>22</sup> Known as the "Ring Fight," this engagement helped win Pickens lasting fame among white as well as Native Americans. The government at Charleston soon promoted Pickens to major, while the Cherokees awarded him the name "Skyagunsta," meaning Great Warrior or Wizard Owl. For the remainder of his days, Andrew Pickens would take great pride in his leadership at the Ring Fight. Purchased in 1793, the site of this battle was where he would build his final home ("Tamassee") around 1805.<sup>23</sup>

The Ring Fight, however, was hardly a key strategic victory, and the militia acted without restraint or mercy. When in hand-to-hand combat one Cherokee tried to surrender, he was cursed, had his eyes gouged, and was scalped alive. Finally, the poor warrior's skull was smashed open, emptying its contents. As a journalist who accompanied the Williamson campaign noted grotesquely: "It would have been some fun if he [the militiaman] had let the latter action alone, and sent him [the Cherokee] home without his nightcap to tell his countrymen how he had been treated." All sixteen Cherokee warriors slain that day were scalped.<sup>24</sup>

## ***Patriot Invasion***

Colin Calloway writes that the American Revolution "amounted to a total war in Indian country." Surviving accounts of Williamson's campaigns certainly bear that out. The leading record, attributed to Arthur Fairie, repeatedly refers to the Cherokees as "game." And whereas the warriors proved elusive, the militia preyed upon the lame and elderly, often women, who could not keep far enough ahead of the chase. On one occasion, Williamson's men shot an "Indian Squaw" in the shoulder and leg before forcing her to tell what she knew of the Indian army. Then, the white men "favored her so far, that they killed her there, to put her out of pain."<sup>25</sup>

South Carolinians were the first to take the offensive following the Cherokee attacks of summer, 1776. In fact, Williamson's campaign was the first made against Native Americans during the Revolution. The South Carolina militia established a pattern of brutality and destruction that was repeated over and over through the remainder of the war. Besides murdering non-combatants, the Americans did everything in their power to punish the Indians. As the Fairie journal attests: "We were ordered to assemble in companies to spread through the town to destroy, cut down and burn all vegetables belonging to our Heathen enemies." This "was no small undertaking, they being so plentifully supplied." Besides corn, beans, peas, potatoes and hogs, the whites leveled "curious buildings, great apple tress [*sic*], and, whitemanlike improvements."<sup>26</sup>

Williamson's men had devastated most of the Cherokee Lower Settlements by mid-August. Militia then were sent home to

replenish supplies and recruit reinforcements. Williamson and Pickens remained and erected a base camp named Fort Rutledge over the wreckage of Essenecca. Here, the army was to regroup on August 28<sup>th</sup>.<sup>27</sup>

Impressed by South Carolina's ruthless success and multi-state militia cooperation, Virginia and North Carolina joined in the next round of invasion. Altogether, more than 6,000 state troops were now enlisted. It was agreed that the Virginian and Wataugan forces would march on the Cherokees' trans-Appalachian settlements, while the two Carolina armies converged upon the Middle and Valley Towns.<sup>28</sup>

Charleston secure, Rutledge decided to dispatch Colonel Thomas Sumter and three hundred state riflemen to join Williamson's second expedition. Sumter was chosen, no doubt, because he had previously toured the Middle Settlements while escorting Ostenaco home from Charleston in 1762. Gathering men and supplies, Sumter did not reach Fort Rutledge until September 12<sup>th</sup>. The next day, the army left base camp with 1,800 troops. Sumter was given command over the army's right flank.<sup>29</sup> Laboring across mountain passes and fast-running waters, Williamson's men moved about a dozen miles each day. On September 17<sup>th</sup>, they marched along the same pass where the armies of Montgomery and Grant had been assailed a decade and a half before.<sup>30</sup> "With great courage" the army filed through these narrows without incident and entered the first of the Cherokee Middle Towns. Now, Pickens was sent to locate NC Patriot militia General Griffith Rutherford's forces. Ranging north to the village of Connutte, Pickens found the North Carolinian baggage guard. He was told that Rutherford was without a pilot, and "bewildered" by the unfamiliar terrain. Two guides, probably Catawbas, were dispatched to assist the North Carolinians. Williamson then headed south to raid the Valley Towns, leaving Rutherford to wreak havoc on the more northern Middle Settlements.<sup>31</sup>

## ***Black Hole***

On September 19<sup>th</sup>, Williamson's men were attacked at a place called the "Black Hole," "a hollow, surrounded by mountains on all sides." The battle lasted for two hours, as 600 Cherokees fired down upon the South Carolina vanguard. Remembering the Indians' battle tactics in 1760 and 1761, the militia command took immediate steps to secure the army's baggage train. Executing his orders "very manfully," Sumter placed his riflemen in position on a mountainside and prevented the enemy from coming around behind. Finally, troops forward were able to dislodge the Indians from the high ground, and the army got through the Black Hole. At day's end, only four Cherokee dead were found, as opposed to 13 whites killed and 32 wounded.<sup>32</sup> As in the Ring Fight, white troops at the Black Hole seemed to revel in savage behavior. The Fairie journal records how a slightly wounded Captain Ross, "acting like a gentleman becoming his station," overcame his Cherokee attacker "and got his scalp." "This aforesaid Captain," the journalist continued, "ought to be extolled to the utmost for his wonderful conduct and patriotism." Hence, with radical reckoning, the South Carolina militia equated love for country with cruelty for Indians. In contrast, if the scalping was committed by Cherokees, then the act became "terrifying," "a most dreadful sight." Shortly after extolling the "intrepidity" of his "hero" Ross, the Fairie journal laments how several fallen soldiers were "massacred" with scalping knife and tomahawk "by the Heathens."<sup>33</sup>

## ***Continuing Brutality***

A path to the southern settlements had been cleared. Yet the army was slowed by the most difficult terrain it had yet encountered, making progress "a task hard enough for birds." Finally, on

September 23<sup>rd</sup>, Williamson's force entered the first of the Valley Towns. Joined by Rutherford's army three days later at the village of Hiwassee, the Carolina troops brought fire and sword to most of the remaining Appalachian settlements. In all, 36 Middle and Valley towns were leveled and a vast acreage of corn and other crops destroyed. Thousands of Cherokee men, women, and children were left homeless, with little more to forage on than roots, berries and insects. The militia returned to their own warm houses and bountiful fields early in October.<sup>34</sup>

As the Carolinians came home, Colonel William Christian's Virginians were just leaving Fort Patrick Henry for their expedition against the Overhills. For the past three months, settlers in Tennessee had been forced to remain close by their stockades as their farms were ransacked. They had withstood the Cherokee First Warrior Oconostota's long siege of Fort Caswell and stopped Tsi.yu Gansi.ni (Dragging Canoe) before Eaton's Station. Now the transmontane whites were eager to join the Virginians and exact revenge. Christian, however, disappointed them with "unusual restraint." He informed the Cherokees that villages not aligned with Tsi.yu Gansi.ni and Alexander Cameron would be spared, if these two men were surrendered. Christian seemed to disdain the wanton cruelty that marked the Carolinian campaigns: "I did not come to War with women and children but to Fight with men." Even so, Cameron had exited to Creek country, and Tsi.yu Gansi.ni was to remain free. Consequently, Christian's men declared war on corn and all other exposed foodstuffs. Chota was exempted, but Tellico, Settico, Chilhowee, and Big Island Town (Tsi.yu Gansi.ni's home) were set to the torch.<sup>35</sup>

### ***The Price of Peace***

A delegation of Middle, Valley, and Lower Cherokees arrived in Charleston in February 1777 to sue for peace. "A white cloth was now spread over the path," the Bird told the South Carolina Council, and he hoped "all would walk on it, and dirty it no more." Later, the Mankiller spoke, recalling how formerly he had "gave much land over Savannah River to pay his debts." Now "he was ready to make further gifts, for the peace and safety of the nation."<sup>36</sup> That was music to the ears of South Carolina officials. As evidenced by Drayton's "word to the wise," Indian land had served as a key motivation behind the patriot invasions of 1776. (Indeed, white encroachment upon Cherokee lands had brought on the war in the first place.) For years, Laurens, Drayton, and other leading figures had chafed under the territorial limits set by John Stuart and the imperial system. Now British authority was rejected and the Cherokees were defeated. Having invested over £460,000 in the Williamson campaigns, South Carolinians would be sure to get their every farthing's worth.<sup>37</sup>

In May 1777, Drayton and Williamson set off with five other South Carolina and Georgia officials to treat with the Cherokees at DeWitt's Corner.<sup>38</sup> Eight headmen met them there, along with six hundred additional villagers who had come in search of much-needed supplies. Within two weeks, the Treaty of DeWitt's Corner was completed. The Cherokees were forced to "acknowledge [*sic*] . . . all and singular the rights incidental to conquest." Specifically, the nation was to surrender its lands "east of the Unacaye [Unicoi] mountain." Middle and Valley villagers might remain "during their good behavior," but the Lower Towns would have to be abandoned.<sup>39</sup>

Two months later, Colonel Christian and six other commissioners from Virginia and North Carolina met at the Long Island on the Holston to parley with the Overhill Cherokees. Here again, the Tassel noted, the real "difference" between the white and native peoples seemed to be "about our land":

I am sensible that if we give up these lands they will bring you more a great deal than hundreds of pounds. It spoils our hunting ground; but always remains good to you to raise families and stocks on. . . . Hunting is our principle way of living. I hope you will consider this and pity me.<sup>40</sup>

Unfortunately for the Cherokees, Virginia and North Carolina were longer on greed than mercy. As in South Carolina, the thirst for new lands served as a defining theme in the upper South's revolutionary movement. The Overhills were forced to forfeit most of their remaining grounds in Kentucky and a portion of Tennessee. Altogether, the Cherokees paid five million acres at the peace treaties signed at DeWitt's Corner and Long Island. Disgusted, Tsi.yu Gansi.ni boycotted the entire process and led his young militants away from the older Cherokee nation.<sup>41</sup>

### ***The Legacies of 1776***

The 1776 invasions and the subsequent 1777 treaties changed the Cherokee nation forever. Hundreds of men, women and children died during the fighting. Hundreds more perished during the famine which followed. The majority of Cherokee homes and fields were ruined. Much of the nation's hunting lands were stripped away. Faced with such overwhelming losses, villagers were left with little choice other than accommodation or relocation, between abandoning resistance or abandoning homelands. Oconostota, Attakullakulla (the Little Carpenter), and most of the women and elderly favored the former, while Tsi.yu Gansi.ni and many of the younger hunter-warriors selected the latter.<sup>42</sup>

Several reasons explain why the Cherokees were overwhelmed in 1776. First, the nation lacked unanimity. Watauga and Nolichucky settlers in eastern Tennessee were tipped off by friendly trading partners, and so the whites were crowded into small forts before Oconostota and Tsi.yu Gansi.ni could strike. Second, the Cherokees failed to receive allied support. The Creeks remained neutral as they had in 1760-1761 and a second British front at Charleston did not last through one afternoon. Third, besides allowing the Patriots to divert their full attention to the piedmont, Parker and Sir Henry Clinton's defeat ended any possibility that the Cherokees might be able to gain access to sufficient quantities of shot and powder. Lack of munitions is what doomed the Cherokees in 1776 far more than any other factor. Pickens survived the Ring Fight only because his attackers had to rely upon tomahawks. Williamson was able to work his way through the Black Hole only because several hours of firepower was all the better-positioned warriors could afford.<sup>43</sup>

With supplies so remote and enemies so near, 1776 would be the last time that the whole of the Cherokee nation tried to resist the Americans by force. Most militants now accompanied Tsi.yu Gansi.ni south and west to Chickamauga Creek to gain better access to British supplies and Creek allies; Chickamauga Creek was where Stuart's commissary John McDonald lived.<sup>44</sup>

The war greatly affected South Carolina too. Patriots took a core of material from it for their "creation story." As one participant recalled: "The expedition in 1776 may be considered as the first exciting cause . . . of the power of the white people"; "it certainly had a very salutary effect." According to Ramsay, the war redefined "a whole state" of "planters, merchants, and mechanics, into an active, disciplined military body, and a well-regulated, self-governed community."<sup>45</sup>

Left to fend for themselves, southern revolutionaries in 1776 achieved what British armies that had gone before had not. An identity of vicious valor was established. No matter that the ill-equipped Indians were assaulted by a combined force which

contained more soldiers than there were Cherokee males of all ages combined. Rutledge commended Williamson's troops for "acting with the greatest vigour . . . It has pleased God, to grant signal success to their operations." Later, when Laurens heard how Burgoyne's "Savages" had struck terror in upstate New York, he wished "our friend Williamson & his Ninety Six Regiment were [t]here."<sup>46</sup>

It was hyped and mythologized, to be sure. Yet the 1776 war provided a training ground for eventual Patriot victory in the lower South. Charleston would fall in 1780, resulting in British occupation. Nonetheless, if Clyde Ferguson is correct, this latter campaign was lost even "before it began," and it may have been lost "as early as 1776." The Cherokee War provided definition and direction for the American Revolution in South Carolina. It united the backcountry and Charleston under a common cause, and it gave many Carolinians a taste for independence. Furthermore, the campaigns of 1776 placed Indian and Loyalist enemies in check, permitting a "breathing time" during which Patriot experience and influence could develop. Inspired Continental command would be essential for final victory. Seasoned militia under Thomas Sumter, Francis Marion and Andrew Pickens would help make sure that any British occupation of South Carolina would be temporary.<sup>47</sup>

### NOTES

1. Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York, 1993), 199-200; David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina: From Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*, 2 Vols. (Spartanburg, 1959 [1858]), 1:161-62; Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry* (Chapel Hill, 1990), 84-108.
2. David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), pp. 827-828; Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1988), pp. 170 and 175; Gordon S. Wood, *The Radicalism of the American Revolution* (New York, 1992), p. 336; Gary B. Nash, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America*, Second ed. (Englewood Cliffs, 1982), p. 291; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities: Societies of the Colonial South* (Baton Rouge, 1952), vii; Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619-1877* (New York, 1993), pp. 60 and 156; Ira Berlin, "The Slaves' Changing World," in James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *A History of the African American People: The History, Traditions & Culture of African Americans* (Detroit, 1997), p. 52. According to Michael Zuckerman, Americans "defined themselves less by the vitality of their affirmations than by the violence of their abjurations." Zuckerman, "The Fabrication of Identity in Early America," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser. 34 (1977): 204.
3. Henry Laurens explained to one of his European correspondents: "The Indians live upwards of 300 Miles from the Sea & are quite a distinct & Separate people -- differ in Colour & manners." Henry Laurens to Jacob Sandilands, 4 February 1777 in Philip M. Hamer, George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chesnut, eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vols. 1-13, 15 (Columbia, 1968-2000), 11:298.
4. James Axtell, *After Columbus, Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York, 1988), pp. 237-242; Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves and the Making of the American Revolution in Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1999), 211; Bridenbaugh, *Myths and Realities*, p. 134; Rachel Klein, "The Rise of the Planters in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1767-1808" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979), pp. 51 and 112-113; Robert F. Berkhofer, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York, 1978), pp. 136-137. The argument here is not that white Americans held "Indians"

in lower regard than "Negroes." Better educated colonists such as Jefferson could admire Rousseau's *bon sauvage*, while even frontiersmen might give grudging respect to native warriors. But it was that very combination of independence and power that so frightened and roused enmity in many whites. Ibid, 42, 73-75; Nash, *Red, White and Black*, pp. 292-293.

