



# Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution

*www.southerncampaign.org*

Vol. 5 No. 1.0

First Quarter 2008

## Lt. Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee – “Wedded to My Sword”



Rock Hill, SC artist T. Kelly Pauley lends us his interpretation of Lt. Col. “Light Horse Harry” Lee. Lee raised and commanded a legion of mixed horse and infantry, and served under Gen. Nathanael Greene in the 1781 Southern Campaigns, often cooperating with Gen. Francis Marion. He fought at Fort Motte, Granby, Augusta, Ninety Six, and Eutaw Springs. With characteristic courage, this former Virginia Governor wrote his *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* while serving time in the Montross, Virginia debtor's prison 12-by-15 foot cell. See article on the members of Lee's Legion on p. 32.

## Publisher's Notes

Now that the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary wave of events is behind us, the steady, gradual work of Revolutionary research, preservation, protection, and promotion goes on. Join *SCAR*'s efforts to continue the good fight. Participate with us in the footwork and feel the excitement quicken your blood!

### This quarter's features

In the last issue of *SCAR*, **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 positive 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. In this edition, historian **Patrick O'Kelley** takes a critical look at the sympathetic presentation of the Cherokee and challenges some of Dr. Dennis' conclusions.

**John C. "Jack" Parker's** article is a how-to on his methodology for field location of "lost" Revolutionary War sites. Jack shares how he "got lucky" with good field work and was able to define some archaeological search boxes for probable sites of the 27 August 1780 skirmish between SC Patriot militia Maj. John James and British Maj. James Wemyss and of the burned home of John James in the Indiantown community of Williamsburg County, SC. James was one of Gen. Francis Marion's most trusted lieutenants and his son, William Doblin James, gives us insights into Marion's famous partisan war.

**William Thomas Sherman** has shared with us his compilation of stories about members of Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee's Legion who served with distinction in the Southern Campaigns under Gen. Nathanael Greene as taken from both volumes of Alexander Garden's *Anecdotes*. Garden served with Lee's Legion near the end of the war.

### New website look

*SCAR* is indeed fortunate to have our talented webmistress, Caroline Baxley, present the updated and face-lifted <http://www.southerncampaign.org> website. *SCAR*'s new website is having its birthing pangs at the same time. Please report any glitches, broken links and additional suggestions to improve its organization and access to our pension affidavit transcription and digitization operations. On the homepage, we added an easy access to the Pension Records project with its new powerful search capabilities, and a direct link to the current Calendar of Upcoming Events, Roundtables and Corps of Discovery. We also plan to add a link to an index to all back issues of *SCAR*.

### New staff at SCAR

*SCAR* is truly pleased to welcome new, key volunteers to our staff. **Dave McKissack** of Blacksburg, Va. brings his experience as a researcher, writer and reenactor to be 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 to 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 note the departure of **Ben Rubin** a senior history major at Hanover College, Indiana, *SCAR*'s 2007 summer intern. Ben will pursue his master's degree in history studying the Southern Campaigns. **Jim Gillgam** of Gibsonville, NC will help out with illustrations. And last, but certainly not least, **Barbara Abernethy** of Seneca, SC has pitched in with her considerable talents as a general editor of the magazine. Huzzah and welcome aboard!

**Rob McCaskill**, graphics artist of Asterisk Creative in Charlotte, NC will take the look and feel of our magazine from an amateur journal to a professional magazine. Rob will start with our next issue as creative director and give the magazine a needed facelift. In that issue, expected in the early summer 2008, we plan to feature **Scott Miskimon's** study of the Battle of Lenu's Ferry; **Scott Withrow's** article which looks at the facts around young Francis Marion's service in the Cherokee Campaign of 1761; and **Lee McGee's** reanalysis of the Patriot's cavalry actions at the Battle of Cowpens.

### Donations 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 in black & white photocopy form. 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 them to me so we can put you on the mailing list. Each month, spam filter issues and many email address changes cause us to lose contact so we need to refresh the list of our reader's snail mail addresses as well. Also, do forward friend's email addresses who may be interested. We will not sell your address.

### Cover art

**Thomas Kelly Pauley** interprets a contemporaneous portrait of Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee as painted by artist Charles Willson Peale. Lee, refusing the plum of serving on Gen. George Washington's staff, accepted command of an independent partisan corps of light dragoons. For in-depth reading: Charles Royster's *Light Horse Harry Lee, And The Legacy Of The American Revolution*; Paul C. Nagel's *The Lees of Virginia*; and Noel B. Gerson's *Light Horse Harry Lee, A Biography of Washington's Great Cavalryman, General Henry Lee*. Kelly paints historic subjects spanning the Revolutionary War and the War Between the States. Kelly also brings to life old tintypes of ancestors, faded photos of family and contemporary subjects through his oil portraits. To view samples of his work or obtain further information call the artist at 803-628-0424, email Kelly at [tkellvp@bellsouth.net](mailto:tkellvp@bellsouth.net) or view his website at [www.pauleyportraits.com](http://www.pauleyportraits.com).

### A Net of Work and 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. Volunteers should contact *SCAR* publisher [Charles B. Baxley](mailto:Charles B. Baxley). Be a part of preserving something much larger than ourselves – our revolutionary past before it is consumed by sprawl or forgotten by neglect.

★

## Colonial Williamsburg to Exhibit Four Rare Revolutionary War Battle Flags

Four rare and prized battle flags of the American Revolution return to America more than 225 years after being taken to British soil as trophies of war. These are on special exhibition in the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum of Colonial Williamsburg. "Captured Colors: Four Battleflags of the American Revolution," opened on December 22, 2007 and will be on display for a year before the flags return to their private owner.

Little more than two dozen Revolutionary War flags are known to exist in museum and other institutional collections. Most consist only of fragments with scarce historic documentation available. By contrast, these four flags are in very good condition and their histories are well documented. The dashing and sometimes despised firebrand, British cavalry officer, Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, captured the flags in two battles nearly a year apart and the flags had remained in the Tarleton family's possession until their sale at auction at Sotheby's New York on Flag Day, June 14, 2006. [See related article by Scott Miskimon in *SCAR*, Vol. 3, No. 6-8, at p. 3, June-July-August 2006.] Three of the flags represent the Virginia Detachment of Continentals led by Col. Abraham Buford, whose unit surrendered the banners in a 1780 clash at Waxhaws, S.C. The Buford standards – a main regimental flag and two divisional flags – are the only intact set of battle flags surviving from the American Revolution.



Ridge, N.Y.

The trio of Virginia flags are constructed of silk. The main flag is gold in color and depicts a beaver gnawing on a palmetto tree and the Latin legend *Perseverando*, meaning "by perseverance." The others are gold and blue silk, bearing the word "Regiment" on a scrolling ribbon. The three flags captured by the British at the Battle of the Waxhaws (Buford's Massacre) were probably made in Philadelphia about 1778.



finally to American soil, and it is our privilege to share them with our museum guests. We are extremely grateful for the generous loan of these remarkable artifacts..." During the past 225 years,

The first of the flags – measuring 35 inches high by 39 inches long with 13 red and white stripes and a field with a painted thundercloud – was captured in 1779 when Tarleton led the British Legion in a surprise attack on the Continental Army's 2nd Light Dragoons, also known as Sheldon's Horse, at Pound

"As silent witnesses – indeed participants – in the epic conflict that gave birth to this nation, these rare and important flags tell a story that is compelling and vital to our national character," said Ronald Hurst, curator and vice president of collections and museums for Colonial Williamsburg. "It is significant that these flags have returned

the flags adorned the walls of Tarleton descendants' homes in Great Britain -- most recently Capt. Christopher Tarleton Fagan's country estate in Hampshire, England. They were never publicly displayed until late May 2006 for four days at the Spoleto Festival in Charleston, S.C.

The special exhibition will be on view until January 9, 2009. For more information about Colonial Williamsburg, call 1-800-HISTORY or visit Colonial Williamsburg's Web site at [www.history.org](http://www.history.org).

**Erik Goldstein**, Curator of Mechanical Arts and Numismatics at Colonial Williamsburg. ★

## A New Way to Bring the Southern Revolutionary War to Students

*SCAR* recently learned of a new effort to educate our young. Anderson, SC native, **Peter Delorme** and his staff at Captain Sadler's Living History Camp work to bring colonial life to the classroom. Captain Sadler's Living History Camp's mission is to teach young men and women colonial and early American history in an authentic historical environment. This is accomplished by bringing a working colonial camp to a school, scout camp, church youth group, or any other location. Delorme leads a group to travel back through time when our country was an untapped wilderness. They live, work and play just as George Washington and Ben Franklin did.

Camp Sadler provides the learning experience so each group will learn by doing. They perform tasks that were an everyday part of life in colonial times. When asked to sum up Camp Sadler, Pete said, "Don't Just Read History, LIVE IT!" To book Captain Sadler's Camp at a school near you, contact Pete at [campsadler@charter.net](mailto:campsadler@charter.net) or (864) 314-8946. ★

## The American Revolution in the Caribbean *SCAR* Symposium

*SCAR* is planning a cruise ship-based symposium on the American Revolution's maritime and land war in the West Indies (Caribbean) during 1776 – 1783. The date and cruise line has not been finalized but will probably be in 2009. These land and sea battles influenced the course of the American Revolution and the terms of Treaty of Paris. We will nail down the dates and costs soon so you can plan your 2009 vacation now to join *SCAR*'s editors, naval historian **Dr. 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. ★

## Cavalry Researcher John T. Hayes Dies

John T. Hayes died in Florida after a brief illness on March 3, 2008. Hayes was the mentor of a generation of Revolutionary War researchers on matters of the uses of cavalry. Hayes owned the Saddlebag Press, his imprimatur that published the *Saddlebag Almanac* periodical. Additionally he wrote and published several plays, novels and the annotated diaries of cavalymen: *A Gentleman of Fortune*, *The Diary of Baylor Hill*, *First Continental Light Dragoons, 1777-1781*, of which 3 volumes were published by the Saddlebag Press in 1995 and *Stephen Jarvis, The King's Loyal Horseman, His Narrative, 1775-1783* was also published by the Saddlebag Press in 1996. ★

**Charles B. Baxley..... publisher**  
**David P. Reuwer..... grammarian & plenipotentiary**  
**Barbara Abernethy..... editor**  
**Ed Salo..... feature editor**  
**Steven J. Rauch..... calendar and co-editor**  
**Jim Picuch..... book review editor**  
**Werner Willis..... artist**  
**Rob McCaskill..... creative director**  
**Lanny W. Morgan..... photographer**  
**Bob Yankle..... photographer**  
**John A. Robertson..... cartographer**  
**David McKissack..... contributing editor**  
**B. Caroline Baxley..... webmistress**  
**Jim Gillgan..... illustrator**

*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 A. 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.

We claim no copyrights on reprinted articles, photographs, maps and excerpts contained in these materials. Copyrights are reserved to the authors for articles, maps and images created by others and to Woodward Corporation on other original materials. We often edit old documents for easier reading and insert comments as to names, alternative dates, and modern punctuation and spelling. We also from time to time forget to appropriately reference our sources, to whom we offer our humblest apologies.

*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 [cbbaxley@truvista.net](mailto:cbbaxley@truvista.net) or (803) 438-1606 (h) or (803) 438-4200 (w). [www.southerncampaign.org](http://www.southerncampaign.org) ★

## In This Edition:

Publisher's Notes.....	2
Southern Campaigns Roundtable.....	5
Corps of Discovery.....	6
Francis Marion Symposium.....	6
Archaeology Update.....	8
Book Reviews.....	9
New Inman Monument at Musgrove.....	11
Battle of Vann's Creek Memorialized....	12
Southern Revolutionary War Institute...	13
Converse History Teacher Education Program.....	15
Camden Battlefield Update.....	17
Francis Marion's 275 <sup>th</sup> Birthday Celebration.....	18
New 13 <sup>th</sup> Colony Trial Proposed.....	20
Battle of Cherokee Ford & Vann's Creek.....	21
British Evacuate Charles Town .....	25
Savannah's Battlefield Park Dedicated.....	26
RW Cavalry Conference.....	27
Calendar of Upcoming Events.....	30
Lee's Legion Remembered: Profiles of the 2d Partisan Corps from Alexander Garden's <i>Anecdotes</i> .....	32
Methodology for Field Location of "Lost" Revolutionary War sites.....	51
O'Kelley's Reply to Jeff Dennis' Native Americans and the Southern Revolution, Part II: "Independence and the 1776 Cherokee War" .....	56

After taking a winter break to recover from the fun and fellowship of the November 2007 Cavalry Conference, SCAR is back in publication. We will make the second quarter 2008 issue more graphically rich as our new creative director, Rob McCaskill, puts his imprint on the publication. We have a queue of excellent feature articles being researched, edited and enhanced with appropriate documents, maps, art, photographs, and other resources. The SCAR team is heavily involved with the ongoing Battle of Hobkirk Hill archaeology project; organizing three Corps of Discovery field trips this year; planning three Southern Campaigns Roundtables this year; working on seven book publication projects; advising the Battle of Camden preservation project; supporting the Southern Revolutionary War Institute; and planning our upcoming Caribbean cruise-tour. ★

## Southern Campaigns Roundtable – At Granby

by Ben Rubin

There are only two rules at the Southern Campaigns Roundtable: first, every attendee must present a topic in which they are interested; second, the presentation must be no longer than 10-15 minutes. Other than that, it is a free-for-all. On July 14, 2007 a panel of professional and amateur Southern Campaigns scholars gathered in the meeting room of the historic Granby (Cayce) house in Cayce, SC to discuss their current research interests and projects. They hailed from across the eastern United States: coming from South Carolina, North Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, Ohio, and Pennsylvania to present their views of the war in the South. The selected topics ran the gamut of the southern Revolutionary War.

A tour of the Granby House revealed a Revolutionary War treasure;

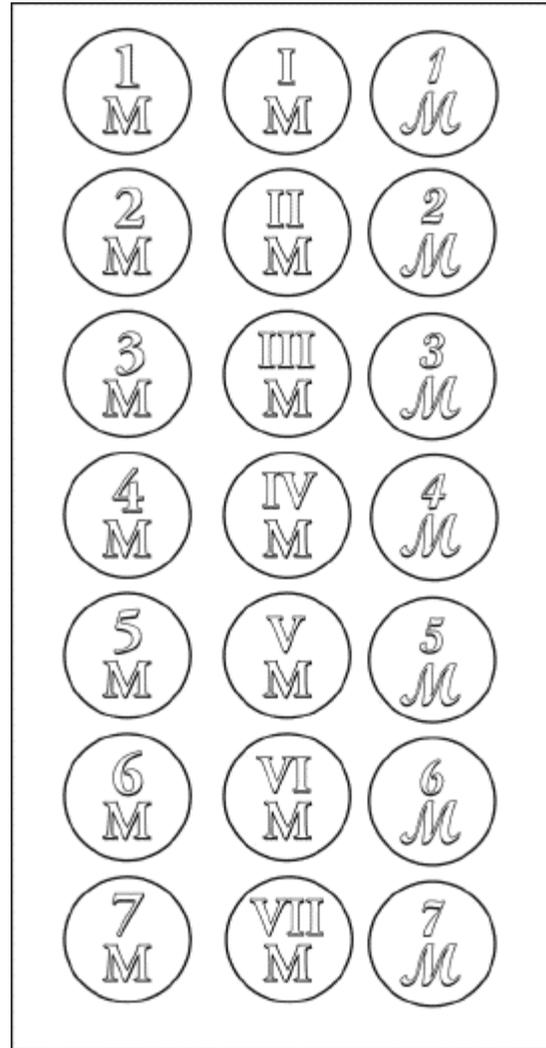


its namesake having been a part of old Saxe-Gotha Township and the site of Fort Granby that was attacked by American forces on February 19<sup>th</sup> – 21<sup>st</sup> and again on May 15<sup>th</sup>, 1781. It is the house in which the legendary heroine Emily Geiger was allegedly interrogated while carrying a critical message from Gen. Nathanael Greene to Gen. Thomas Sumter. Today, the reconstructed house is the site of a museum on Cayce and the home of a respectable collection of artifacts from before the Revolution all the way through the Civil War era which museum director Leo Redmond gladly showed us.

Some of the presenters were well known faces such as Larry Babits and John Robertson. Both Babits and Robertson spoke at length about Robertson's theory of the prevalence of rifles in frontier militia units as differentiated from backcountry farming units. **Prof. James Mc Intyre** explored this theory in a paper that was shared in his absence.

**Dean Hunt** shared examples of records on Sumter's Law seizures and other Loyalists goods seized at Ft. Granby from claim petitions to the South Carolina Legislature which are found in the annual House Journals immediately after the Revolution. These Journals are available printed and on CD from the South Carolina Archives and are an underutilized primary source.

**Prof. Larry Babits** wants to know if anybody has found a Maryland Line button, made of pewter or maybe brass, with a capital "M" and the regimental numbers of 1 through 7 over the M. If you have ever seen a recovered Maryland regimental button similar to these, please contact Prof. Babits. Larry also announced that Larry and Josh Howard's new book on the Battle of Guilford Courthouse is almost ready to go to the publisher, UNC Press.



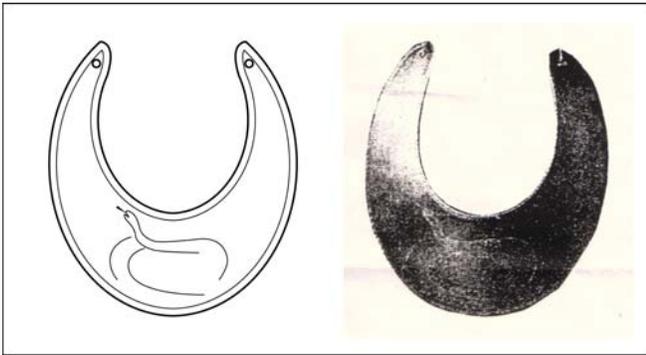
Possible Maryland button types sought by Prof. Larry Babits. Illustration by new SCAR illustrator, Jim Gillgam.

**John Robertson** explained his listing the citations to a few principal references with each battle, skirmish and site located in his database and asked for volunteers to help on his Global Gazetteer of the American Revolution. At minimum, John wants to add to each site location who fought whom and what the outcome was. The Gazetteer is now on-line at [www.gaz.irshelby.com](http://www.gaz.irshelby.com).

**Dave Neilan** from Pittsburgh, a new face in the realm of Southern Campaigns studies, presented his conclusions on the political beginnings of the Revolution in South Carolina and the eventual rupture with Britain. He presented a report and paper on two books about the early Revolutionary era in South Carolina: Lewis Pinckney Jones' *The South Carolina Civil War of 1775* and Robert Weir's *A Most Important Epocha: The Coming of the Revolution in South Carolina*. Dave's paper was called "The Evolution into the Revolution in South Carolina". Dave also shared his bibliography.

Professor **Dr. Jeff Dennis** of Kennesaw State University presented his work on Native Americans in the 1761 Grant expedition and the political fallout that followed it including the feud between South Carolina leaders, the moderate Henry Laurens and radical Christopher Gadsden. Professional military historian **Steve Rauch** presented an insightful analogy on the ever-popular topic of the British campaign in South Carolina and the current war in Iraq.

Other presenters were passionate and knowledgeable amateur-historians like Will Graves, the transcriber of myriad pension statements that can be found on SCAR's website.



**Illustration of the deSassure officer's gorget [right] by Jim Gillgam. Note that the rattlesnake differs from the one usually associated with the Gadsden flag.**

**Ned Sloan** of Greenville, SC is looking for a silver gorget, formerly of the deSassure family of Charleston and Beaufort, SC. It was last owned by a woman in Brooklyn in the 1960s and is inscribed with a coiled rattlesnake. Ned believes that it was worn in the 1779 unsuccessful Patriot siege and attack on Savannah by Lt. Francois Louis deSassure from Beaufort of the SC 3d Regiment. The lieutenant was mortally wounded in the attack on Savannah on October 9, 1779 and died a few days thereafter. His body was returned to Charles Town where it is buried in the church wall of St. Michael's Church. Ned believes that there were two or three gorgets made by the same silversmith. SC Artist Darby Erd sketched the gorget on his painting of the "Third South Carolina Regiment (Rangers), 1775-1780" a print of which is published in the "Military Uniforms in America" series as Plate No. 494 by the Company of Military Historians. <http://www.military-historians.org/company/plates/images/platesbynumber1.htm>

Mike Scoggins wrote in *SCAR* in Vol. 3, No. 12, December 2005: "the gorget worn by officers of the Third Regiment was silver and featured an engraved image of a coiled rattlesnake, very similar to the design on the Gadsden flag. In 1937 *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum* featured a photograph and description of the gorget that belonged to Lieutenant Louis deSaussure of the Third Regiment. DeSaussure served in Capt. Felix Warley's company and was mortally wounded by a musket ball that "took the skin off his head." He died of lockjaw aboard a prison ship bound for Charles Town and his gorget was returned to his family and subsequently passed down to his descendants, who still owned it in 1937. "The Gorget - As a Defense, as a Symbol, and as an Ornament," *The Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum*, Vol. IV, No. 5 (September 1937), plate XII; "Pay Roll of Capt: Felix Warley's Company for Continental & State Pay," November 1779, in A. S. Salley, *Records*, p. 29; Bobby G. Moss' *SC Patriots*, p. 249.

**Ben Rubin** described his Fishing Creek research; Professor Babits offered to help Ben with some of his student's papers and knowledge of the Maryland Line who were captured at Fishing Creek. Ben also described his initial project to build a 1775-1776 SC time-line of important events and how it was expanding from the French and Indian War to 1784 and covering Georgia, North and South Carolina, and Virginia.

One of the highlights of the Roundtable was a presentation by **Jim Williams** of Charlotte on 18<sup>th</sup> Century bookbinding. He explained in-depth the process by which books were bound in the Colonial and Revolutionary eras. Jim described rebinding 14-year-old

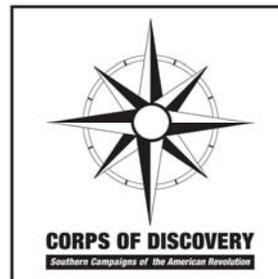
Charlotte, NC resident Mary Baldwin's 1791 copybook and its contents. It showed complex mathematical drills, especially conversions amongst various non-standard measurement systems and her outstanding penmanship. Hand-bound in leather, it still had the merchant's inventory note on the back cover.

**David Reuer** spoke on his continuing interest in religion and spirituality in the Revolution. David also shared a copy of the 1774 Petition to King George III showing that in 1774 folks in South Carolina were still trying to secure their rights as Englishmen, not create new rights, and settling their disputes by war was not a forgone conclusion.

All participants gave valuable insights to the group and each of them came away with something valuable. The Southern Campaigns roundtable is a powerful forum for enthusiasts to trade information. If you missed out on this one, we hope to see you at a future SCAR Roundtable.

The next SCAR Roundtable will be held at Hopsewee Plantation on the North Santee River on April 5, 2008. For more information see <http://www.southerncampaign.org/rt.html>. ★

## Corps of Discovery



The SC Society of the SAR and SCAR's **Corps of Discovery** took to the field on February 24, 2008 to visit the home sites and graves of two important Patriots of the Revolution. The landowners accompanied us to the tomb site of Col. William "Danger" Thomson and his Belleville Plantation on Buckhead Creek, near Fort Motte, SC. Belleville was the site of a

British-fortified Thomson house unsuccessfully attacked by Gen. Thomas Sumter's partisan corps on February 22, 1781, but soon thereafter abandoned for Fort Motte.



**Col. William Thomson's tomb at his Belleville Plantation cemetery, located west of US 601 in Calhoun County, SC. Eutaw Springs Chapter SAR members James Gressette, Reddick Bowman and Douglas B. Doster place wreath at tomb. SCAR photo.**

Col. William Thomson was the commander of the 3d SC Continental Regiment, raised in the SC backcountry, who

successfully defended Sullivan's Island at Breach Inlet from Sir Henry Clinton's army on Long Island (Isle of Palms) in June of 1776. He also fought at the Great Cane Brake, Essenecca, and at the allied Siege of Savannah in 1779. His victory at Breach Inlet closed the overland approach to the unfinished Fort Sullivan and saved Charleston from capture.



**Tombstone on Commodore Gillon's grave in the woods at Gillon's Retreat on the Big Beaver Creek, near the Congaree River. Photo by Becky A. Gressette.**

**Furman Prickett, Jr.** guided us to Commodore/Congressman Alexander Gillon's tomb site and plantation, Gillon's Retreat, on Big Beaver Creek that same day. Commodore Gillon was the commandant of the South Carolina Navy and conducted successful raids

against British shipping and colonial interests. He was born Rotterdam, Holland, in 1741 where he pursued an academic course of study. Gillon immigrated to London, England where he engaged in commerce. In 1766 Gillon moved again to Charles Town, SC and established a large business. Gillon was elected as a delegate to the Second Provincial Congress of South Carolina in 1775 and

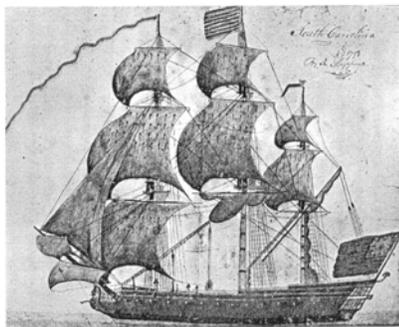


1776 and as a member of the first general assembly in 1776. His military services include being elected captain of the German Fusiliers of Charleston in May 1775 and he was appointed commodore of the South Carolina Navy in 1778. Gillon was sent to France to procure a suitable warship. After successfully obtaining the frigate *l'Indien*, rechristened the *South Carolina*, from the Dutch builders, with French permission, financing by

Dutch bankers, and a partnership with the Prince of Luxembourg, he joined the fleet of Spanish vessels in the capture of the Bahama Islands on May 8, 1782. After the Revolution, he was elected to the Continental Congress in 1784, but did not attend; however, he was a delegate to the South Carolina convention that ratified the new Federal Constitution in 1788. Gillon was elected as an Anti-

Administration

candidate to the Third Congress and served from March 4, 1793 until his death at his plantation on October 6, 1794. He is buried in the family burial ground at "Gillon's Retreat," in Calhoun County, SC in the plot shown below. For more on Commodore Gillon, see articles in



U. S. FRIGATE, "SOUTH CAROLINA"  
From the original water-color in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem

Vol. 2, No. 8 SCAR

<http://southerncampaign.org/newsletter/v2n8.pdf>

(August 2005) and

<http://southerncampaign.org/newsletter/v2n10.pdf>

(October 2005).



**Corps of Discovery Guides and Hosts - SCAR Editors Charles B. Baxley and David P. Reuwer; with hosts Furman Prickett, Jr., Dorothy S. Gressette, and Douglas B. Doster. Photo by Becky A. Gressette.**

**David P. Reuwer** and **Charles B. Baxley** gave a brief history of each site and the Patriots associated with each. Furman Prickett, Jr., Dorothy S. Gressette, and **Doug Doster** arranged the tour and placed the Battle of Eutaw Springs Chapter SAR wreath and took pictures for the Palmetto State's society of the SAR.

**March 29, 2008 – Burlington, NC - Corps of Discovery – the Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution (SCAR),** in conjunction with the Alamance Battleground Chapter, NCSSAR, and the Trading Path Association ([www.tradingpath.org](http://www.tradingpath.org)) will host a "boots on the ground" tour of three Revolutionary War battle sites in and around Alamance County, North Carolina. These skirmishes pitted the Patriot forces of Gen. Nathanael Greene against the British Army who fought under the command of Gen. Charles Cornwallis and occurred in the one month interim between the Crossing of the Dan on February 14, 1781 and the Battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781. At **Clapp's Mill**, also known as the Battle on the Alamance, Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee led an assault on the British troops who foraged near Clapp's Mill on Beaver Creek on March 4, 1781 under the protection of Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton. Alamance Battleground British troops under Lord Cornwallis camped using the Beaver River as a strategic barrier against a surprise attack. At **Pyle's Defeat** Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee's Legion, in pursuit of British Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, engaged a group of 300 to 400 NC Loyalist (Tories) under command of NC Loyalist militia Col. (Dr.) John Pyle in route to join the British in Hillsborough on February 25, 1781. In a very one sided rout, 93 of the Loyalists were killed and Dr. Pyle's men were disbanded. The **Battle of Weitzel's Mill** following closely upon the heels of Pyle's Defeat and the Battle of Clapp's Mill on March 6, 1781 was another of those skirmishes where Nathanael Greene's army harassed the forces under Lord Cornwallis in the weeks that led up to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. It is notable for the people who participated, including Col. Otho Holland Williams, Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee, Gen. Andrew Pickens, Col. William Preston and his Botetourt Rifles, and Col. William Campbell, with his "Campbell's Rifles". Late in the afternoon, for those who want more, we will journey to the site of the September 13, 1781 **Battle of Lindley's Mill**.

The tour will begin at 9:10 am from the Clubhouse at the Lake Mackintosh Park and Marina, 2704 Huffman Mill Road, 2.8 miles south of exit 141 from I- 40/85. There is no charge for the tour and the public is invited to join us for an historic outing.

The Clubhouse will open at 8:10 am for refreshments and meeting fellow historians and patriots. At about 9:10 am the participants will be asked to gather at the Clapp's Mill Monument for welcoming remarks. Shortly thereafter, we will gather into groups of 4 persons per car to carpool to the various sites. The total driving distance for the day will be approximately 50 miles and we will stop at 4 different locations, plus a stop for lunch at the Cracker Barrel Restaurant in Burlington, NC. Participants are encouraged to dress layered, in case it is warm that day, wear hiking boots or comfortable shoes and to bring an umbrella in case of light rain. Unless the weather is absolutely horrible, the default decision is for this tour to go on as planned.

<http://www.southerncampaign.org/cod.html>

**June 7, 2008 – Richmond, Va. - Corps of Discovery** - bus tour of Lt. Col. Banastre "Bloody Ban" Tarleton's Charlottesville cavalry raid bus tour with guide **Dr. John Maass**. 8:00 am – 5:00 pm. **Sold out! Wait list only**, \$45.00 per seat. More details soon. Sponsored by *SCAR* and the American Revolution Round Table – Richmond. <http://www.southerncampaign.org/cod.html>

**Corps of Discovery** field trips are informal tours organized upon invitation of a host and guide. *SCAR* publishes a meeting date, time, place of the Revolutionary War related sites to be visited. We invite all interested to carpool, join the hike and enjoy informal on-the-ground, interpretive presentations of research. *SCAR* keeps you posted on the details here.

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

## Digging for Information – Southern Campaigns Archaeology Projects

### Help *SCAR* find South Carolina's lost Battlefields

There are a number of places in the Southern Campaigns where there were battles and skirmishes for which we have some historical documentation but we have been unable to say with certainty the exact location of those sites. Unfortunately, there was no systematic effort in the past to record the exact locations of those battlefields while there were still individuals alive who remembered where they were or while the direct informants of those individuals were still alive. Although some early 20<sup>th</sup> century historical markers still exist, luckily the historical record does leave us clues. With the advent of inexpensive, highly portable metal detection - translating the metallic signatures of the Revolutionary War battlefield - we are able to better define some of those locations. The amateur, "hobby" archeologist is the great repository of knowledge of the location of Revolutionary War sites and battlefields. Many of the officially "unknown" Revolutionary War historic sites are well known to a few amateur archaeologists and relic collectors. *SCAR* needs information on both amateur and professional Revolutionary War archaeology projects for the purposes of study, preservation and interpretation of the war and its sites. It would be helpful to further refine the database of RW sites, especially some key "missing" battlefields. *SCAR* believes that keeping that knowledge secret may keep the private landowners and public from appreciating these places, which is requisite for the public and private to value and preserve these sites. Locating,

marking, preserving, interpreting, and building private and public awareness of and support for these critical cultural heritage sites are integral parts of *SCAR*'s mission. *SCAR* asks those who have special knowledge of the locations of the Revolutionary War battlefields, campsites and other important locations to share that data with *SCAR*.

*SCAR* will maintain confidentiality of that location and of the reporter if that is requested. However, it is our experience that making the public and especially the landowners aware of the importance of a site is the best way to insure future protection of the site. Archaeological data on exact location is published only with the finder's and landowner's permission. Likewise, *SCAR* respects the owners of collections. We only desire to preserve the data in some permanent form so that it will not continue to fade away with the frail memory of man.

*SCAR* is a defender of private property rights. We do not encourage or condone trespassing. We know that private landowners are very often the best stewards of historic sites. We personally know many examples of appropriate private stewardship as well as many examples of poor governmental stewardship of historic sites.

In South Carolina, important battles occurred near the Long Cane settlement, at the Great Cane Break, at Beattie's Mill, near Musgrove Mill, and near Parker's Ferry. While we know the general location of the local landmark's namesake, we do not have any specific information on the location of these battles. Sometimes the battle was not precisely at the landmark as in the case of Parker's Ferry which is well known but the battle was up to a mile inland from the actual ferry landing on Edisto (Pon Pon) River. Below is a list of battlesites of which *SCAR* has an especial interest.

There are other battles that have been marked for many years often by the DAR, but the precise field locations of which are unknown. Battles such as Briar Creek, Fishing Creek, Hanging Rock, and Ramsour's Mill come to mind.

Jack Parker's article on p. 51 of this issue describes his techniques for locating "lost" Revolutionary War sites.

### Publisher

The **Hobkirk's Hill** battlefield archaeology project (ARCHH, Inc.) has completed its metal detection survey of the ninth property located south of Greene Street and east of Broad Street at the base of Hobkirk Hill. If you are interested in volunteering to work with the Hobkirk Hill archaeology research project, please contact [SCAR](mailto:SCAR). If you have Battle of Hobkirk's Hill artifacts in your collection, please contact [SCAR](mailto:SCAR) about sharing your data. (see [www.hobkirkhill.org](http://www.hobkirkhill.org))

*SCAR* likewise is interested in obtaining information on artifacts related to the **Battles of Hanging Rock, Rocky Mount, Fishing Creek, Beattie's Mill, Parker's Ferry, Blackstock's Plantation, Musgrove Mill, Briar Creek, Great Cane Brake, Belleville, Big Glade (Savannah) near Manigault's Ferry (Amelia), and Long Cane** near Troy, SC. If you have artifacts or other knowledge about any of these places in your collection, please contact [SCAR](mailto:SCAR) about confidentially sharing your data.

**Scott Butler** of Brockington and Associates, archaeologists of Norcross, Georgia are working on the **Battles of the Waxhaws [Buford's Massacre], Fishdam Ford, and Eutaw Springs and the camps at Bacon's Bridge** over the upper Ashley River near old Dorchester. If you have artifacts from these sites in your

collection, please contact archaeologist [Scott Butler](#) or [SCAR](#) about confidentially sharing your data.

The South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology's (SCIAA) military archaeology team of **Steve Smith** and **Jim Legg**: **Battles at Blackstock's Plantation; Fort Balfour; Coosawhatchie; Fort Motte; Williamson's Plantation [Huck's Defeat]; Musgrove Mill; and the Battle of Camden [Parker's Old Field, Sutton's Tavern, Gum Swamp, Gates' Defeat]; Gilbert Town camps; and the Francis Marion sites listed below.** If you have artifacts from these sites in your collection, please contact archaeologist **Steve Smith** or [SCAR](#) about sharing your data.

Smith, Legg and Tamara Wilson's detailed report on the first two **Battle of Camden** archaeological surveys, called *Understanding Camden*, is available for sale for \$20.00 from the Palmetto Conservation Foundation.

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

The SCIAA team of Smith and Legg are conducting a Gen. Francis Marion military history site survey contract for the Francis Marion Trail Commission. These sites include: **Port's Ferry (redoubt and camps); Black Mingo Creek/Dollard's "Blue House" Tavern; Wadboo Barony** (boats captured and burned, Colleton mansion, final camp and **Battle of the Avenue of the Cedars**); **Fairlawn Barony** (Stony Point landing, extant redoubt "Fort Fairlawn" and British camp, Colleton Castle and hospital burned); **Battle of Parker's Ferry; Battle of Tydiman's Plantation/Wambaw Bridge; Georgetown** defenses and raid sites; **Birch's Mill; Snow Island/Tanyard camps and raid; Battle of Blue Savannah; the route of Lt. Col. Tarleton's chase of Gen. Marion to Ox Swamp; Battle of Halfway Swamp to Singleton's Mill; Thomas Sumter's Plantation** (at Great Savannah/Nelson's Ferry); **Witherspoon's Ferry on the lower Lynches River; and the battle sites along the route of Col. John Watson's chase of Gen. Marion in the "battle of the bridges": Wyboo and Mt. Hope Swamps, Lower Bridge over the Black River, and Sampit Bridge.**

**Terry Ferguson** and **Alan May** are working on exploring the built-over Ramsour's Mill battlefield in Lincolnton, NC. If you have artifacts from these sites in your collection, please contact archaeologist Terry Ferguson, Alan May or [SCAR](#) about sharing your data.

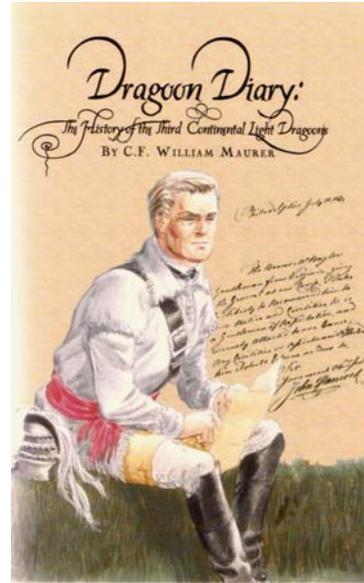
**Dan Elliott** and the [Lamar Institute](#) were awarded a grant to do a battlefield archaeological survey of the 1779 **Battle of Kettle Creek** that is about 10 miles west of Washington, Ga. Dan has asked for help from anyone with artifacts from this area. If you have artifacts from the Battle of Kettle Creek in your collection, please contact archaeologist [Dan Elliott](#) or [SCAR](#) about sharing your data. ★

## SCAR Book Reviews

### *Dragoon Diary: The History of the Third Continental Light Dragoons* by C. F. William Maurer

Bill Maurer has compiled a regimental history for a unit in one of the Continental Army's fundamental and often-overlooked branches - the cavalry. Published regimental histories from the War for American Independence are lamentably sparse. Maurer

has combined the want for a regimental history of this important unit and the dissemination of primary sources into a single work.



The author presents his work in an unconventional chronological format by using "letters, diaries, public records, and newspapers" to create a diary. Beginning with the Continental Congress's authorization for the raising of a corps of light horse in the initial years of the war, the author naturally follows the operations of the Third Continental Light Dragoons through the end of the conflict in sixteen chapters. An extra chapter is devoted to the "last days" of the unit's sole colonel, George

Baylor. Additionally, an appendix contains sections on the unit's first field grade officers, Francis Otway Bird and Alexander Clough, and, perhaps most importantly, an analysis on the Baylor Massacre. In this engagement, at River Vale, New Jersey, on September 28, 1778, British forces surprised Baylor and over 100 of his men - killing, wounding, or capturing more than 60 percent of the Americans.

Documentary editions that present primary source materials from archival repositories and the like are an excellent resource for further investigation and examination. Few collections of regimental-grade officers' papers are known to exist in bulk. Rarer still are any snippets that reveal more on matters beneath the higher levels of command, such as personnel, logistics, training, operations, and civilian liaison. Over the course of 20 plus years, Maurer has researched the history of the regiment and essentially shares his extensive research from many widely scattered sources.

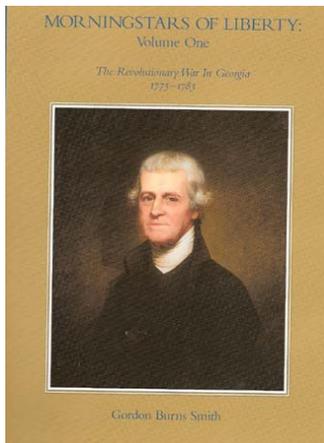
Regrettably, the one flaw of this work contradicts the author's noble intent of presenting a narrative based purely on primary sources. The author presents a bibliography of works cited but the abbreviations used in his endnotes do not always match up with specific sources. For example, a single letter from the Thomas Addis Emmet Collection in the New York Public Library may be referred to in several different ways, thereby leading the reader to wonder which letter the compiler is referencing. A stated policy for abbreviations in the introduction would have been useful. Nevertheless, whether one is concerned specifically with the Third Regiment of Continental Light Dragoons or more generally with the Revolutionary period, *Dragoon Diary* will be of enlightening interest.

Samuel K. Fore, Dallas, Texas

*Dragoon Diary: The History of the Third Continental Light Dragoons* by C. F. William Maurer. (Bloomington, Ind.: Authorhouse, 2005). ISBN: 1-420-83145-3. This book includes bibliographical references and index. pp. xiv, 555. \$24.00 ★

***Morningstars of Liberty: The Revolutionary War in Georgia, 1775-1783. Vol. 1* by Gordon Burns Smith.**

E. Merton Coulter, the great scholar of Georgia history, referred to the American Revolution as the dark corner in the State's history. For almost two centuries, this subject hardly received more attention in print than the rehashing of Hugh McCall's classic part memoir: *A History of Georgia*, Volume 2 (1816). Even near contemporary seekers of information on the State's part in that conflict such as Edward Langworthy, Jared Sparks and Lyman C. Draper found little more. Since the time of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution, however, a handful of scholars have turned over seemingly every documentary rock to recover information that will go beyond, expand upon, and correct McCall. *Morningstars of Liberty* represents the greatest single result of those efforts. Historian Gordon B. Smith, a Savannah attorney and Vietnam veteran, has spent decades combing through old newspapers, existing scholarship and other sources to compile information on tens of thousands of colorful and interesting Georgians. He has begun to pull together these bits of information in narrative biographical compilations that have so far included four volumes on Georgia's pre-1860 militia and the first volume of a projected series on its tales of the supernatural. His plans call for many other works on the famous and the forgotten historical figures of his State in largely biographical works organized under numerous categories.



*Morningstars of Liberty* presents his research on his chief field of study – the American Revolution in Georgia. Smith tells in detail of battles, campaigns, organizations, leaders, he goes further, by including information on the largely overlooked but significant participation in the war by Georgia and Georgians from Boston to Florida. The author adds extremely obscure biographical information. He omits, however, the most important aspects of the

American Revolution in Georgia in this largely military work: George Liele's first African Baptist congregation; the only American state ever reduced to colony status; that statistically as a whole Georgia suffered more devastation per capita than any other colony that rebelled - more than at the hands of Sherman in the Civil War; and that Savannah was the site of a French and American disaster in battle that ranked only behind Bunker Hill in casualties sustained by one side. Smith does promise at least two more volumes in this series. He thus has the opportunity to recover the "forest" from among the "trees."

**Robert Scott Davis**, Wallace State College, Hanceville, Alabama

*Morningstars of Liberty: The Revolutionary War in Georgia, 1775-1783. Vol. 1* by Gordon Burns Smith. (Milledgeville, Ga.: Boyd Publishing, 2006). Pp. 381. \$55. ISBN: 1-890307-47-5. ★

**Excerpts from *Roster of the South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution: 1755-1783* soon to be released by Bobby G. Moss.**

**William Payne** was a native of Scotland who came to America in 1761 and settled on a 300 acre plantation on the forks of Rayburn [Rabon] Creek and Saluda River, about thirty miles from Ninety Six District Courthouse. He established a corn mill and three orchards: apple, peach, and plum, and became known as a brandy maker. When the backcountry war broke out, he decided to side with the Loyalist; he joined Col. Thomas Fletchall and became a SC Loyalist militia captain. He was in the encounters at Ninety Six and the Loyalists defeat at the Great Cane Brake on December 22, 1775. Payne was captured and sent to Charleston on 2 January 1776 by Col. Richard Richardson. After the fall of Savannah to the British in December of 1778, he joined a detachment under British Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell and in 1779 was captured again by the Patriots. Payne served from 14 June to 7 October 1780 under Maj. Patrick Cunningham in the Little River (Loyalists) militia. He was captured at the Battle of Kings Mountain. Payne was tried, condemned to death, and lay in prison four months awaiting execution. His friends intervened and upon his promise to take his family, depart Ninety Six District, and never return, he was released. His house and buildings were burned and his land was seized. Payne immediately joined Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger, the British Commander of Ninety Six, who appointed him captain of a horse company and ordered him to patrol the Indian Line. When Gen. Nathanael Greene began the siege of Ninety Six, Cruger made Payne commander of all the militia in the encounter. After the siege Payne was sent by Lord Rawdon to harass the rear of the enemy. He closely pursued the retreating Patriots until they reached the Broad River. Afterwards, he joined the other British troops in Charleston. He was in the Battle of Eutaw Springs and served as a refugee captain in Charleston until the evacuation of the city. Payne went to East Florida where he was appointed as a magistrate. He served until Florida was ceded to Spain. His wife and children finally reached Sunbury, Georgia, where they remained until he left Florida and found them. The family suffered in poverty until they went to England.

(AO12/52/\_\_\_; AO13/35/369; AO13/133; Lt, LVII, 402; PA#\_\_\_/T50/1; PA#3/T50/1; PA#29/T50/2; T50/2; T50/3/11:47; T50/3/11:408; {Crum, Henry & John Crum, T50/2/434}; Gibbes I, p. 252). [Extract from *Roster of the South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution: 1755-1783* soon to be released by Bobby G. Moss.]

**David Phillips** was a lieutenant and was the son of SC Loyalist militia Col. John Phillips. He was captured after the defeat of Tarleton at Cowpens while escorting wounded British officers from the battle site to Camden. After being exchanged, he served during June and July 1781 under Capt. Benjamin Perkins in the Jackson Creek (Loyalist) Militia and was with Lord Rawdon on the expedition to relieve Fort Ninety Six. While accompanying Rawdon to Charleston in August 1781, Phillips was captured by Col. Wade Hampton and was executed. His father received his final pay.

(PA#11/T50/6; PA#17/T50/2; PA#73/T50/6; AO/13/133; CO5/82/299; Jones, Chesney, p. 61; Moss, Chesney, p. 84). [Extract from *Roster of the South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution: 1755-1783* soon to be released by Bobby G. Moss.] ★

**New Capt. Shadrach Inman Monument  
Musgrove Mill State Historic Site by  
SC Heritage Groups**

**Joseph C. M. Goldsmith**



Combined color guards from the South Carolina, Georgia and Tennessee Societies of the SAR plus the SC Society CAR present the various colors for the Pledges to the Flags. This is especially appropriate as the Georgia, North Carolina and Tennessee Patriots came here to aid the SC Patriots in this and the Battles of Kings Mountain and Cowpens. Photo by Norman B. Pigeon.



...Ready? ...Set? ...Puuuulllll! This memorial stone of Tennessee marble was unveiled by Will Flint, Registrar of the SCS CAR plus Philip Sumter Towles and Nathan Towles, whose Patriot ancestor Capt. Oliver Towles fought for the American cause on this very battlefield. Photo by Norman B. Pigeon.



This exquisite Tennessee marble monument replaces a smaller vandalized one placed by the DAR in the 1920's before there was a State Historic Site on this site. This was obtained as a joint effort of the SCSSAR Patriot Graves and Index Committee plus the US Department of Veterans Affairs. Photo by Norman B. Pigeon.



"Will ye no come back again?" this historic lament is played for fallen Scottish warriors, here solemnly piped by 12-year-old CAR member Evan Johnson. Photo by Norman B. Pigeon.



Members of the SC Rangers, Musgrove Mill Company of Revolutionary re-enactors provide an eight-gun salute to their fallen brethren adding color, drama and excitement to this event. Photo by Norman B. Pigeon.



Some with hats and gloves four VIP guests (L-R) Bonnie Glasgow Scales, Regent SCS DAR, Sylvia Summerville, President, Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century, Faye Pender, Regent of the Snow Campaign Chapter SCS DAR and Dianne Culbertson, co-hostess and Regent, Henry Laurens Chapter SCS DAR. Photo by Norman B. Pigeon.



The grave marking ceremony (in the Spartanburg County section of the Musgrove Mill State Historic Site) was conducted by the Daniel Morgan Chapter, SCSSAR and the Henry Laurens Chapter, SCS DAR on April 26, 2002. Photo by Norman B. Pigeon.

If anyone knows of the whereabouts of the Bronze SAR Patriot Cross (shown covered in this photo with a black veil) please notify Cmt. Joe Goldsmith or the Musgrove Mill State Park rangers. It was "temporarily removed" for safe keeping until the park accepted ownership of the land and could provide patrol coverage of the gravesite. (Seems the "safe-keeping" part was too thorough.) ★

## Research Notes

The Maryland Archives online is a super free resource with tons of great primary information. Bills submitted by units, Officers commissions, pension requests, muster and supply lists, and more.

<http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/msa/homepage/html/search.html>

Bruce McNeal [RevList]

## 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) [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 of 14,246 pages is now available

Includes several hard-to-find works, such as McCrady's *History of South Carolina in the Revolution* (2 volumes); 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.jrshelby.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 many hours 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 .pdf 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 Southern Revolutionary War Institute

by Ben Rubin

### Southern Revolutionary War Institute Receives New Records Collection

The Southern Revolutionary War Institute (SRWI), a program of the Culture & Heritage Museums based at the McCelvey Center in York, SC, is pleased to announce the acquisition of another important Revolutionary War records collection on microfilm. The North Carolina Revolutionary War Army Accounts is a series of records created by the North Carolina government following the end of the American Revolution in order to reimburse Continental army and state militia veterans for military services. The acquisition of this important collection was made possible by a generous gift from a private donor via the Foundation of the Carolinas. The North Carolina Army Accounts, purchased from the North Carolina Office of Archives and History, consists of eleven rolls of microfilm and an index and is a significant new addition to the growing body of primary sources on the American Revolution available at the SRWI. This gift has also underwritten the cost of microfilming the Thomas Sumter Papers at the Library of Congress (LOC), a pre-eminent collection of original manuscripts that has never been available on microfilm. The SRWI will be the first institution outside the Library of Congress to have this important series available to researchers. The Sumter Papers are expected to be ready in early 2008.

The Institute has received or purchased a large number of important microfilm collections including the South Carolina Audited Accounts for Revolutionary War Service, the Cornwallis Papers on the Southern Campaign, and the regimental rosters for the North and South Carolina Continental regiments. The Institute has also purchased microfilm copies of the indispensable Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection covering the Revolution in the Southern states, including the Thomas Sumter Papers (not to be confused with the LOC collection of the same name), Kings Mountain Papers, South Carolina Papers, South Carolina in the Revolution Papers, North Carolina Papers, Mecklenburg Papers, Tennessee Papers, Frontier Wars Papers, and William Preston Papers. The addition of the North Carolina Army Accounts and the Sumter Papers will make the Southern Revolutionary War Institute the leading research center for scholars who wish to study the American Revolution in the Southeastern United States.

For further information contact Michael C. Scoggins, research director of the Southern Revolutionary War Institute and historian for the Culture & Heritage Museums, at the McCelvey Center, 212 East Jefferson Street, York, SC 29745, 803.684.3948, [micscoggins@chmuseums.org](mailto:micscoggins@chmuseums.org).

### Research Facilities

Fellow scholars of the Revolutionary War in the South take note. If you have not yet been to the Southern Revolutionary War Institute's library, I highly recommend making the trip to York, South Carolina. It is the only research institution completely devoted to the study of the Southern Campaigns. The Institute is located within the McCelvey Center, an old, converted school that York County has turned into a research library, museum and community performance space.

It has a number of valuable resources. In addition to the *Sumter Papers* and *King's Mountain Papers of the Draper Collection*, the Institute has recently acquired the *South Carolina, North Carolina and South Carolina in the Revolution Papers*. These volumes are complete on microfilm and the Institute owns a copy of the appropriate volumes of the *Calendar of the Draper Manuscripts*, which serves as an index making searching simple. Another resource which may be utilized at the Institute (not found in most repositories) is a microfilm copy of the *Cornwallis Papers*. This valuable primary resource of the ranking British officer in the South is hard to find anywhere else and includes much of the Earl's correspondence with his subordinates, as well as American documents that his men captured. The Institute's map collection is impressive as well containing reproducible copies of the 1775 Mouzon map of the Carolinas and the Mills Atlas maps.

The McCelvey Center houses more than just the SRWI. It is also an invaluable resource for genealogists interested in York County. The search room is full of plats, documents and family histories for most of the old families in the area. The majority of the visitors I saw in the search room were there doing family research.

The greatest resource the Institute has to offer is its staff. Research Director, Michael Scoggins, is the author of several books including the indispensable *The Day it Rained Militia*. He is an expert on the Revolution in the Carolina backcountry. Scoggins and everyone else on his staff are extremely helpful; when I visited the Institute, I barely had to ask for help. In some cases, I did not. The staff of the McCelvey Center is by far the most attentive staff of any institution in which I have done research. The Center is located at 212 East Jefferson Street in York, South Carolina, or you can visit them on the web at

<http://www.chmuseums.org/ourmuseums/mccelvey/srwi.htm>. The Center is open to the public 8:30 am – 5:00 pm, Monday through Saturday except Thanksgiving, Christmas, Christmas Eve, and New Year's Day.

### The Forgotten Years: 1775 - 1776 in the South

The Southern Revolutionary War Institute hosted a conference on the period of the Southern Campaigns many of us know little or nothing about on Friday, July 13, 2007. Four years before the British flag began flying over the Statehouse in Charles Town, the war took on a very different nature. Long before the first British soldier set foot on Carolina soil, war was waged between Whigs, Tories and Indians.

Several informative speakers took the stage during the all-day event. SRWI historian **Mike Scoggins** gave an overview of the institute and explained the SRWI's collections. **Robert Dunkerly**, interpretative ranger at Moore's Creek National Battlefield, gave a

presentation on the first battle of Ninety-Six in 1775. Following Bert, **Dr. John Chappo** described NC militia Gen. General Griffith Rutherford's 1776 campaign against the Cherokee. This talk tied well with Kennesaw State Professor **Dr. Jeff Dennis'** lecture on the 1776 Cherokee campaigns in general and its impact on the Cherokee nation. Then came **Peter Wrike's** engaging presentation on Lord Dunmore's War in Virginia, appropriately clad in the persona of Virginia's last Royal Governor, Lord Dunmore. Mr. Wrike is currently working in both teaching and administrative roles at Colonial Williamsburg. **Dr. Chris Fonvielle**, professor of history at UNC Wilmington, presented his paper on the decisive Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge in February of 1776 that insured Patriot control of North Carolina during the early years of the Revolution. *SCAR* editors/publishers Charles Baxley and David Reuwer moderated the events. The final presentation was by *SRWI's* own **Mike Scoggins** and South Carolina archaeologist **Steve Smith**. Scoggins described the Battle of Huck's Defeat, the history of the site and clues as to its actual location found in the historic records. Smith detailed the archaeological survey that confirmed the actual location of the battlefield. Together they unveiled the discovery of the Huck's Defeat battlefield.

One unexpected treat was the work of **Thomas Kelly Pauley**, a York, SC artist who specializes in reproductions of classic portraits. He brought a number of his own works based on classic paintings featuring Revolutionary War heroes such as Nathanael Greene, Daniel Morgan, Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, Andrew Pickens, William Washington, Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee, George Washington, Lord Charles Cornwallis, Lord Francis Rawdon, Patrick Ferguson, Banastre Tarleton, and King George III.

Participants were treated to a great dinner at the City Club of Rock Hill and enjoyed a theatrical presentation by **Howard Burnham** depicting the controversial career of SC backcountry militia Gen. Andrew Williamson.

### Huck's Defeat Reenactment



**A recreation of Gen. Thomas Sumter's South Carolina backcountry militiamen attacking their British opponents near Fort Watson on March 1, 1781. A British supply wagon broke down about a mile from the British fort at Wright's Bluff. Ensign Richard Cooper was detached with a squad of 20 of the Provincial Light Infantry to defend and repair the wagon when discovered and attacked. The Patriots were driven back when reinforcements arrived from the fort. Photo by Peter Delorme.**



**Redcoated soldiers on the defensive while attacked by South Carolina backcountry militiamen. Photo by Peter Delorme.**

Historic Brattonsville was the place to be for living history in South Carolina on the weekend of July 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> with its annual reenactment of the Battle of Huck's Defeat or Williamson's Plantation. The event commemorates the July 12, 1780 Patriot victory over Loyalist Captain Christian Huck of the British Legion. There were three large battle reenactments, as well as British and American encampments; interpretive tours of the many onsite buildings; a stage for performers such as period musician Ken Bloom; and costumed historical demonstrators. One interpreter even formed the young children into a militia company and instructed them in militia drills. The encampment was well attended; 1,100 people showed up for the Saturday portion and 400 were there on Sunday.

Sunday afternoon, I attended the reenactment of the first Battle of Fort Watson on the Santee - a minor engagement in which the Patriot partisan forces of Gen. Thomas Sumter's brigade attacked a British supply wagon being brought back into the fort. The Americans initially drove the British off the wagon but when reinforcements arrived from the fort, the redcoats formed behind a split rail fence and it was the rebels who were routed. The reenactment depicted the battle from the British entrance with their supply wagon through the final Whig rout. Saturday featured a reenactment of the Battle of Huck's Defeat and it was even more impressive.

The units present representing the Crown Forces were the British Legion Infantry (Stewart's Company); British Legion Cavalry; Royal North Carolina Regiment; North Carolina Volunteers; 7<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot; 33<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Foot (Light Infantry Company); 33<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Foot (2<sup>nd</sup> Captain's Company); 33<sup>rd</sup> Regiment of Foot/New York Volunteers; 64<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot; 84<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Foot; and the Hesse-Kessel Jaegers. Patriot forces included the Johnston County (NC) Militia; South Carolina Independent Rangers; 6<sup>th</sup> North Carolina Regiment; 2<sup>nd</sup> North Carolina Regiment; 2<sup>nd</sup> South Carolina Regiment; Fourth Creek (NC) Militia; Augusta County (Va.) Militia; and the New Acquisition (SC) Militia. In addition to the military reenactors, several sutlers were present with wares to sell. These included Eastern Colonial Trading, Boar's Head, Randy Brooks, and St. Augustine Fabrics.