5. William M. Dabney and Marion Dargan, *William Henry Drayton & the American Revolution* (Albuquerque, 1962), pp. 119-121; E. Stanly Godbold, Jr. & Robert H. Woody, *Christopher Gadsden and the American Revolution* (Knoxville, 1982), 150-52; Richard Walsh, ed., *The Writings of Christopher Gadsden, 1746-1805* (Columbia, 1966), xxii-xxiii; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:186-89. In *Common Sense*, Paine stressed how the Crown's "barbarous and hellish power . . . hath stirred up the Indians and the Negroes against us." Eric Foner, ed., *Thomas Paine: Collected Writings* (New York, 1995), p. 35.
6. Dabney and Dargan, *William Henry Drayton*, pp. 122-124, 182; "Charges to the Grand Jury," 23 April 1776, John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution as Relating to the State of South Carolina*, 2 vols (New York, 1969 [1821]), 2:264ff.
7. Godbold and Woody, *Christopher Gadsden*, pp. 32-34, 141-143 and 161-163; David Duncan Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens, with a Sketch of the Life of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens* (New York, 1915), p. 224; Edward Countryman, "Indians, the Colonial Order, and the Social Significance of the American Revolution," *William & Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., p. 53 (1996): p. 356; Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians: The Tragic Fate of the First Americans* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 55 and 57. According to William Bartram, "These people never kill the rattle snake or any other serpent, saying if they do so, the spirit of the killed snake will excite or influence his living kindred or relatives to revenge the injury." In Eastern Woodland beliefs, the serpent was considered an immediate link to the "chaotic and deadly chthonic forces" of the underworld. Only for the life-taking purposes of war, or perhaps the hunt, would a warrior dare to contact the power of a rattle or other snake fragment. Gregory A. Waselkov and Kathryn E. Holland Braund, eds., *William Bartram on the Southeastern Indians* (Lincoln, 1995), pp. 70-71; Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, 1992), pp. 10-11.
8. Godbold and Woody, *Christopher Gadsden*, p. 162; Holton, *Forced Founders*, pp. 211-214; Henry May, *The Enlightenment in America* (New York, 1976), pp. 163-164.
9. James H. O'Donnell, III, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution* (Knoxville, 1973), ix; Wallace, *Jefferson and the Indians*, pp. 57-58. Elected governor of Virginia in 1779, Jefferson envisioned a ruthless campaign against the Shawnees which would result in their "total suppression" and even extermination. Ibid, p. 65.
10. Godbold and Woody, *Christopher Gadsden*, pp. 150-152; Christopher Gadsden, *Observations on two Campaigns against the Cherokee Indians in 1760 and 1761 in a Second Letter from Philopatros* (Charleston, 1762), in *Early American Imprints, 1639-1800*, Worcester, Mass., microfilm at the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana, p. 56; "A Letter Signed Philoletes," 2 March 1763, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 3:335.
11. William Henry Drayton to Francis Salvador, 24 July 1776 in R. W. Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1764-1782*, 3 Vols. (New York, 1853-57), 2:29. Drayton addressed his letter to Francis Salvador, a prominent landholder and assemblyman of the Ninety Six District. Salvador was one of the first to rally the backcountry against the Cherokee attack of 1776; he was among the first Carolinians killed during the Williamson expedition. Ibid, p. 28; Henry Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South* (Columbia, 1981), pp. 20-22.
12. Henry Laurens to John Ettwein, 11 July 1761, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 3:75; "A Letter Signed Philoletes," 2 March 1763, *ibid*,

pp. 276-355; Henry Laurens to John Laurens, 14 August 1776, *ibid*, 11:233; *ibid*, p. 21 August 1776, *ibid*, p. 260. Helping Rutledge make the decision to free Mrs. Stuart was a band of Creeks who came to Charleston to demand her release. J. Russell Snapp, *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier* (Baton Rouge, 1996), p. 198.

13. Dabney and Dargan, *William Henry Drayton*, p. 125. Drayton was not pleased by the forbearance Rutledge showed the captive loyalists. The chief justice confided to Francis Salvador: "Speaking as W. H. D. in a private character, I think the public would have received an essential piece of service had they been all instantly hanged." William Henry Drayton to Francis Salvador, 24 July 1776, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 2:28.

14. Henry Laurens to Jacob Sandilands, 4 February 1777, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 11:297. Of course, some members of the South Carolina elite never did become revolutionaries. For example, during the early years of the war, Charles Pinckney II served as an official in the provincial government. Then, when the British captured the state in 1780, Pinckney accepted protection and never relinquished it. In accordance with the state's post-war amercement law, he was forced to pay a 12% penalty on the value of his entire estate. Indeed, all of his properties might have been confiscated had it not been for the intercession of cousin Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Marvin R. Zahniser, *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney: Founding Father* (Chapel Hill, 1967), pp. 36, 43-44, 57, and 72; Frances Leigh Williams, *A Founding Family: The Pinckneys of South Carolina* (New York, 1978), pp. 74, 172-173, and 188; Godbold and Woody, *Christopher Gadsden*, p. 218.

15. Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, 20; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:158; Rev. James Creswell to William Henry Drayton, 27 July 1776, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 2:30-31; John Rutledge to Assembly, 17 September 1776 in Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:377; Assembly to Rutledge, 20 September 1776 in Hemphill, Wates, and R. Nicholas Olsberg, eds., *Journals of the General Assembly and House of Representatives, 1776-1780* (Columbia, 1970), pp. 66-68; James Haw, *John and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina* (Athens, 1997), p. 89. William Moultrie later noted that if the Cherokees had timed their attack several months ahead of the assault on Charleston, "they would have disconcerted us very much, by keeping thousands of our back country people from coming down; because they must have staid [*sic*] at home to protect their families from the savages." Cecil B. Hartley, *The Life of General Francis Marion: Also, Lives of Generals Moultrie and Pickens, and Governor Rutledge* (Philadelphia, 1866), p. 224; William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 2 Vols. (New York, 1968 [1802]), 1:184.

16. Henry Laurens to John Laurens, 14 August 1776, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 11:229-30; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, p. 44; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York, 1995), pp. 49 and 200.

17. Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:152-57; Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 1:141-80; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, pp. 10-18. Charles Lee was the commanding officer at Charleston. During the Seven Years' War, the former British officer had been adopted by the Mohawks and given the name "Boiling Water." C. C. Pinckney concurred, describing Lee as a "very clever but . . . strange animal." *Ibid*, 12; Zahniser, *Charles Cotesworth Pinckney*, p. 49.

18. Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 1:181-84; *SC Gazette*, 31 May 1776 in *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 2:21; Andrew Williamson to William Henry Drayton, 27 June 1776, *ibid*, p. 22; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, p. 21; Henry Laurens to John Laurens, 14 August 1776, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 11:229; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:341. "Colonel Williamson was charged with the defence of the country," Ramsay recalled, "but, so general was the panic, that in sixteen days he could not collect 500 men." Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:159.

19. *Ibid*; Rev. James Creswell to William Henry Drayton, 27 July 1776, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 2:31; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:341-45; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, pp. 44-45; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, pp. 21-22.

20. *Ibid*, pp. 22-23; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:159; Clyde R. Ferguson, "General Andrew Pickens" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1960), p. 29; Alice N. Waring, *The Fighting Elder: Andrew Pickens, 1739-1817* (Columbia, 1962), pp. 15-16.

21. Pickens saw considerable action during the 1760 Montgomery and 1761 Grant campaigns. Williamson too was present, but as a noncombatant; he was a "cow driver," who supplied beef to the British troops at inflated prices. Sounding formation each day obviously alerted the Cherokees to the Whig army's position. *Ibid*, p. 4; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, p. 171; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, p. 22.

22. *Ibid*, p. 23; Ferguson, "General Andrew Pickens," pp. 32-33; Arthur Fairie, "Journal of an Expedition, In 1776, Against the Cherokees, Under the Command of Captain Peter Clinton," *Yorkville Miscellany* (15 June - 31 August 1850) in Lyman Copeland Draper MSS, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, microfilm at Newberry Library, Chicago, 3 VV, 165. In the October 2005 edition of *SCAR*, our good friend Will Graves found that in fact two somewhat different accounts of the Fairie Journal survive: (1) a handwritten edition attached to an 1850 pension application preserved in the National Archives; (2) a printed, generally more detailed version printed in 1850 by the *Yorkville Miscellany*. With skillful analysis, Will concludes that the Archives version is "very likely an early transcription of the now lost true original and that whoever transcribed the journal did so at some period after . . . 1778." Of somewhat less clear origin, the *Yorkville Miscellany* version evidently was taken from a pre-existing pamphlet acquired by the Presbyterian minister S. L. Watson. Whoever their first author and origins, the accounts do reveal many first-hand details that compare reliably with known events. Certainly the great malice revealed towards Indians rings true for the aggressive 1776 expeditions. For further investigation of the Fairies Journal, please see, Will Graves, "Journal of the 1776 Cherokee Indian Campaign in South Carolina, Georgia, and North Carolina," *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* 2/10 (October 2005): pp. 20-36.

23. Waring, *Fighting Elder*, p. 17; Ferguson, "General Andrew Pickens," pp. 34, 530 and 653. "Determined to live & die on the spot," Pickens delighted in recollecting his "Ring Fight" for visitors such as Benjamin Hawkins in 1797. *Ibid*, pp. 530 and 590; "Journal of Benjamin Hawkins," 23 March 1797, *Letters of Benjamin Hawkins, 1796-1806*, Collections of the Georgia Historical Society 9 (Savannah, 1974 [1916]), p. 105.

24. Fairie, "Journal of an Expedition," p. 165.

25. *Ibid*, pp. 164, 171-172; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 49; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 195-197.

26. *Ibid*, p. 197; Fairie, "Journal of an Expedition," p. 172; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, pp. 23-24; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, 46ff. Colin Calloway makes an observation concerning the Eastern Woodland Indians' cultural and economic dependence on corn, and the Plains Indians' reliance upon the buffalo; in both instances, Americans targeted and destroyed these vulnerable resources. *Ibid*, p. 47.

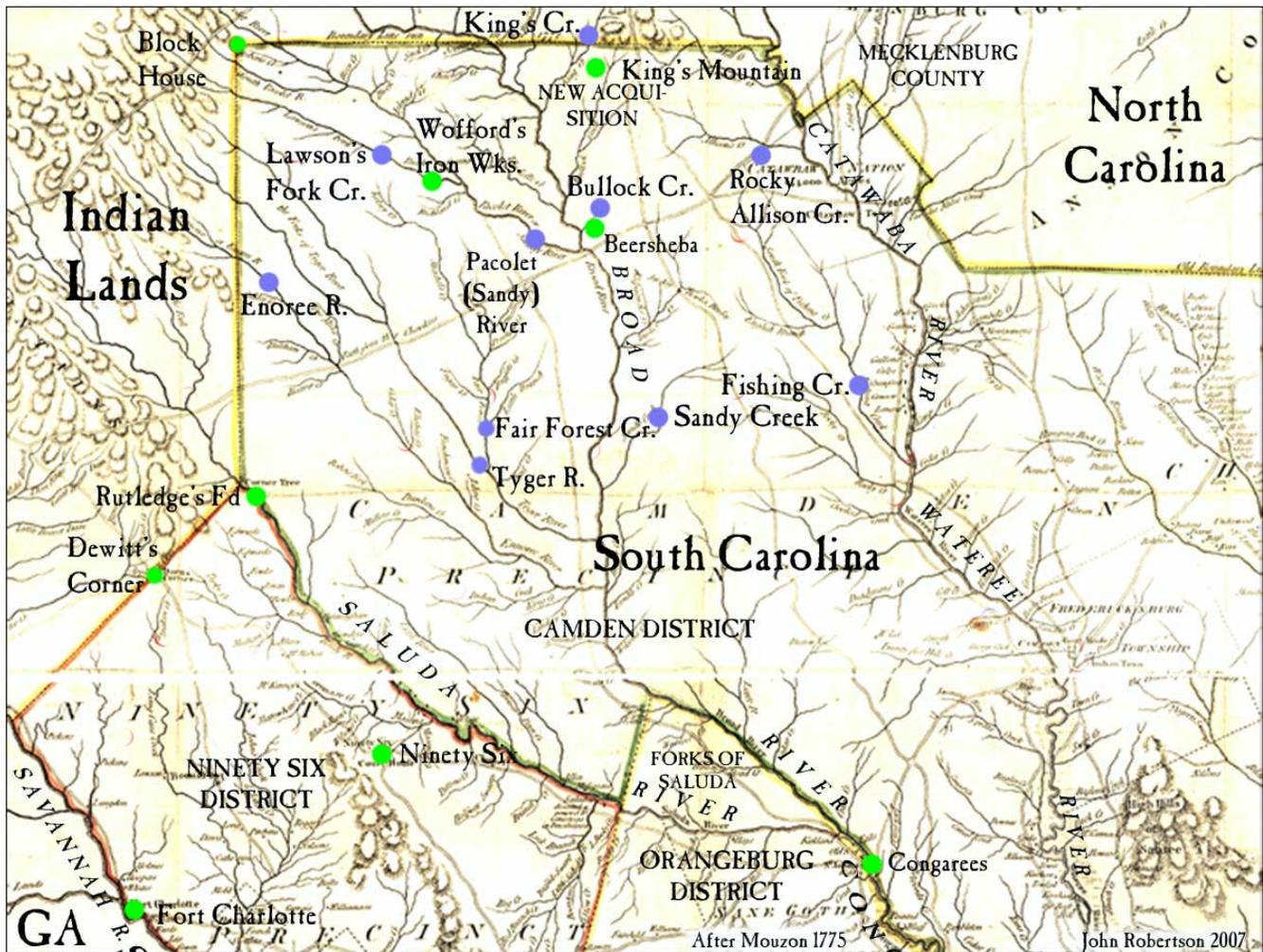
27. Fairie, "Journal of an Expedition," pp. 165-167; Andrew Williamson to William Henry Drayton, 22 August 1776, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 2:32; HL to John Laurens, 14 August 1776, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 11:229; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:352; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, p. 24. In August, Major Samuel Jack and 200 Georgia Patriot militia also burned several Lower Cherokee Settlements in northern Georgia. Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Columbia, 1969),

- p. 317. [Ed. A 1906 DAR monument on a high bluff overlooking the now dry Seneca River bed on the campus of Clemson University now memorializes Fort Rutledge. See *SCAR*, Vol. 4, No. 1-3, p. 12.
28. Ibid; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, 45-46; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, p. 194.
29. Fairie, "Journal of an Expedition," p. 167; Robert Bass, *Gamecock: The Life and Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter* (New York, 1961), pp. 38-39. Sumter had accompanied Lieutenant Henry Timberlake's 1762 expedition to the Overhills. Thereupon, the young sergeant helped escort Ostenaco and two other Cherokee headmen to England for a meeting with King George III. Returning via Charleston, Sumter spent a second winter among the Cherokees, during which time he captured a French-Canadian agent, the Baron des Jonnes. That won Sumter positive notice in the local press. In 1764, he fled debtor's prison in Virginia for a new home in South Carolina. Ibid, pp. 8-20; Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* (Columbia, 1931), pp. 7-30. Fairie, "Journal of an Expedition," pp. 167-168. David H. Corkran, *The Cherokee Frontier: Conflict and Survival, 1740-62* (Norman, 1962), pp. 207-215 and 247-54; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 129-132 and 138-140; Paul David Nelson, *General James Grant: Scottish Soldier and Royal Governor of East Florida* (Gainesville, 1993), pp. 26-28 and 33-36.
31. Ferguson, "General Andrew Pickens," p. 34; Fairie, "Journal of an Expedition," p. 168.
32. Ibid, pp. 168-169; Bass, *Gamecock*, pp. 39-40; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, pp. 24-25; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:356-57. It is not known whether Pickens rejoined Williamson in time to participate in the Black Hole fight. Ferguson, "General Andrew Pickens," p. 34.
33. Fairie, "Journal of an Expedition," pp. 169-170.
34. Ibid, pp. 170-175; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, p. 25; Bass, *Gamecock*, pp. 40-41; Chapman J. Milling, *Red Carolinians* (Columbia, 1953), p. 318; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, p. 195; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, p. 49.
35. Ibid, 197-199; Milling, *Red Carolinians*, 318-319; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, pp. 41-43, 47-48. William Christian was Governor Patrick Henry's brother-in-law; he was killed fighting the Wabash Indians in 1786. Henry Mayer, *A Son of Thunder: Patrick Henry and the American Republic* (New York, 1986), pp. 117, 367-368.
36. O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, p. 57; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:360-61.
37. Ibid, p. 361; Klein, "Rise of the Planters," p. 112; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, p. 40; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, p. 197; Snapp, *John Stuart*, pp. 134-135 and 149-151.
38. Known today by its namesake Due West, DeWitt's Corner formerly marked the imperial boundary line between the Cherokees and provincial South Carolina. It is approximately six miles north of modern Due West, SC. <http://gaz.jrshelby.com/d.htm> Dabney and Dargan, *William Henry Drayton*, p. 134; Louis De Vorse, Jr., *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775* (Chapel Hill, 1966), p. 114.
39. O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, p. 58; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, p. 200; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:161. For a full transcription of the Treaty of DeWitt's Corner, see: "The Ani Yun' wiya (Cherokee Indians), 1769-1866," Wesley D. White Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, 28/800/7.
40. Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 219-221; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, pp. 56 and 58-59; Colin Calloway, ed., *The World Turned Upside Down: Indian Voices from Early America* (Boston, 1994), p. 154. The Tassel never joined the militants, but he was sympathetic to their call to preserve Cherokee lands: "We are a separate people," the Tassel told commissioners in 1777. The Great Spirit "has not created us to be your slaves." This Cherokee patriot was murdered by Franklinites in 1788. Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, pp. 63, 96 and 100.
41. Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, pp. 200-201; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 222-223; John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge, 1957), p. 273. Woody Horton offers a fine analysis of how the desire for new lands was a key motivation in Virginia's movement towards independence. George Washington, George Mason, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee numbered among leading upper South investors frustrated by Imperial land boundaries and policies. As in the lower South, patriotism in Virginia included a clearly anti-Indian element. Horton, *Forced Founders*, xviii, pp. 3-4, 10-12, 31-38, 162-63, and 210.
42. Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:359; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, p. 219; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, pp. 184 and 201; Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Women: Gender and Culture Change, 1700-1835* (Lincoln, 1998), pp. 97-99; Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, 54-55.
43. Ibid, p. 53; O'Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, 41; David H. Corkran, *The Creek Frontier, 1540-1783* (Norman, 1967), p. 298; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:154-62.
44. Dowd, *Spirited Resistance*, pp. 54-55. The first Chickamauga settlements were burned by Sevier in 1782. The community then moved farther down the Tennessee River, building "Five Lower Towns" near present-day Chattanooga. Reinforced with Shawnee and Creek support, these new villages maintained militancy until 1794. Milling, *Red Carolinians*, p. 320; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, p. 203.
45. Ibid, pp. 292-93; Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:162; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, p. 200.
46. Ibid, p. 198; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, p. 198; John Rutledge to Assembly, 17 September 1776 in Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:377; Rutledge to Council and Assembly, 19 September 1776 in *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 2:34; Henry Laurens to John Lewis Gervais, 5 August 1777, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 11:429. As Ramsay exalted: "None of all the expeditions before undertaken against the savages had been so successful as this first effort to the newborn commonwealth . . . the people of South Carolina began to be more and more convinced that the leading strings of their mother country were less necessary than in the days of their infancy." Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:161.
47. Ibid, pp. 161-62; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 197-200; Clyde R. Ferguson, "Functions of the Partisan-Militia in the South During the American Revolution: An Interpretation," in W. Robert Higgins, *The Revolutionary War in the South: Power, Conflict, and Leadership* (Durham, 1979), pp. 251-258. With substantial partisan support, during 1781, Nathanael Greene reduced Cornwallis' access to supplies, luring him out of the Carolinas and into disaster in Virginia. Weigley, *The American Way of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy* (Bloomington, 1973), pp. 27-39.

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# Insubordination of Captain Polk's Rangers During the Summer of 1775

by Toby Turner



Map of the South Carolina backcountry with the major actions plotted by John A. Robertson. It is based on Mouzon's map of 1775. Blue = action at unknown point along stream, green = other site.

This interesting incident of insubordination occurred during the summer of 1775 and is scarcely has been mentioned in histories of the period. Illustrative of the challenges encountered by the revolutionary party as it attempted to gain dominance over the backcountry of South Carolina, it also provides a picture of the importance placed by the Council of Safety on securing and retaining the support of leading men there.

### Background

Not every Whig agreed on what forms opposition to Great Britain should take or how far they should go. Radical leaders, such as Arthur Middleton and William Henry Drayton pushed for more control over their colony's internal affairs but initially not for complete independence from England. The moderates led by Rawlins Lowndes, Miles Brewton, and Henry Laurens probably would have been content for conditions to return to what they had been in 1763. Of course, independence ultimately became the outcome desired by all Whigs. Loyalists and Tories remained loyal to the crown, although a few expressed interest in some changes to British rule.

Regional differences in South Carolina sometimes paralleled political differences. Lowcountry politicians had long ignored the needs and wishes of the under-represented backcountry. In the chaotic aftermath of the Cherokee War, backcountry settlers, beset by violence and lawlessness, received no assistance from lowcountry politicians indifferent to their plight. As a result, groups of vigilantes arose to assert control, primarily in Ninety Six District. In time this uprising was organized into a force of 1,000 men called Regulators. Regulator attempts to control society eventually became excessive and a group of Moderators opposed them. It has been suggested that support for the Revolution came from Moderators, but a thorough analysis of revolutionary activity on the part of known Regulators shows that most supported the Revolution.<sup>1</sup> Whigs and Loyalists in both areas of South Carolina recognized the importance of winning backcountry support from settlers who knew little of, much less understood, the problems with Great Britain.

Reports reached Charleston in the summer of 1775 that the backcountry opposed any form of opposition to the Crown. David Ramsay explained that backcountry settlers were "induced to believe that the whole was an artful deception imposed upon them for interested purposes, by the gentlemen of fortune and ambition

on the seacoast.”<sup>2</sup> To counter backcountry threats, the Council of Safety, then wielding executive power in the colony, created the Third Carolina Regiment consisting of rangers, or mounted infantry, in June<sup>3</sup> (Ed. Note: See *SCAR*, Vol. 3, No. 12.3, December 2006, for Michael Scoggins’ excellent article on this regiment). Col. William Thomson was ordered to station the first company of rangers at Fort Charlotte (about 50 miles north of Augusta on the Savannah River).<sup>4</sup> Major James Mayson wrote Thomson on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July to report that he had arrived at Fort Charlotte accompanied by Captains Caldwell and Kirkland. He pointed out that had they arrived at night, instead of at noon when many of its defenders were away, “we Should have had Some difficulty in taking it.” With 51 Rangers against the 15 men within the fort, it was no contest. After the men surrendered, Mayson “took out the two Brass Pieces and Some ammunition & sundry other Articles” and returned to Ninety Six on the 14<sup>th</sup> with Capt. Kirkland and his Company. However, Kirkland and his party then deserted and on the 17<sup>th</sup>, “a Party of about 200 disaffected People from Over the River headed by Robt + Patrick Cunningham, and Major [Joseph] Robinson of Colo. Neill’s Regiment came to Ninety Six all armd with Rifles.” Cunningham’s party surrounded the courthouse at Ninety Six and “demanded the Powder from us Rebels for the King.” Mayson was arrested and “Committed to Gaol” while the Loyalists “took Everything that Came from Fort Charlotte except they two field pieces.” About 9 o’clock that evening the Loyalists released Mayson and dispersed.<sup>5</sup>

On July 23, 1775, the Council of Safety commissioned Hon. William Henry Drayton, Rev. William Henry Tennent, Rev. Oliver Hart, Col. Richard Richardson (a military hero of the Cherokee War), and Joseph Kershaw (a prominent merchant from Camden District) to make a tour of the backcountry in order to explain the opposition of the lowcountry to crown policies.<sup>6</sup> The commissioners hoped to gain acceptance of Congress’ ‘Continental Association,’ a uniform boycott regulation for all the colonies. This ‘Association’ was a sort of loyalty oath - the first Revolutionary yardstick of fidelity. The ‘Association’ had been approved by the first Session of the First Provincial Congress in January, 1775.<sup>7</sup>

Drayton and Tennent were given the authority to call on any militia or ranger units for assistance but this was essentially useless because some backcountry militia units refused to recognize the authority of the Council of Safety. The largest concentration of loyalist sentiment was found in the area between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, primarily in Ninety-Six District and a lesser part of Orangeburgh District.<sup>8</sup> Drayton and Tennent discovered upon reaching this area that Thomas Fletchall, commander of the Upper Saluda Regiment, and Moses Kirkland, now lieutenant colonel of the Forks of Saluda Regiment, openly opposed the revolutionary movement and discouraged their men from signing the ‘Association.’ Both men were extremely prominent and had been active in the Regulation movement.

Andrew Pickens and others believed that Kirkland’s and Robert Cunningham’s Loyalist support came more from their frustrated desire for militia office than from political opinion. Long after the Revolution, General Pickens wrote William Henry Lee: “The candidates for Colo. of this regiment were Robert Cunningham, \_\_\_ Mayson & Moses Kirkland - Mayson got the commission, which so exasperated the others that they immediately took the other side of the Question. . . . if Cunningham had been appointed Colonel at that time, we would not have had so violent an opposition to our cause in this country, and I never had a doubt but he would have made the best officer.”<sup>9</sup>

Col. Fletchall convinced Major Joseph Robinson of Camden District, who served in Col. Neel’s New Acquisition District militia

and was a person of consequence in the backcountry, to draw up a ‘Counter-Association’ document. “The Robinson resolutions denied that King George had acted inconsistent with the principles of the British empire and hence had not forfeited ‘his right to our allegiance.’ While the signers were determined not to take up arms against their king, they also desired to live in peace with their fellow countrymen ‘notwithstanding our . . . diversity of opinions.’ They, however, would recognize no other laws than those of his majesty’s government.”<sup>10</sup>

In June of 1775, Ezekiel Polk had been named Captain of the Third Carolina Regiment which was to be recruited in the backcountry and Samuel Watson had been named Lieutenant.<sup>11</sup> Ezekiel Polk was a leading man in what was then called the New Acquisition District,<sup>12</sup> living near King’s Mountain. He was the youngest son of William Polk, a prominent man in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, and the younger brother of Col. Thomas Polk who also was influential in Mecklenburg County. Ezekiel Polk had been clerk of the court for Tryon County’s first session in 1770.<sup>13</sup> In addition, he recently had been elected to the second session of the First Provincial Congress, as had Samuel Watson, although it appears only Polk attended the June session.<sup>14</sup> Presumably, Polk should have understood the purpose of this regiment was to secure the backcountry. Watson was less prominent in the District, but had been a Captain of the militia,<sup>15</sup> served as a Grand Juror,<sup>16</sup> and held over 750 acres granted on Rocky Allison Creek east of present day York, SC.<sup>17</sup>

### The Incident

The stage was now set for the rarely-reported confrontation that occurred between Capt. Ezekiel Polk with his company of Rangers and Major James Mayson at Ninety Six. Major Mayson had been counting on Polk’s arrival with its promise of reinforcement. He wrote Col. William Thomson on the 18<sup>th</sup> of July 1775 that he expected “Polk’s company daily.”<sup>18</sup> On the 29<sup>th</sup>, Col. Thomson wrote Col. Henry Laurens: “. . . I have this moment been inform’d by a Traveling Man, that Capt. Polk Cross’d Saluda River with a compleat company of very Likely men on Sunday last, on his way to Ninety-Six. . . .”<sup>19</sup> Captain Polk arrived at Major Mayson’s camp at Ninety Six on Sunday, July 23.<sup>20</sup> Polk remained in camp for only a week and on Saturday, July 29<sup>th</sup>, marched his rangers out of it and sent them home. He wrote a letter to Major Mayson announcing that he had quit the service.<sup>21</sup>