Before the battle itself commenced, Mike Scoggins set the stage by narrating the events over a public address system. Then the troops moved and shooting started. There were between 80-100

reenactors on the field and the battle lasted approximately 20 minutes. The performers were excellent, giving a real feel for the tactics, quantity of smoke and number of casualties on an 18<sup>th</sup> century battlefield. After the battle, I asked reenactor Kip Carter how it was decided who would be a casualty. He said that the rule was that if a reenactor's gun misfired he became a casualty.



**Thomas Sumter's South Carolina backcountry militiamen facing their British opponents recreated at Historic Brattonsville, SC. Photo by Benjamin Delorme.**

Historic Brattonsville is located at 1444 Brattonsville Road near the community of McConnells, SC and is open Monday through Saturday 10-5 and Sunday 1-5. Admission to the site is \$6 for adults, \$5 for seniors, \$3 for students and free for children under 5. The park was the site for much of the filming of the Columbia motion picture *The Patriot* and it has over 30 different structures on site, from the Pre-Revolutionary through the Antebellum periods; many of them restored original structures along with a few reconstructions. It is a frequent destination for school trips. Its many interactive sites and knowledgeable costumed interpreters make Brattonsville a perfect destination for veteran historians, curious newcomers and children of all ages. ★

## Teachers Learn to Teach the Southern Campaigns

by Ben Rubin

"Mrs. Nelson," asked a student several years ago, "everything we study was in the North: the Tea Party, the Battle of Lexington and Concord, the battles of Bunker Hill, Saratoga, Trenton. What was happening in the South during this time?" Completely unknowing about this subject, teacher Kathy Nelson responded, "Well, I'm not sure. I guess they were continuing their farming and working on their plantations. They probably were not as involved as the people of the North."

How many of our readers remember learning about the battle of Cowpens in high school? What about the Race to the Dan or the battle of Fort Moultrie? Unfortunately, the story of the Revolution as we learned it begins with Lexington and Concord and ends with Yorktown. In between, it makes brief stops at Bunker Hill, the Declaration of Independence, the Crossing of the Delaware, and possibly Saratoga (in AP classes). We have the distinct impression that the Revolution was conspicuously absent south of the Mason-Dixon line. Even students in the Palmetto State view the Revolution as a Yankee war that was fought by minutemen and sons of Liberty dressed as Indians. They have no idea that the

ground on which they are walking is rich in Revolutionary history. They are oblivious to the fact that South Carolina has more Revolutionary battlefields than any other state and that North Carolina and Georgia have their fair share too. During the week of July 15<sup>th</sup> -20<sup>th</sup>, Converse College and the National Endowment for the Humanities took one major step towards changing that perception.



**Dr. Melissa Walker, professor of history at Converse College in Spartanburg, SC, organizer of the one week long teacher education courses at the mic on the tour bus. Photos courtesy of Converse College.**

Forty history teachers from around the United States converged on Converse College for a program paid for by \$100,000 from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The six day program called *Patriots and Redcoats* was intended to equip teachers with the necessary knowledge and skills to properly cover this often-overlooked aspect of America's War for Independence. Readings were assigned each day from major works on the Southern Campaigns such as Walter Edgar's *Partisans and Redcoats*, Larry Babits' *A Devil of A Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens*, Cynthia Kierner's *Beyond the Household: Women's Place in the Early South*, and Daniel Littlefield's *Revolutionary Citizens: African Americans 1776-1804*. All four authors gave lectures on their works and other topics at the conference. Other faculty who gave lectures included historians Melissa Walker, Martha Bohnerberger, Marvin Cann, Michele Gillespie, naturalist Rudolph Mancke, Martha Severens, and archaeologist Stanley South. In addition, bus trips were made to battlefields at Brattonsville, Kings Mountain, Cowpens, and Ninety Six with noted historians at the helm to lead the tours and guide discussions. The history of battles and campaigns were covered as well as lectures on topics such as the roles of women, African-Americans and Loyalists.

"Now," says Nelson, "I know the rest of the story, as the saying goes. South Carolina participated in more battles than any other colony, had the greatest amount of wealth, and possibly had the greatest amount to lose. Ordinary citizens were crucial in determining the outcome of many battles and skirmishes. If South Carolina had fallen to the British, the British would have easily marched northward conquering further territory. It is quite possible that Cowpens saved the colonies. I have a new respect for this

history that textbooks seem to ignore in their attempt to skew all events to the North. It was the South and her heroes who truly should be commended for saving the colonies. Ordinary people making extraordinary changes!" I could not agree more. Dr. Melissa Walker, along with help from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Converse College and the range of talented presenters at the conference, has made some truly extraordinary changes in the way the Revolution will be taught in many classrooms in the future.



**Attendees of first week-long session at Converse College. Photo courtesy of Converse College.**



**Group with Dr. Marvin L. Cann at the Star Fort, Ninety Six. Photo courtesy of Converse College.**



**Attendees of week two of the American History teachers' sessions at Converse College pose for the obligatory group photo. Photo courtesy of Converse College. ★**

## **Hard-Corps of Discovery Researches Abbeville County, SC RW Sites**

Nancy Lindroth lead a hard-Corps of Discovery working weekend, based at the historic Belmont Inn on the square in historic Abbeville, SC, to search-out 8 important and often forgotten backcountry Revolutionary War sites. Starting with the 1780 Blackstock's Plantation campaign, we visited Rutledge Ford of the Saluda River, site of a skirmish with the Georgia Patriot militia headed west from their victory at Blackstock's Plantation on November 20th. As the Georgia Patriots moved to threaten the British stronghold at Ninety Six, we studied three hypothesis to locate the Battle of Long Cane where Loyalist provincial commander, Lt. Col. Isaac Allen's troops pushed Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke's Georgians back to their camp ending the Blackstock's campaign. We reviewed two possible sites for the Patriots' important victory at Beattie's Mill, where British cavalry commander Maj. James Dunlap was captured. We also saw the sites of Pickens' blockhouse and walked the amazing old roadbed of the Abbeville-Cambridge Road, site of the ambush that saw Capt. John Pickens [Gen. Andrew Pickens' brother] captured by the Tories at McCord's Creek and tortured to death by the Cherokee.



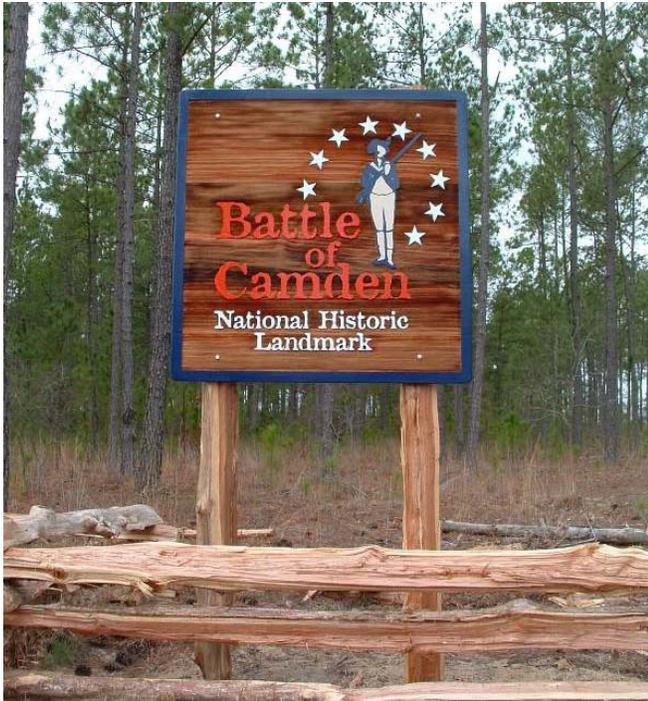
**John Robertson and Jack Parker, GPS hombres of the hard corps, in the old Abbeville-Cambridge roadbed east of Abbeville. Photo by Barbara Abernethy.**

Dr. Lowry Ware, retired Erskine College History professor and local history expert lead the corps to the site of Pratt's Mill, a Cunningham "Bloody Scout" raid site. USFS archaeologist, Jim Bates, helped pick out unmarked graves at an cemetery on the ridge overlooking Long Cane Creek and old house sites along an long-abandoned stretch of the Abbeville-Cambridge Road.

The group also enjoyed the local knowledge of Dean Simpson and Dr. Jim Gettys, another retired Erskine College history professor; Steve Rauch, Scott Withrow, Barbara Abernethy, and Charles and Judy Baxley rounded out the intrepid explorers. We all enjoyed incidental stops at the old Boonesborough Township, the Long Cane Presbyterian Church, and the French & Indian War site of the Calhoun family massacre near Long Cane.

Nancy Lindroth did an excellent job in her research and planning. It will become the basis for at least two days of great Corps of Discovery trips. Watch for more to come from this exciting area!★

## Camden Battlefield Adds to Protected Area



**New entrance signs installed at the Battle of Camden site, a part of the site improvements and interpretation under way. Photo by Nancy Stone-Cullom.**

Crescent Resources owned an important part of the core of the Camden battlefield, northwest of the monument site, where fierce hand-to-hand combat was fought with the Maryland and Delaware Continentals and NC Patriot militia Col. Henry “Hal” Dixon’s regiment of Tarheel militiamen, which ended the battle. Crescent agreed to sell an additional 161 acres of Camden battlefield to the Palmetto Conservation Foundation (PCF); however the PCF was short by \$106,000. PCF applied to the SC Conservation Bank and they, at their October 2007 meeting, recognized the importance of the acquisition and approved the grant. On behalf of the PCF, Nancy Stone-Collum presented the National Parks Service with a certificate of appreciation for their first grant that enabled PCF to buy the 310 acres of core battlefield.

A generous anonymous donor has purchased 6 trail wayside interpretive signs with his gift of \$18,000. PCF received \$2,300 from a local fundraiser in Camden, SC and the Upton Foundation announced that they are giving PCF a \$5,000 grant for the Battle of Camden project and a \$5,000 challenge grant, meaning PCF and the Battle of Camden friends have to raise \$5,000 to match the challenge grant. Dr. Jim Picuch has drafted the verbiage for the interpretive signs. Definition and safety split rail fences and entry signs have been installed to define the park’s two entrances.

The interested institutions gathered for two days in March 2008 in Camden under the leadership of Frank Stovall of the SC State Parks service to draft a long-term plan to improve and operate the Camden Battlefield Park. The group’s vision includes an interpretive center on-location and a permanently manned site to provide security, interpretation and maintenance of the site. Although the Patriots suffered a humiliating defeat at Camden, it is seen as the high point of the British military power in their ultimately failed Southern strategy which led them to defeat at Eutaw Springs and surrender at Yorktown. ★

## US House Passes Bill to Help Camden Battlefield Become National Park

Again, the U.S. House of Representatives passed legislation on December 4, 2007 championed by Rep. John Spratt (D-SC) to help the Camden battlefield become part of the National Park System. “The Camden battlefield has been a National Historic Landmark since 1962, but only through National Park status can this historic site be permanently protected,” said Spratt.

Spratt said that before a site can be designated as a National Park and enjoy the protection going along with it; the National Park Service must conduct a suitability and feasibility study. A March 2003 National Park Service reconnaissance study concluded that further evaluation of the Battle of Camden as an addition to the National Park System was warranted and they recommended that the “National Park Service place a high priority on further evaluation of Camden battlefield as a potential addition to the National Park System.”

Rep. Spratt was responsible for introducing a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to undertake the study. Congressman Spratt’s bill was included in the legislation the House passed, H.R. 3998, “America’s Historical & Natural Legacy Study Act.”

The Battle of Camden was fought on August 16, 1780. It resulted in a significant defeat for the American forces. The British used Camden as a logistical base for the invasion of North Carolina and as a key recruitment and organizing point for Loyalists throughout the state. The American Patriots viewed Camden as key to retaking South Carolina. British commandant Charles Lord Cornwallis viewed Camden as essential to his strategy to mop up the state after the fall of Charleston and move on to Virginia.

Although the battle was a crushing defeat for American forces, it resulted in the replacement of Patriot General Horatio Gates with General Nathanael Greene. American Patriots rallied their forces to win Musgrove Mill, Kings Mountain and Cowpens and reversed the tide of the Revolution in the South. Thus, the Battle of Camden is a key to understanding how victory came to the Americans at Yorktown.

“This site is a national historical treasure, and it deserves to be a part of the National Park System. The bill ensures that the battlefield is protected and people can continue to enjoy it. I am pleased to see this bill pass the House, and I appreciate the help of my colleague, Rep. Henry Brown (R-SC), in seeing it through his committee,” Spratt said.

H.R. 3998 again moves to the Senate for its consideration. ★

## Artist Pamela Patrick White Paints the Battle of Hobkirk Hill

Artist Pam White continues her tradition of showing her work-in-progress on-line while painting a view of the Patriots scrambling to save a cannon at the Battle of Hobkirk Hill. To see her latest painting taking shape on her easel, go to

<http://www.ppatrickwhite.com/Pages/New.htm> ★

## Dr. Edward J. Cashin (1927-2007) Georgia Gentlemen Departs

It is with heavy heart that SCAR announces the death of Dr. Edward J. Cashin, professor emeritus of Augusta State University and one of Georgia's most prominent historians. Dr. Cashin, who had turned 80 years old in July, died on 8 September 2007 following a sudden collapse in Atlanta where he was researching another book.



**Dr. Edward J. Cashin (1927-2007)**

For those who study the American Revolution in the South, Dr. Cashin's research and writing was required to understand those events, particularly within the state of Georgia. Notable was his *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier*, an indispensable work for understanding the Loyalist perspective of the Revolution. More importantly, Dr. Cashin was a true friend of SCAR through his encouragement of many of us in our studies as well as providing invaluable advice about many historical topics. SCAR was fortunate to have him participate in a Corps of Discovery trip to Fort Galphin, SC a few years ago, which was the first time he had ever been to the site. Dr. Cashin was instrumental in commemorating the Battles of Augusta through participation in various lectures and symposia held in honor of the 225<sup>th</sup> observances of those events. He was also a member of the Southern Revolutionary War Institute's Advisory Board.

Known by the Georgia Historical Society as the dean of Georgia historians, Dr. Cashin authored more than 30 books and never passed up an opportunity to explain the region's history. Dr. Cashin graduated from Boys Catholic High School in Augusta and attended Marist College in Poughkeepsie, NY and Fordham

University in New York, where he received his doctorate in 1962. During his career in Augusta, he served as chairman of the Georgia Heritage Trust Commission, president of the Executive Council of the Georgia Association of Historians, Georgia Historical Society (curator), Historic Augusta (executive committee), Richmond County Historical Society (president), Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, Georgia Conservancy, Augusta-Richmond County Museum, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Augusta Authors Club, and Georgia National Review Board (chairman).

All SCAR readers are encouraged to remember Dr. Edward J. Cashin with a hearty "Huzzah!" for dedicating his life to the study of history. He will be missed, but not forgotten.

**Steven J. Rauch**  
Evans, GA



## Gen. Francis Marion Memorial Update

US Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-NM), chairman of the committee on energy and natural resources, announced that an agreement was reached to allow early action in 2008 on the National Forests, Parks, Public Land and Reclamation Project Authorization Act of 2007 (S. 2483) – a bipartisan collection of nearly 60 individual bills under the jurisdiction of the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources. The US House of Representatives has passed all of the provisions included in this agreement. Sen. Bingaman predicts the passage of this broadly bipartisan bill in 2008. The bill, called the "Francis Marion Commemorative Work" (H.R. 497 / S. 312), will authorize a monument to Gen. Francis Marion to be constructed at private expense in Marion Park, Washington, DC. ★

## General Francis Marion's 275th Birthday Commemoration

Sponsored by the Eutaw Springs Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution, commemorative services were conducted to honor the life of Patriot leader Francis Marion on September 17, 2007 at Gen. Marion's Tomb by the Rev. John Scott. After the services, the group enjoyed a meal at the Parish House in Eutawville, SC



**Making remarks about the contributions of Gen. Francis Marion, Father John Scott, Rector of the Church of the Epiphany of Eutawville, SC, stands behind wreaths placed on the tomb by heritage organizations. Photos by H. Edward McCullough, MD.**



**SAR color guard presents representative flags at Gen. Marion's tomb.**



**Seeking the shade, Father John Scott; Dr. Redding I. "Rick" Corbett, III, President, SCSSAR; and Mrs. Lynn B. Doster, Regent of the William Thomson Chapter DAR watch the flag ceremony with ceremonial wreaths shown in the background.** ★

## **Fifth Annual Francis Marion Symposium**

**Chris Swager**

The fifth Gen. Francis Marion Seminar, held on October 19 and 20, 2007 in Manning, SC, pulled off another all-star performance giving the public interesting scholarship and demonstrations. *SCAR* author, **Scott Withrow**, presented his paper on the myths and realities of Francis Marion in the 1761 Cherokee campaign which paper will be published in *SCAR*. The Friday program ended with information about the marsh tacky horses and included a trip to Silver Lakes Plantation to see them work.

**Eric Nason**, dressed in period clothing and taking on the persona of Col. Peter Horry, presented an engaging presentation on Gen. Francis Marion's most trusted lieutenant. In addition to being a major player in the Southern Campaigns from the beginning of the war through the end, Horry became a general of the SC militia after the war, a member of the SC General Assembly, and namesake of one of South Carolina's 46 counties. Interestingly at the end of the war, Horry was in a political controversy with his peer, Col. Hesikiah Maham. Eric later demonstrated the difference between 18<sup>th</sup> Century rifles and muskets, the British and American musket drill and some of the usage of edged weapons of the period.

**Daniel J. Tortora**, a Ph.D. student at Duke University, presented an excellent paper on religion in South Carolina during the Revolutionary War wherein he looked at the experiences of Anglicans, Baptists and Presbyterians. He chronicled early Patriot efforts to secure the support of Anglican clergymen and backcountry Baptists and Presbyterians. He covered the Drayton-Hart-Tennent political mission to the South Carolina backcountry that attempted to sway those residents to join in the rebellion. He traced the constitutional movement to disestablish the Anglican Church and showed how Patriots incorporated religious freedom into the 1778 state constitution. In addition, he described the wartime struggles and divisions of clergy and congregations and detailed the deprivations of South Carolina churches. Religious life was deeply shaken. At war's end, he argued, the Episcopal Church struggled, the Presbyterians slowly rebuilt and the Baptist church united and thrived under the leadership of Revs. Richard Furman and Edmund Botsford as many new churches were constituted.

Storyteller and author **Christine Swager** entertained the attendees by telling about Gen. Marion's life after the September 1781 Battle of Eutaw Springs.

Retired history professor, **Joseph Taylor Stukes**, gave a dramatic interpretation of SC General Assembly member, Francis Marion, and USC - Sumter history professor, **Thomas Powers**, replied as US Congressman Thomas Sumter. Both focused on their subject's post-war political careers. Dr. Powers did an hour in costume as Thomas Sumter and he was magnificent! Dr. Stukes performed for an hour as Francis Marion in his old age wondering how history would record the events of the war - spellbinding. Joe and Tom did an impromptu presentation for the dinner. Marion was on his porch in 1794 when Thomas Sumter, on his way to Charleston, stopped by. The conversation was sharp with Marion prodding Sumter, giving him an opportunity to talk about the war, their mutual disappointment and disgust at the failed 1779 allied Siege of Savannah, the noted personages Sumter had met in Washington, his increasing distrust of the Federalists, and his vision for South Carolina when the canal will allow traffic by water from Charlotte to Charleston.

George Summers announced that the Harvin Foundation will donate \$5,000.00 for a living history event at Bob Cooper Park in February 2008 to sponsor every third grader in Clarendon County, SC for a day visiting with colonial era gunsmiths, weavers, tanners, candlemakers, etc. This program is patterned after an Over Mountain Victory Trail event at the Mineral Museum in NC where they bus children in from as far as Charlotte for the day. Chris and Robert Swager, Carole and George Summers, Dickie Felder and his wife, and some Jack's Creek militia reenactors attended this event in 2007 and decided they needed to provide that opportunity for their local Clarendon County, SC kids. So lots of efforts to 'push back the frontiers of ignorance' succeeded in funding this project.

★

## Georgia Officials Plan a “13<sup>th</sup> Colony Trail”

The “13<sup>th</sup> Colony Trail” was publicly organized in the first city named for George Washington, the City of Washington, Georgia on 15 January 2008. The “Trail” is initially defined by the colony’s events from 1730 - including many Revolutionary battles and skirmishes - ending in 1783; and, at least initially, including sites related to the War of 1812. The Trail features common marketing to promote visitation of historic sites many of which feature the Georgia Patriot militia and the British/Loyalists.

The goal of the “13<sup>th</sup> Colony Trail” in Georgia is to encourage creation of a Historic Trail for heritage tourism and economic development in Georgia with the designation of the entire approximately 300 mile route that connects through about 32 Georgia counties and to raise to a higher level the quality of heritage preservation (era: 1730-1814) all along the route. Work will also be directed toward linking the allied encampments with a self-guided auto tour route, ancillary hiking trails and appropriate historical signs. This initial definition or description will be “on going” until a final definition can be made.

At the initial stakeholders’ meeting, Bruce Green, Product Manager, Georgia Department of Economic Development, reported that the “13<sup>th</sup> Colony Trail” idea was invented about 1½ years ago at a tourism meeting in Valdosta, Ga. Although little has been done since that time the concept continued to be “nourished” until 2008. David Jenkins, Economic Development officer for Washington, Ga. has been involved in the annual Battle of Kettle Creek commemorative ceremonies performed by the Georgia Society Sons of the American Revolution, backing the archaeological research grant and has supported this heritage trail idea.

Green gave an overview about heritage tourism and inspired the initial stakeholders to begin thinking “outside of the box”. One of the subjects he mentioned was “who are we”? This question was not definitively resolved during this meeting and will be on the next meeting agenda. Green’s theme to the 13<sup>th</sup> Colony Trail was “*how might we tell the story*”: a) “what story assets we have”, b) “what are the required bricks and mortar and nature base products needed to develop”, c) “what secondary products are needed” (souvenirs, maps, etc); d) “what is the human experience”; e) “who will be coming”; f) “what are the final products developed”; and g) what type “trails are in development presently or have been developed”? Other successful trail models: the Liberty Trail, Wiregrass, Southern Rivers, Georgia Civil War Heritage Trail, Woodpecker Trail, 441-Antibellum Trail; Hwy 27 Highway Trail, and the William Bartram trail.

Green suggested an analytical model to develop a “blueprint” to begin the planning....he presented the following: a) inventory and assessment (sites, parks, signs, etc); b) enhancement strategy; c) gather support and partners; c) inventory; d) financing; e) determine load management capacity; and f) market, market, market. Green mentioned that 99% of the cultural heritage tourist attractions are not currently “signed” appropriately.

Green believes that if we are serious to develop this trail, we have the money. Green mentioned several financial sources and that Georgia is one of the top 10 states in heritage tourism. He also outlined the “Characteristics of Heritage Trails”. Again Green challenged the group to define, “who are you” and suggested developing an iconic image for the “13<sup>th</sup> Colony Trail”. We discussed an assessment of our historic sites to determine which have to be funded for development.

It was noted and discussed though not in detail, that a list be prepared identifying “stakeholders”: i.e. historians, photographers, artist developing pictures of sites or events, corporations sponsoring sites, and news events published by the press. In addition, the US Army, the forts nearby, the US Park Service, the GA DNR, historic societies, American Battlefield Protection Program, lodges, American Legion, VFW’s, Colonial Dames, and many more.

Ann Floyd suggested that the period of significance should be 1730’s to 1785. She also mentioned the American Battlefield Protection Program and several other possible grant sources. Ms. Floyd noted that the American Battlefield Protection Program of the National Parks Service and the DNR of Georgia.

A follow-on meeting, held in Sylvania, Georgia, was well attended by GASSAR committee members, county economic directors, county commissioners, city officials, chambers of commerce officers, and district directors of tourism. Knowledgeable Bruce Green again conducted the second stakeholder meeting.

The group continued its discussion and planning for “13<sup>th</sup> Colony Heritage Tourism Trail” as Green titled it. After being welcomed by Mayor Margaret Evans of the City of Sylvania, Bruce Green led the sessions in: 1) development opportunities for tourism trails, 2) potential resources for a trail inventory, 3) input from attendees, and 4) then the group divided into 5 categories for SWOT analysis: a) organizational possibilities, b) site inventory, c) funding, d) signage, e) marketing, and f) partnerships, projects, and product.

One of the most important discussions concerned incorporation and expansion of the “13<sup>th</sup> Colony Trail” organizational group. To determine “who are we?” formation of an IRC section 501(c)3 not-for-profit corporation and a “county by county opt-in method” for joining the group was discussed; while no final decision was made, the group plans to organize with a “501(c)3” corporation initially and then go to a second phase “county opt-in” before final planning.

At this point, the scope, legal recognition and funding of the project was not clear, but it was apparent OneGeorgia funding, TE GDOT grants, and other sources were available through county/city applications. A Georgia state House of Representative Resolution will be submitted for the 2009 session supporting creation and recognition of the proposed cultural heritage marketing trail. The group concluded that the National Parks Service and the NSSAR should be consulted to obtain their endorsement of the proposed “13<sup>th</sup> Colony Project”.

Tasks to be performed include developing a list of stakeholders to seek their involvement across the 32 county area. A chronology of events/heritage will be catalogued and a list of resources – camps, trails, homes, cemeteries, churches, historic markers, historic places, waterways, cannons, battlegrounds, museums, etc. - will be developed.

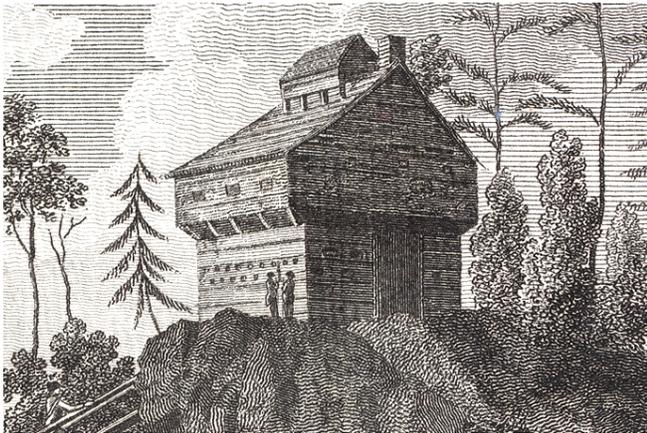
To assess from a tourist point-of-view an important Georgia Revolutionary War site, a bus carried the group to see the underdeveloped battle site and historic marker of the Battle of Brier Creek (March 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1779). Here, Continental Maj. Gen. John Ashe and B. Gen. Andrew Williamson of the SC Patriot militia were defeated by the British forces commanded by Lt. Col. James Mark Prévost. Continental Col. Samuel Elbert was captured.

This report is derived from notes provided by the Chairman of GASSAR 13<sup>th</sup> Colony Trail, Larry Wilson of Elberton, Ga. and SCAR’s area officer, Steven J. Rauch. ★

# Cherokee Ford Fight and the Battle of Vann's Creek, Georgia

by Robert S. Davis

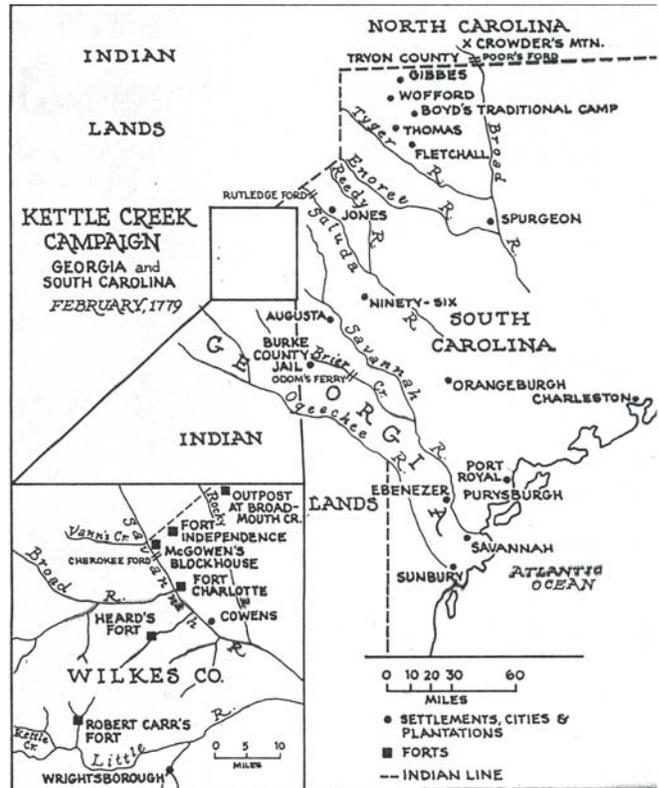
The Savannah River during the American Revolution had few places where high ground cut through the marsh and cane breaks along its banks to allow for a practical crossing. The Cherokee Ford between today's Abbeville County, South Carolina and Elbert County, Georgia proved to be such an exceptional place. The river widens where its two channels form McCalla Island and rejoin, making the waters so shallow as to allow early residents to move large flat stones so that travelers could walk across the river. To defend this strategic point from Indian war parties, the settlers erected McGowen's Blockhouse on the South Carolina side of the ford as early as 1778.