On the 30<sup>th</sup> of July, Major Mayson wrote Col. Thomson, the lieutenant-colonel of the Regiment of Rangers, from his camp near Ninety Six: “. . . Capt. [Moses] Kirkland came here last Thursday Morning & immediately had a long private Talk with Capt. Polk, which I am a stranger to - but I am certain his coming was of very little service - The next morning I gave Capt. Polk Orders to sett off with a Command of men to Fort Charlotte for to conduct the ammunition which you ordered me to send for in your Last Letter [per] Mr. Forbes, when I was told, that he had discharged both the Grass & Quarter Guards from their duty - that he was their Officer & would not sacrifice their Healths for no Council of Safety’s Parading notions, that it was contrary to the rules of the Congress to march them towards Town & a great deal of such like inflammatory Language - I must confess that this sudden conduct of Capt. Polks surprised me very much as well as his behavior since - His men were very imprudent to me after his telling them that he would not order them below without their consent & as for his own part he would not go without there was an absolute occasion - so that his jaunt to Fort Charlotte was not complied with - I am certain it would be impossible for Capt. Polk ever to carry any Command over his Company, from what I’ve seen since his arrival here which was last Sunday Evening - The Morning preceeding that day I received a Letter from him by an Express, informing me, that he

would be glad to see me immediately, as he was likely to be ambuscaded by some of Capt. Cunningham's party - according I went & met him & his Company about eight miles over Saludy river & Conducted them hither - This party consisting of about sixty men had actually stopp'd them on the road, but Capt. Cunningham Ordered them to Disperse as soon as he came up with them - When I found Capt. Polk was determined to march his Company back again, I entreated him to reflect seriously on what he was going to do, as his honor was at stake. He said he had already done it and that he would not take the Tour which was ordered by the Council of Safety at this season of the year, that he allways understood the Rangers were raised to protect the Frontiers & not their Plantations, that he & all his Company were ready & willing to go, if there was a necessity for so doing; but at present in his opinion there was none, that they were now inlisted near a month, that neither he or his men expected any pay from the Province, & that he would not charge them a single farthing for the Expence he had been at in providing for them during that time - directly after this conversation Capt. Polk Ordered his Company to get ready for marching & left the Camp about 10 o'clock yesterday afternoon - I found myself all this time in a very disagreeable situation, having only 20 of Capt. Purves's men, who tho' obedient were not sufficient to execute my Orders, if I had given any, I thought it most prudent to let them depart in Peace, as they were all ripe to commit the most daring Enterprise - You will find under this cover from Capt. Polk a Letter for you together with another from me, which I received just before he quitted the Camp - I do not think it safe just now to send for any Ammunition from Fort Charlotte as there are so few Rangers here to protect it in case of need & the People still seem to be in as great a ferment as ever. . . . This letter was read to the Council of Safety on August 11.<sup>22</sup>

Obviously, Capt. Polk and his men had been influenced by Moses Kirkland as well as by Major Robinson's resolutions. Polk and his men clearly did not understand Ranger objectives as envisioned by the Council of Safety. Polk's and Kirkland's desertions "encouraged and increased the dissatisfaction of the people, from Broad to Savannah Rivers."<sup>23</sup> It was important for the revolutionary party to win back these men. Given Drayton and Tennent's current lack of success in winning the desired support of the area between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, it became critical for them to gain the support of the area between the Broad and Catawba Rivers, in other words, the New Acquisition District.

Col. Thomson wrote the Committee of Safety from Congarees on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August: ". . . And as to Kirkland and Polk, you'll see by their own Letters of their having deserted the cause as has also their officers and Men except Lieut Mitchell of Kirkland's Compy. . . ." <sup>24</sup> On the 11<sup>th</sup> of August, Henry Laurens wrote to Col. Thomson: ". . . since which the Council have been inform'd by a private Letter that Capt: Polk & his Company of Rangers had renounced the cause of Liberty & abandoned their Duty - - affairs of such moments should be communicated by Special Messengers & with out delay, your silence would have induced the Council to suspend their belief of that report had it not been made in positive terms by one of your officers to Mr. Gervais. Great are the difficulties which the true friends of Liberty & their Country have to encounter, but we trust that by perseverance, patience & resolution every obstacle will be surmounted. . . . [the following is in a postscript] You know what will be proper to be done with Captn. Kirkland when practicable & safe meantime the secre'cy formerly enjoyed will be necessary."<sup>25</sup>

Arthur Middleton wrote to William Henry Drayton on the 12<sup>th</sup> of August: "The Affidavit proves Capt. K. [Kirkland] a rebellious, seditious xxx. & the letter Capt. P. [Polk] not to be one of the best sort of Folk - for God's sake as you come down sweep the Chimney of the State, or we may shortly have a *Bonfire* - As you said it shall be done, I trust it will."<sup>26</sup> The extent of Middleton's

indignation against Kirkland, as shown by the multiple x's, would be surprising for the period had it not been for Kirkland's prior support of the revolutionary party. On the same day, Tennent wrote in his journal: ". . . Finding that a part of Col. Neal's Regiment laid contiguous to Mr. Tims' Tavern on Sandy river, we determined upon a meeting next day, and sent letters to Captains Martin and Richard Sadler, as also to Mr. Simpson all on Fishing Creek, to meet us at the above place and dispatched an express to them fifty miles. . . ." <sup>27</sup>

On the 19<sup>th</sup>, Tennent wrote in his journal: "... Capt. Polk now came. We find that he has laid under some mistake as to his duty."<sup>28</sup> Tennent wrote to Mr. Laurens on the 20<sup>th</sup> of August from Bullock's Creek: ". . . I turned my course into the new acquisition, where I am to have a meeting, from day to day, in Col. Neal's regiment. I think I shall fix this District in the right cause. . . . I have found one and am forming in this District another troupe of Volunteer Horse Rangers, who are as good as sworn to the Council of Safety, when they enlist."<sup>29</sup> He also reported a scheme to seize Fort Charlotte. Tennent wrote in his journal on the 21<sup>st</sup> ". . . went five miles to Barsheba [Beersheba] meeting house; found assembled a large body of people indeed; preached from Romans v. 5. Afterwards spoke largely upon the public affairs. The people seemed entirely satisfied and signed the Association almost universally."<sup>30</sup>

Ed. Note -- A stout, corpulent man between fifty and sixty years of age by 1776, Moses Kirkland arrived in South Carolina in the early 1750's and acquired a 950-acre indigo plantation on Turkey Creek (in modern Edgefield County), a sawmill, a ferry, and over three thousand acres of land. Convicted of selling liquor to Indians and caught scheming to steal land warrants from Saxe-Gotha township, he nevertheless became a man of influence, elected to the state assembly in 1768 and appointed deputy surveyor by the governor in 1774.

(From Keith Krawczynski, *William Henry Drayton*, Louisiana State U. Press, Baton Rouge, La., 2001, p.158-59.)

Drayton wrote that same day to the Council of Safety: ". . . Captain Polk came to us, appeared much concerned for his past conduct, attributing it to a mistake touching the station of the rangers, which he had thought, had been by the Congress fixed to the backcountry and frontiers. He has been since active in our favor as a person of influence in his part of the country on the back of Fletchall; his brother is a man of great influence in Mecklenburgh, and ready to march to our assistance when called upon: and already Fletchall looked upon Captain Polk as an acquisition to his party. Hence, to bind Captain Polk's brother, and all the friends of both to us;

to quash Fletchall's expectation from the Captain, and to have a troop of rangers on the back of Fletchall's people to watch their motions, we all thought it absolutely necessary to direct the raising of this additional troop, as we apprehended you would consider Captain Polk's letter and conduct as a resignation of his commission, and that you had already disposed of it. In short, we have given Captain Polk such a lesson, which he has received with all due submission, as I believe will render him more obedient to orders, than he has been."<sup>31</sup>

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of August, Drayton debated with Thomas Brown [of Georgia] and Moses Kirkland at Col. Fletchall's regimental muster. Only 250 of 1,000 men responded to the muster. Of this number,

only 70 signed the Association, but many of them had signed it previously.<sup>32</sup> Col. Thomson wrote on the 25<sup>th</sup> from Camp Amelia Fuquett's old Field: "... The express sent to Mr. Drayton has not yet return'd . . . Major Mason who has been some time at the Congarees waiting for them I expect at the same time to join Camp, from all the Intelligence I have had there was not much reason for our Friends in Georgia being so much alarm'd, the first certain accounts I had of Capt: Polk's disobedience, I recd' by a Letter from Major Mason the day before Mr. Drayton came to the Congarees, & on his arrival I deliver'd it to him. I did not chuse to write from report, where the reputation of a Gent: was at Stake. my officer, who wrote to Mr. Gervais/ yet unknown to me/ had he acquainted me, I should have had it in my power to have wrote facts. Whatever certainties might come to my Hands of consequence, either for or against the cause of Liberty, You may depend upon I shall / both as a point of my Duty & my strictest regard, for the welfare of the Country/ make immediate report of ..."<sup>33</sup>

Apparently, Capt. Ezekiel Polk explained his conduct satisfactorily to William Henry Drayton because he was reinstated to the command of his company, independent of the Third Regiment, but still under the command of Col. William Thomson. On 31<sup>st</sup> August 1775, Henry Laurens wrote Col. Thomson: "... For good and sufficient reasons we have confirmed the Reappointment of Capt. Ezek. Polk to a Command by Mr. Drayton & Mr. Tennent but not to be incorporated with your Regiment, although Mr. Drayton may order him to be under your Command, for particulars in this Case we refer you to Mr. Drayton - We have a right to expect Capt. Polk's future behavior will atone for his past misconduct; if he does not again disappoint us, a reunion with a Man of his influence & connexions will prove beneficial to our Cause . . ."<sup>34</sup>

Col. Thomson wrote on September 6<sup>th</sup> to Henry Laurens from camp at Congarees (near present-day Columbia): "... The reappointment: of Capt. Polk, I hope will be attended with very good consequences, & that he will endeavour to gain credit by his future behaviour. Inclos'd you will find a copy of his Letter to me which I just received, but shall not make any reply before I see Mr. Drayton. . ."<sup>35</sup>

On October 2, Capt. Polk wrote Henry Laurens, President of the Council of Safety: "I Flattered myself that I would Receive an answer to my Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> Sepr. Last by Mr. Henry; I am partly in a State in inactivity, I Took my company and five Companies of the Militia and Volunteers, in Order to Join Coll. Thompson, but had not Marched far till we Received Certain Intelligence that Coll. Fletchall had Decamped; I have made a Tour among the Tories on Kings Creek, some of whom seem Determined not to subscribe the association; I have Thought that forcing them to subscribe would not sufficiently secure them, therefore have taken a middle course with them, as you will find by the Inclosed Deposition; I thought it prudent at this Dangerous Crisis to proceed in this manner as some have already Declared, that although the Want of Necessaries has Obligated them to Subscribe yet they would Join the other party if they must fight; I have sworn several of them in this manner; and Expect a number at my house tomorrow for that purpose; this is their Voluntary act, and perhaps time may make them active on our side . . ." This letter was read in Council on the 12<sup>th</sup> and answered.<sup>36</sup>

Capt. Ezekiel Polk presented his Return on the 4<sup>th</sup> October, 1775 showing service for 111 days.<sup>37</sup> This may indicate that Polk and his Rangers may have been part of the force of 900 militia led by Colonels Richard Richardson, Andrew Williamson and William Thomson which drove off Kirkland's followers from their planned takeover of Fort Charlotte.

The Council of Safety wrote Capt. Polk on 13<sup>th</sup> October to explain the delay in communication with respect to Polk's newly raised company, relating that Polk's retirement caused them to fill his command, but "in order to give due encouragement to your recollected zeal in the public Service, we Resolved to confirm the order of Mr. Drayton & Mr. Tenent & authorized the former to assure you that your new Company should be kept in pay equal to that which is allowed to the Rangers, & we had reason to conclude that Mr. Drayton had given you the proper information on this head until his late return to Charles Town when we learned from him that he had omitted it." The letter mentions Polk's letter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> that explains Polk's activity as a "Magistrate & as a friend to Liberty & we approve of the measures which you have pursued for retaining the Enemies of their own & American freedom in a State of Neutrality . . ." He was then ordered to Dorchester to guard the public store of ammunition.<sup>38</sup>

By the time Patrick Cunningham and his followers seized the supply train for the Indians and settlers on November 3, 1775, Capt. Polk appears to have been completely rehabilitated in the eyes of the leaders of the revolutionary party. On the 10<sup>th</sup> of November, commissions appointing Ezekiel Polk, Esq., to be Captain of a company of Volunteer Rangers and Samuel Watson and William Polk to be Lieutenants were signed. In addition, both Ezekiel Polk and Watson were ordered to take a leave of absence from the Provincial Congress then in session (to which they had been elected) in order to take up their command.<sup>39</sup>

Captain Polk accompanied Col. Richardson as he moved first toward Col. Fletchall and then as he proceeded up the Congaree River on the way to Major Williamson at Ninety Six. From his camp, Richardson wrote on the 27<sup>th</sup> that his force had increased to 1,000 men; by the 30<sup>th</sup> of November, he had 1,500 men; and by December 2<sup>nd</sup> this number had swelled to 2,500. Polk's older brother, Colonel Thomas Polk, was marching from North Carolina with 600 men to join Richardson.<sup>40</sup> Drayton and Tennent had performed their mission. At least a large portion of the backcountry had been won over is demonstrated by the fact that Richardson's patriot army contained between 4,000 and 5,000 men by mid-December.<sup>41</sup> Polk and Watson continued to actively support the Revolution with both men attaining the rank of colonel. Not one man living in the New Acquisition District ever sought protection from the British and many served in the militia up to the end of hostilities.<sup>42</sup>

The closest the Loyalists came to winning ascendancy over the revolutionary party was on November 19, 1775 when they gathered a force of 1,890 men to besiege General Williamson at Ninety

Ed. Note: Captain Polk was not the only future rebel leader to reap trouble from associating with Moses Kirkland. Upon resigning his ranger captain's commission, Kirkland recommended Thomas Sumter in his place. Despite Colonel Richard Richardson's endorsement of Sumter, ("notwithstanding Kirkland recommended him"), the Council of Safety replied it would "postpone a consideration of a military appointment for Mr. Sumter until... we more clearly understand what duty he proposes to take upon himself." Foregoing the rangers, Sumter formed his own militia company.

From Robert D. Bass, *Gamecock*, Sandlapper Publishing Co., Inc, 2000, p.28-29.

Six.<sup>43</sup> By the end of 1775, the initial struggle to control the backcountry was over; political and military authority of the Provincial Congress was almost complete. After 1775, Whig policy of constant political and military suppression of Loyalists made it impossible for Britain's southern strategy begun in 1778 to succeed. Conflict between Loyalists and Whigs continued throughout the Revolution. Numerous memoirs and pension applications attest to the cruelty and bitterness evident in the Whig-Loyalist civil war that raged in the backcountry during 1780-1781. In the final analysis, the efforts of the Council of Safety to win over the backcountry and suppress Loyalist support from June to December of 1775 proved vital to the success of the American Revolution in South Carolina.

## Endnotes

All quotations retain the archaic spelling, abbreviations, and grammatical errors of the original materials.

1. Richard Maxwell Brown, *The South Carolina Regulators* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 114-124. Of the known "118 Regulators [derived from the official Pardon of October 31, 1771 which is heavily weighted to Camden District] sixty-nine (59%) were Whigs (fifty-five or 47% definitely, fourteen or 12% probably) six (5%) were Tories, and forty-three (36%) were either dead or of unknown status." Among the six Regulators who became Tories were Moses Kirkland and Robert Cunningham.

2. A. S. Salley, Jr., *The History of Orangeburg County, South Carolina - From Its First Settlement To The Close of The Revolutionary War* (Orangeburg, South Carolina: R. Lewis Berry, Printer, 1898), p. 337. Hereinafter cited as *History of Orangeburg Co., SC*. Dr. Ramsay (1749-1815) had been a member of the legislature (1776-1783) and a member of the Council of Safety. He was one of the first major historians of the Revolution.

3. John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, From Its Commencement To The Year 1776, Inclusive; As Relating To The State of South-Carolina: And Occasionally Referring To The States of North-Carolina and Georgia*, Volume I (Charleston, South Carolina: A. E. Miller, 1821; The New York Times & Arno Press; 1969), pp. 286-288. Hereinafter cited as *Memoirs*, Vol. I.

4. Fort Charlotte was located on the Savannah River, west of Ninety-Six, now beneath the Clark Hill Reservoir.

5. "Papers of the First Council of Safety of the Revolutionary Party in South Carolina, June-November, 1775," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1900): pages 44-46, from a letter from Mayson to Thomson, July 14, 1775. Hereinafter cited as "Council of Safety Papers, June-November 1775", Vol. I, No. 1.

6. Drayton, *Memoirs*, Vol. I., p. 324.

7. William Edwin Hemphill and Wylma Anne Wates, editors, *Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congresses of South Carolina, 1775-1776* (Columbia, South Carolina: South Carolina Archives Department, 1960), pp. 15-19. Hereinafter cited as *Extracts of Journals of SC, 1775-1776*.

8. Salley, *History of Orangeburg Co., SC*, pages 337-338.

9. Lyman C. Draper, Draper MSS, "Sumter Papers", 1VV107, Letter from Pickens to Lee, August 28, 1811. Lee, writing his memoirs at the time, asked Pickens to provide a sketch of his life and campaigns. This letter and the one at 1VV108 (a total of eleven pages) contain the only memoir ever written by General Pickens, as explained in Clyde R. Ferguson, "General Andrew Pickens" (Ph.D. dissertation, Duke University, 1960) pp. 656-657.

10. Gary D. Olson, "Loyalists and the American Revolution: Thomas Brown and the South Carolina Backcountry, 1775-1776," *South Carolina Historical Magazine*, Vol. 68 (1967): p. 205. Hereinafter cited as "Loyalists and the Amer. Rev."

11. Hemphill and Wates, *Extracts from the Journals of SC, 1775-1776*, pp. 47-48.

12. Prior to 1772, Polk would have been living in Tryon County, North Carolina. In 1772, the border between North and South Carolina in upper-north-central South Carolina was redrawn to run along the Catawba River and called the New Acquisition. Although only a relatively small area was taken into South Carolina by this action, the area between the Broad and Catawba Rivers was called the New Acquisition District during the Revolution. In 1785, this area would become York County.

13. Lyman C. Draper, Draper Manuscript Collection, (Madison, Wisconsin: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1944-1949), "Mecklenburg Declaration Papers," 2FF260-266.

14. Hemphill and Wates, *Extracts from the Journals of SC, 1775-1776*, p. 33.

15. Brent H. Holcomb, *Tryon County North Carolina Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1769-1779* (Columbia, South Carolina: B.H.H., 1994), p. 43. Hereinafter cited as *Tryon Co., NC Minutes*.

16. Holcomb, *Tryon County, NC Minutes*, p. 65.

17. Margaret M. Hoffman, *Colony of North Carolina, 1765-1775, Abstracts of Land Patents*, Vol. 2 (Weldon, North Carolina: The Roanoke News Company, 1984), pp. 4, 118, 154, and 531. Original sources: North Carolina Land Patent Books 18, page 139 (2); NC Patent Book 20, p. 428; and, NC Patent Book 23, p. 219.

18. "Council of Safety Papers, June-November 1775, Vol. I, p. 47.

19. *Ibid*, p. 68.

20. *Ibid*, p. 70.

21. *Ibid*, p. 68.

22. *Ibid*, pp. 69-71.

23. Drayton, *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. 323.

24. Salley, *History of Orangeburg Co., SC*, p. 414.

25. *Ibid*, pp. 416-417.

26. "Correspondence of Hon. Arthur Middleton, Signer of the Declaration of Independence," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (July 1926): p. 126. The italics are Middleton's.

27. Robert Wilson Gibbes, editor, *Documentary History of the American Revolution: consisting of letters and papers relating to the contest for Liberty, chiefly in South Carolina, from originals in the possession of the editor and other sources, 1764-1783*, Vol. I (New York, New York: D. Appleton, 1855), pp. 227-228. Hereinafter cited as Gibbes, *Documentary History of the Amer. Rev.*, Vol. I.

28. Salley, *History of Orangeburg Co., SC*, p. 293.

29. Gibbes, *Documentary History of the Amer. Rev.*, Vol. I, p. 145.

30. *Ibid*, p. 229. This was one of four Presbyterian churches in the New Acquisition District.

31. Salley, *History of Orangeburg Co., SC*, p. 295.

32. Olson, *Loyalists and the Amer. Rev.*, p. 211.

33. Salley, *History of Orangeburg Co., SC*, pp. 424-425, addressee unknown.

34. "Papers of the First Council of Safety Papers of the Revolutionary Party in South Carolina, June-November, 1775," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 3 (July, 1900): p. 192.

35. Salley, *History of Orangeburg Co., SC*, p. 434.

36. "Papers of the First Council of Safety of the Revolutionary Party in South Carolina, June-November, 1775," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. II, No. 4 (October 1901): pp. 261-262. The oaths taken by Capt. Polk can be found on pp. 103-104, along with the agreement, pursuant to the Council of Safety's recommendation of September 20<sup>th</sup>, to build a large stockade fort near the center of the regimental area.

37. Ezekiel Polk's Ranger Return, "Papers of the First Council of Safety of the Revolutionary Party in South Carolina, June-November, 1775," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. III, No. 1 (January 1902): p. 4.

38. "Historical Notes - Ezekiel Polk", *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. V, No. 3 (July 1904): pp. 189-

190. By September 15, Kirkland had fled to Charleston where he embarked on the man-of-war, *Tamar*, as per a letter from Henry Laurens to W. H. Drayton of this date found in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. I, No. 4 (October 1900), p. 281.

39. Hemphill and Wates, *Extracts of Journals of SC, 1775-1776*, p. 114.

40. John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution, From Its Commencement To The Year 1776, Inclusive; As Relating To The State of South-Carolina: And Occasionally Referring To The States of North-Carolina and Georgia*, Volume II (Charleston, South Carolina: A. E. Miller, 1821; The New York Times & Arno Press; 1969), pp. 124-126. Hereinafter cited as *Memoirs*, Vol. II.

41. Drayton, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 131.

42. David Ramsay M.D., *The History of South-Carolina, From Its First Settlement in 1670 to The Year 1808 In Two Volumes* (Charleston, South Carolina: David Longworth, 1809), Vol. I, p. 378. According to Lyman Draper, Polk was forced to take protection in 1780 to save his family and his property when the first British invasion reached his land (south of Sugar Creek in Mecklenburg County). As soon as it was safe to do so, he renounced this support and led a militia scouting party. Draper, in his notes, says that Lord Cornwallis was heard to say that had he been able to catch Polk, he would've hung him [Draper Ms, "Mecklenburg Declaration by Draper," 2FF260-266]. The assessment of New Acquisition men's service in the militia is based on an independent analysis of pension applications filed by men who enlisted in York County. Capt. Ezekiel Polk's future grandson, James K. Polk, would become a U. S. President.

43. Drayton, *Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 119. General Williamson's garrison contained only 562 men.

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## The Charleston Library Society

by Ben Rubin

Searching the collections at two of the major local research institutions in Charleston was an enlightening experience. As between the two, the Historical Society is by far the more useful. However, no research on a Southern Campaign topic should be considered complete until one has done the research at the Library Society that is located at 164 King Street across from the Gibbs Art Museum.

The Library Society, of course, houses the staple works on the revolution in the south, such as Gibbs's *Documentary History* and McCrady's *History of the Southern Campaigns in South Carolina*. However, there are also a number of gems that should not be missed. For example, I encountered several microfilm collections, containing letters and papers from such South Carolina greats as Charles Pinckney and John Rutledge, as well as an anonymous diary of a British engineer at the Siege of Charleston and the 1778 order book of the 3<sup>rd</sup> South Carolina Militia. I also found a large-scale copy of the Henry Mouzon map of the Carolinas from 1775.

The collections are hard to search, however, and finding something useful is more luck than anything else. The card catalog is unwieldy and hard to use. Items are frequently categorized in places they have no business being and the subjects themselves are a little sporadic. You might try a dozen subjects before you find one that lists the books you are looking for and it might be in the last place you would think to look. In addition, there is no separate file to search for manuscripts by subject. Interestingly enough, when you ask the librarians how to search manuscripts, they hand you an old copy of the *South Carolina Historical Magazine* (Vol. 83, No. 2, April 1982), which catalogued the manuscript collection, independent of the Society. Even this, however, is not sorted by subject. There is no electronic search mechanism either online or at the Library Society itself. You can find things at the Library Society but it takes a lot of perseverance and a little luck. Do not expect the kind of helpful, knowledgeable service you get at the Historical Society either.



**Charleston Library Society at 164 King Street.**

Research at the library society can be expensive as well. The daily research fee for non College of Charleston students is \$5 and copies are \$.30. Annual memberships are \$50 for adults, \$15 for children and \$20 for students, although the Society is free to College of Charleston students. If you want the librarians to search anything for you, it is an additional \$50 an hour. I would say, save your money. No one that I spoke to seemed to be very familiar with the collection, or exceptionally excited about helping out. The Library Society is open from 9:30 am to 5:00 pm M-F, and from 9:30 am to 2:00 pm on Saturday, and is closed on Sunday. The library's Executive Director is W. Eric Emerson, Ph.D.

The South Carolina Library Society has some unique things in its collection, such as the manuscripts I found, but it is somewhat of a stab in the dark trying to find them. If you have a lot of time to kill, or are feeling lucky, you never know what you might find. If not, I would recommend the South Carolina Historical Society. They have a searchable online catalog, a card file that makes sense, a well-organized manuscript collection, and wonderfully knowledgeable and passionate librarians. ★

Subjects of the Crown “The Queen’s own Loyal Virginia Regiment and Lord Dunmore’s Ethiopian Regiment, 1775-1776”

by Donald J. Gara



“Plan des environs de Williamsburg, York, Hampton, et Portsmouth.” 1781 French map from the Rochambeau Collection in the Library of Congress, Washington, DC enhanced by cartographer John A. Robertson showing the relative positions of Kemp’s Landing, Great Bridge and Norfolk, Virginia.

<http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g3882h.ar144500>

Sixty separate Loyalist units, ranging in size from company to brigade strength, were raised during the American Revolutionary War between the period from 1775 to 1781.<sup>1</sup> Many of these were short-lived and then disbanded or absorbed into stronger ones. This was generally a result of their inability to maintain their own authorized rank and file enrollment. One such short-lived unit was the “Queen’s Own Loyal Virginia Regiment” raised in November 1775 by John Murray “Lord Dunmore”, the last Royal Governor of Virginia. This regiment was subsequently disbanded a year later. Many of its surviving members were reassigned to the Queen’s American Rangers, a Loyalist unit raised in New York by Robert Rogers, the founder and leader of Rogers Rangers during the French and Indian War.

The “Queen’s Loyal” is deserving of special attention by those interested in both Virginia and Revolutionary War history as this unit was one of only two Loyalist units raised in Virginia. The other was a unit composed of escaped slaves, called Dunmore’s Ethiopian Regiment, authorized by Lord Dunmore at the same time but subordinated to the Queen’s Loyal. The blacks were organized as a separate unit in order not to discourage the flow of southern whites who might not want to serve in a regiment composed of both races.

Dunmore’s motives in organizing these regiments were twofold. He needed a sufficiently large armed force to both resist further encroachments by the Patriots upon his authority and to win back that authority which he had already lost. He had been Royal Governor since 21 December 1770, when he succeeded a popular governor who had died in office. Affairs in Virginia had continued on a smooth course until 26 May 1774 when he ordered the House of Burgesses dissolved. The rebellious burgesses had protested the closing of Boston by calling for a day of fasting and prayer. A few days later, a group of rebellious burgesses met at a tavern in Williamsburg where they agreed to call for a convention of delegates to meet on 1 August from all the counties in Virginia.<sup>2</sup>

Between early July 1774 and late November 1774, Dunmore was on the western frontier of Virginia taking part in what would become known as “Lord Dunmore’s War”. This was an effort to punish the Shawnee Indians who were getting increasingly belligerent over the effort by whites to take over land promised to the Indians by existing British treaties. He returned after its successful conclusion to Williamsburg where he found, in his absence, that the Virginia convention had passed a series of resolutions generally banning the importation of British goods. Dunmore was unhappy over this state of affairs but he had no power or influence to override the convention’s decisions. A state of tension continued to exist for the next several months between Dunmore and the convention, and the newly created committee of safety, until he finally made a decision that effectively ended Royal authority in Virginia.