Typical colonial log blockhouse. Library of Congress.

Colonel John or James Boyd organized 600 to 800 Loyalists in the winter of 1778-1779 from minority, often immigrant, communities on Raeburn [Rabon Creek, modern Laurens County, SC] Creek, South Carolina and in Tryon County, North Carolina, for a rendezvous with the British troops then occupying Augusta, Georgia. He had achieved a miracle within just a couple of weeks behind the enemy lines. With drums beating, flags flying and flutes playing merrily, he and his *ad hoc* regiment rode south along the Indian frontier while capturing and burning such places as Fort Independence and the Broadmouth Creek outpost. The South Carolina, western backcountry Patriot militia commandant, B. Gen. Andrew Williamson, and most of his frontier militia brigade had marched to the South Carolina side of the Savannah River to block the British from crossing the river at Augusta. Col. Boyd had therefore to take a circuitous route to and through the Indian frontier guided by friends from the Wrightsborough settlement in Georgia in order to avoid Williamson. The Upper Ninety Six militia regiment under Col. Andrew Pickens remained in the backcountry to guard against Indian incursions. They were dispersed among numerous forts, blockhouses and stations.

The King's men approached the Cherokee Ford on February 11, 1779. They had already missed by a day Col. Boyd's schedule for being in Augusta, some ninety miles to the southeast. They seemed destined to achieve their goal, however, as only seven South Carolina militiamen and a lieutenant (variously identified as Lt. Shanklin, Ramsey or Calhoun) defended McGowen's Blockhouse with small cannons called swivel guns.



Map of western South Carolina and insert showing Wilkes County, Georgia by author.

Local historian Otis Ashmore would call this lieutenant Georgia's Horiatis at the gate, recalling the Roman hero who gave his life defending the bridge to his city. Boyd sent an advanced party under the infamous Loyalist militia Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham to demand the surrender of the blockhouse. The Patriot militia lieutenant refused.



Photograph of the Cherokee Ford of the Savannah River courtesy of Robert Scott Davis; PhotoShop by Caroline.

The defenders of Cherokee Ford escaped martyrdom, however. Capt. James Little, formerly of Georgia, had moved his family to McGowen's Blockhouse to protect them from his Loyalist neighbors. Little and his company had gone on a scout in Georgia when Boyd and his band approached the ford. Little learned of the situation and used a canoe to bring his men across the winter rain swollen river. The blockhouse now had some 40 or 50 defenders.



**Sketch of a bastion from Fort Prince George. USC Institute of Anthropology and Archaeology.**

A Loyalist parley came forward and demanded the surrender of the fort. Little sent word back to Col. Boyd that if the Tory commander wanted the blockhouse, he would have to take it by force. While the Loyalists debated, Little sent an expert horseman out of the fort to ride around Boyd's men to reach Capt. Robert Anderson with a plea for help. A gunner asked Little for permission to fire on the gathered Loyalists to which the captain agreed. A four-pounder shot soon dispersed the King's men. At length, Boyd's men withdrew and marched some five miles up the Savannah River to the next place where high ground on both sides again penetrated the cane swamps to reach the river near the mouth of Vann's Creek (present-day Van Creek in Elbert County). The Loyalists swam their horses and then crossed over themselves on rafts.

In the meantime, some 60 to 80 more Patriot militiamen arrived at McGowen's Blockhouse under South Carolina militia Capts. Robert Anderson, William Baskins, John Miller, and Joseph Pickens. This combined force crossed the Savannah River to the Georgia side and marched along the river to find and stop Col. Boyd's crossing upstream. They attacked the Loyalists crossing the Savannah on the rafts but the thick cane breaks made anything like coordination impossible.



**Typical dense Southern canebrake. Photo courtesy of Robert Scott Davis.**

Despite taking casualties on the unprotected crossing, Col. Boyd's men landed at different places and then, in turn, threatened to flank and encircle the Patriot militiamen firing along the riverbank. Anderson's command captured some horses but the battle ended as the militiamen fled back to McGowen's Blockhouse at Cherokee Ford. The Patriots left one man dead, 15 men wounded and 18 men captured; the latter included Capts. Baskins and Miller, as well as

Samuel McGowen for whom the blockhouse likely took its name. The Patriots also left much of their equipment for which they, including McGowen, would later file claims with the South Carolina government. Boyd reportedly later stated that he lost 100 men in the battle as casualties. Most of these likely consisted of Loyalists with doubts about the march to Augusta and who used the opportunity afforded by the battle and the dense cane to return to their homes. Col. Boyd's command was delayed and weakened in any event. By the morning of February 14, Col. Boyd's command had moved west across the swollen and cane-choked Kettle Creek (near today's Tyrone Community in Wilkes County) and roughly a mile from his friends at Wrightsborough. Unbeknownst to Boyd, the British troops had evacuated Augusta hours earlier to avoid entrapment and were returning to their base at Savannah.

The delays due to the skirmish at Cherokee Ford and the Battle of Vann's Creek cost Col. Boyd in another way. Capt. Anderson and his men had joined forces with their commander, Col. Andrew Pickens, and with Col. John Dooly, the local sheriff and commander of the Wilkes County Regiment of Georgia, and Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke and his men. These 340 soldiers assaulted Boyd and his Loyalists who had delayed crossing Kettle Creek in order to butcher some cattle. The Tory commander fell mortally wounded, reportedly from shots fired by Micajah Williamson and two others of Dooly's command who had slipped through the canebreaks behind the enemy lines.

Despite Col. Boyd having allowed the dissidents in his camp to leave, Loyalists again used battle and the dense swamp to escape. Capts. Baskins and Miller also persuaded their 33 captors to surrender and to return with them to Pickens as captives. Only 270 of the Loyalists who started for Augusta would eventually reach the British army, a defeat for the King's cause on several levels. Planners in London had imagined that thousands of men would have used the opportunity afforded by Boyd to rally to the cause of restoring colonial America. The Loyalists defeat at Kettle Creek came about due to the fights at Cherokee Ford and Vann's Creek.

Capt. Little suffered a near-fatal wound at Kettle Creek that took months to heal. In a war where 25 percent of men with combat injuries died from their wounds, surgeon Thomas (?) Langdon saved Little and others. Capt. Little proved more than fortunate at Kettle Creek. He would claim that he served in and survived 22 battles and skirmishes. After the war, James Little would rise to the rank of colonel and represent Franklin County, Georgia in the state legislature before his death on April 5, 1807.

McGowen's Blockhouse served as a refuge for Capt. Little's family throughout the war. Today, Cherokee Ford, with its historic stepping stone causeway, and Vann's Creek battlefield lay under the waters of Lake Thurmond. Larry Wilson, Central East Vice President of the Georgia Society, Sons of the American Revolution, and Stuart Lyle of the Samuel Elbert Chapter, GASSAR, led the effort to place a monument to Little and the other men who served at Cherokee Ford and Vann's Creek at Richard B. Russell State Park in Elbert County, Georgia.

#### **Sources:**

- Davis, Robert S.** *Georgia Citizens and Soldiers of the American Revolution* (1979), pp. 160-161.
- *Georgians in the Revolution* (1986), pp. 11-24.
- and **Thomas, Kenneth H.** *Kettle Creek: The Battle of the Cane Brakes* (1975).
- Little, R. G.** to James H. Saye, April 26, 1840. 33 VV pp. 224 ff., Thomas Sumter Papers, Lyman C. Draper Collection, State

Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison. Also see the article "Revolutionary Incidents," *Central Presbyterian*, August 20, 1859, a transcription of which is in the James Little File, DOC-1520, File II Names, RG 4-2-46, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Ga.

**McCall, Hugh.** *The History of Georgia* (1969 reprint, 1816), pp. 394, 395 and 398.

**McGowan, Samuel.** Audited Account 5060-C, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, Columbia, SC.

**Speer, William** to John A. Speer, December 9, 1869, and accompanying letter from Harold Carlisle to Robert Davis, March 25, 1976, in William Speer file, Kettle Creek Historic Site, Box 11 RCB-19864, Record Group 30-4-18, Georgia Archives, Morrow, Ga. The Speer letter is also published in Wade Edward Speer, *William Speer (1747-1830)* (1998) and on the Internet at:

<http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/s/p/e/Wade-E-Speer/FILE/0030page.html>

## Battle at Vann's Creek Memorialized

Permission was granted after a lengthy debate with Georgia state officials to allow the Samuel Elbert Chapter of the Georgia Association of the Sons of the American Revolution to install a granite marker commemorating the Battle of Cherokee Ford - Vann's Creek in the Richard B. Russell State Park. This is an appropriate public site nearest to the now submerged battlefield. An impressive dedication ceremony was held on a beautiful day, December 8, 2007 and attended by well over 200. This monument was made possible by the vision, passion and constant work of Samuel Elbert Chapter SAR members Stuart Lyle and James Larry Wilson.

Local and State dignitaries, members of over 20 heritage societies, and leaders of the National, Georgia and most local Sons of the American Revolution chapters were well represented.



**Military historian and SCAR editor Steven J. Rauch of Evans, Georgia spellbindingly relates the story of the Battle of Vann's Creek and its impact on the Patriot's defeat of Loyalist militia Col. Boyd at Kettle Creek. Some of the dozens of commemorative wreaths are visible in the background. SCAR photo.**

Military historian Steve Rauch presented the details of the winter 1779 Loyalists embodiment in western South Carolina, their failed attempt of crossing into Georgia at McGowan's Blockhouse (guarding the Cherokee Ford of the Savannah River) and the subsequent fight in the canebrake at Vann's Creek, Georgia. Rauch explained how this fight impacted the eventual Patriot success at the Battle of Kettle Creek and used the first party descriptions of the action at Vann's Creek (recorded years later by surviving veterans in their pension applications) to flavor the descriptions.

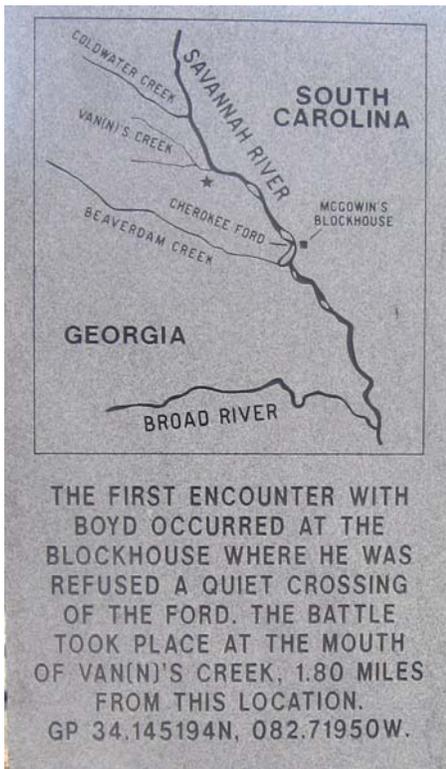


**New granite marker commemorating the Battles of Cherokee Ford and Vann's Creek was dedicated on December 8, 2007 and erected by the Samuel Elbert Chapter of the GASSAR in the Richard B. Russell State Park. SCAR photo.**

The Yargo Community Concert Band entertained all and played an appropriate patriotic musical backdrop for the ceremonies. To honor the Patriots, a piped rendition of "Amazing Grace" made hairs stand at attention on the back of attendees' necks. The Col. Elijah Clarke militia presented a musket salute in honor of the fallen as taps sounded. A special wreath was taken from the dedication ceremonies by boat to the actual battle site and placed upon the waters of Lake Thurmond.



**Left to right: SCAR Editor/Publisher Charles B. Baxley, guest historian Steven J. Rauch, project facilitator Stuart Lyle (seated), Dr. Russell Brown, historian and member of William Few Chapter SAR and James Larry Wilson of the Samuel Elbert Chapter SAR (in Continental uniform).**



Text on reverse of marker gives a map and coordinates to battle site now under the waters of Lake Thurmond. SCAR photo.



Colorful wreaths, music and the SAR Color Guard help set the stage for unveiling the new marker which honors the Patriots who fought at Vann' Creek. SCAR photo.

For more great photos of the dedication ceremonies, go to:

<http://www.georgiasocietysar.org/photoarchives/thumbnails.php?album=73> and [http://onlineathens.com/stories/120907/news\\_20071209080.shtml](http://onlineathens.com/stories/120907/news_20071209080.shtml)

The link above and will take you to a slide show of the program of Vann's Creek posted on the Athens Banner Herald website and includes Steven J. Rauch's remarks.



Guest Steven J. Rauch; tireless promoter of this memorial, SAR member and WWII veteran Stuart Lyle (seated); and prominent historian and SCAR contributor Prof. Robert Scott Davis at the new memorial in the Richard B. Russell State Park near Elberton, Ga.

#### References:

**John H. McIntosh** - *The Official History of Elbert County, 1790-1935*. Supplement 1935-1939 by the Stephen Heard Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution.

**Gordon Burns Smith** - *Morningstars of Liberty*, Vol. One, p. 142.

**Robert S. Davis, Jr.** - *Georgia Citizens and Soldiers in the American Revolution*, pp. 160 and 161.

- *Georgians in the Revolution*, pp. 16 - 17.

- *The Battle of Kettle Creek*

- *The Wilkes County Papers, 1773-1833*, pp. 28-29.

**Hugh McCall** - *The History of Georgia*, pp. 394-395.

"The Georgia Historical Quarterly", Vol. X, June 1926, Number 2, "The Battles of Kettle Creek" p. 94.

**David K. Wilson** - *The Southern Strategy*, USC Press.

**Eliza A. Bowen** - *The Story of Wilkes County Georgia*, Continental Book Co., 1950.

*Georgia during the Revolution*, Bicentennial Edition, pp. 54-55.

**Sharyn Kane and Richard Keeton** - *Beneath these Waters*

**Matthew F. K. McDaniel** - *Georgia's Forgotten Battlefields: A Survey of and Recommendations for selected Revolutionary War Battlefields and sites in the State* (of Georgia), MA thesis, Athens, Ga. 2002

References compiled by James Larry Wilson, former president of the Elbert County Historical Society and member of the Board of Directors and the Samuel Elbert Chapter of the SAR.

**Robert Scott Davis** is a prolific writer and professor of history at Wallace State College, Hanceville, Alabama. He has conducted an in depth study of the Wilkes County, Georgia area, its early settlers and Revolutionary War actions. His ancestor, Indian and scout, Dempsey Tyner, served under Pickens at Vann's Creek and Kettle Creek. ★

## British Evacuation of Charleston 14 December 1782

by General William Moultrie

On Saturday, the fourteenth day of December 1782, the British troops evacuated Charlestown, after having possession two years, seven months, and two days.



**“The Evacuation of Charles Town” from a painting by artist Howard Pyle (1853-1911) done for Scribner’s Magazine in 1898.**

The evacuation took place in the following manner: Brigadier General Wayne was ordered to cross Ashley-river, with three hundred light-infantry, eighty of Lee’s cavalry, and twenty artillery, with two six-pounders, to move down towards the British lines...General Leslie, who commanded in town, sent a message to General Wayne, informing him, that he would next day leave the town, and for the peace and security of the inhabitants, and of the town, would propose to leave their advanced works next day at the firing of the morning gun; at which time, General Wayne should move on slowly, and take possession; and from thence to follow the British troops into town, keeping at a respectful distance (say about two hundred yards;) and when the British troops after passing through the town gates, should file off to Gadsden’s wharf, General Wayne was to proceed into town, which was done with great order and regularity, except now and then the British called to General Wayne that he was too fast upon them, which occasioned him to halt a little. About 11 o’clock, a.m. the American troops marched into town and took post at the state house.

At 3 o’clock pm, General Greene conducted Governor Mathews, and the council, with some other of the citizens into town. We marched in, in the following order: an advance of an officer and thirty of Lee’s dragoons; then followed the governor and General Greene; the next two were General Gist and myself; after us followed the council, citizens and officers, making altogether about fifty. One hundred and eighty cavalry brought up the rear. We halted in Broad-street...there we alighted, and the cavalry discharged to quarters. Afterwards, everyone went where they pleased; some in viewing the town, others in visiting their friends. It was a grand and pleasing sight, to see the enemy’s fleet (upwards of three hundred sail)...ready to depart from the port. The great joy that was felt on this day, by the citizens and soldiers, was inexpressible: the widows, the orphans, the aged men and other, who, from their particular situations, were obliged to remain in Charlestown, many of whom had been cooped up in one room of their own elegant houses for upwards of two years, whilst the other parts were occupied by the British officers, many of whom were a rude uncivil set of gentlemen; their situations, and the many mortifying circumstances occurred to them in that time, must have been truly distressing. I cannot forget that happy day when we

marched into Charlestown with the American troops; it was a proud day to me, and I felt myself much elated, at seeing the balconies, the doors, and windows crowded with the patriotic fair, the aged citizens and others, congratulating us on our return home, saying, ‘God bless you, gentlemen! You are welcome home, gentlemen!’ Both citizens and soldiers shed mutual tears of joy.

It was an ample reward for the triumphant soldier, after all the hazards and fatigues of war, which he had gone through, to be the instrument of releasing his friends and fellow citizens from captivity, and restoring to them their liberties and possession of the city and country again.

William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York: 1802), 2: 358-360. ★

## Old Fort to get New Fort

Old Fort, NC was the site of Davidson’s Fort, named for Samuel Davidson, a pioneer settler who bought 640 acres of land in 1770 where the town of Old Fort is now. The original fort played key roles in providing security for the pioneers who settled the North Carolina mountains and in the Revolutionary War. Building a stockade or blockhouse was a common approach to security when settling new territory and, for a time, the fort served as a point of departure for those venturing up the Blue Ridge escarpment to points west. The land to the west was Cherokee Indian territory and the tribe allied itself with the British during the Revolutionary War. In response to attacks by the Cherokee in March of 1776, NC Patriot militia Gen. Griffith Rutherford mustered 2,700 soldiers at the fort and then set out into the mountains on a mission to destroy Cherokee villages all the way to what is now Murphy, NC. That Patriot militia organization, which based its operations at the fort, remained active, fighting in the Battles of Wofford’s Iron Works, Musgrove Mill and Kings Mountain in 1780 and the battles of Cowpens and Guilford Courthouse in 1781.

Sen. Queen is working through the NC General Assembly to secure a \$50,000 grant for the fort’s development. He and others associated with the fort, which is visible in wintertime off of Interstate 40, envision it as a significant tourist attraction.

Volunteers are erecting a replica of the Revolutionary War-era fort that once stood as a gateway to the western frontier of North Carolina as an endeavor to boost to regional tourism and the small town’s sense of history. The new site off Lackey Town Road is one mile from downtown Old Fort and the Mountain Gateway Museum, where what was left of the original fort - mostly pilings - met its demise in a 1916 flood.

A palisade of locust logs forms the front wall of the new fort, which will be a 120 feet by 120 feet square, with two stockades, lean-to shelters, and a blacksmith’s and candle-making shop. Long-range plans also call for a visitor center and an Indian artifacts museum on the 18-acre site. The final cost is expected to reach \$1.5 million. The group has about \$60,000 on hand and is planning to apply for grants.

Based on a report by John Boyle of the “Asheville Citizen-Times” brought to SCAR’s attention by John Maass. For more information on Old Fort, NC see the Global Gazetteer

<http://gaz.irshelby.com/oldfort-nc.htm> ★

## Update on Savannah's Battlefield Park

Savannah's Revolutionary War battlefield park continues development that adds meaning and value to the recreated 1779 Spring Hill redoubt finished last year. A new earthen berm and granite monument marks the actual site of the redoubt and also depicts the angle of the redoubt that is not square with the grid pattern of the city. This now fits more accurately with the 1911 Sons of the Revolution monument that was correctly located on the actual redoubt.



**This berm and 1911 monument is constructed on the actual location of the Spring Hill Redoubt at a 45 degree angle to the Savannah street grid and extends under the modern Louisville Road. SCAR photo.**

A new 40 foot tall flagpole complete with an 18 foot Betsy Ross flag is visible in the background when looking across the readout from Martin Luther King Boulevard. Not only does it commemorate the Revolution in South Georgia, but also shows the position of attacking allied American troops against the British redoubt. More strikingly, a column of 800 twenty inch square slabs of Georgia blue granite laid in rows heading from the base of the flagpole toward the reconstructed redoubt. These 800 stones also represent the number of casualties incurred by the allies on the fateful October 9, 1779 attack on the British-held city.



**The reconstructed Spring Hill Redoubt is visible in the background as the 800 stones each representing the French and Patriot soldiers killed are laid in the ranks of the formations attacking the redoubt on October 9, 1779. SCAR photo.**

The stones also offer individuals, families, and groups an opportunity to commemorate any individual on all sides of the Revolution by not only engraving their name and rank but also a little bit of their history. Executive Director, Scott Smith, of the Coastal Heritage Society, the Trustee of the park, said that this is an attempt to represent the magnitude of the columns of men attacking the redoubt, the numbers of casualties and an opportunity to contribute money to permanently memorialize individuals connected to the Revolution. It provides an endowment for the maintenance of the park and appropriate programming as well.

To engrave each stone with the person and words of your choice costs \$1,779.00 made payable in three (3) year installments. There are already stones that commemorate the contribution of the British, Polish, Haitians, French, Americans, and Native Americans on both sides at the site. The Coastal Heritage Society hopes to sell 40 stones per year so that all of the stones have been commemoratively engraved in time for the 250<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the fateful allied attack. This opportunity is one of the few for commemorating individual contributions to the Revolution in a park of national significance according to Executive Director, Scott Smith.

The Georgia Chapter, Sons of the Revolution, sponsors the berm and reconstruction of the memorial on the actual site of the redoubt in the park. Executive Director, Scott Smith, indicates that the Coastal Heritage Society also has one 18 pound siege cannon to mount in the park.



**So-called "grasshoppers" stand at the ready to celebrate the new park. The granite monument in the upper right background rests on the site of the original redoubt. SCAR photo.**

Director Smith announced also that the Coastal Heritage Society had received a \$35,000 grant from the American Battlefield Protection program for the purpose of surveying other public sites in downtown Savannah to locate other features of the defenses for the purpose of either preservation or interpretation. This is based on the success of the Coastal Heritage Society's archaeological project that located extant subsurface features of the Spring Hill redoubt as well as military artifacts. Coastal Heritage Society's archaeologist, Rita Elliott, is coordinating this survey. Luckily for the Coastal Heritage Society, there is a number of existing surviving maps and engineering drawings of the city's defenses that were mostly constructed under the supervision of British military engineer, Maj. John Moncrief, in 1779. ★

## Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference Charges to Victory!



Reenactors on the Cowpens battlefield, dressed to represent the various units present, demonstrated their tactics at the Cavalry Conference. Not until NASCAR invaded North Carolina could you feel more thundering horsepower than a full cavalry charge. We much enjoyed the mounted cavalry tactical demonstrations presented by Daniel Murphy, Stuart Lilie, Don Lyons, Ed Harrelson, Ron Crawley, John Hudson, Henry McMillan, and Joel Anderson (dismounted) who performed as a troop of skilled cavalry at the Cowpens National battlefield. This group also covered cavalry training, logistics, equipment, and drills. Photo by Bob Yankle.

The Four Horsemen of the visioned Apocalypse rode white, red, black, and pale horses symbolizing the military horrors of conquest, violence, famine, and death. The four-day Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference horsemen rode gray, Chickasaw red, partisan brown, palomino, black and white horses demonstrating courage, vigilance, force, and determination. Saturday's field lessons and cavalry charge on the Cowpens field highlighted the powerful, destructive force of the disciplined trooper mounted upon a military horse in the American Revolution. More than any previous SCAR conference, the boldness, strength and theatricality involved with this military instrumentality of the horse exuded forth among us. The horsemen's pounding earth was further grounded for attendees by the two days of in-depth, shared research and stirring presentations of 20 professional and amateur scholars. Wofford College, the South Carolina Historical Society and Cowpens National Battlefield saddled-up with SCAR to make this charge in November 2007 a most memorable and enlightening educational experience. Participants learned, questioned and debated martial equestrian sciences and period arts through featured command personalities, cavalry tactics and uses of the horse in specific battles and campaigns, as well as for reconnaissance and raiding. The welcome hall looked like a backcountry rendezvous: part tackshop, studio, artifactual collective, saddlery, commissary, and horse-trading exchange. It served to flavor our one-on-one gatherings, small-talk and purchase of books, pictures and paintings. From the first day through the fourth, 18th century leather was never far from our nostrils. We began to have an understand of horses, the command of cavalymen, the recruitment of dragoons and partisans, the equipping and feeding of horse company, and the hassles and honor of independent commands.

Because of Wofford's generous hospitality, embodied in Charlie Gray and Doyle Boggs, over 100 troopers thoroughly enjoyed outstanding fellowship, entertainment and scholarship in first-rate accommodations. Book-ended by rides to Ninety Six to hear an

excellent explanation of the two Revolutionary War battles fought there by Ranger Eric Williams on Thursday and to Kings Mountain where we toured that famous battle guided by Chief Ranger Chris Revels on Sunday, the Cavalry Conference thundered to success for folks who came from over 20 states.



During the recent Cavalry Conference on the Wofford College campus in Spartanburg, SC, long time cavalry enactor Ron Crawley poses as a trooper in the 3d Continental Light Dragoons on Calhoun, a 14 year old Quarter Horse (similar in appearance to the "Chickasaw Red" horses prevalent among the militia). He wears the distinctive helmet and buff with blue facings coat which was one version of the uniform of the 3d Continental Light Dragoons. Ron is armed with saber and pistol (no carbine), which was the weaponry generally available to the 3dCLD while in the South. See <http://www.3dCLD.org> for more information. SCAR photo.

SCAR guided to the Star Fort by way of Blackstock's Plantation where experts John Allison and Mike Burgess explained how Gen. Thomas Sumter's combined Georgia, North and South Carolina militias stopped the raid of Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton. At a quick stop by Musgrove's Mill Interpretive Ranger, Brian Robson, explained the dynamics of this important Patriot victory where the combined Carolina and Georgia militias stopped a British army during the lowest point of Patriot morale. We visited the site of Lt. Col. William Washington's one-sided victory over Georgia Loyalist militia at Hammond's Old Store. We traveled by way of Cedar Spring, SC Patriot militia Col. John Thomas' camp where he was warned of a planned British ambush by the legendary heroic ride of his mother, Jane Black Thomas from Ninety Six. We visited the understudied Battle of Thompson's Peach Orchard - Wofford's Iron Works where George Fields took us cross-country to this beautiful site on Lawson's Fork.

**Prof. Gregory J. W. Urwin** gave the conference's keynote



presentation: "There Is No Carrying on the War without Them": The Continental Light Dragoons, 1776-83". Prof. Urwin is an author (*The United States Cavalry: an Illustrated History* and seven other military history books), SCAR contributor, reenactor, military historian, and The History Channel contributor. 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. Prof. Urwin, though sick with the flu, rendered a stirring overview of the Continental dragoons, their organization and combat contributions to the Patriots' cause. His briskly paced keynote address was delivered at Friday's dinner at the Piedmont Club accompanied by ample visual illustrations.

Leading off the lecture portions of the conference were Scott Miskimon whose paper, "Col. Anthony Walton White and his Defeat at Lenud's Ferry" and Michael Scoggins who spoke on the "Mounted troops in the Southern backcountry". The moderator, Patrick O'Kelley, stirred the discussions between Dr. Lee McGee, who presented his thoughts on "William Washington operated as clear patterns of 18th century European cavalry practices and how he came to know how to do that" and Dr. Mark Danley, who discussed "the role of cavalry forces in eighteenth-century British strategic thought and operational art." Moderator Prof. Rory Cornish lead the discussions with Dr. Jim Piecuch who told the controversial story of "The British Black Dragoons" who operated out of Charles Town in the latter days of the war and Todd Braisted who humorously looked at "Lt. Col. John Graves Simcoe and the Queens American Rangers." Kicking off Saturday morning, our eye-opener was Dr. Robert A. Selig who spellbindingly explained the bad boys' behavior of "Lauzun's Legion at the Battle of the Hook at Gloucester" and Charles Price who discussed "Cavalry Operations at Eutaw Springs: A Novelist's View". Price was

followed by an engaging description by John Hutchins of the "Fight at Poundridge."

Displayed at Wofford were book, map and antiquarian book vendors; miniature dioramas depicting important battles; book-signings by our presenters; artifact and ephemera displays; and opportunities to discuss your theories and questions with the presenters and colleagues. Informative presentations, fellowship and great entertainment were had by the attendees.

## SCAR 2007 Lifetime Achievement Awards Presented

*Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* presented its 2007 award to **Dr. Gregory J. W. Urwin** for Lifetime Achievement in Military History with respect to his decades of research, authorship, numerous books and publications, and for raising the bar of and about our vast U.S. military



history. His estimable achievement honors the sacrifices of the past, enriches the current citizenry and stands the test of time to teach generations of Americans as yet unborn. He has given all of us the valued

meanings of military service forged in the crucibles of conflict. He is the national leader in military history having built the Temple University program to international recognition. He is a mentor to his students, always generous to stop and help and has, in addition to his published texts, edited, reviewed, mentored, and encouraged an understanding of the study of new military history which focuses on the political, sociological, institutional, and cultural aspects of war. His current work studies the experiences of ordinary soldiers and the history of African Americans in uniform. As a follow-on to his book on the heroic defense of Wake Island by the US Marines, he is now working on a book about the defenders of Wake as prisoners of war during World War II. The Wake Islanders enjoyed one of the highest survival rates of any group of Caucasian troops taken by the Japanese.

**John A. Robertson** was recognized for his Lifetime Achievement in



Revolutionary War Cartography with respect to his unwavering commitment to accurately assemble, record and disseminate the geography of the Revolutionary War's substantial sites and battlefields worldwide. This gargantuan task is delineated by his unflagging devotion and

indefatigable focus to the cause. He gives us all an unparalleled compilation for research. John is the quintessential Revolutionary War map guy; our professional gazetteer; and his maps have defined the geography of a half-dozen books. John organized and built the most comprehensive research website on a Revolutionary War battlefield in the world. This, a user-friendly web-based database, also includes a roster of soldiers on both sides teased out of the historic records. John's on-line library of the Southern Campaigns is without peer in comprehensiveness as a historical text research tool bringing hard-to-find literature to your fingertips in your study. "You've never been helped until you've been helped by John Robertson!"

SCAR honored **Dr. Bobby Gilmer Moss** for Lifetime Achievement in Revolutionary War Scholarship with respect to his groundbreaking, in-depth, diverse look and authorship into the average soldier who did the hard fighting of the Revolutionary War. His worthy and singular achievements bring the front line men into our homes, schools, colleges, and museums as real-life, flesh and blood persons and give us pause to look at their faces from the past. He has inspired generations of students to a love of American history; provided generations of historians and genealogists with those mini-biographies of thousands of individuals backed by references to the source documents; authored numerous histories; and raised the bar on compiling historic data for the benefit of future generations.

In addition to the thunder of hooves and the flash of steel, all enjoyed an explanation of the military actions at Cowpens at the Cowpens battlefield by Prof. Larry Babits, author of *A Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens*.



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

**Thespian Howard Burnham recreated old Ban Tarleton, Member of Parliament, the old rake himself, on Saturday night. Photos by Bob Yankle.**



photos.]

SCAR Photographer Bob Yankle has posted his photo gallery for the Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference at Wofford College on Nov. 9th and 10th. The gallery may be found by clicking on this link: <http://revolutionarywarphotoarchives.org/CavalryConference2007> [Click on the F11 Key to maximize the amount of screen space for the

Daniel Murphy ([steepcreek@mindspring.com](mailto:steepcreek@mindspring.com)) will release a professionally produced DVD of presenters' interviews and other highlights of the conference, entitled "Horsemen of the Revolution" for \$29.95.

Dr. Jim Piecuch is editing the Cavalry Conference proceedings for publication by the Juggling Board Press of Charleston, SC. This anthology will contain papers presented and submitted to the conference. ★

**A small portion of John Hutchins' military miniatures on display at the Cavalry conference. SCAR photo by Bob Yankle.**



## 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, contact [Steven J. Rauch](mailto:Steven.J.Rauch@scars.org), SCAR calendar editor. For current updates, go to <http://www.southerncampaign.org/coe.html>

**March 22, 2008** - Blacksburg, SC - Kings Mountain National Battlefield - Visitor Center at 11:00 am - author and ranger Robert Dunkerly will discuss his new book, *Women of the Revolution, Bravery and Sacrifice on the Southern Battlefields*. He will uncover the stories and legends surrounding the women who were caught in the struggle. Book signing will follow. Living history interpreters will be on site through out the day demonstrating women's crafts and skills. Public invited, free event.



**March 29, 2008** - Burlington, NC - **Corps of Discovery** - tour of Alamance County Revolutionary War sites: **Clapp's Mill, Pyle's Defeat** and **Wetzel's Mill**. The tour will begin at 9:00 am from the Clubhouse at the Lake Mackintosh Park and Marina, 2704 Huffman Mill Road, 2.8 miles south of exit 141 from I-40/85.

Optional afternoon tour will go to the site of the **Battle of Lindley's Mill**. There is no charge for the tour and the public is invited to join us for an historic outing. <http://www.southerncampaign.org/cod.html>



**April 5, 2008** - Georgetown County, SC - **Southern Campaigns Roundtable** at Hopsesew Plantation, US Highway 17 at the N. Santee River; 10:00 am to 4:00 pm, \$15.00 for tour and lunch. David P. Reuwer coordinator. [davidreuwer3@aol.com](mailto:davidreuwer3@aol.com) <http://www.southerncampaign.org/rt.html>

**April 7, 2008** - The **Revolutionary War Roundtable of the Backcountry**. "Three Months in 1780, Events in the South Carolina Backcountry That Turned the Tide of War" by Michael Scoggins, Director of the Southern Revolutionary War Institute. Social time: 6:00 - 6:30 pm; Dinner: 6:30 - 7:15 pm; Program: 7:15 - 8:00 pm. Montgomery Room, Wofford College [www.wofford.edu](http://www.wofford.edu) Members - \$20.00 Non-members - \$25.00 FAX 864-597-4219 or email Charlie Gray [graych@wofford.edu](mailto:graych@wofford.edu). Continuing Education, Wofford College, 429 N. Church St., Spartanburg, SC 29303.

**April 13, 2008** - Washington Crossing, Pa. - 3:00 pm - lecture by Maj. Jason Palmer, Assistant Professor of History, United States Military Academy (West Point): **"George Washington's Disillusionment: Learning to Command 'Such Men,' 1775-1776"** - David Library of the American Revolution (1201 River

Road, Washington Crossing, Pa.) in the Feinstone Conference Center. Lecture free, seating limited, reservations recommended by calling (215) 493-6776 ext. 100. <http://www.dlar.org>

**April 19, 2008** - Hickory, NC - **NCSSAR Convention** - Charles B. Baxley speaker on SCAR and the Corps of Discovery organization. <http://www.ncssar.com>

**April 19, 2008** - St. Simons Island, Ga. - Georgia Patriots Day-Anniversary Frederica naval action - memorial ceremony and wreath laying. Sponsored by GA Society SAR and Marshes of Glynn SAR Chapter.

**April 19-20, 2008** - Petersburg, Va. - **Battle of Petersburg** - Battersea Revolutionary War Reenactment. <http://www.petersburg-va.org/revwar/livinghistory.htm>

**April 21, 2008** - Yorktown, Va. - Dr. Robert A. Selig will present a lecture on "The Franco-American Campaign of 1781: Roads, Routes and Waterways in the Commonwealth of Virginia". 7:00 pm in the Board Room, 2d floor of York Hall, 301 Main Street. For more information, call (757) 890-3508.

<http://www.yorkcountv.gov/tourism/visitorinfo/08-event.htm>

**April 25 - 26, 2008** - Hilton Head Island, SC - **SCSSAR Annual Convention** - Holiday Inn Ocean Front. <http://www.scssar.org>

**April 27, 2008** - Camden, SC - **"An Archaeological Perspective of the Battle of Hobkirk Hill"** - battlefield tour - meet at Greene and Fair Streets at 3:00 pm - Kershaw County Historical Society & ARCHH. Free event, public invited, bring your walking shoes.

<http://www.kershawcountyhistoricalsociety.org> and <http://www.hobkirkhill.org>

**May 15, 2008** - Washington Crossing, PA - 7:30 pm - lecture by Holly Mayer, Ph.D., Professor of History, Duquesne University: **"Congress's Own: French Canadian Continentals and Camp Followers"** - David Library of the American Revolution (1201 River Road, Washington Crossing, Pa.) in the Feinstone Conference Center. Lecture free, seating limited, reservations recommended. (215) 493-6776 ext. 100 <http://www.dlar.org>

**May 17 - 18, 2008** - Huntersville, NC - Rural Hill Plantation - reenactment of the **Battles of Cowan's Ford** (Sat) and **Weitzel's Mill** (Sun) 10:00 am - 5:00 pm. Demonstrations - children's colonial games; tomahawk throwing competition; student militia; craftsmen and artisans: blacksmithing, basketry, candle making, cooking, weaving, carpentry; colonial merchandise vendors; and guest speakers and book signings. Admission charged.

<http://www.ruralhill.net/nest.htm>

**May 21, 2008** - Richmond, Va. - **"Founding of the Continental Navy"** - lecture by John Millan. American Revolution Round Table of Richmond. <http://arrrt-richmond.org/3.html>

**June 6 - 8, 2008** - North Augusta, SC - **"Dinner with Ben Franklin"** at Colonial Times, a "reservations required" \$50.00 per person for a Colonial Repast (dinner). For information and tickets contact Lynn Thompson, Olde Towne Preservation Association. [LST1770@comcast.net](mailto:LST1770@comcast.net) and [Lynn@Colonialtimes.us](mailto:Lynn@Colonialtimes.us) P.O. Box 7915 North Augusta, SC 29861 tel: 803 279-7560.

**June 6 - 8, 2008** - Great Falls, SC - annual re-enactment of the **Battle of Beckhamville** takes place on the original battlefield. The re-enactment includes period music, dancing, church service (on Sunday only), Colonial era tradesmen and craftsmen, blacksmiths, children's activities, sutler shops, vendors, and food concessions.

Intersection of SC 97 and SC 99 at Alexander's Old Field, just north of Great Falls. For more information call (803) 482-2370. Ticketed event. <http://www.battleofbeckhamville.com>



**June 7, 2008** – Richmond, Va. - **Corps of Discovery** - bus tour of Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton's daring Charlottesville Raid bus tour with guide Dr. John Maass. 8:00 am – 5:00 pm. **Sold Out – waiting list only** - \$45.00 per seat. Sponsored by SCAR and the Richmond-American Revolution Round Table.

<http://www.southerncampaign.org/cod.html>

**June 7, 2008** - Lincolnton, NC - the 228th anniversary celebration of the **Battle of Ramsour's Mill** - 9:00 am camp opens; 10:00 am wreath laying ceremony; 11:30 am lunch; 4:00 pm battle reenactment; 8:30 pm ghost walk around the battlefield. Free event, public invited. For more information, contact Darrell Harkey [hiscord@charter.net](mailto:hiscord@charter.net)

**June 8, 2008** – Washington Crossing, Pa. - 3:00 pm - lecture by John Rees, Independent Historian: “**The Pleasure of Their Number, 1778: Crisis, Conscriptio, and Revolutionary Soldiers' Recollections**” - David Library of the American Revolution (1201 River Road, Washington Crossing, Pa.) in the Feinstone Conference Center. Lecture free, seating limited, reservations. (215) 493-6776 ext. 100. <http://www.dlar.org>

**July 4, 2008** – Asheville, NC - Charles F. Price's new book, *Nor the Battle to the Strong: A Novel of the American Revolution in the South* will officially launch on Friday at 7:00 pm at Malaprop's Bookstore. ([www.beil.com](http://www.beil.com)) Free event, public invited to meet the author. <http://www.malaprops.com/NASApp/store/Index.jsp>

**July 12 - 13, 2008** - Brattonsville, SC - **Huck's Defeat** and the War in the Backcountry. Three battles will be reenacted: Huck's Defeat, Stallions Plantation and Musgrove Mill. Camp life demonstrations, music, firearms presentations, and theatrical performances. Children's Encampment - historic toys and games, military drills, explore a Revolutionary war camp, and kid friendly ghost stories. Food concessions and shopping. For a list of scheduled activities and admission charges see [www.chmuseums.org](http://www.chmuseums.org).

**August 2 - 3, 2008** - Sanford, NC - **House in Horseshoe** - Living History Encampment - 288 Alston House Road, Sanford, NC 27330 Phone: (910) 947-2051 <http://www.ah.dcr.state.nc.us/Sections/HS/horsesho/horsesho.htm>

**September 16, 2008** - Savannah, Ga. - Revolutionary Perspectives Lecture - the Savannah History Museum theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Public invited, admission free. Light reception at 6:30 pm, lecture at 7:00 pm. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org>

**September 17, 2008** - Richmond, Va. - "Georgia After the War" - lecture by Jim Jordan. American Revolution Round Table of Richmond. <http://arrrt-richmond.org/3.html>

**September 23, 2008** - Savannah, Ga. - Revolutionary Perspectives Lecture - the Savannah History Museum theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Public invited, admission free. Light reception at 6:30 pm, lecture at 7:00 pm. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org>

**September 30, 2008** - Savannah, Ga. - Revolutionary Perspectives Lecture - the Savannah History Museum theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Public invited, admission free. Light reception at 6:30 pm, lecture at 7:00 pm. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org>

**October 4 -5, 2008** - **Walnut Grove Plantation**, Living History Encampment - 1200 Otts Shoals Road, Roebuck, SC (864) 576-6546 Admission charged. [walnutgrove@spartanburghistory.org](mailto:walnutgrove@spartanburghistory.org)

**October 7, 2008** - Savannah, Ga. - Revolutionary Perspectives Lecture Lectures - the Savannah History Museum theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Public invited, admission free. Light reception at 6:30 pm, lecture at 7:00 pm. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org>

**October 11-12, 2008** - Williamsburg, Va. - **Prelude to Victory: Washington Prepares for Yorktown.** [http://www.colonialwilliamsburg.com/visit/eventsAndExhibits/calendar/index.cfm?id=264083&startAt=1&&searchAll=0&categorySelect=&&keyWords=&itemsPerPage=9&types=&start\\_date=10/11/2008&end\\_date=10/12/2008](http://www.colonialwilliamsburg.com/visit/eventsAndExhibits/calendar/index.cfm?id=264083&startAt=1&&searchAll=0&categorySelect=&&keyWords=&itemsPerPage=9&types=&start_date=10/11/2008&end_date=10/12/2008)

**October 17-18, 2008** - Manning, SC - **6th Francis Marion/Swamp Fox Symposium** “Explore the Revolutionary War Southern Campaign, Marion & his Contemporaries” at FE DuBose Campus of Central Carolina Technical College. <http://web.ftc-i.net/~gcsommers/fmarionsymposium.html>

**October 18 – 19, 2008** – Gloucester, Va. - reenactment of the **Battle of the Hook.** <http://www.battleofthehook.com>

**November 1-2, 2008** - Camden, SC - Historic Camden's **Revolutionary War Weekend** <http://www.historic-camden.net>



**November 19, 2008** - Richmond, Va. – “**The Intelligence Aspect of the Revolutionary War**” - lecture by John Rowland. American Revolution Round Table of Richmond. <http://arrrt-richmond.org/3.html>

**December 6, 2008** - **Battle of Vann's Creek** anniversary commemoration at 11:00 am at the Richard B. Russell State Park, Elberton, Ga. ★

## Lee's Legion Remembered: Profiles of the 2d Partisan Corps from Alexander Garden's *Anecdotes*.

Edited and Annotated by  
William Thomas Sherman

Lee's Legion, or more formally the 2d Partisan Corps, led by Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee (1756-1818) is one of the best known and familiar units in the Continental army's history. Most of what we know about it and its members usually originates with Lee's own *Memoirs* (in its various versions or editions). Although we are most fortunate to be able to avail ourselves of Lee's work, nonetheless, after reading it, historians and students cannot help coming away from the experience feeling that there is much left vague and incomplete; and as much or more they would like to know in order to achieve a more full-bodied and well-rounded picture of both the corps and its members.

General Washington's original reason for forming Legions or Partisan Corps,<sup>1</sup> special elite units which incorporated both cavalry and infantry formations, was for carrying out reconnaissance and for raids against the enemy. At the same time, they were seen as encouraging initiative and acts of boldness which in turn bolstered the Continental army's morale. They fostered an offensive spirit in a conflict where pitched major engagements were normally avoided and where, due to both logistical constraints and lack of training, it was generally ill advised for large bodes of American forces to be on the attack.

Henry Lee's Light Dragoons was initially formed at Williamsburg, Virginia on June 8, 1776 as the 5<sup>th</sup> Troop of Light Horse of the Virginia State Troops. Later in early summer of that same year it was entered into the Continental Army; and by late November was assigned to the Main Army and incorporated into the 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Light Dragoons, under Col. Theodoric Bland.<sup>2</sup> Lee's troop received the special notice and approbation of Washington in late January 1778 when they thwarted a surprise attack by superior British forces at the Spread Eagle Tavern in Philadelphia.

On 7 April 1778, the contingent was separated from the 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Light Dragoons; Lee was promoted to major and authorized by Congress, at Gen. Washington's request, to augment his unit from one to two troops with a mind to forming a Legion or independent corps.<sup>3</sup> In May, this authorization was further

---

<sup>1</sup> Lee's Legion, technically speaking and for most of the time it was engaged, was a Partisan Corps rather than a Legion as originally intended; a Legion having 60 men per troop (of either cavalry or infantry); while a Partisan Corps had only 50. It was thus easier for Partisan Corps to supply itself, travel greater distances, and operate more freely than a formal Legion. See Robert K. Wright's *The Continental Army*, pp. 160-161.

<sup>2</sup> For this and subsequent information on the Legion's organizational history see Fred Anderson Berg's *Continental Army Units*, pp. 60-61 and Robert K. Wright's *The Continental Army*, pp. 161-162 and 348-349.

<sup>3</sup> Washington's letter to the President of Congress, soliciting Lee's promotion to major: "Captain Lee of the light dragoons, and the officers under his command, having uniformly distinguished themselves by a conduct of exemplary zeal, prudence, and bravery, I took occasion, on a late signal instance of it, to express the high sense I entertained of their merit, and to assure him, that it should not fail of being properly noticed. I was induced to give this assurance from a conviction, that it is the wish of Congress to give



Lt. Col. Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee by artist Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827).

increased to three troops and a quartermaster, though one of these troops acted as a dismounted formation. The including of foot soldiers with the cavalry was seen as measure necessary to insure the flexibility and survivability of the unit. Then in July, Captain Allen McLane's Delaware infantry company was assigned as a fourth troop so that by the August the corps had 200 men with soldiers from not only Virginia and Delaware, but Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Connecticut as well. It achieved notoriety, including an acknowledgment of thanks by Congress, for

---

every encouragement to merit, and that they would cheerfully embrace so favorable an opportunity of manifesting this disposition. I had it in contemplation at the time, in case no other method more eligible could be adopted, to make him an offer of a place in my family. I have consulted the committee of Congress upon the subject, and we were mutually of opinion, that giving Captain Lee the command of two troops of horse on the proposed establishment, with the rank of major, to act as an independent partisan corps, would be a mode of rewarding him very advantageous to the service. Captain Lee's genius particularly adapts him to a command of this nature; and it will be the most agreeable to him of any station in which he could be placed. I beg leave to recommend this measure to Congress, and shall be obliged by their decision as speedily as may be convenient. The campaign is fast approaching, and there will probably be very little time to raise and prepare the corps for it. It is a part of the plan to give Mr. Lindsay the command of the second troop, and to make Mr. Peyton captain-lieutenant of the first." Cecil B. Hartley's *The Life of Major General Henry Lee*, pp. 85-86.

its participation in a daring and mostly successful night raid on the British outpost of Paulus Hook, New Jersey in August 1779.

Lee was given authorization to form a formal Legionary Corps on 14 February 1780 and many of the best soldiers from other units either volunteered or were specially invited to join its ranks. When the issue of the utility of Legionary and Partisan corps to the army was raised by Congress, Washington in a letter of 11 October 1780 addressed to the President and in response to them stated: "In general I dislike independent corps, I think a partisan corps with an army useful in many respects. Its name and destination stimulate to enterprise; and the two officers I have mentioned have the best claims to public attention. Colonel [Charles] Armand is an officer of great merit, which, added to his being a foreigner, to his rank in life, and to the sacrifices of property he has made, renders it a point of delicacy as well as justice to continue to him the means of serving honorably. Major Lee has rendered such distinguished services, possesses so many talents for commanding a corps of this nature, and deserves so much credit for the perfection in which he has kept his corps, as well as for the handsome exploits he has performed, that it would be a loss to the service, and a discouragement to merit, to reduce him, and I do not see how he can be introduced into one of the regiments in a manner satisfactory to himself, and which will enable him to be equally useful, without giving too much disgust to the whole line of cavalry."

Lee's force was increased in size to three mounted troops and three dismounted by 1 November 1780<sup>4</sup>; and at about which same time it was detached from the main army and sent to reinforce the Southern Army which had been badly mauled at the Battle of Camden, 16 August 1780. On 1 January 1781, the Legion was re-designated the 2d Partisan Corps; when it joined General Greene by early January numbered some 100 cavalry and 180 foot which were organized into three troops of horse under Captains Joseph Eggleston, Ferdinand O'Neal and James Armstrong, and 3 companies of infantry led by Captains Patrick Carnes, Michael Rudolph and George Handy. Among its marks of distinction the "Legion" was one of the best clothed and equipped units in the Continental Army. This was due in no small part to Lee's dogged and persistent determination to make it so. Evidently, his legionnaires wore green jackets because on various occasions they were mistaken for men of Tarleton's British Legion or Simcoe's Queen's Rangers; while Lee himself, in his *Memoirs*, speaks of his cavalry wearing "green coatees and leather breeches." Yet this is about as much information as we have to go on and apparently applies only to the cavalry. Supply records suggest that at least some of the unit were otherwise attired in blue coats with red trim and white linen. For headgear, leather caps were most frequently used by Continental cavalrymen; however, some are known to have worn visored black or brown leather helmets; with felt hats making an occasional appearance.<sup>5</sup>

Serving under Greene, the Legion occasionally took in recruits from local Carolinians some of whom became notable in its service. Also, in May of 1781, some 25 North Carolina Continentals under Maj. Pinkertham Eaton were added to the ranks of the Legion Infantry; in part, apparently, to offer them temporary training as well as to strengthen the Legion's numbers.

Lee removed himself from command by early 1782 and returned north. Then in June, Greene divided the Legion by combining its

<sup>4</sup> Lee himself was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel on 6 November 1780.

<sup>5</sup> See Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States* (1869 ed.) p. 302n and Phillip Katcher's *Uniforms of the Continental Army*, pp. 36 and 39-40.

cavalry with detachments from the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Continental Light Dragoons under Col. George Baylor;<sup>6</sup> and then by assigning the infantry of the Legion to Lt. Col. John Laurens' Light Infantry battalion. The reaction on the part of the Legion was one of dismay and indignation, and all resigned in protest. Greene was able to somewhat appease and console them; those who would not stay were granted furlough to return north.<sup>7</sup> The unit finally and formally disbanded at Winchester, Virginia on 15 November 1783.

## Part I.

But for Alexander Garden (1757-1829), son of noted Scotch-American physician, botanist -- and Loyalist -- of the same name (1730-1792), our knowledge and idea of the officers and men under Lee's command would be a great deal more shadowy and sketchy than it is. Garden, born in Charleston, S.C., for most of the war was in Scotland pursuing studies at the University of Glasgow. However, in July 1780 he returned to British held Charleston, and sometime (but apparently not earlier than after the Battle of Eutaw Springs on 8 September 1781) he managed to join up with and enlist in Greene's army. First Garden was made a cornet in Lee's Legion; rising to lieutenant by February 1782; and for a period (presumably due to his cultured and well educated background) acted as aide-de-camp to General Greene. After the war, his father's estate that would otherwise have been confiscated was awarded to him by the state of South Carolina. He later published two separate volumes of Revolutionary War anecdotes, viz.:

\* *Anecdotes of the Revolutionary War in America: With Sketches of Character of Persons the Most Distinguished, in the Southern States, for Civil and Military Services* A.E. Miller, Charleston, 1822.

\* *Anecdotes of the American Revolution: Illustrative of the Talents and Virtues of the Heroes of the Revolution, Who Acted the Most Conspicuous Parts Therein.* -- Second Series. A.E. Miller, Charleston, 1828.

These "anecdotes," although largely second or third hand in origin, were often enough taken from original participants themselves whom Garden knew personally. His old comrades and fellow officers in Lee's Legion proffered some anecdotes.

While sometimes unabashedly patriotic even to the point at times of being suspect in their accuracy and despite how other portions of his text merely re-relate David Ramsay, William Moultrie, or other early Revolutionary War historians, (including Garden's former commander, Henry Lee), Garden's accounts often contain much rare, candid, and unusual information not found elsewhere and to that extent are much more credible than we might, initially and on the surface, otherwise expect of them.

What follows here are reminiscences of some of the officers, non-commissioned officers and enlisted men of Lee's corps. These profiles and vignettes make up only a portion, though a substantial portion, of the *Anecdotes* as a whole. What we get is a very lively, more detailed picture of the men certainly as good or better as any we find elsewhere in the literature of that very early time of chronicling the Revolution. This succeeds well at imparting the spirit of loyalty and comradeship that characterized the corps; providing records of their individual bravery and virtues; as well as filling in important, occasionally amusing, dramatic, or touching details we simply have no other means of knowing about. At the same time, this gathering of information affords the opportunity to

<sup>6</sup> With respect to the 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> Continental Light Dragoons see Berg, pp. 30-31.

<sup>7</sup> Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 550-553.



[Footnote from the original text] \* *Vide* First Series [of Garden's Anecdotes, 1822], p. 125.

[p. 134] "for had my orders been obeyed," he said, "our triumph, in all probability, would not have been so perfect a greater number of the enemy might have eluded pursuit and escaped."

### Captain [William] Lindsay<sup>11</sup>

With this officer I never had the honor to form an acquaintance; he had quitted the service before I joined the Legion; but I have heard his military character very highly spoken of, and there is one instance of his intrepidity and skilful management, in imposing upon his enemy, that entitles him to particular commendation. To him it was unquestionably owing that Colonel Lee, and the detachment of the Legion which he commanded, escaped captivity, when surprised at the Spread Eagle Tavern, near Philadelphia. Lindsay, while barricading the door of the Tavern, the more effectually to keep out the enemy, received a severe wound in the hand, which incapacitated him from the further use of his arms. Having nothing to do below, made his way to an upper apartment, and pretending to see the approach of friends from a neighbouring wood, set up a loud huzza, and beckoning with great eager ness, as if to accelerate their movements, so completely deceived the British, who imagined that a strong reinforcement was at hand, that they galloped off with precipitation, leaving Colonel Lee at liberty to quit the house, and retire at his leisure.<sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> On 16 June 1776, Lindsay was made a cornet in the Virginia (apparently State) cavalry, and was a 3d lieutenant in the 1<sup>st</sup> Continental Dragoons by 15 March 1777; being wounded near Valley Forge on 21 January 1778. In April 1778, he was transferred to Lee's Legion where he became a captain in April 1778, but resigned his commission on 1 October 1778. He died on 1 September 1797.

<sup>12</sup> From Hartley's 1859 biography of Lee: "The vigilance of the parties on the lines, especially on the south side of the Schuylkill, intercepted a large portion of the supplies intended for the Philadelphia market; and corporal punishment was frequently inflicted on those who were detected in attempting this infraction of the laws. As Captain Lee was particularly active, a plan was formed, late in January, to surprise and capture him in his quarters. An extensive circuit was made by a large body of cavalry, who seized four of his patrols without communicating an alarm. About break of day the British horse appeared; upon which Captain Lee placed his troopers that were in the house, at the doors and windows, who behaved so gallantly as to repulse the assailants without losing a horse or man. Only Lieutenant Lindsay and one private were wounded. The whole number in the house did not exceed ten. That of the assailants was said to amount to two hundred. They lost a sergeant and three men, with several horses, killed; and an officer and three men wounded.

"The following is Captain Lee's report [dated 20 January 1778] of this affair to General Washington: 'I am to inform your Excellency of an action, which happened this morning, between a party of the enemy's dragoons and my troop of horse. They were near two hundred in number, and by a very circuitous route endeavored to surprise me in quarters. About daybreak they appeared. We were immediately alarmed, and manned the doors and windows. The contest was very warm; the British dragoons trusting to their vast superiority in number, attempted to force their way into the house. In this they were baffled by the bravery of my men. After having left two killed and four wounded, they desisted and sheered off. We are trying to intercept them. Colonel Stevens has pushed a party of infantry to reach their rear. So well directed was the

### Captain James Armstrong<sup>13</sup> -- Cavalry

There was no Officer in the service of the United States, whose feats of daring, had made a more salutary impression on the minds of the enemy, than those of Armstrong of the Legion. The British did justice to his merits; they admired his valor; they gratefully acknowledged his humanity; and when he, by an accident, became their prisoner, behaved towards him with marked and flattering attention. Had they displayed the same generous conduct towards others, which they exercised towards him, the asperities of the war would have been softened, and nothing heard of those acts of intemperate violence, which debased their characters as men.