Ever since 8 June 1775, Gov. Dunmore had been a refugee aboard a British warship anchored in the general vicinity of Hampton Roads. He had voluntarily fled the capital of Williamsburg because of fears for his personal safety and a general feeling of helplessness to halt the march of revolution. There were no British regular troops stationed in Virginia in 1775. He would avail himself of the

protection of the British navy until some could arrive to support and enforce his commands.<sup>3</sup> The existing British naval force in

Lord Dunmore’s War occurred in 1774 and had nothing to do with the split between the Loyalists and Patriots. Most Virginians supported this war as it was for pushing back the Indians and opening new western lands for settlement. He arrived in Winchester, Virginia on 18 July 1774 and used that place as a base for recruiting men and supplies. He left there, with about 700 men in the last week of August and marched to Pittsburgh. There he summoned a council of Indians but the leading hostiles, the Shawnees, refused to attend. As a result he left Pittsburgh on 10 September and proceeded toward his rendezvous with militia forces under Colonel Andrew Lewis who came from southwest Virginia. On 10 October, when about 28 miles from Point Pleasant, news was brought that Lewis and his men had defeated the Shawnees at that place and that the Indians were in complete flight. Although too late to participate in the battle, Dunmore did extract a workable treaty from the Indians and then marched back to Williamsburg as a public hero. The honeymoon ended when the Virginia convention met at Williamsburg and passed a series of resolutions banning the importation of British goods. This, Dunmore as the Royal Governor, could not accept. **DJG**

Hampton Roads in June 1775 consisted of four armed ships with none larger than a frigate. The sailors and marines aboard them were not strong enough to affect events ashore. Dunmore therefore requested reinforcements from Lieutenant General Thomas Gage, commander of British forces in Boston. On 31 July, the first contingent of reinforcements arrived. They were from the Fourteenth Regiment of Foot, which numbered a mere 60 rank and file and were regularly stationed at St. Augustine, Florida. By 7 November, the British regulars had increased to 134 rank and file which was the maximum which could be spared to aid Dunmore. He would have to raise and arm the local Loyalists if he were ever to regain his authority. He could not depend solely on so small a force of regulars to turn back the tide of revolution in Virginia.<sup>4</sup> The calling of the Virginia Loyalists to arms had to be deferred until an opportune moment arrived. This would be when the least resistance from the Patriot forces could be expected to hinder the safe arrival of recruits.

The Queen’s Own Loyal Virginia and its sister regiment, Dunmore’s Ethiopians, had their birth in Norfolk, Virginia on 25 November 1775. This came about because a few days earlier, on 14 November at Kemps Landing, Dunmore with 109 British regulars had routed a large body of about 300 Virginia Patriot militia. They killed five and wounded or captured 31 others at the loss of only one British soldier wounded.<sup>5</sup> This success gave Gov. Dunmore the opportune moment to declare martial law

<sup>1</sup> William O. Raymond, “Loyalists in Arms”, New Brunswick Historical Society *Collections*, 5, (1904), p. 190; Paul H. Smith, *Loyalists and Red Coats- A Study in British Revolutionary Policy*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> Ivor Noel Hume, *1775 – Another Part of the Field*, (New York, Alfred A. Knoff, Inc., 1966), pp. 30-31.

<sup>3</sup> John E. Selby, *The Revolution in Virginia –1775-1783*, (Charlottesville, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), pp. 43-44.  
<sup>4</sup> Earl of Dunmore to Earl of Dartmouth, 4 January 1776, in Kenneth G. Davies, *Documents of the American Revolution* (DAR), (21 Volumes, Colonial Office Series, Dublin, 1972-1981), 12:62-67.  
<sup>5</sup> Dunmore to Dartmouth, dated 6 December 1775, DAR, 12:57-60.

and issue a call for all loyal men to join the Royal standard. To spur recruiting, Gov. Dunmore promised freedom to all indentured servants and slaves who would take up arms for Great Britain.

The rank and file recruits for the Queen's Loyal came not only from the aforementioned ranks of indentured servants but also from the class of small farmers, laborers and skilled artisans who worked in the towns. Some recruits were even enrolled from militia prisoners taken at Kemps Landing. The nationality of a good number of recruits were Scottish because many had been brought up under a feudal code to give their loyalty to the chief of the clan and to the head of state.<sup>6</sup> This was not a surprising turn of events. Since Scotland and England had been united during the reign of Queen Anne in 1707, they had come to give their loyalty to England. They could not really understand the issue of independence nor the desire of many Americans to decide their destiny without interference from a "benevolent government". In the Tidewater area of Virginia, the Scots were chiefly lowland Scots from the Glasgow and Edinburgh areas and primarily engaged in trade. Others were professional artisans supplying the needs of the English planter class.

The officer corps of both the new Loyalist regiments consisted of whites. As in the case of the rank and file, they also were predominately Scottish, both foreign and native born. Many were merchants or factors from the Norfolk area whose livelihoods were tied up with continuance of trade with Great Britain. They entirely opposed the Continental Association that banned not only most imports but also many exports to that country. They made their living by importing goods on consignment from English merchants and extending credit on future crops of tobacco, corn and wheat from the planters. This frequently put the planters into debt. Others, which included most of those of English ancestry, came from the professional classes such as government officials, ministers, physicians, etc, who did not desire to break with the mother country as they were satisfied with the established order of things. In general it was the businessman and professionals who became Loyalists, as they were too busy making a living to take time out to consider independence. On the other hand, the planter class was more likely to espouse rebellion as it might free them from their dependence on the merchants and British bankers from whom they obtained the credit necessary to maintain their style of living. In addition, since their plantations were worked by slave labor, they had the leisure time to discuss and participate in politics. They were jealous of any encroachment by Royal authorities on both the internal affairs of Virginia and on their perceived rights as British citizens within the British Empire.<sup>7</sup>

The names of most of the Loyalists commissioned in either of the two regiments are unknown as formal muster rolls were either never prepared, destroyed or else cannot be located. A few can be identified from other sources. Jacob Ellegood, from Rosshall Plantation on the Lynnhaven River, who had been a former commander of the colonial militia in Princess Anne County, brought in 300 men, who formed the nucleus of the Queen's Own Loyal Virginia Regiment. He was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the unit. Ellegood's ward and brother-in-law, John Saunders, a young student, previously studying law at the College of Philadelphia, was commissioned a captain in the Queen's Loyal after bringing in 30 men. The local county committee had ostracized Saunders the year before for refusing to sign the

<sup>6</sup> Keith Berwick, *Loyalties in Crisis – A Study of the Attitudes of Virginians in the Revolution*, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, (University of Chicago, 1959), pp. 53-54.

<sup>7</sup> Selby, *Revolution in Virginia*, pp. 29-31; Isaac Harrell, *Loyalism in Virginia*, (New York, Duke University Publications, 1926), pp. 5-6.

Continental Association. Stair Agnew, son of the Reverend John Agnew of Suffolk, who was also an outspoken opponent of the association, received an ensign's commission. John McKay, a future brother-in-law of John Saunders, was made a captain in the Ethiopian Regiment.<sup>8</sup> This regiment composed of blacks was to be staffed by white commissioned and non-commissioned officers.<sup>9</sup>

The period of active service for both units ran approximately from 25 November 1775 to 13 August 1776. A few days after their initial organization, one company of the Queen's Loyal under Saunders and two companies of the Ethiopians, totaling about 140 men, were sent to garrison a newly constructed redoubt called Fort Murray.<sup>10</sup> This post located just north of the village of Great Bridge guarded the most practicable land approach to Norfolk which was now established as Dunmore's base of operations. The balance of the two regiments remained at Norfolk together with about 170 British regulars of all ranks plus detachments of sailors and marines from the two British sloops of war (*Otter and Kingfisher*). All together, Dunmore had about 500 men at his disposal fortifying Norfolk against possible assault.

Patriot militia forces started gathering in force at Great Bridge itself but they refrained from trying to take Fort Murray due to the lack of cannon. Nevertheless frequent skirmishing and raids on each other's outposts occurred between Saunders's Loyalist contingent and the Virginia Patriot militia commanded by Colonel William Woodford.

Lord Dunmore decided to take the offensive on 8 December 1775 with his full force against the Patriot militia at Great Bridge who numbered about 700 men. He anticipated putting them to rout as easily as he had done to those at Kemps Landing three weeks earlier on 14 November. The terrain over which the attack had to be launched was difficult. Both sides of the Elizabeth River at Great Bridge were marshy for several miles in length. The width of the marsh and the river itself was about a half mile. On both sides of the river however were firm plots of land covered with trees and shrubbery. These plots might be described as 'islands' since they were entirely surrounded by marsh and water with each joined to the mainland by a causeway. The bridge connected the two plots to each other.

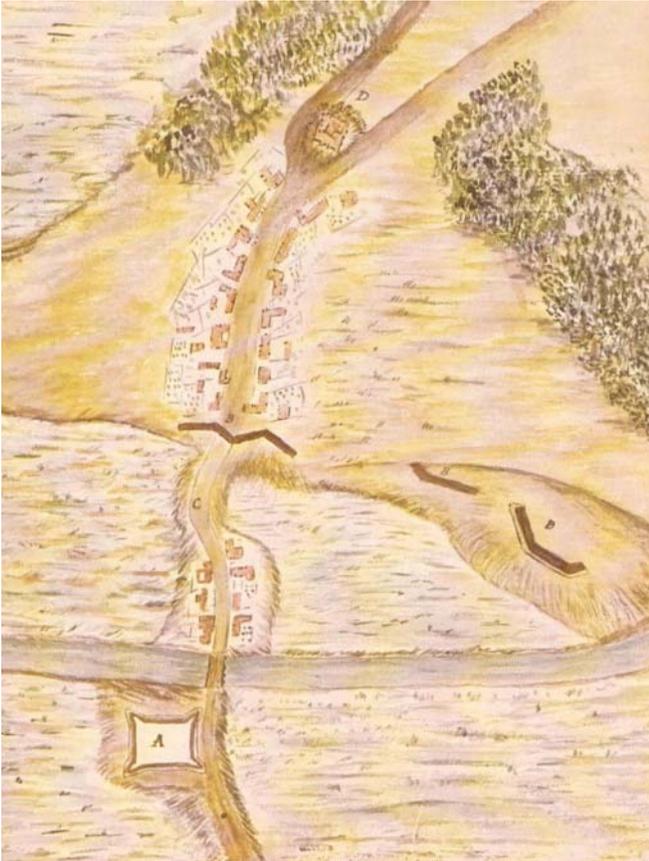
The 'island' on the south side near the village of Great Bridge, contained six or seven houses with piles of cedar and cypress shingles scattered here and there. Loyalist raiding forces from Fort Murray had recently burned two or three of these buildings. Colonel Woodford nightly stationed an outpost of several men on

<sup>8</sup> New York Public Library, Papers of Commission of Inquiry into Losses and Services of American Loyalists Held under Acts of Parliament, 1783-1789, "American Loyalist Transcripts", (60 Volumes, London, 1898-1903), 58:72, 58:573 and 59:203; Lorenzo Sabine, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution*, (2 Volumes, Port Washington, Kennikat Press, N.Y. 1966, reprint 1864 edition), 2:256-257; Alfred E. Jones, "Letter Regarding the Queen's Rangers – Virginians in the Queen's Rangers", *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 30, (1922), pp. 373- 375; "Virginia Gazette", 31 August 1776, in Edward W. James *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, (5 Volumes, Baltimore, 1895-1900), 5:32 and 35.

<sup>9</sup> Earl of Dunmore to Sir William Howe, 30 November 1775, in Robert L. Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia – The Road to Independence*, (7 Volumes, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1973-1983), 4:495.

<sup>10</sup> Richmond College Historical Papers (RCHP), (2 Volumes, Richmond, 1916), 1:104; John Saunders to Sir Henry Clinton, 29 November 1779, "Clinton Papers", (William Clements Library, Ann Arbor).

this 'island' which he withdrew each morning before dawn so that they might not be exposed to the enemies' cannon fire. The 'island' on the north side, nearer to Norfolk, contained the Loyalist fort, which was erected in such a way that it commanded both causeways and the bridge itself. After dark, on the night of 8 December, the regulars of the Fourteenth Regiment left Norfolk, under the command of British Captain Samuel Leslie, and were accompanied by the remainder of the Queen's Loyal and Ethiopian Regiments. They arrived at Fort Murray at 3:30 am after a twelve-mile march. Their attack was to be made shortly after daybreak, which gave the British and Loyalists only a few hours rest before going into action.



**British map from the Clements Library at the University of Michigan of Great Bridge, Virginia. A is Fort Murray; B are the Patriot breastworks; C is the causeway, site of the attack on the British troops; D is the church. North is down.**

Dunmore's plan of attack was for the two companies of the Ethiopian Regiment, who were part of the Fort Murray garrison, to make a detour around the marsh and fall upon the rear of the Patriot militia at daybreak. The diversion was expected to draw Woodford's men from their breastworks. The British would then cross the bridge and south causeway and storm the unguarded defenses. The defenses were fairly strong. A main breastwork had been set up where the southern causeway met the mainland. Two smaller entrenchments had been set up on another plot of firm ground about 200 yards to the side of the south causeway and in front of the main breastwork. A force crossing would be exposed to withering fire because these two smaller entrenchments completely flanked the southern causeway. These entrenchments were fully manned, with the main body of the Patriots encamped 400 yards back in the village itself ready to support the forward posts.

It was to be an unfortunate day for Lord Dunmore and his supporters. The first disappointment was that the African Americans, assigned to make the diversion, were on outpost duty at the time the British force arrived at Fort Murray and they never received their instructions. Nevertheless Dunmore and Leslie were still eager to make an assault on the Patriot breastworks, even though the 900 Patriots outnumbered the British and Loyalists by 400 troops. From his previous experience, Dunmore did not consider the Patriot militia too formidable and Leslie considered that trained British soldiers could make short work of untrained militia who would probably flee after a few shots. The lesson taught at Bunker Hill apparently did not make its way south.

The British attack took the Patriots initially by surprise. After laying planks across the dismantled bridge, the British crossed over onto the 'island' end of the causeway, meeting some scattered fire from Woodford's retreating sentinels. Two British field guns under British Lieutenant Batut deployed and opened fire on the main breastwork. The Grenadiers under Captain Charles Fordyce approached the causeway and started across. They came, "resplendent in their red-fronted bearskins caps, buff-laced red coats, buff breeches and thigh-length black garters over gleaming buckled shoes, with bayonets fixed, pacing to the thud of their drums".

The last 160 yard stretch of the causeway offered no protection and dropped off into low and muddy ground on either side. At about 50 yards from the breastworks, the Patriots opened fire. By this point, the Grenadiers were then partially on and partially off the causeway. Fordyce went down at the first volley with a bullet in the knee and for a moment the soldiers faltered. The Captain, wrapping a piece of cloth around his wound, stood up and urged his men forward, again taking the lead. Another volley thundered out from the breastwork and shot after shot tore into Fordyce, a total of 14 bullets, killing him when he was about 20 yards from the breastwork. A third volley was fired and finally the Grenadiers broke and reeled back across the causeway taking as many of their dead and wounded as could be carried.

The Patriots continued firing into the retreating ranks, being joined by two smaller entrenchments on the westward who brought an equally murderous fire to bear on the British flank. The other British and Loyalist forces on the 'island' realized that the Patriots were determined to stand and fight. To attempt to cross the causeway again limited to just six men abreast would only mean more slaughter. They simply held their ground on the 'island' for a quarter of an hour and then retreated over the bridge to the fort, dragging their cannon with them. The Battle of Great Bridge was over. The Patriots did not pursue, not wishing to repeat the British experience.

The Patriot casualties were remarkably light with only one man wounded. The British however lost three officers killed and one wounded plus 14 rank and file killed and 48 wounded. It was a disastrous outcome for the British, and especially for Dunmore's hopes to inflict a serious defeat on the Patriots and to keep Norfolk open until more reinforcements could arrive. The British and Loyalists withdrew from the fort about 7 pm on 9 December and headed back to Norfolk, arriving about midnight. The wounded had been loaded in carts and wagons obtained from neighboring farms. The ride back to Norfolk inflicted greater suffering on these wounded, whose cries of pain were intermingled with pleas for water to relieve their feverish thirst.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Peter Force, *American Archives*, (Series 4, 6 Volumes, Washington D.C., 1837-1853), 4:4:228-229 and

The news of the defeat at Great Bridge spread panic among the Loyalist population. Dunmore felt he could no longer risk attempting to hold Norfolk with dispirited supporters and all took to the ships of the fleet, abandoning the near-completed entrenchments. Many of the African Americans enrolled in Dunmore's Ethiopians were discharged as there was no room for all of them aboard the ships. Those white Loyalists who had given lip service to the Royal cause, plus those who could not get on board a ship, either tried to melt into the neighboring communities or to make their peace with the Patriots.

The Loyalists remained aboard the ships until mid-March 1776 supplied by local Loyalist farmers and by periodic raids on shore. The Patriot forces stated that any male Loyalist found on land would be seized and made subject to trial and imprisonment. An exception was made for the women and children aboard the ships who would be permitted to come ashore and allowed to stay, provided they agreed never to return to the ships. Few agreed to this arrangement as it could mean permanent separation of families.<sup>12</sup> The outbreak of disease however finally forced all the Loyalists to land in March and set up a temporary camp on the shores of the Elizabeth River below Portsmouth. Typhus and smallpox had broken out on board the ships due to crowded conditions and insufficient food and water. The dead had to be thrown overboard and their bodies washed up on shore spreading the disease still further. Once ashore, re-recruitment for the Queen's Loyal and Dunmore's Ethiopians again resumed. The British regulars were now down to only 40 rank and file fit for duty and a large armed force was still considered vital to defend the new camp against Patriot raids and excursions. The sea approaches were still defended by four British ships of war. (*Liverpool, Kingfisher, Otter, and Roebuck.*)

Recruiting for the white regiment went very slowly. Patriot successes had their effect in persuading many of Loyalist inclination to refrain from publicly declaring themselves. Commanding officer Lieutenant Colonel Ellegood was now a prisoner, having been captured at Hampton escorting some Loyalist refugees to the coast. He was to remain a prisoner for five years. The total new enrollment was not to exceed more than 100 men. Their highest enrollment, prior to Great Bridge, had been nearly 500 but this had steadily declined over the winter and spring months. On the other hand, re-recruitment for the black regiment went better. Their strength increased to about 300. The offer of freedom to those who served still proved to be a good drawing card. It would have been better if not for a virulent form of typhus that carried off many soldiers.<sup>13</sup>

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540. The various letters in this volume provide a description of the Battle of Great Bridge. Additionally, see David K. Wilson's article on the Battle of Great Bridge in Vol. 4, No. 1-3 SCAR January – March 2007, p. 41. For the British muster roll of the detachment of the Fourteenth Regiment of Foot see Samuel Leslie, *Captain Fourteenth Regiment Infantry* contained in Peter Force, *American Archives*, series 4, volume 4, page 314, National Endowment for the Humanities and Northern Illinois University Libraries online edition, digital document ID: S4-V4-P01-sp11-D0047. (Accessed 1 January 2007.) For the Patriot muster roll, "A General Return of the Forces Under Collo: Woodford at the Great Bridge, Decr. 10th 1775" found in Robert L. Scribner and Brent Tarter, eds., *Revolutionary Virginia: the Road to Independence* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1979), 5: 101. Courtesy of David K. Wilson.

<sup>12</sup> William Woodford to President of Convention, 30 December 1775, RCHP, 1: 145.

<sup>13</sup> Frank Eppes to Charles Lee, 31 March 1776, "Lee Papers", *The New-York Historical Society Collections*, (4 Volumes, New York, 1871-1784), 1: 365-366.

The white Loyalists captured were generally given the opportunity to swear allegiance to the Patriot cause or else face long-term imprisonment. A good many choose the former alternative. The captured blacks had no such choice. They were returned to either their former masters or sent by ship to the West Indies or the Bay of Honduras for public sale.<sup>14</sup> The more recalcitrant among them would first be sent to the whipping post or even executed as an example to others. One black, Peter Anderson, thirty-one years old, captured at Great Bridge, was repeatedly threatened with hanging and after six months captivity, escaped by climbing out of a garret window. He subsequently hid out in the woods, surviving by his wits until a British raiding expedition under Major General Alexander Leslie came to Virginia in 1780. He went with them to Charleston, South Carolina where he hired himself out as a laborer until he was sent to England aboard the transport "*Roman Emperor*" with other refugees. He was too afraid to stay in America and risk capture by the Americans.<sup>15</sup>

The African Americans were now to constitute Dunmore's main military force. However, they would be of doubtful value unless someone could quickly turn them into soldiers. Lieutenant Thomas Taylor Byrd of the Sixteenth Regiment, the twenty-four year old son of William Byrd III, a leading Virginia planter, was accordingly appointed Major Commandant of Dunmore's Ethiopians. Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton who had stopped by to confer with the Governor while enroute to attack Charleston, South Carolina, had left Byrd with Dunmore as a military advisor on 26 February. Dunmore had asked Clinton for additional help at that time but had been turned down on the basis that the latter's troops were committed to the Carolinas. Dunmore would have to make do with what he had.<sup>16</sup> Two months after their landing, the Loyalists were again obliged to reboard their vessels as the blockade of their camp by the Patriots had left them extremely short of supplies. Although they had successfully fortified their camp against attack, they could not combat starvation and disease. During the siege, Major General Charles Lee, the newly appointed American commander for the Southern Department, stopped by to visit the Patriot forces while enroute to command the defenses of Charleston against Clinton. With Lee was his aid, Lieutenant Otway Bryd, a brother of the British Major Thomas Taylor Byrd. Otway Byrd had formerly served in the British Navy but had resigned the previous October to join the Continental Army.<sup>17</sup> This situation was not unique for many Virginia families were also to see their sons on opposite sides of the conflict.

The Loyalists withdrew up Chesapeake Bay and landed on Gwynn's Island on 26 May. The island was separated from the mainland by a strip of water varying from one eighth to a quarter of a mile in width. It was four or five miles in length and had an estimated area of 2,300 acres. It had fresh water and a considerable stock of cattle, hogs and sheep. It certainly appeared to be a good

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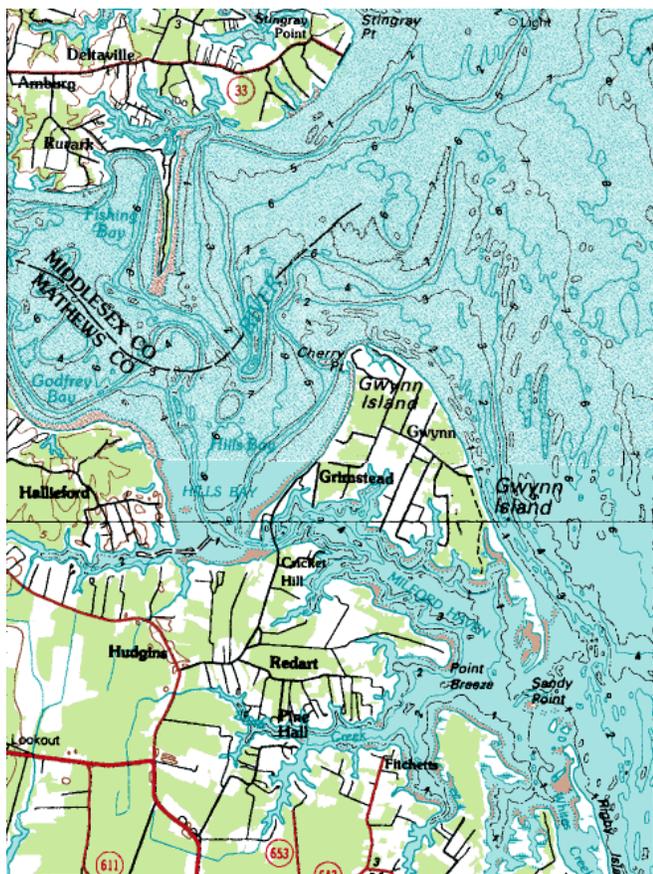
<sup>14</sup> Resolutions of the Virginia Convention, 17 January 1776, in Robert L. Scribner, *Revolutionary Virginia – The Road to Independence*, (7 Volumes, Charlottesville, University Press of Virginia, 1973-1983), 5:423.

<sup>15</sup> Peter Coldham, *American Migrations 1765-1799*, (Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Company, 2000), p. 532; British Public Record Office (PRO), Audit Office (AO) 13/27/230 (Kew, England).

<sup>16</sup> Letters of the Byrd Family, "Thomas Taylor Byrd to William Byrd, III, 23 February 1776", ViHi 39 (1931), pp. 227-228; Thomas Byrd to Thomas Gage, 11 July 1775, "Gage Papers", (William Clements Library, Ann Arbor).

<sup>17</sup> Letters of the Byrd Family, "Ottway Byrd to William Byrd III, 10 February 1776", ViHi 39, p. 224; John C. Fitzpatrick (Ed), Bi Centennial Commission "Writings of George Washington", (39 Volumes, U.S. Government Printing Office), 4: 43.

place to stop and replenish the larders and consider the next move.<sup>18</sup> On the island Dunmore's military force was augmented by a small troop of ten light horse recruited by John Randolph Grymes, a local resident. Grymes, a wealthy planter, had an estate of 1,160 acres on the island and lived as a private gentleman without following any trade or profession.<sup>19</sup> The blacks were reorganized into two companies with one company under Major Byrd and the other commanded by Captain John McKay. Some Loyalist refugees from Maryland also joined Dunmore and about 50 joined the Queen's Loyal. One of them, William Atkinson, was commissioned an Ensign in the regiment.<sup>20</sup>



**Excerpt from USGS 7.5 minute topographic map, Deltaville quad, showing Gwynn Island at the mouth of the Piankatank River in the Chesapeake Bay.**

The battle against smallpox and typhus still continued. Dunmore tried to stop the plague by separating the sick from the well and placing them on opposite sides of the island. Inoculations against smallpox were continued but had limited effect. Bodies were found floating frequently in the surrounding waters. A total of 500 were estimated to have died between their arrival and final withdrawal from Gwynn's Island. Their respite was cut short. On 9 July, the Loyalists were awakened by cannon fire from Virginia Patriot militia under Brigadier General Andrew Lewis. Grapeshot began falling on the Loyalist shipping, camp and fortifications. More direct hits occurred on Dunmore's flagship "Dunmore" and the Governor was wounded. It was later reported by a Loyalist prisoner that His Lordship stated "Good God, that ever I should come to this". The "Dunmore" managed to fire off one broadside

before she cut her anchor cables and hauled herself out of range. The other ships near shore began to slip their cables in an attempt to escape. Had the wind set in with the flood tide, a great many vessels might have been grounded and been captured. As it were, only three ships were taken, abandoned by their crews. The fire from the Patriot batteries caused great confusion and some of the Loyalist and British sick and wounded were burnt alive in brush huts which had caught fire during the cannonade. Panic ensued and many soldiers, both white and black, abandoned their posts. Effective resistance having ceased, a temporary halt to the firing was called for at 9:30 am.

During the daylight and evening hours of the ninth and tenth of July, the Loyalists boarded their ships at Cherry Point, a place on the island that was out of range of the Patriot batteries. Grymes loaded his small troop on his own sloop, "John Grymes", together with whatever goods he could conveniently carry. Nevertheless, 35 of his black slaves, plus many of his horses, cattle and furniture were obliged to be left behind and fell into Patriot hands. Thomas Byrd, who had assumed effective command of what was left of the Queen's Loyal and Dunmore's Ethiopians, was evacuated in a feverish condition and was taken in a cart to Cherry Point. There he was embarked with the rest of his men on the "Don Luce" transport. The surviving soldiers of the Fourteenth regiment, still under Captain Leslie's command, were embarked on the "William" and "Anna" transports.

On the morning of 10 July, 200 Patriot soldiers crossed over to the island. They found such a scene of death and destruction that many were struck with horror. Scores of dead bodies, in various stages of decomposition, were strewn all the way from the site of the landing to the Cherry Point embarkation point, a distance of two miles in length. At least 130 shallow graves, loosely covered with dirt, plus 12 dead blacks still lying in the open air, were counted. Some of the sick left behind crawled to the water's edge seeking assistance from the arriving Patriot militia. Whatever medical help was available was given to these unfortunates, but many were terminal cases.