The details of his achievements are to be met with in every history of the war; it would be superfluous again to repeat them. But, one instance of his attention to a brave and unfortunate Soldier, has not, in my judgment been sufficiently dwelt upon. Lieutenant Colonel Lee was certainly a man of strong prejudices; but, where admiration was excited towards a gallant enemy, his generosity was unbounded. Fascinated by the consummate skill and bravery of Colonel Browne [loyalist, Thomas Brown], in the defense of his post at Augusta, his resolution was immediately fixed, to save him from the fury of an exasperated population, and the better to effect it, [p. 125] put him under the safeguard of Armstrong, to conduct him to Savannah. The precaution was the more necessary, as the

---

opposition, that we drove them from the stables and saved every horse. We have got the arms, some cloaks, &c. of their wounded. The only damage I at present know of is a slight wound received by Lieutenant Lindsay. I am apprehensive about the patrols. The enterprise was certainly daring, though the issue of it very ignominious. I had not a soldier for each window.'" Hartley, *Life of Major General Henry Lee*, pp. 32-33.

<sup>13</sup> Armstrong (1753-1800), according to one credible genealogist's report, was born in Londonderry, Ireland. Some time shortly after the Revolutionary War broke out, we find him serving as an officer in the Pennsylvania line where he was made lieutenant in the 3d Pennsylvania Regiment in April 1777. On 16 July 1778, at Peekskill, N.Y., he was "notwithstanding his good character as an officer and soldier," court-martialed and reprimanded by General Washington, (see *Archives of Pennsylvania*, 2d series, vol. 11, p. 294.) Then in September 1778, his, with other officers of the 3d Regiment, was one of forty-one signatures affixed to a petition submitted to Washington protesting recently adopted promotion procedures. By January 1779, we find him a lieutenant in Lee's corps; and some time in 1780 was made a captain heading one of Lee's troops of cavalry; (Heitman gives 1 January 1779 as the date of his being granted a captaincy, but this is apparently in error); and was commended for his part in the raid on Paulus Hook on 19 August 1779. Armstrong was later taken captive at Dorchester, SC on 13 December 1781 and was held a prisoner to the war's termination. Afterwards, he settled in Richmond County, Georgia and in 1786 commanded a company of dragoons guarding the border with Florida. One unofficial source states he received an electoral vote for President in 1789. Armstrong died at the Georgia plantation of fellow officer Ferdinand O'Neal in McIntosh County on 28 June 1800 (*Georgia Gazette*, 31 June 1800). For more see *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, Vol. XXIX, by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1905, pp. 483-484; and Caldwell Woodruff's, "Capt. Ferdinand O'Neal of Lee's Legion," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd Ser., Vol. 23, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 328-330, and the well done, though more informal, "A Biography of Ferdinand O'Neal," by Dorothy Tribble; that can be found at The O'Neal Genealogy Association website at <http://www.onealwebsite.com>.

inveteracy of party, in the neighbourhood of Augusta, had given birth to a war of extermination, and he saw that without such interposition a gallant Soldier, who had committed himself to his enemy, on their plighted faith, would otherwise have been sacrificed. Colonel [James] Grierson of the British militia, had already fallen by an unknown hand; and to have risked a repetition of the crime, would have subjected the victorious commanders to merited censure and reproach.<sup>14</sup>

I have often heard the gallant Armstrong declare, that he never had, in his own opinion, encountered equal peril with that which he experienced on this trying occasion. At every turn preparation was made for death – in every individual who approached, was seen the eager wish to destroy. Resentment was excited to the highest pitch, and called aloud to be appeased by blood. Yet, by dint of good management, by the gentleness of persuasion – by forcibly portraying the duty of humanity to a captured and unresisting foe, and occasionally well applied threats, he saved the contemplated victim, and delivered him in safety to his friends in Savannah.

A remarkable scene is said, by Dr. [David] Ramsay, to have occurred on this occasion, which well deserves to be recorded, as exemplifying the firmness of a female, labouring under the deepest affliction of grief. Passing through the settlement where the most wanton waste had recently been made by the British, both of lives and property, a Mrs. M'Koy [McKay, mother of Rannall McKay, the young man spoken of], having obtained permission to speak with Colonel Browne [Loyalist, Thomas Brown], addressed him in words to the following effect: -- "Colonel Browne, in the late day of your prosperity, I visited your camp, and on my knees supplicated for the life of my son -- but you were deaf to my entreaties! You [p. 126] hanged him, though a beardless youth, before my face. These eyes have seen him scalped by the savages under your immediate command, and for no better reason than that his name was M'Koy. As you are prisoner to the leaders of my country, for the present I lay aside all thoughts of revenge: but, when you resume your sword, I will go five hundred miles to demand satisfaction at the point of it, for the murder or my son."<sup>15</sup>

While Armstrong remained a prisoner, he was treated, as I have stated, with distinguished politeness. To Colonel Thompson, afterwards Count Rumford,<sup>16</sup> I have heard him express great obligation; and still more to Commodore Sweeny, whose attentions were such as none but a generous enemy could have known to bestow. I have only to add, that ever high in he esteem and affection of his associates, admired and respected in every society, he lived beloved, and died lamented.

### **Captain [Ferdinand] O'Neal<sup>17</sup> -- Cavalry**

<sup>14</sup> 6 June 1781, Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 367-370.

<sup>15</sup> For Brown's own version and explanation of what took place with respect to the murder of Grierson and the hanging of McKay see White's *Historical Collections of Georgia*, pp. 614-620.

<sup>16</sup> Benjamin Thompson (1753-1814) was a Massachusetts Loyalist, scientist and a member of the Royal Society. On 24 February 1782 he was commissioned a lieutenant colonel in the provincial regiment, "King's American Dragoons" (formed in New York); and served in South Carolina with that unit later the same year achieving victory over the SC Patriots at Durant's Plantation on Wambaw Creek on 24 February 1782 and again at Tydiman's Plantation on 25 February 1782. For more information on Thompson, see Vol. 4, No. 1-3 *SCAR* (January – March 2007).

<http://southerncampaign.org/newsletter/v4n123.pdf>.

<sup>17</sup> O'Neal, a Virginian reportedly of French origin or ancestry, was initially a cornet in Lee's Light Dragoons in April 1777. By 5

O'Neal was one of the Officers of the Legion, who rose to rank and consideration by the force of extraordinary merit. He entered the army a private trooper in Bland's regiment, and was one of a gallant band, who, when Captain Henry Lee was surprised at the Spread-Eagle Tavern, near Philadelphia, resolutely defended the position against the whole of the British cavalry, and ultimately compelled them to retire. Lee, on this occasion, addressing his companions, and strenuously urging them rather to die than surrender, added -- "Henceforth, I consider the fortune of every individual present, as inseparably [p. 128] connected with my own! If we fall, we will fall like brothers! If successful in repelling the enemy, (and it needs but a trifling exertion of your energies to effect it) my fortune and my interest shall be uniformly employed to increase your comforts, and secure your promotion." Nor did he ever swerve from his promise. Appointed, shortly after, with the rank of Major, to the command of a corps of horse, O'Neal and [William] Winston, another of his faithful adherents, received commissions, and to the last hour of the way, by uniform steadiness of conduct, and exemplary intrepidity, gained increase of reputation. It was said, on this occasion, that Tarleton, making his first essay as a military man, but for the accidental snapping of O'Neal's carbine, would have fallen a victim to a bold effort, which he made to enter by a window at which he was posted, the muzzle of the piece being, at the time, within a foot of his head. Tarleton behaved with great calmness; for looking up, he said with a smile, "You have missed it, my lad, for this time;" and wheeling his horse, joined his companions, who, deceived by false alarm, were retiring with precipitation.

### **Captain Michael Rudolph [Rudolph]<sup>18</sup> – Infantry**

There was not, in the Southern Army, an Officer of the same grade, whose activity and daring spirit produced such essential advantages to the service as Michael Rudolph; yet, in the pages of history he is scarcely named. I never knew a man, so strictly enforcing [sic] the observance of discipline, who, at the same time, maintained so perfect an ascendancy over the [p. 129] affections of his men. He

---

September 1779 he was lieutenant in the Legion; and in October 1780 captain in which rank he served to the conflict's completion. He subsequently settled in Camden County, Georgia; following that Liberty County; and following that had a plantation in McIntosh County that had been formed from Liberty County. The date of his death is unknown, but it has been deduced by historian Caldwell Woodruff that it would have been sometime before 1820. For more, see Woodruff's "Capt. Ferdinand O'Neal of Lee's Legion," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd Ser., Vol. 23, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 328-330 and "A Biography of Ferdinand O'Neal," by Dorothy Tribble at <http://www.onealwebsite.com>.

<sup>18</sup> Michael Rudolph (often given, incorrectly, as "Rudolph" though evidently the pronunciation is very similar if not identical) and brother of Major John Rudolph (also of the Legion) hailed from Cecil County, Maryland and was known as the "The Lion of the Legion." He was Sergeant Major of Lee's Light Dragoons in April 1778; and by July 1779 was made lieutenant. For leading the forlorn hope in the capture of Paulus Hook in August 1779, he was brevetted captain as the result of a resolve of Congress. By 1 November 1779, he was a full captain in the Legion serving in the unit to the war's end. Sometime in 1795, Rudolph sailed from Baltimore in a merchant ship carrying tobacco and was subsequently (and seemingly) lost at sea. For more, see "Michael Rudolph, 'Lion of the Legion,'" by Marilou Alston Rudolph, *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 45 (September 1961), pp. 201-222, and "The Legend of Michael Rudolph," by Marilou Alston Rudolph, *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 45 (December 1961), pp. 309-328.

was their idol; and such was their confidence in his talents and intrepidity, that no enterprise, however, hazardous, could be proposed, where he was to be the leader, but every individual in the regiment became anxious to obtain a preference of service.

His stature was diminutive; but from the energy of his mind, and personal activity, his powers were gigantic.

Fully to detail his services, is beyond my ability, but that he merited the grateful applause of his country, must be allowed, when it is recollected, that he led the forlorn hope, when the post at New York, was surprised and carried by Lee; and that the same perilous command was assigned him at the storming of the Stockade Fort at Ninety-Six; that he bore a pre-eminently distinguished part in conducting the sieges of the several Forts reduced in the interior country, and particularly directed against Fort Cornwallis at Augusta; that at Guilford [Court House] his conduct was highly applauded, and that he was conspicuous from his exemplary ardour, leading the charge with the bayonet, which broke the British line at Eutaw; that shortly previous to the evacuation of Charleston, he, with sixteen men, took and burnt the Galley protecting the left of the British line at the Quarter House, bringing off twenty-six prisoners; and that, finally, he dismounted and made a prisoner of one of the boldest black dragoons employed by the enemy.

Such were the Revolutionary services of the Captain, under whose auspices I entered the army, and whose virtues were no less estimable than his public utility.

At a later period in the war, with the Western Indians, he served with distinguished reputation; but [p. 130] anxious to provide for an increasing family, he left the service to engage in trade, and sailing on a voyage of speculation to the West Indies, was heard of no more.

### **Captain [George] Handy<sup>19</sup> -- Infantry**

Animated by principles as pure and patriotic, Captain Handy gained distinction by his zealous performance of every duty, and the invincible coolness with which he encountered danger. His activity contributed very essentially, to the reduction of several Forts held by the enemy in the interior country, particularly that at Augusta, where his vigorous charge on the British, who had, by a bold sally, actually possessed themselves of the trenches of the besiegers, caused their expulsion, and precipitate retreat into their posts, from where they never ventured again.<sup>20</sup> On the retreat of [Francis] Lord Rawdon from Ninety-Six, while Lee was endeavoring to gain his front, Handy, deviating a few paces from his command, was seized and carried to a distance by a party of *banditti*, who robbed him of his watch, money, and every article of his clothing, leaving him in a state of perfect nudity, to find his way back to his party. The appellation which I have used is not too harsh; the ceremony of a parole was, indeed, insisted on and given; but on application, at an after period, to the British commander for the exchange of Handy, he candidly acknowledged, that he was not known as a prisoner, and that his captors must have been a set of

<sup>19</sup> Handy was an ensign in the 5<sup>th</sup> Maryland regiment in April, 1777, and on 10 May 1777 was promoted to lieutenant. Though on 26 August 1778 he resigned his commission; by July 1779, we find him a lieutenant of the infantry in Lee's Legion; he ably led a detachment at Paulus Hook in August 1779. Later, on 20 November 1780, Handy was promoted to captain. Receiving particular praise by Lee himself for his role in the second siege of Augusta, April 1781, he remained with the corps until the war's close and returned to Maryland sometime after.

<sup>20</sup> 24 May 1781, Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 362.

lawless marauders, of whom the British had no knowledge. Captain Handy, again restored to the service, by patent endurance of all the miseries and privations of the last campaign, had great influence [p. 131] in tranquilizing the minds of men, driven almost to desperation by famine and disease. The departure of the enemy, at length, closed the scene of the calamity.

Handy led the van of the troops taking possession of Charleston, and having the command of the main guard, by his arrangement of patrols, and the correct conduct of his men, preserved a tranquility that could scarcely have been expected, from Soldiers so long deprived of every comfort, who had now a town, rich in spoil, and many of their most implacable enemies, altogether within their power. To his credit I can assert that no irregularity was committed – not a murmur heard.

### **Lieutenant Peter Johnston<sup>21</sup> -- Infantry**

Imbibing, at a very early period of the Revolutionary war, an enthusiastic attachment to the cause of Liberty, and sensible, that the opinions of his father, whose political creed sanctioned the pretensions of Britain, would militate against his ardent ambition to serve, Peter Johnston, at the age of sixteen, eloped from his College, and avoiding successfully the pursuit of his tutors, joined the Legion as a volunteer. His eagerness to acquire military knowledge, and unceasing efforts to obtain distinction, very speedily attracted attention, and obtained for him, the commission to which he aspired, while the whole tenor of his conduct evinced, that it could not have been more judiciously bestowed. He was brave, enterprising, and where duty called, exemplary in its performance. I will give no further proof of it, than his intrepid conduct at the siege of the post at Wright's Bluff [Fort Watson or Scott's Lake], where [p. 132] the removal of the abbatis, under the immediate fire of the British riflemen, connected with the appalling erection of the Mayham [Maham] Tower, struck the enemy with so great a panic, as to cause an instantaneous surrender.<sup>22</sup>

To the end of the war, he still acquired an increase of reputation, and so completely gained the favour of the parent he had offended, as to be received, on his return to the domestic circle of his family, not only with affection, but pride. Pursuing the study of the Law, he rapidly obtained professional reputation; and now promoted to a seat on the bench of Judges, is equally admired for the wisdom and justice of his decrees.

[2d Volume] Peter Johnston was originally intended for the Church, his father's great object was to make him an Episcopal Minister; but he, himself, giving a preference to a military profession, he clandestinely quitted the paternal mansion, and [p. 132] joined the Legion as a volunteer, and candidate for a commission. I have already said enough of him to prove, that he

<sup>21</sup> Johnston (1763-1841), from Osborne's Landing, Virginia, was originally intended by his family for the church; but, at the age of 16, without informing his father, ran off and joined the Legion. Evidently, and as later proven, he was an able and intelligent lad for he quickly arose in the ranks. At Fort Watson in mid April 1781, he led the assault on the works there and was later commended before the unit for his bravery. Following war's end, Johnston settled down and studied law; subsequently becoming the eminent Judge and jurist Garden speaks of him as. As well of note, he was the father of Joseph Eggleston Johnston, famed Confederate Civil War general.

<sup>22</sup> 23 April 1781. Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 331-332. For more information on the capture of Fort Watson see SCAR Vol. 4, No. 4-5-6 (April – June 2007)

<http://southerncampaign.org/newsletter/v4n456.pdf> at p. 52.

was a prudent, active and most intrepid soldier. His diligence in acquiring a knowledge of his profession was great his attachment to literature, very conspicuous. Whenever there was the least respite from duty, while his brother officers were seeking amusement, or indulging in dissipation, Johnston would always be found at his studies. The war concluded, he returned to his father's house, and was well received. His thoughts were immediately turned to law and politics.

That implicit confidence should not be placed in the reports of deserters, has often been exemplified. Lieut. Col. Lee, in his *Memoirs* detailing the most interesting occurrences, which took place at the siege of Augusta, gives a striking example in point.\* He states, that while rapid approaches were made by the besiegers against the British Post, commanded by Colonel Brown, an intelligent Sergeant of Artillery, who had pretended desertion expressly for the purpose of destroying the Maham Tower, likely from its commanding height to force a surrender, succeeded so far, by expressions of disgust, against the service he had quitted, and the commander under whom he had served, as to lull suspicion, and to be actually placed in the situation the best calculated to effect it - *the Tower itself*. Lee, however, reflecting on the character of his adversary, of whom he had a very exalted opinion, and prepossessed in favour of his military talents, concluded that mischief was contemplated, and in that belief, removing the Sergeant from the Tower, committed him to the charge of the Quarter Guard. Subsequent information proved the prudence of his conduct. Colonel Brown, after the surrender of the Post, frankly declaring, that under the pretext of directing the fire of the besiegers against the Magazine of the Garrison, the Sergeant had engaged to use every art to gain admission into the Tower, and to destroy it. But, on the other hand, it has frequently happened that timely information received from deserters, of the intended movements of an enemy, has saved many a valuable life from destruction. I, with peculiar pleasure, mention one connected with the achievements of my friend, Peter Johnson, which happened at the same period, and at the same place, where, had not intelligence been [p. 123] [Footnote in original text: \* *Vide Lee's Memoirs*, p. 106] communicated by a deserter of a contemplated attack on the trenches, Johnston and his entire command must have been cut off. The ditch of the besiegers was occupied by that officer, and twenty-four men. It was early in the night when a British soldier rushed into it, and said to Lieut. Johnston - "You know not, Sir, the danger which threatens you, a party of forty men, British soldiers and Indians, is now paraded, and ready to throw themselves on your command, and the labourers at the head of your entrenchment, and without immediate precaution, you will be cut to pieces."

Information was instantaneously communicated to Captain Rudolph, who, with the Legion Infantry, was within a few hundred yards. Lieut. Johnston, at the same time, mounting his men on the reverse of the ditch, instructed them to remain, sitting on their hams, until an order to rise should be given; when they were suddenly to gain their feet, and, with deliberate aim, fire on the approaching foe. In the interim, he posted a sentinel a little in advance, in a situation in which he could perceive the first movements of the enemy leaving their works towards him. The sentinel soon brought intelligence that he had distinctly ascertained that the enemy were moving out of their fosse, which was not more than twenty yards from the head of the American entrenchment. Lieut. Johnston quickly heard, as a further evidence, the rattling of their cartouch[e] boxes, and allowing them time to approach still nearer, gave the word to rise and fire. The effect was decisive. The British, instead of surprising, were themselves surprised. Contrary to expectation, they found their enemy prepared for their reception, and a very considerable portion of their force being cut

off, the survivors fled with precipitation, and sought safety within their fortification. [p. 124]

### **John Middleton<sup>23</sup> Cornet in the Legion**

Of Middleton, I would speak with justice, equal to his merit. It would, indeed, be a sacred duty were I competent to perform it. He was ever "the man nearest my heart." Brought up together from infancy, and united in our progress through life, by ties of the most disinterested friendship, he was to me as a brother; and I can with truth assert, that he never obtained an honor, nor progressed a step in public favor, which did not occasion, in my bosom, a sensation of delight, as perfect as if the merit had been my own. Every attention that could induce a man of less exalted feeling, of patriotism less pure, to remain in England at the commencement of hostilities, were held out to him. Wealth, connexion [sic], preference courted his acceptance. A living in the established Church, of considerable amount, was his by inheritance; [p. 133.] but superior to every selfish consideration, and regarding the violated rights of his country, as injuries to his own honor, he nobly resolved, by the devotion of his life to her service, to become her defender, and ward off the exterminating blow, which the resentments of a merciless administration had denounced against her. Quitting Europe, and arriving safely on the American shores, he joined the Southern Army, and offering himself as a volunteer for promotion, speedily exhibited so many instances of gallantry, and so great an ardour for enterprise, as to be rewarded with a Cornetcy in the Legion. No youthful candidate for fame could ever, with greater success, have acquired the admiration of his superiors, the love of the troops serving under him, the perfect esteem and friendship of his brother Officers. His career was short. He but lived to witness the expulsion of the enemy from our Capital, when seized by a mortal disease, he fell its victim. The regrets of every class of the community, affording the highest proof of his estimable character, his talents, and his virtues.

### **Clement Carrington<sup>24</sup> of the Infantry**

Perhaps a more striking instance of the irregular action of fear upon the human mind, was never exhibited than at the battle of Eutaw [Springs.] Early in the action, Mr. Clement Carrington, then a volunteer in the Legion, received a wound which incapacitated him from advancing with his corps, successfully charging the British with the bayonet. He was leaning on his spontoon, anxiously regarding the intrepid exertions of [p. 134] his companions, when a militiaman, flying from the field, appeared immediately in his front, rushing directly on him with the blind impetuosity of terror. Carrington, finding that he must be overturned, unless he could arrest his flight, crossed his spontoon over his breast, the more effectually to check his progress, and upbraiding his cowardice in an authoritative tone, commanded him to halt. The terrors of the fugitive were too highly excited to suffer control, he snatched the weapon opposed to him from the hands of Carrington, and passing the blade of it through his body, with redoubled speed ran on. To the satisfaction of his friends, the gallant volunteer recovered - was speedily commissioned in the Legion, and at the conclusion of the war, applying to the study of the law, has since become a distinguished practitioner at the bar of Virginia.

### **Dr. Matthew Irvine<sup>25</sup>**

<sup>23</sup> According to Heitman, Middleton (from South Carolina) was a lieutenant in the Legion from 1780-1782. He died in Charleston on 14 November 1784.

<sup>24</sup> Carrington was from Virginia and, says Heitman, was a cornet in Lee's Light Dragoons in 1780 serving to the close of the war.

It would be difficult to speak with encomiums equal to his merit, of this excellent Officer. This is no flattery; a cursory review of his services, will afford ample proof, that he stands in need of no such aid. He commenced his career, in the cause of liberty, at the very dawning of hostilities, being one of that distinguished band, who, pausing through the wilderness, and surmounting difficulties, such as had never before been encountered by man, appeared suddenly before the lines of Quebec.

In the Middle States, he served with great distinction, being present at every action of consequence in the field, and participating in many Partisan enterprises, highly creditable to American arms. But, [p. 135] it was in the Southern war that he acquired the highest distinction, not only performing the duties of his profession with consummate skill, and exemplary tenderness and humanity, but frequently serving as an able negotiator with the enemy, and constantly employed as the confidential agent betwixt the General and the Officers, on whose judgment he chiefly relied, in all consultations where important measures were contemplated, and secrecy regarded as essential to success. His great fault, if fault it can be called, was the too great exposure of his person. Possessing an intrepidity that could not be controlled, he was frequently to be found in the hottest of the fight; and it is well known, that he was wounded at Quinby [Bridge, South Carolina],<sup>26</sup> at the head of Armstrong's troops, when his proper station was in the rear of the army. His military services ended, the celebrity he had acquired, as a skilful Surgeon and Physician attended him in private life; and it is no exaggeration to say, that he continues the practice of his profession, with infinite advantage to the public, and constant increase of his own reputation.

[2d Volume] A short sketch of the services of this meritorious officer, is given in my First Series, page 134. I am not satisfied with it. I have mentioned that his great fault, if fault it can be called, [p. 135] was the too constant exposure of his person in action, being frequently found in the heat of battle, when his post should have been in the rear, attending to the wounded. A departure, however, from the strict line of duty was productive on some occasions of great advantage. At Eutaw, for instance, Irvine could not avoid the temptation of taking a near view of the battle, and seeing General Greene alone, (his aids-de-camp being detached to different parts of the line with orders) he rode up, and assured him that he was ready to execute any commands that he might honour him with. "Quick then," (said Greene) to Colonel O. Williams, "order him to bring forward his command with trailed arms, charge the enemy with the bayonet, and make the victory our own." The message was delivered with promptitude, and produced all the effect expected from it. Dr. Irvine married a lady at the conclusion of the war, distinguished for her patriotic attachment to her country, and settled, as a physician in Charleston. Let his medical friends speak more particularly of his professional celebrity. I shall be content to say, that for humanity to the poor, hospitality to strangers, warm and enthusiastic attachment to his friends, and perfect devotion to his family, no man has been more beloved and admired in society than Dr. Irvine.

### Dr. [Alexander] Skinner<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> From Pennsylvania, Irvine was originally a surgeon's mate in Thompson's Rifle Battalion from July to December 1775; then from 20 July 1778 to the close of the war he acted as surgeon in the Legion. He died 31 August 1827.

<sup>26</sup> 17 July 1781, Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 390.

<sup>27</sup> Skinner was initially surgeon in the 1<sup>st</sup> Virginia Regiment, 26 October 1776; but by 1780, was a surgeon in the Legion where he

I had, during the last campaign in the South, continued opportunity of witnessing the eccentricities of this extraordinary character; but while I admired his facetious and entertaining conversation, his exquisite humour, and occasional exhibition of sportive or pointed irony, I could not but consider him as a very dangerous companion. Colonel Lee has stated, that he had a dire objection to the field of battle, yet in private society always ready for a quarrel; it might be truly asserted, [p. 136] that it required infinite circumspection not to come to pints with him, since he really appeared to consider tilting as a pleasing pastime, and he was (as an Irish soldier once said of him) "an honest fellow, just as ready to fight as eat." In his regiment, and among his intimates, he was regarded as a privileged man, and allowed to throw the shafts of his wit impunity. This was a fortunate circumstance, as he would at any time rather have risked the loss of his friend, than the opportunity of applying satirical observation in point. When first he appeared in the lower country, he wore a long beard and huge fur cap, the latter through necessity, the first from some superstitious notion, the meaning of which it was impossible to penetrate. An officer, who really esteemed him, asking him "why he suffered his beard to grow to such an unusual length," he tartly replied, "It is a secret, Sir, betwixt my God and myself, that human impertinence shall never penetrate." On a night alarm, at Ninety-Six, as Colonel Lee was hastening forward to ascertain the cause, he met Skinner in full retreat, and stopping him, said, "what is the matter Doctor, whither so fast – not frightened I hope?" "No, Colonel, no," replied Skinner, "not absolutely frightened, but, I candidly confess, most damnably alarmed." His strong resemblance to the character of Falstaff, which Colonel Lee has also noticed, was very remarkable. "He was witty himself, and the cause of wit in others." Like the fat knight, too, in calculation of chances, not over scrupulous in distinctions between *meum* and *tuum*;<sup>28</sup> and, I should decidedly say, in his narrations of broils and battles, too much under the influence of Shrewsbury clock. I have seldom met with a man more fond of good and dainty cheer, or a more devoted idolater of good wine; but when they were not to be met with, the plainest food, and most simple liquor, were enjoyed with the highest relish. [p. 137]

A lady of the lower country, addressing herself to a young officer who had been much accustomed to enjoy every species of luxury, asked, "how he had supported the privations experienced during the last campaign in the interior?" he replied "that hunger made a simple rasher on the coals, as delicious as the most sumptuous fare, and that where wine could not be obtained he relished whiskey." "I am grieved, my young friend," said Skinner, with great gravity, "mortified, beyond expression, to hear such a declaration from your lips, since it has long been my opinion, that the man who would drink so mean a liquor as whiskey would steal."

In person, Skinner was not unlike the representation generally given of Sancho; in his government, exhibiting extravagant pretensions to state and self consequence. Nor was he insensible to

---

remained until war's end. For a sketch of Skinner by Lee himself see *Memoirs*, p. 382n. It seems more than reasonable to assume Skinner was in some measure the model and inspiration of the "Captain Porgy" character in William Gilmore Simms' historical novel *The Partisan* (1835) and also *Eutaw* (1856); a character, incidentally, roundly deplored and lamented by reviewer Edgar Allan Poe and pointed out as one of *The Partisan's* signal weaknesses; keeping in mind, of course, that Poe's criticism is directed at the author's fictional personage being ill fitted to the work, rather than a real life person. See *Southern Literary Messenger*, January 1836.

<sup>28</sup> Latin -- *mine* and *yours*.

the influences of the tender passion. He not only could love, but he believed himself possessed of every requisite to inspire passion, particularly priding himself upon a roguish leer with the eye, that he deemed irresistible. When disencumbered of his beard, he was presented at Sandy Hill (the point of attraction to all the military) to Mrs. Charles Elliott, the amiable and benevolent hostess of the mansion. The facetious Captain Carns [Carnes], who was his friend on the occasion, indulging his natural propensity to quiz, pointed her out to Skinner, as an object highly worth the attention of a man of enterprise. The bait was attractive, and he bit at it with the eagerness of a hungry gudgeon. On his first appearance of his cap, Mrs. Elliott had perceived it, and retiring, for an instant, returned with an elegant military hat, which she placed on his head, and gracefully bowing, run off. Skinner was mute with astonishment – he looked at the hat, and at the lady [p. 138] and then at the hat again, and turning to his friend, seemed, in the language of Falstaff, to say – “Her eye did seem to scorch me like a burning glass.”

The expression of his countenance was, to Carns, a sufficient indication of the agitation of his bosom. The hint was not lost. “Well,” he feelingly exclaimed, “if ever a broad and palpable invitation was given, this certainly, may be considered as such! Why, Skinner, what charm, what philter do you use to produce such havoc?” “Fie, fie,” said the enraptured Doctor, adjusting his dress, and rising upon tip-toe, “Tempt me not, my friend, and make myself ridiculous. Mine is not a figure to attract the attention of a fair lady – it cannot, cannot happen!” “I will not,” rejoined Carns, “compliment you, Skinner, on your personal attractions. You are a man of sense, a man of discernment, too wise to be flattered; but I certainly have seen men less elegantly formed than you are; and altogether with that *je ne sais quoi*, so fascinating, that you pre-eminently possess; besides, you have a fine, open, healthy, countenance, a prepossessing smile, and a prodigiously brilliant and piercing eye.” “Ah, ha,” cried Skinner, “have you discovered that? You are man of penetration! A man of taste! Yes, Carns, I have an eye, and if it has its usual trick, its tender expression, (you understand what I would say) I may, perhaps be happy.” Carns, for a time, gave indulgence to the effusions of his vanity, but would not suffer him to make himself completely ridiculous. Love was very speedily forgotten; and a kind of invitation to feel himself at home, in the most hospitable mansion in the State, made Skinner the proudest and happiest of men.

Falstaff maintained, that it was proper for every man “to labour in his vocation.” Skinner asserted, “that every man had his sphere of action, beyond the limits of which he ought never to emerge.” “Mine,” [p. 139] said he, ‘amidst the tumults of war, the conflicts of battle, is *in the rear*. – *There*, I am always to be found. I am firm at my post. What did Matthew Irvine get by quitting his? – a wound – a villainous wound! Shall I follow his example, step out of my sphere, and set myself up as a mark to be shot at? O no! I am a stickler for the strict performance of duty, but feel no ambition to shine beyond it.

Being asked, which of the Ladies of South Carolina possessed, in his estimation, the greatest attraction? He readily replied, “The widow Izard beyond all comparison. I never pass her magnificent sideboard, but the late seems ready to tumble into my pocket.”

Arriving near the bank of the river, on the night of the contemplated attack upon John’s Island, he was asked, whether he intended to pass the ford? “By no means,” replied Skinner. “I am not fond of romantic enterprise, and will not seek for the perilous achievements where the elements more than the enemy are to be dreaded. The river too is deep, and my spirits are not buoyant; I should sink to a certainty and meet a watery grave. Death by water

drinking! I shudder at the thought of it! I will remain and take care of the baggage; and as many of you as can boast a change, may be sure to meet, at your return, the comforts of clean linen, and the most cordial welcome I can give you.”

[Footnote in original text] \*After the gallant charge by Captain Armstrong at Quinby Bridge, both himself and his Lieutenant George Carrington, having passed the gap made in it by the enemy, Dr. Matthew Irvine put himself at the head of the dragoons who had failed in the attempt to cross, and made an entire company of the 19<sup>th</sup> Regiment prisoners, but in the conflict was wounded. [p. 140]

### Lieutenant [Laurence] Manning<sup>29</sup>



**Portrait of Lieutenant Laurence Manning of the Legion Infantry by John Trumbull (1756-1843). Manning’s coat is navy blue and the lapels red. His hairstyle suggests a late 18<sup>th</sup> century date. Yale University Art Gallery.**

*And Occurrences leading to the Defeat of Colonel [John] Pyle.*

That important consequences have resulted from accidental occurrences, and that achievements have been attributed to foresight and judgment, which originated in some fortuitous incident, cannot be doubted. The following Anecdote may possibly be disbelieved by some, yet I must record it as doing honour to a fellow-soldier, to whom I was bound by strictest ties of friendship. No man who knew Manning would question his veracity, and from his lips I received it. Nor is it credible, that *he* would wander into the regions of romance to exalt his reputation, when by the uniformity of his conduct, he was daily adding, to the laurels universally acknowledged to be his due. I have besides, in my possession, a letter from my highly valued friend, Judge Johnston

<sup>29</sup> Manning (1756-1804), originally from Pennsylvania (and whose first name is also seen spelled as “Lawrence”), began his army career in the 2d Canadian (also “Hazen’s”) Regiment, and was a sergeant with that unit by early December 1776; and on 1 March 1777 he was made sergeant major. He was wounded and captured at Staten Island on 22 August 1777, but by 19 September 1778 was back with the regiment as an ensign; and later, in July 1779, made lieutenant. March 1780 found him being moved to the Legion Infantry whom he served with until war’s finish. Interestingly, Manning’s son, Richard Irvine Manning; his grandson, John Laurence Manning; and great-grandson Richard Irvine Manning III, all became South Carolina Governors.

of Abingdon, Virginia, at the period of its occurrence, an Officer in the Legion, corroborating the principal fact, though slightly differing in the detail. With regard to the worth and abilities of Manning, his coolness and intrepidity, our sentiments are the same. His delineation of his talents and character I regard as perfect. "I never," says the Judge, "knew any man who was more remarkable for that quality, which is called presence of mind. The more sudden the emergency, the greater the danger in which he was unexpectedly placed, the more perfect was his self-possession, as related to the faculties both of body and mind. In corporal vigour and activity, he was exceeded by few; and there was an ardour about him, which characterized every thing that he said or did. If he had enjoyed the advantages of literary culture, he would have been [p. 141] as much the object of our admiration every where else, as he was in scenes of danger and military adventure."

Most of the settlers in North Carolina, in the neighbourhood of Cross Creek, now Fayetteville, were emigrants from Scotland, who had brought with them strong prejudices in favour of monarchy. Few among them had imbibed the spirit of Liberty, fostered with enthusiasm by almost the entire population in their adopted country; but, to the credit of such as professed attachment, it must be remembered, that having once declared in favour of the cause of America, none more courageously, zealously, and faithfully supported it. No other foreign nation contributed so many distinguished Officers in the line of our armies as Scotland. The intrepid [Hugh] *Mercer* sealed his devotion to our cause with his blood, and died in battle. *Lord Sterling* [William Alexander], Generals *M'Dougald* [Alexander McDougall], *Sinclair* [Arthur St. Clair], *Stephens* [apparently Adam Stephen or Edward Stevens], *M'Intosh* [Lachlan McIntosh], and [William Richardson] *Davie*, were among the most gallant and strenuous champions of Independence. Knowing these facts, it cannot be imagined, that I could ever cherish or utter a sentiment injurious to a country, whose sons are brave, and daughters virtuous; where beauty is adorned with its most fascinating perfections, and manhood exhibits a vigour and activity that cannot be surpassed; where industry has produced an almost incredible influx of wealth, and the energies of mind an increase of literary acquirement, that places human knowledge on an eminence that it had never before attained; -- a country where, as a student in a College of celebrity, I, for four successive years, listened with delight to the eloquence of the amiable and enlightened Miller, teaching, how far more congenial to the best feelings of the heart, and productive of [p. 142] happiness to man, in the purity of genuine Republicanism, than any system of government that the world has ever known. Where I studied the theory of morals, and witnessed the perfection of their practice, under the immediate protection and tuition of the first of Philosophers, and most virtuous of men, the immortal Dr. Thomas Reid. Where Jardine, the teacher of Eloquence, honored me with his friendship; and the liberal kindness of other Professors, of the inhabitants of the city, generally gave birth to sentiments of gratitude and affection, that can never be effaced. Truly, then, I can assert, that prejudices are unknown in the following narrative:

The intrigues and efforts of Lord Cornwallis, to excite insurrection, backed by a very formidable force, had produced among the Highland emigrants a spirit of revolt, which it required all the energies of General Greene to counteract, before it could be matured. -- The zeal and activity of Lieutenant Colonel Lee, whose usefulness exceeded calculation, united to his acuteness and happy talent of obtaining intelligence of every movement, and of the most secret intentions of the enemy, pointed him out as the fittest man for this important service. He was accordingly selected, with orders to impede the intercourse of Lord Cornwallis with the disaffected; to repress every symptom of revolt, and promptly to cut off every party that should take up arms for Britain. Constantly

on the alert, and equally solicitous to give security to his own command, while he harassed the enemy. A secure position was, on one occasion, taken near a forked road, one division of which led directly to Lord Cornwallis' camp, about six miles distant. The ground was chosen in the dusk of evening; and to prevent surprise, patrols of cavalry were kept out on each fork during the night. An order for a movement before day had been communicated to every individual, and was executed with so [p. 143] little noise and confusion, that Lieutenant Manning, waking at early dawn, found himself, excepting one Soldier, left alone. Stephen Greene, attendant of Captain Carns, lay near him, resting on the portmanteau of his superior, and buried in profound sleep. Being awakened, he was ordered to mount and follow, while Manning, hastening towards the fork, hoped to fall upon the track, and speedily rejoin his regiment. Much rain had fallen during the night, so that, finding both roads equally cut up, Manning chose at hard, and took the wrong one. He had not proceeded far, before he saw at the door of a log-house, a rifleman leaning on his gun, and apparently placed as a sentinel [sic]. Galloping up to him, he inquired if a regiment of horse and a body of infantry had passed that way? "Oh ho." Cried the man, (whistling loudly, which brought out a dozen others completely armed, and carrying each a red rag in his hat,) "you, I suppose, are one of Greene's men." The badge which they bore, marked their principles. Without the slightest indication of alarm, or even hesitation, Manning pointed to the portmanteau carried by Green [sic], and exclaimed -- "Hush, my good fellow -- no clamour [sic] for God's sake -- I have *there* what will ruin Greene -- point out the road to Lord Cornwallis' army, for all depends upon early intelligence of its contents." "You are an honest fellow, (was the general cry) and have left the rebels just in time, for the whole settlement are in arms to join Colonel Pyle to-morrow, (naming the place of rendezvous) where Colonel Tarleton will meet and conduct us to camp." "Come," said the man, to whom he had first spoken, "take a drink -- Here's confusion to Greene, and success to the King and his friends. This is the right road, and you will soon reach the army; or rather let me conduct you to it myself." "Not for the world, my dear fellow," replied Manning; "your direction is plain and I can [p. 144] follow it. I will never consent, that a faithful subject of his Majesty should be subjected to the danger of captivity or death on my account. If we should fall in with a party of rebels, and we cannot say that they are not in the neighborhood now, we should both lose our lives. I should be hanged for desertion, and you for aiding me to reach the British army." This speech produced the effect he desired. The libation concluded, Manning rode off amid the cheers of the company, and when out of sight, crossed to the other road, and urging his horse to full speed, in a short time overtook and communicated the interesting intelligence to his commander. Lee was then meditating an attack upon Tarleton, who had crossed the Haw River to support the Insurgents; but, perceiving the vast importance of crushing the revolt in the bud, he informed General Greene of his plan by a confidential messenger, and hastened to the point of rendezvous, where Pyle, with upwards of four hundred men, had already arrived. It is unnecessary to detail the sanguinary scene which followed. Pyle, completely deceived, and to the last believing the Legionary Dragoons the soldiers of Tarleton, was overpowered, and with a considerable portion of his force, became victims of credulity.<sup>30</sup>

It has been remarked that "severity at first is often humanity in the end." Its policy, on this occasion, will scarcely be denied. As Lee permitted no pursuit, many escaped, and spreading universal alarm, so completely crushed the spirit of revolt, that opposition to government was put at once and effectually to rest. But had the

<sup>30</sup> 25 February 1781, Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 254-260.

Insurgents been cut off to a man, would not the act have been justified on the score of retaliation? The provocation would have sanctioned it. To Colonel [Abraham] Buford, but a little before, Tarleton had refused capitulation. Deaf to the voice of clemency, and intent on slaughter, a charge was made on an unprepared and unresisting foe. His heart was steeled [p. 145] against the claims of mercy, and Lee has forcibly said, "it needed but the Indian war-dance, and roasting fire, to have placed the tragedy which followed, first in the records of torture and death."

Many other proofs could be adduced of Manning's presence of mind, and cool intrepidity in action. It is grateful to me to mention one of these. At the battle of Eutaw, after the British line had been broken, and the *Old Buffs*,<sup>31</sup> a regiment that had boasted of the extraordinary feats that they were to perform, were running from the field, Manning, in the enthusiasm of that valour for which he was so eminently distinguished, sprang forward in pursuit, directing the platoon which he commanded to follow him. He did not cast an eye behind until he found himself near a large brick house, into which the [New] York Volunteers, commanded by [John Harris] Cruger, were retiring. The British were on all sides of him, and not an American Soldier nearer than one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards. He did not hesitate a moment, but springing at an Officer who was near him, seized him by the collar, and exclaiming in a harsh tone of voice – "damn you, sir, you are my prisoner," wrested his sword from his grasp, dragged him by force from the house, and keeping his body as a shield of defence from the heavy fire sustained from the windows, carried him off without receiving any injury. Manning has often related, that at the moment when he expected that his prisoner would have made an effort for liberty, he, with great *solemnity* commenced an enumeration of his titles – "I am Sir, Henry Barry,<sup>32</sup> Deputy Adjutant General of the British Army, Captain in the 52d Regiment, Secretary to the Commandant of Charleston [Nisbit Balfour.]" "Enough, enough, sir," said the victor, "you are just the man I was looking for; fear nothing for your life, you shall screen *me* from danger, and I will take special care of you." [p. 146]

He had retired in this manner some distance from the brick house, when he saw Captain Robert Joiett [Jouett] of the Virginia line, engaged in single combat with a British Officer. They had selected each other for battle a little before, the American armed with a broad sword, the Briton with a musket and bayonet. As they came together, a thrust was made at Joiett, which he happily parried, and both dropping their artificial weapons, being too much in contact to use them with effect, resorted to those with which they had been furnished by nature. They were both men of great bulk and vigour, and while struggling, each anxious to bring his adversary to the ground, a grenadier who saw the contest ran to the assistance of his Officer, made a lunge with his bayonet, missed Joiett's body, but drove it beyond the curve of his coat. In attempting to withdraw the entangled weapon, he threw both the combatants to the ground; when getting it free, he raised it deliberately, determined not to fail again in his purpose, but to transfix Joiett. It was at this crisis that Manning approached – not near enough, however, to reach the grenadier with his arm. In order to gain time, and to arrest the stroke, he exclaimed in an angry and authoritative tone --- "You damn'd brute, will you murder the gentleman?" The Soldier, supposing himself addressed by one of his own Officers, suspended

the contemplated blow, and looked around to see the person who had thus spoken to him. Before he could recover from the surprise with which he had been thrown, Manning, now sufficiently near, smote him with his sword across the eyes, and felled him to the ground; while Joiett disengaged himself from his opponent, and snatching up the musket, as he attempted to rise, laid him dead by a blow from the butt end of it. Manning was of inferior size, but strong and remarkably well formed. Joiett, literally speaking, [was] a giant. This, probably, [p. 147] led Barry, who could not have wished the particulars of his capture to be commented on, to reply, when asked by his brothers Officers, how he came to be taken, "I was overpowered by a huge Virginian."\*

The reputation of a Soldier, so highly distinguished both for valour and discernment, whose firmness enabled him, in all emergencies, to maintain a composure that neither difficulty nor danger could disturb, has caused a the honour of giving birth to Manning to be claimed both by Ireland and America. If my recollection is accurate, he certainly declared himself a native of Carlisle in Pennsylvania. Yet, when I remember the general tenor of his conversation – "the facility he possessed of involving in obscurity, the subject he meant to elucidate" – the accent on his tongue – the peculiar turn of his expression – his calling for example to his servant, walking with naked feet over ground covered by heavy frost – "Shall I never teach you discretion, Drone! – If you will go *bare foot*, why the Devil don't you *put* on your blue stockings." And on another occasion, returning to camp, and looking at a bottle of spirits, *half emptied*, which he had left full – "Speak quickly, Drone, you big thief, and tell me what you have done with the remainder of my liquor?" My opinion is staggered, and I am inclined to acknowledge the superior claims of Ireland.

[Footnote in original text] \* Henry Barry was an eccentric character. He aimed at singularity in words as well as actions. He would send "his *best* kind of compliments" to a lady; and, in a simple flower, present "the sweetest of all possible flowers." But in nothing was his conduct regarded as so farcical, as in his claim to delicate and liberal feelings. On one occasion, it has been stated, that reading a Poem, of his own composition, on the blessings of Liberty, a gentleman present asked his frankly "How his actions could be so much at variance with this principles he professed?" "Because, Sir," he unblushingly replied, "I am a Soldier of fortune, seeking a strong and comfortable establishment. My feelings are as delicate as yours, or any other man's; but I never suffer myself to be humbugged by them." The day at Eutaw was certainly not his fighting day; but he is said to have distinguished himself in India. [p. 148]

Manning, at the conclusion of the war, married into a highly respectable family, and settled in South Carolina. His attachment to a military life continuing unabated, he became a candidate for the appointment of the adjutant General of the Militia of the State, obtained it, and performed the important duties attached to it, with the applause of the public, till his death. [p. 149]

Having briefly sketched the characters, and detailed the services of several of the *Officers* of the Legion, I am confident that I shall gratify my readers, by recording a few interesting Anecdotes relating to the *Soldiers* of that corps. In proportion as they were removed from that rank in society, in which an enlargement of ideas, and expansion of mind was to be looked for, must be *their* merit, who, under the exalted influences of military and patriotic enthusiasm, evinced a nobleness of soul, and chivalric intrepidity, increasing their own fame, and giving a higher stamp of celebrity to the American character. I fondly hope, that they will be received with cordiality by every patriotic bosom.

<sup>31</sup> The 3d Regiment of Foot. In fairness to the unit, a not insignificant number of its privates were relatively new recruits and given *that* acquitted themselves at Eutaw Springs well enough and despite (and even conceding) what Garden speaks of otherwise.

<sup>32</sup> (1750–1822)

## Sergeant Whaling

When the importance of wresting the possession of the Stockade Fort at Ninety-Six from the enemy, was clearly ascertained, Lieutenant Colonel Lee, to whom the charge of directing all operations against it, was intrusted [sic] by General Greene, adopted (it must be acknowledged too hastily) the opinion, that it might be effected by fire.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, Sergeant Whaling, a gallant, non-commissioned Officer, who had served with zeal and fidelity from the commencement of the war, and whose period of enlistment would have expired in a few days, with twelve privates, were sent forward in open day, and over level ground that afforded no cover to facilitate their approaches, to accomplish this arduous enterprise. Whaling saw [p. 150] with certainty, the death on which he was about to rush, but by prospect of which he was unappalled. He dressed himself neatly – took an affectionate but cheerful leave of his friends, and with his musket slung over his shoulder, and a bundle of blazing pine torches in his hand, sprung forward for the object of his attack. His alacrity inspired the little band with courage. They followed him closely up to the building around which the Stockade was erected, before the troops within fired a shot. Their aim was deliberate and deadly. But one individual escaped with life. Whaling fell deeply lamented by every Officer and Soldier of the Legion. Instead of the rash and unavailing exposure to which he was subjected, all admitted his just claim to promotion – grieved that his valuable life was not preserved for those services he had so often shown himself so capable of rendering.

Poor Whaling! – the Soldier’s cherished hope was denied him,

“When all his toils were past,  
“Still to return, and die at home at last.”

## Sergeant Mitchell

It was at Ninety-Six also, that another Soldier of distinguished merit lost his life, and unhappily under circumstances peculiarly distressing. Captain Michael Rudolph commanded the detachment of the infantry on duty on the night after the arrival of the Legion from Augusta, where the corps had been employed, during the early part of the siege of the post now threatened, in bringing Colonel Browne [loyalist, Thomas Brown], and his command, to terms of submission. Sergeant Mitchell went the rounds with Rudolph, after having two hours before planted [p. 151] the centinels at their posts. Unhappily, among them were several militiamen, who had never before seen service. One of these, without challenging, fired at the relief with which Rudolph and Mitchell were approaching his position, and shot Mitchell through the body. He fell to the ground—told his Captain that he was mortally wounded—warmly pressed his hand—asked if he had ever neglected or omitted any of the duties of a faithful Soldier and true Patriot—regretted that he had not closed his life on the field of battle, and conjuring him to bear evidence, that he died without fear, and without a groan, expired! He was a Virginian from the County of Augusta. I fondly hope that this tribute to his memory, may reach his friends. Whaling [incidentally] was a Pennsylvanian.

## Bulkley and Newman

Among the incidents in the Southern Army, that excited the highest interest, was the singular and romantic friendship which united two of the most distinguished Soldiers of the Legionary Cavalry. Bulkley and Newman were natives of Virginia, born in the same neighborhood, and from early infancy united by such a congeniality

of sentiment, that it almost appeared as if one soul gave animation to both. Their attachment increased with their years—it strengthened with their strength. As school fellows they were inseparable; their task was the same, and he who was first perfect in acquiring it, was unhappy till he had impressed it, with equal force, on the mind of his friend. When an appeal to arms, at the dawn of our Revolution, had called forth the youthful heroes of America to fight the battles of their country, and defend her violated [p. 152] rights, *both*, on the same day, and animated with the same enthusiastic devotion to her cause, were enrolled in the ranks of her armies. The officers of the Legion, who yet survive, can testify, that through all the perils and difficulties of the Southern War, each seemed more anxious for the safety and alleviation of the sufferings of his friend, than his own. In action they invariably fought side by side; in the more tranquil scenes of encampment, they were constantly engaged in the same pursuits; their toils and pleasures were the same. When at Quinby [Bridge], the memorable charge was made on the 19<sup>th</sup> British Regiment, by the intrepid Armstrong, Bulkley and Newman were among the few Dragoons, who, having leapt the gap in the bridge, which the enemy were industriously attempting to widen, were able to support their commander. The display of gallantry exhibited could not have been surpassed. Armstrong, seconded by George Carrington, his Lieutenant, his gallant Sergeant Power, the brave Captain M’Cauley [James McCauley], of the militia [Marion’s Brigade], and less than a dozen of his own troopers, actually cut his way through the entire regiment, when a heavy and fatally directed fire produced a most direful catastrophe. Power fell desperately wounded; and the youthful friends, Bulkley and Newman, closed their brilliant career in the path of glory forever. Mortally wounded at the same instant, they fell on the same spot, and with united hands, reciprocating kindness to the last, expired.

## Corporal Cooper

Making a tour to the North, in the year 1817, I was invited to visit the *Franklin*,<sup>34</sup> then lying at Chester, in company with the Commodores [Alexander] Murray and [Richard] Dale, and several other officers of distinction. On our passage to the ship, some mention being made of Carolina, a naval officer present, said, “I do not believe there exists at this day, an individual who has a more perfect knowledge of the Southern War of the Revolution than myself, particularly, all that relates to the battles fought in the Carolinas. I entered those States with the Legion commanded by *Harry Lee*, and witnessed the conclusion of our toils at the evacuation of Charleston.” “Under such circumstances, Sir,” I immediately replied, “it must be my good fortune to be in the company with an old companion, for I had the honor of holding a commission in the infantry of that regiment, and was, like yourself, attached to the command which took possession of Charleston, when given up by the British.” “I am, Sir,” rejoined the officer, “altogether at a loss even to guess at your name; nor do I recollect ever to have seen you before. Attached to the Legion, you must have known Armstrong, who commanded the Sorrel Troop, and probably have heard of *Corporal Cooper*, who belonged to it.” “good heavens, Cooper,” I exclaimed, with delight, “is it you? I now am astonished at my own forgetfulness, for I as thoroughly recognize you as if we had parted but yesterday!” I mentioned my name in turn, and was happy to find I was not forgotten by him. I am confident that, on this occasion, the sensation of delight and

<sup>33</sup> 12 June 1781. Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 373-374.

<sup>34</sup> The *Franklin*, a 74 gun ship and the first such built and used by the United States Navy, was launched in Philadelphia in August 1815 by naval architects Humphreys and Penrose. Noted maritime historian Howard I. Chapelle states “(H)er appearance was much admired,” *The History of the American Sailing Navy*, p. 284.

good feeling to men who had served and suffered together, was strongly experienced by both. The surprise and satisfaction of the moment being at an end, Cooper, with a significant smile, said, "By the by, I believe you were one of the officers who sat on the court-martial when I was in jeopardy, and brought to trial at our encampment, near the Ashley River." "No, Cooper," I replied, "I was not; though I well remember, on another occasion, when we lay at M'Pherson's, that in consequence of your ---" [p. 154] "Hush, hush, my dear Sir," he exclaimed, "I find you have an excellent and accurate memory, the less we say on *that* subject the better." I had known Cooper well; and it is no exaggeration to assert a more gallant Soldier never wielded the saber. The character, indeed, of consummate intrepidity, distinguished very individual or Armstrong's troop. Disciplined by him, and animated by his example, they were invincible. But there were traits that characterized Cooper, that entitled him to still higher commendation. If activity and intelligence were requisite to obtain the desired information—if gallantry to strike a Partisan blow, Cooper was always uppermost in the thoughts of Lee. He had a soul for enterprise, and by prompt discernment, and a happy facility of calculating from appearances of events to happen, of incalculable utility to the service. When Armstrong, by the falling of his horse, was made a prisoner, and a flag sent out from the British commander to say, that his servant and baggage would be expected, as he wished to show every civility to an enemy, whose bravery could only be exceeded by his generosity to all who fell into his power, Cooper was immediately directed by Lee, to act the part of a domestic, and sent forward for the purpose. I mentioned my recollection of the circumstance to Cooper, who replied, "and well I knew my Colonel's motives;" and so perfectly was I disposed to second his views, that while taking the refreshment which was ordered for me by General [Alexander] Leslie, in the front of his headquarters near the British lines, I was closely examining the course of a creek in his rear, by which I flattered myself, I should very speedily be able to conduct and introduce him at the Head-Quarters of our own army." He then went on to say—"The arts used by a Captain Campbell, who tried every manner of cajoling, topic out of my conversation intelligence of our force and position, very highly [p. 155] amused me. I acted the simpleton's part so naturally, that I could clearly perceive, that he believed me completely entangled in his toils. When suddenly hanging my manner, I gave him such a burlesque and exaggerated account of troops of dragoons and regiments of infantry, that had no existence but in my imagination, that perceiving my drift, he angrily exclaimed, "Damn you rascal, you are too cunning for me. Here, take a drink of grog and depart." I cannot conjecture why it was done; but finding that I was not to be deceived, I think they might have done me the credit to suppose, that I was not to be intimidated; but instead of conducting me to my Captain, I was led to and shut up in the Provost [jail], when looking through the bars, I perceived Armstrong passing merrily along with several Naval officers, who seemed to vie with each other in civility to him. My situation forbid ceremony, so I called out lustily – "Hollo, Captain Armstrong! Pray have the goodness to tell me, is it *you* or *I* that am prisoner?" My speech produced an explanation. I was immediately released; and profiting by every occasion to store my mind with useful intelligence, in a few days left he Garrison, a partial exchange having freed my Captain from captivity. My fortunes have since varied very much. I have gained nautical information – have commanded a ship of my own—have, as a Naval Officer, supported the flag of my country—and now the war being over, find a snug berth in the Navy Yard. My varied life would greatly amuse could I detail it, more especially, as its constant bustle but ill accords with *my religious principles*; for though you might not suspect it, whenever my thoughts take a

serious turn, I am professedly a member of the Society of Friends, a genuine homespun Quaker." [p. 156]

Although the expedition conducted against Georgetown [South Carolina]<sup>35</sup> by General [Francis] Marion and Lieutenant Colonel Lee, was not, from a combination of adverse circumstances, crowned with success.[sic] Although the flight of a guide who had engaged to conduct Captain Armstrong and the dragoons of the Legion to a point, which would have effectually prevented the British Soldiers, who had escaped the Legionary Infantry, from reaching a redoubt that afforded perfect security, had given ample grounds for the suspicion of treachery and disconcerted the plans that had promised the most perfect triumph; yet advantages arose from it of considerable consequence to the American cause. Colonel [George] Campbell, the Commandant, was taken, and about seventy men either killed or taken prisoners. It convinced the British, that however great the distance by which they were removed from the enemy, (the Continental Army being, at the period of attack, on the borders of North Carolina) that they were still vulnerable, and at every moment subject to attack. It checked their marauding, predatory expeditions, gave comparative security to the oppressed inhabitants in their vicinity, and to themselves, full assurance, that to be safe, they must continue inactive, and remain within the limits of their Garrison. It is pleasing to me, to record the singular gallantry of a most meritorious Soldier, who, on this occasion, gained high renown.

#### Sergeant [John] Ord<sup>36</sup>

In every instance where this heroic Soldier was engaged in action, he not only increased his own reputation, but animated those around him by his lively courage. In camp, on a march, and in every situation, [p. 157] he performed all his duties with cheerfulness and vivacity, preserving always the most orderly conduct and keeping his arms, accoutrements, and clothing in the neatest possible conditions. He might, indeed, be considered a perfect Soldier.

At the surprise of Georgetown, being with a small party of the Legion Infantry, in possession of an inclosure [sic], surrounding a house from which they had expelled the enemy, the recovery of the position was sought by a British force, whose leader, approaching the gate of entrance, exclaimed – "Rush on, my brave fellows, they are only worthless militia, and have no bayonets." Ord immediately placed himself in front of the gate, and as they attempted to enter, laid six of his enemies, in succession, dead at his feet, crying out at every thrust – "No bayonets here – none at all to be sure!" following up his strokes with such rapidity, that the British party could make no impression, and were compelled to retire.