On 11 July, Dunmore's fleet departed Gwynn's Island on the next chapter of their sad exodus. There were about 1,000 survivors aboard about 80 vessels of all sizes and shapes. Out of these only 300 were still available to Dunmore as an effective military force, consisting of 50 British regulars, 150 of the Queen's Loyal and 100 blacks. Proceeding up Chesapeake Bay, the fleet entered the Potomac River and anchored on 15 July at St. George's Island, 15 miles up the river. There they replenished supplies and burned all unnecessary vessels. The next day, Maryland militia rushed to the scene and began minor skirmishing with the Loyalists until they could obtain cannon with which to again drive Dunmore and his people away. The cannon arrived on 23 July along with additional militia reinforcements Dunmore's effective military force was now down to about 108 men present and fit for duty. Typhus and smallpox had continued to take their toll in addition to those lost to cannon and musket fire. A return to Chesapeake Bay and to the open sea was ordered. Dunmore had finally accepted the inevitable. Enemy appeared no matter where he sailed along the coast. Wherever he anchored, cannon were brought up to drive him away. No reinforcements were coming. To stay in Virginia waters any longer would be foolish and Dunmore, while stubborn, was no fool.

The fleet sailed back down the Chesapeake on 2 August to Norfolk and Lynnhaven Bay. There they anchored; unseaworthy vessels were burnt and the remaining dead were thrown overboard. Finally there remained only 40 vessels deemed seaworthy enough for the final voyage. On 7 August they were divided into two groups. One group sailed for St. Augustine and the West Indies. The

<sup>18</sup> Force, *American Archives*, (Series 5, 3 Volumes), 5:1:149-153, 213-215, 431-432 and 5:2:162-166. These pages give details of the Gwynn's Island episode.

<sup>19</sup> Coldham, *American Migrations*, p. 563.

<sup>20</sup> PRO AO 13/39/25-26

other, with about 120 surviving members of the Queen's Own Loyal Virginia and Dunmore's Ethiopian Regiments sailed for New York aboard the "Don Luce". They anchored at Staten Island on 13 August, one day after Clinton's arrival from the Charleston expedition.<sup>21</sup>

These surviving Virginia Loyalists had lost all, but at least their physical ordeal was now over. Their hopes for restoration of their lost properties now rested with the King's troops, currently gathering at New York to finish the rebellion once and for all. However it was to be six more long years before they finally learned that this hope would also be unrealized. They gave up all for their loyalty to Great Britain. Although they received some compensation after the war, they were never to see their homes in Virginia. They had to seek new homes in Canada, the West Indies or in England.

Dunmore returned to England in late November 1776 of the same month that his two Loyalist regiments were disbanded. He still retained hopes of recruiting a new force of blacks to retake Virginia and hoped to sell his ideas in England. He returned briefly to America in December 1781, landing at Charleston; but the large-scale battle phase of the Revolutionary War in the 13 rebellious colonies was effectively over by that time as the battles shifted globally. Dunmore again returned to England in May 1782 and died there in February 1809.

On 25 September 1776, after New York City had been occupied by the British, John Randolph Grymes was appointed a major of infantry in another Loyalist regiment, the "Queen's American Rangers". He served with the Rangers through the battle of Brandywine, Pennsylvania on 11 September 1777 where he and eight other Ranger officers were wounded in action and two other Ranger officers killed. Major John Graves Simcoe, who assumed command of the Rangers after the battle, stated that Grymes had distinguished himself during the fighting by extricating his men from a difficult position where they were under heavy fire. The experience however, had left him with what today would be called "post traumatic stress disorder". In the following month, he repeatedly requested that he would like to resign his commission, and despite encouragement to change his mind, it was finally accepted on 26 October 1777. He subsequently went to England where he became an agent for prosecuting the claims of the Virginia Loyalists. While in London, he married his cousin, the daughter of John Randolph, the last Attorney General of Virginia and niece of Peyton Randolph, President of the Continental Congress. He returned to Virginia after the war and became a wealthy slaveholder and planter in Orange County. He died in 1820.<sup>22</sup>

John Saunders, John McKay and Stair Agnew also became officers in the Queen's American Rangers in March 1777 and all three were wounded at Brandywine.<sup>23</sup> They stayed with the Rangers and all

<sup>21</sup> Force, *American Archives*, (Series 5, 3 Volumes), 5:1:382, 386, 432, 490, 518, 590-591, 615, 862-864, 949-950, 996 and 5:2: 158-159, and 164-166. These pages give details of the St. George's Island episode and the subsequent retreat from Virginia.

<sup>22</sup> ViHi 28 (1920), p. 96; PRO AO 13/27/739; John Graves Simcoe, *Operations of the Queen's Rangers*, (New York, Arno Press, 1968, reprint 1844 edition), p. 30; Appleton's *Cyclopedia of American Biography*, *Virtual American Biographies*, "John Randolph Grymes", James G. Wilson and John Fiske, Ed. 1887-1889 (Six Vols., New York)

<sup>23</sup> Orderly Book of the Kings American Regiment – December 1775 to November 1777, General Order 31 March 1777, "Clinton Papers", (William Clements Library, Ann Arbor); General Order 30 October 1777, "Journal of Stephen Kemble and British General

eventually relocated to New Brunswick, Canada after the signing of the peace treaty and the evacuation of New York City by the British Army. Saunders first went to England where he completed his law studies at the Middle Temple in London. He was admitted to the English bar in 1787 and moved to New Brunswick in 1790 where he had earlier been appointed a justice of the provincial Supreme Court. In 1822, he was appointed Chief Justice and died at Fredericton in April 1834.<sup>24</sup> McKay settled at St John's, New Brunswick, married Margaret Saunders, the sister of John Saunders, and died in October 1822. He never held any public office.<sup>25</sup> Agnew also settled in the same area, was a representative for York County in the New Brunswick House of Assembly for a number of years and died in 1821.<sup>26</sup>

The British granted freedom to the African-Americans who made it to New York City. Many of the able bodied men probably enrolled in a newly organized black regiment called the "Black Pioneers". This regiment was not intended for combat. It was to perform various types of construction and fatigue work for the British army, such as clearing ground for camp, removing obstructions, and digging of entrenchments and fortifications. They would receive uniforms, food, shelter and most important, pay for their services. They would work as free men. After the war ended, they went to Nova Scotia with the offer of free land the same as for the white Loyalists. However they encountered innumerable delays from white officials in obtaining the plots of land promised to them and even when given the plots were often in thick pine forests that were hard to clear. In 1792, over 1,100 black Loyalists left Nova Scotia and emigrated to a new settlement created for free destitute blacks in Sierra Leone by British abolitionists.<sup>27</sup> There they established a new town, "Freetown", which today is the capital of Sierra Leone, a country slightly smaller than South Carolina located on the west coast of Africa.

Orders", The New-York Historical Society *Collections* (2 Volumes, New York, 1883-1884), 1:529.

<sup>24</sup> ViHi 30 (1922), pp. 373-375; Sabine, *Biographical Sketches*, 2 Volumes, 2:256-257.

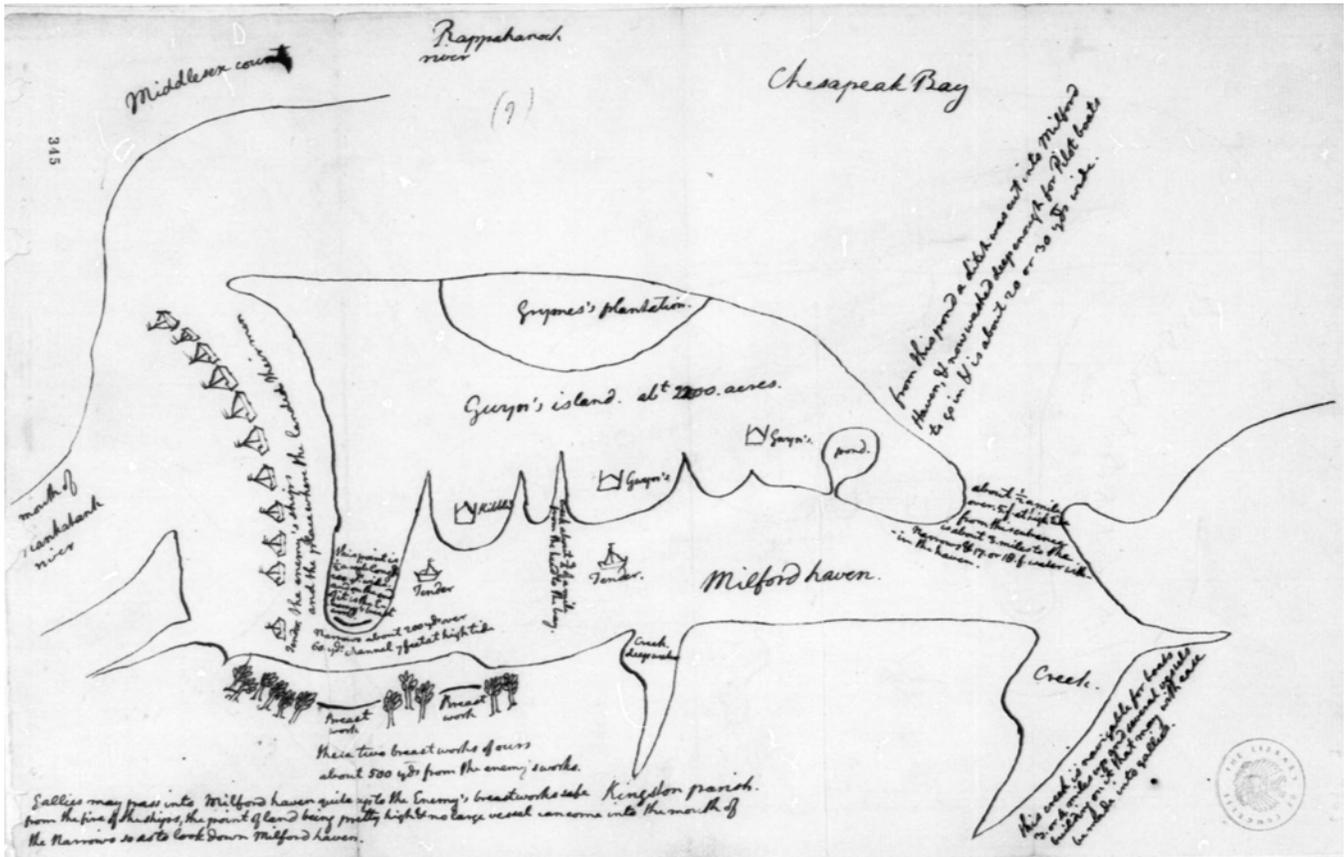
<sup>25</sup> Sabine, 2:67; Joseph Lawrence, *Incidents in Brunswick History*, (St John, J & A McMillian, 1883), p. 5.

<sup>26</sup> Sabine, 1:154-155

<sup>27</sup> Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1961), pp. 178-179 and 200. ★

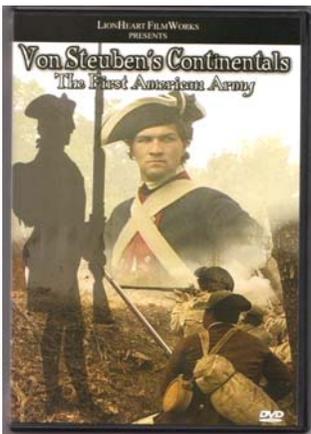
**Donald J. Gara** a former resident of Morristown, New Jersey has since retired to north central Florida. He has been a researcher and collector of information on the military activities of the American Loyalists for over 20 years. His special emphasis has been the British Legion and the Queens American Rangers (QAR). Don has been a contributor to a number of web sites devoted to the British/Loyalist side of the Revolution, such as 'The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies' at [www.royalprovincial.com](http://www.royalprovincial.com), "Oatmeal for the Foxhounds" at [www.banastretarleton.org](http://www.banastretarleton.org) and [www.revwar75.com](http://www.revwar75.com). His article *Loyal to the Crown* is based on a chapter taken from a book on the history of The Queen's American Rangers (aka The Queen's Rangers) on which he is presently working.

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Gov. Thomas Jefferson's sketch map of Gwynn's Island where the battle raged from May 26, 1776 until July 11, 1776.

**Lionheart Filmworks': Von Steuben's Continentals: The First American Army**



Lionheart Filmworks' new documentary entitled *Von Steuben's Continentals: The First American Army*, which can be purchased on Amazon.com for \$19.95, is a treat for reenactors and other hardcore Revolutionary War enthusiasts, but will find little mainstream interest. The 60-minute documentary from filmmaker Kevin Hershberger details the introduction of the Prussian infantry drill exercise to the Continental Army during the Valley Forge winter of

1777-78 and its effects on the fighting spirit and ability of the troops. The documentary is the first in a planned series of similar productions on American soldiers throughout history.

The documentary is based on the Von Steuben drill system, adapted from the Prussian infantry drill system by Friedrich von Steuben, a Prussian officer sent by the French government to help train the Continental Army. His drill manual, *Regulations for the Order and Discipline of the Troops of the United States*, or the "blue book," became the official drill manual of the Continental Army in March of 1778, and was the primary reason for the drastic change in the fighting quality of the army.<sup>1</sup> A facsimile of the original book, published by Dover Books, can be purchased from Amazon.com for \$8.95.

The entire documentary is shot on location in Ino, Virginia, using the reenactors of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Virginia Regiment and the Corps of Sappers and Miners to demonstrate the drills as well as everyday life in camp. It goes step by step through virtually every infantry drill in the Von Steuben manual from the prime and load drill to company exercises. With each command, the platoon of soldiers demonstrates the proper motions, and though interesting and visually demonstrative.

One section details all the pieces of the infantryman's equipment, and the purpose of each. It talks about the mess in detail and the process of castramentation, or how a camp was constructed and maintained, as well as the daily life of the soldier in the camp. This is an aspect of military life frequently overlooked in the history books, yet it is an integral part of the story of any army. One cannot understand a battle until one understands the army that fought there. And one cannot understand an army until one understands the process by which men become soldiers, and soldiers become an army. The everyday life of a soldier is just as much a part of the story of any war as the strategies and tactics of commanders, and this is no less true of the Revolution.

Unlike so many historical documentaries being made today, this one was full of substance rather than watered-down fluff. It is doubtful that it will ever play on the History Channel. It is not fast-paced or accessible enough for mainstream consumption. This documentary is definitely for the Revolutionary War enthusiast and not for the summer soldier or the sunshine patriot.

<sup>1</sup> Mark Boatner, III, *The Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, (Stackpole Books, 1966), pp. 155-157.