#### [Sergeant Major] Perry Scott<sup>37</sup>

<sup>35</sup> 24-25 January 1781, Lee, *Memoirs* pp. 223-225.

<sup>36</sup> Ord was from New Jersey.

<sup>37</sup> British historian William Gordon, ostensibly quoting Maryland Colonel Otho H. Williams verbatim, gives this account of a daring escapade of Scott's, which took place 6 or 7 March 1781: "The loss of the Americans [at Weitzel's Mill, North Carolina] was about 50 killed and wounded, that of the British probably much greater, as they twice sustained the unexpected fire of the former. Col. Williams retired three miles and formed to await the enemy; but as they did not advance he proceeded further, and encamped that evening about seventeen miles from the place of action. It may be thought worthy of being recorded, that Mr. Perry [presumably Perry Scott], sergeant major, and Mr. Lumsford [Swanson Lunsford], quarter master sergeant of the 3d American

There was no Soldier in the Legion Infantry, who appeared more completely to have gained the favour of Lieutenant Colonel Lee, than Perry Scott. His chief merit consisted in his consummate intrepidity, and readiness to engage in hardy enterprise. As often as a Partisan expedition was in contemplation, he was invariably selected as one of the daring spirits to insure success. I am tempted to call for the pity of his countrymen for his untimely end, from the recollection, that in all the battles of the South, from the junction of the Legion with the army of General Greene, till the final retreat of the enemy, he was [p. 158] noticed for distinguished valour and activity. He was present at the evacuation of Charleston, and shortly after disbanded; but devote to a military life, again enlisted with this former commander, Michael Rudolph, then at the head of a Legionary Corps, under the orders of General Harmar, and as Sergeant Major acquitted himself with reputation.

The Indian War terminated, Scott knowing, that many of the Officers of the Partisan Legion of Lee, and several of his old associates, had settled in Carolina and Georgia, resolved to visit them, and actually reached the Cheraws with that intention. Here, for the sake of repose, after a wearisome journey, he took up his quarters at a Public House, kept by an old Soldier, once attached to the volunteers of Ireland, the corps commanded by Lord Rawdon. An amicable intercourse, for a time, increased the attachment of these veterans to each other. Scott eulogized the bravery of the Irish, and his companion was lavish in his commendations of the Soldiers of the Legion, when unluckily drawing comparisons relative to the merits of their respective corps, a serious quarrel ensued, which they immediately determined to settle by the sword. The conflict was maintained with spirit and obstinacy, and its result long doubtful, but Scott gaining a superiority and actively maintaining it, was about to triumph, when the wife of his adversary interfering, and putting a loaded pistol into her husband's hand, he discharged it at poor Scott, who fell dead at his feet. This conflict being considered as the settlement of a point of honour no effort had been made to prevent it, but the survivor was now arrested, and being shortly after tried for murder, was condemned and executed.

[Garden's anecdotes, respecting members of the Legion, end at this point in his main text but continue again at page 378; and at which point we resume.]

### **Lt. Ballard Smith of Virginia attached to the Legion Infantry**

Shortly after the capture of the British Galley by Rudolph, where Captain Smith acted as second in command, a Partisan enterprise was undertaken by him, which, had it succeeded, must have filled the British garrison with confusion and dismay. A tavern, called at that time Dewees', was kept at a farm house about two miles from

---

regiment of dragoons, two spirited young fellows, being separately detached with each four dragoons, as parties of observation on the retreat; saw 16 or 18 horsemen of the British army in new levy uniforms ride into a farm-house yard in an irregular manner; and some of them dismounted. They instantly joined their small force, seized the occasion, charged the horsemen, and in sight of the British legion which was on the contrary side of the fence, cut everyman down, and then retired without a scar." See Gordon's *The history of the rise progress and establishment of the independence of the United States of America: including an account of the late war; and of the thirteen colonies from their origin to that period.* Vol. IV, p. 52 and Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*, Vol. II, p. 400n.

Charleston. To this the British [p. 379] officers frequently repaired for recreation. It was often the scene of entertainments, and on one occasion of a splendid ball. Lieutenant Smith being previously apprized [sic] of this, took with him twelve men, and Sergeant Du Coin, of the Legion, a soldier of tried courage, and passed the river with a boat rowed with muffled oars, from the American, to the opposite shore. The night was dark and gloomy The Negro who served as a guide, bewildered by it, and probably apprehensive of consequences if discovered, missed the landing place, and ran the boat into the marsh that skirted the shore. Du Coin, to make discoveries, slipped silently overboard, but, from the softness of the mud, with infinite difficulty reached the shore, immediately below the house. Curiosity led him to see what was passing within; the noise of music and revelry facilitated his approach, he leapt the fence, and passing through the garden, gained access to a window, through which he perceived a large and elegant assemblage of company enjoying the delights of dancing. Alone and unarmed, and without chance of success, he returned to the water's edge, and after ascertaining the exact situation of the landing place, regained the boat. So much time had already been lost, the ebbing tide too being unfavourable to his purpose, Lieutenant Smith thought it best to retire, hoping to return, on some future occasion, with better success. The following night being favourable to enterprise, the river was passed as before, and the boat, steered by Du Coin, made the landing. Lieutenant Smith immediately surrounding the house, entered it, in full expectation of making a handsome capture of officers, but his evil genius forbade it. Instead of twenty or thirty officers, many of them of high rank, a Hessian Major, and a Lieutenant of the volunteers of Ireland, who had sacrificed too freely to Bacchus, were the only persons found on the premises. These he parolled [sic] and return without molestation.<sup>38</sup>



**Guidon believed to have been carried by the Legion about the time of Garden's service; currently in the possession of Sons of the Revolution of the Commonwealth of Virginia.**

---

<sup>38</sup> For more mention of some of the Legion, including a close call involving Garden himself when he was a member of the unit, see also pages 366-372, 380, 389-393, and 427-428 of the 1822 edition of *Anecdotes*.

## Part II.

Excerpts from *Anecdotes of the American Revolution: Illustrative of the Talents and Virtues of the Heroes of the Revolution, Who Acted the Most Conspicuous Parts Therein.* -- Second Series. A.E. Miller, Charleston, 1828. [Beginning at p. 117.] as told by Peter Johnson in 1826. [Ed. SCAR has combined sections about one man excerpted from both volumes in Part I above.]

### [Cornet James] Gillies

On the retreat of the army of General Greene into Virginia, subsequent to Morgan's victory at the Cowpens, a rencounter took place with the enemy, which strongly evinces the sanguinary disposition of Tarl[e]ton's dragoons [the British Legion], and the great superiority both in strength and courage of the Legionary Cavalry. The officers of the Legion were about seating themselves at the hospitable board of a friendly farmer, when Colonel Otho Williams, who commanded the Light Corps, rode up, attended by a countryman, mounted on a miserable tackey, and exclaimed, "to horse, gentlemen, the enemy are at hand." This honest fellow, seeing them pass his field, quitted his plough, and hastened [p. 118] to give us information of their approach. Captain Armstrong, with a small party, were immediately ordered forward to reconnoitre, and the countryman directed to serve him as a guide, but he decidedly refused to do so, unless a better horse was allowed him than that which he rode. Lieut. Col. Lee, wishing no delay, said to his Bugler, Gillies, a gallant youth, yet in early life, "change horses with him, Gillies, you, I am confident, you do not fear to trust yourself on his tackey." The exchange was immediately made. Armstrong pushed forward, and Lee, with Lieut. [Stephan] Lewis, Peter Johnston, (then serving as a volunteer, and a candidate for a commission) with eighteen dragoons, with all expedition followed him. After riding a mile or more, Lee became impressed with the conviction that the countryman was in error, and determined to return to the farm house where dinner had been left, untouched, on the table. For this purpose he; turned into the woods, through which the nearest course to the spot lay, and had gone but a short distance, however, from the road, when a report of pistols was heard, discharged by Armstrong's orders, to give notice that he had met the enemy. Lee immediately drew his men up in the wood by the road side. When Gillies was perceived, urging his tackey to the utmost of his speed, striking him at every step with his cap, and smiling with the hope of enjoying the termination of the affair, not doubting but that relief was at hand. The moment that the British Dragoons arrived at a point opposite to the Legionary Detachment, the charge was ordered, but too late to save poor Gillies, who fell covered with wounds. Exasperated, almost to madness, to see an unarmed, beardless boy thus butchered while offering no resistance, the Legionary Cavalry rushed forward, and in a few minutes fourteen of the British lay dead on the field. Their captain, and eight men, of whom several were severely wounded, made prisoners. The remainder of the party fled and escaped. Great prowess was exhibited in this unequal conflict by individuals.

The British had thirty-seven dragoons engaged -- the Americans, [p. 119] but eighteen. Serjeant [Robert] Power killed two men with his own hand, the last of whom died a martyr to his unbending, political prejudices, for, when assured that good quarters would be granted him on the surrender of his sword, he disdainfully replied, "it is far more grateful to me to die than to preserve my life, by yielding my sword to a rebel." Peter Johnston, the volunteer, must have fallen in the conflict, had not Sergeant Broom at the instant that a deadly blow was aimed at his head by a back-handed stroke of his sabre, sliced off a considerable pan of the skull of the British dragoon who aimed it, and caused the uplifted weapon to fall without effect. The cry for revenge was universal, and Captain

Miller, who commanded, would have been sacrificed, had it not been ascertained that the near approach of the main army of the enemy made it necessary immediately to retreat. The prisoners were, in consequence, sent to Colonel Williams, who sent them again forward to Head-Quarters. When the strong excitement of anger having subsided -- the Captain was spared.<sup>39</sup>

### Lieutenant-Colonel Lee

The conduct of Lee upon this, as well as every other occasion, was highly honourable to him. Envy, hatred and malice have, on various occasions, assailed his character. Even personal courage has been denied him, but how is it possible to think ill of a man, of whom that intelligent Soldier, General Charles Lee said -- "this gallant youth came a Soldier from his mother's womb." Of whom General Greene said, in a letter, dated February 18, 1782, "Lieut. Col. Lee retires, for a time, for the recovery of his health. I am more indebted to this officer, than to any other, for the advantages gained over the enemy in the operations of the last campaign, and should be wanting in gratitude, not to acknowledge the importance of his services, a detail of which is his best panegyric." Who, in the memorable whiskey insurrection, was selected by General Washington to march into the interior of Pennsylvania, to put down, by his activity and decision, a revolt so disgraceful to America -- and of whom Lord Cornwallis was known to say -- "I am never at my ease when I know Lee to be in my neighbourhood, for he is prompt to discover the weak points in the position of my command, and certain to strike at them, when I am least prepared to repel his attacks." I doubt if the calumnies which were levelled at his character ever reached him. Had they been communicated, I have not a doubt but that in the language of the Great Fabius, when reproached for avoiding a general engagement with Hannibal, he would have said -- "I should be a coward, indeed, if I were to be terrified into a change of conduct by groundless clamours and reproaches. The man is unfit to be trusted, who can be influenced by the clamours or caprice of those he is appointed to command." [p. 122]

### *Interview between Lieutenant Johnston and Dennis Hampton*

I shall now record another interview between my friend and a soldier of the Legion, which is not without interest. Not long after Congress had passed the act of March 18th, 1818, granting pensions to the surviving soldiers of the Revolutionary army, who were reduced to indigence, the Superior Court of Law for Lee county, Virginia, was in session, when a man, who appeared to be about sixty-two or sixty-three years of age, presented himself before the Judge, claiming the benefit of the act. Judge Peter Johnston, who was on the Bench, was instantaneously struck with his countenance, and impressed with the belief, that he had served under his command in the Legion Infantry of Lee. To ascertain the fact, he therefore put the following interrogatories. "Did you at any time serve in the Continental army during the Revolutionary war?" "I was in that service from the commencement to the close of the

---

<sup>39</sup> This clash with the British Legion, 12 February 1781, took place at Bruce's Crossroads near Reedy Fork in north Guilford County, NC. Gillies' (1767-1781) memory was commemorated in a number of local monuments including one at Guilford Court House National Battlefield. For more, see Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 239-243; Caruthers, *A Sketch of the Life and Character of the Rev. David Caldwell* (1842), pp. 227n-229n; "James Gillies, Lee's Bugler Boy," by Marie Lowrey Armstrong, Archivist, Oak Ridge Military Academy, Oak Ridge, NC, Historic Preservation Commission newsletter, 31 March 2006, Issue 2, Vol. I.

war." "To what corps did you belong?" "To Lee's Legion." "Were you with your regiment when it left the Northern and joined the Southern army?" "I was." "Do you remember any thing remarkable that occurred on the march at Petersburg?" "Nothing but that Colonel Lee ordered a man to be hung there for an unpardonable offence." "Do you recollect any particular circumstance that caused a great confusion at Guildford Court-House?" "I only remember that a Tory was brought in a prisoner, about the time of our arrival there, who was picketed [sic] and severely burnt in the feet and between his toes to extort intelligence, and that no torture could induce him to speak." "What is your name?" "William Hampton." There was no man of that name attached to the Legion," said the Judge. "I have given my true name," said the soldier, "and did belong to the Legion." [p.126]

"Were you not wounded at Augusta, in Georgia, by a ball, which entered your foot at the instep, and passed out at the heel?" "I was, sir, but how came you to know that." "Let me first ask further, who commanded your platoon when you were wounded?" "Lieut. Peter Johnston." "Would you know your Lieutenant if you were now to see him?" "Certainly, sir." "Do you recollect to whom you sold a stout flea-bitten horse, on the day after possession was obtained of the British post." He stared intently in the Judge's face for a few seconds, when recollection breaking suddenly on his mind, he exclaimed, rushing forward and extending his hand with an expression of great cordiality, "I sold him to you, sir." "Answer me truly then," said the Judge, "is not your name, William Dennis?" "William Dennis Hampton is my name." "You certainly were Dennis, when with the Legion." "True, sir, but ever since my return to the neighbourhood in which I lived before the war, I have taken the name of Hampton." "How is that to be explained," said the Judge. "Very easily," replied the soldier, "my mother's name was Dennis, my father's, Hampton; they were never married, and I was known by my mother's name till her death, when I took the name of Hampton, in addition to that which I had previously borne." These multiplied interrogatories were put in order to discover the cause of the change of name, which being explained to the entire satisfaction of the Judge, it gave him particular pleasure to sign the certificate, which secured a pension to a veteran, who had ever been distinguished as an intrepid soldier, and zealous friend to his country.

### Joshua Davison [Davidson] of Lee's Legion <sup>40</sup>

Joshua Davison, a private dragoon in the Legion, who had, on all occasions, behaved with distinguished gallantry, received [p. 127] at the battle of Guildford, so severe a sabre wound, as to be rendered unfit for immediate service. That every facility might be afforded for his recovery, Colonel Lee gave him permission to quit the army, and retire to his father's house in Prince Edward's county, Virginia; and the more easily to accomplish his journey, allowed him to take his charger along with him. The injury received, was in his right shoulder, which totally incapacitated him from using his sword-arm. Before his recovery was perfected, the invasion of Virginia was effected by Lord Cornwallis, and Tarl[e]ton, with his usual activity, was scouring the country in every direction; his particular aim being to destroy the stores said to be deposited at Prince Edward's Court-House. Davison hearing that a large body of British cavalry was near the spot which he

<sup>40</sup> After the war, Davidson went back to Prince Edward County, Virginia and was residing there in 1795. By 1823, he had moved to Franklin, Kentucky and in 1833 was living in Nicholas County, Kentucky, from where he successfully applied for a pension, #S1182.

inhabited, resolved at once to take a look at the enemy he had so often encountered; and his sword-arm being useless, loaded an old squirrel gun, and set out in search of them. It accidentally happened, that passing through a thick wood, he came upon a road, along which Tarleton had, but a moment before, led his command. Determined to take a nearer view, he at once fell into, and followed on their trail. He had, however, advanced but a small distance, when he perceived a British dragoon, who had been plundering in the rear, rapidly advancing, who drawing his sword, exclaimed, "surrender immediately, you rebel rascal, or you die." "Not so fast, my good fellow," replied Davison, "I am not prepared to yield" when raising his squirrel gun, with his left hand, he fired it off, and laid his adversary dead at his feet; seized his horse and plunder, and carried them off in triumph. Some years after, a gentleman asking him if he had been satisfied by killing a single man? "By no means," he replied; "I re-loaded my piece, and went in pursuit, but my firing had excited such alarm, and Tarleton fled with such expedition, that I could never have overtaken him, or I would have had another shoot [shot?]." [p. 128]

### Robert Harvey of the Legion<sup>41</sup>

Robert Harvey, formerly a private dragoon in Lee's Legion, lately died at Fincastle [Virginia.] While actively engaged at Pyle[']s\* defeat, his horse was shot, and fell so suddenly and heavily upon him, that he found it impossibly to extricate himself. A circumstance the more distressing, as a wounded Tory, who lay at a small distance, was using his utmost endeavour to take a decisive aim with his rifle, and dispatch him. His only chance for safety, rested on his remaining quiet under cover of his horse's body, till assistance could be afforded. At this moment, Captain Eggleston, with a few dragoons, passed by the wounded man, and perceiving

<sup>41</sup> Harvey was originally from Head of Elk (present Elkton), Maryland, serving in the Maryland Line before joining the Legion. His brother, Matthew, enlisted in the Legion at about age 16 and served in Capt. Michael Rudolph's infantry troop. At some point he was taken prisoner and later exchanged about the time of Yorktown. Both he and Robert served at Guilford Court House. The following is an extract from Matthew's pension statement, #W19681, composed by his widow, and which mentions the incident involving Eggleston that Garden describes: "...And further that the said Mathew Harvey [after Yorktown] went to school in Bottetourt [County, Virginia] one year immediately after he came from Maryland was discharged from service – and then commenced merchandizing, by which he accumulated a vast deal of property – and was a very wealthy man at the time of his death – which was in the year 1823... That his present widow Magdalen Harvey has remained unmarried ever since the death of her husband as aforesaid to the present time – and is the widow of said Mathew Harvey dec'd. [deceased] Deponant also understood Harvey to say that Col. Watt[']s of said Co – and Jude [Judge] Peter Johns[t]on of Abington [Abingdon] Va. was also in said Legion – and that she has heard Harvey say that he knew Francis Gray (in the Revo'y. [Revolutionary] war) Agents father; and moreover that she has heard said Harvey, and Henry Bowyer of Bottetourt – who was an officer in Lee[']s or [Lt. Col. William] Washington[']s horse – talk for hours at a time together about their Revo'y [Revolutionary]. Services – and that Henry Bowyer aforesaid distinctly recognized Mathew Harvey aforesaid as having been in the service as aforesaid in Lees Legion in the Revo'y. war. That it was Capt. Eggleston [Eggleston] who shot the wounded Tory, and saved Harvey's life – Harvey being then on foot – met a Tory on horse back with a bag of provisions for Talton's [Tarlton's] Army – captured him and took his horse for himself &c."





**Saffell, William Thomas Roberts.** *Records of the Revolutionary War: Containing the Military and Financial Correspondence of Distinguished Officers; Names of the Officers and Privates of Regiments, Companies, and Corps, with the Dates of Their Commissions and Enlistments.* Pudney & Russell, New York, 1858.

**Showman, Richard K.** and **Conrad, Dennis M.**, editors-in-chief. *The Papers of Nathanael Greene*, Vols. VII, 1994, Vol. VIII, 1995, and Vol. IX, 1997. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1994-1997. Conrad is chief editor for Volumes VIII and IX.

**White, George.** *Historical Collections of Georgia: Containing the Most Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc., relating to its History and Antiquities, from the First Settlement to the Present.* New York City, Pudney & Russell, 1854.

**Wilson, James Grant; Fiske, John; Klos, Stanley L.**, editors. *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, in six volumes. D. Apple and Company, New York, 1899.

**Woodruff, Caldwell.** "Capt. Ferdinand O'Neal of Lee's Legion," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 2nd Ser., Vol. 23, No. 3 (July, 1943), pp. 328-330.

**Wright, Robert K., Jr.**, *The Continental Army.* Center of Military History United States Army, Washington, D.C., 1989.

**Also:**

"Pension Application of Matthew Harvey: W19681," transcribed and annotated by Dr. C. Leon Harris.

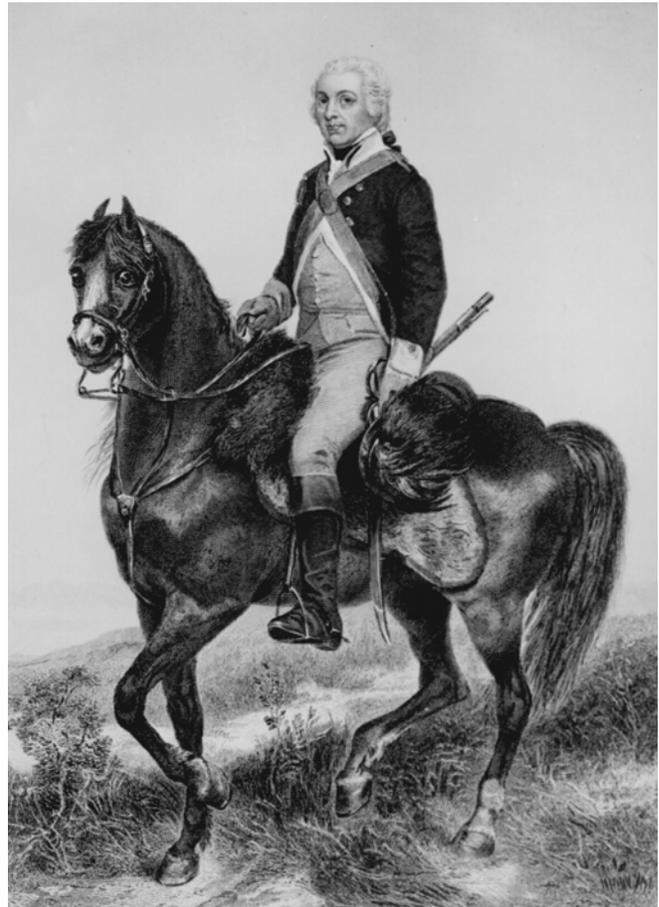
**Tribble, Dorothy.** "A Biography of Ferdinand O'Neal," See O'Neal Genealogy Association WebSite at

<http://www.onealwebsite.com>

Very Special Thanks to John A. Robertson of the Cowpens National Battlefield staff for his "Online Library of the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War" at <http://lib.irshelby.com> and to Charles B. Baxley of *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, at <http://www.southerncampaign.org>.

**William Thomas Sherman** is from Rockville Centre, New York. He reports that his father's side of the family was and is entirely Irish and lived in New York City, while his mother's is entirely Lithuanian and came from Ansonia, Connecticut. In 1972, he moved to Bellevue, Washington, and has lived in the Seattle area ever since. William graduated from the University of Washington in 1984 with a Bachelor of Arts in English and attended law school at Gonzaga University in Spokane. William is a historian, writer, poet, and metaphysicist and recently completed work on the fourth edition of his *Calendar and Record of the Revolutionary War in the South: 1780-1781*. It is available as a free .pdf download at <http://battleofcamden.org/sherman.htm>.

William Thomas Sherman  
1604 NW 70th Street  
Seattle, WA 98117 206-784-1132  
[gunjones1@yahoo.com](mailto:gunjones1@yahoo.com)  
<http://www.gunjones.com> ★



Post Revolutionary War Gen. Henry Lee.

Historic and Contemporary Portraits  
**THOMAS KELLY PAULEY**

*I work from photos or life to create original oil portraits to fit the tastes of the client. Whether I'm painting someone from the present or the past, my eye for detail and my respect for the classical style will give you a very unique contemporary or period portrait.*

THOMAS K PAULEY  
The Tower Studio  
2450 Lincoln Road • York SC 29745  
803-628-0424 • [tkellyp@bellsouth.net](mailto:tkellyp@bellsouth.net)

## Field Location of “Lost” Revolutionary Sites: A Primer

John C. Parker, Jr.

Many of the smaller, but important actions in the Revolutionary War have gone undocumented or poorly documented or remain unfound. This is, in large part, due to the lack of writing skills, and writing equipment of those participating in these actions. These men were fighting for their lives during the battles and even after the action as neighbors were always looking for members of the other side to terrorize and kill. From the type of work that I do on the Revolutionary War in South Carolina I have learned that the accounts of these smaller actions are still in the memories of some of the older people who live around the area of the action. It all starts with the first site you look for and it blossoms from there. If you are like me, you will be hooked on discovering the “lost” sites of the Revolution.

By talking to these people, I have uncovered skirmishes that have been overlooked by the scholars and have been told stories of individuals murdered because of their views and their support for one side or the other. There is a vast amount of information locked in the memories of these people. Unfortunately, many of them are in their 80s and 90s so time is of the essence. This knowledge of the locations of the actions must be recorded before it is lost forever.

I am not a scholar. I am just an ordinary person who does not enjoy reading. I do enjoy locating the actual sites of the actions in the Revolution because it seems to be the forgotten war. To locate the location of a skirmish or other site provides a great deal of satisfaction because you know that you are the first to locate and record it in over 200 years. While living in Eutawville, SC, I decided that I wanted to visit some of the many sites in the area around Clarendon County. That is when I discovered that directions to the sites are just about non-existent. That gave me the idea to publish a tourist guide to all the sites in South Carolina. It has taken a lot of research and knocking on doors to find many of the locations. Other sites were added when the people I talked to informed me of them. I visit each site and talk to the local people to get as accurate a location as possible. South Carolina is said to have had more battles, skirmishes and murders attributable to the Revolution than any other state. Since starting my project I have more than 300 sites on my map and the list is still growing.

Locating sites in your area is quite easy but requires time, a little study, talking to people, and a GPS to record the location along with the accounts from the people who are familiar with the action. It must be noted that everyone is obsessed with the Civil War, so when talking to people you must be sure to ask if it is a Revolutionary War or Civil War action that they are relating. Folks sometime get them mixed-up. It is time to tell you about my method of finding sites. Many well-known battlefields are now parks or under State or Federal control, so they do not need locating (though they can get it wrong). The smaller skirmishes have very little written about them and those accounts usually do not give locations known today.

Use the Internet to do a Google search for information on a site. Sometimes nothing turns up and sometimes just a date and state where the action took place will be found but that is a start. If you cannot find the name of the skirmish, try searching for a participant’s name, landmark or near-by-church that may be mentioned in the text where you found the original reference. Google and many universities have put books on line. Some can be

downloaded and all can be searched without downloading, but downloaded books are not searchable. Several Internet tools that I use are Firefox as a browser with the extension for highlighting the words typed into the Google search box. By using this feature, a large book can be scanned in minutes looking for the colored highlighted words in the text. It saves hours of reading. Firefox also allows sites to be opened in different tabs across the top, so several sites can be open and you simply tab between them to check information.

There are four on-line sites that are of great assistance. The first is John A. Robertson’s Global Gazetteer with locations of battles all over the world, with references, etc. Some of John’s locations are exact, but most are close enough to use as a starting place. John’s work is ongoing and his site is updated as more accurate information becomes available from people like you and me. His Global Gazetteer is <http://gaz.irshelby.com>. While there you can find a wealth of information, including links to books and all manner of other resources. He also has a page of “Whatsnew” at <http://gaz.irshelby.com/whatsnew.htm>. There you will find many sites that are incomplete. John needs your help to locate these sites, give references to them and provide any other information that will help narrow the location. The *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* on-line magazine, by Charles B. Baxley <http://www.southerncampaign.org> gives many accounts, articles and references to actions in the Revolution, as well as upcoming tours, lectures and conferences. RevWar75 <http://www.revwar75.com/battles/index.htm> is another good site that gives the date, battle name and state for most actions. You must also remember that many battle sites have more than one name so if you cannot find it with one name, try to find its other names. All of the above web links are periodically updated as more information comes in.

In South Carolina, I use James’ *A Sketch of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion; Names in South Carolina* (a magazine published by the Univ. of South Carolina), particularly the articles by Terry W. Lipscomb on Revolutionary War battles, skirmishes and murders; Gregg’s *History of the Old Cheraws*; the 1825 Mills Atlas (maps of all the South Carolina Districts at that time); the David Rumsey collection of old maps (including the Mills’ Atlas SC district maps) <http://www.davidrumsev.com/recentadditions.html>; and the USGS topographic maps found on-line at TopoZone <http://www.topozone.com>. John Robertson has made a CD that contains the works of 35 various well-known Revolutionary War authors. For a very small fee, you can purchase a copy of the CD from him. [To order this CD, see information on p. 12-13.] Most Internet publications can be searched by using the Control F function (CTRL F) or with the PDF search feature. There will be many books, pamphlets, magazine, and newspaper articles written in your area on the Revolutionary War. You must search for them on-line, in libraries and historical societies. All of these materials will give clues to the location of a site.

When a location is marked on Microsoft’s Streets and Trips, you can go to EDIT, and then select the “Show in MSN Virtual Earth”. Magically, the area on your screen will become a satellite view of the same area. The scale can be from several miles down to the 150-yard scale. This is handy for finding millponds, islands in rivers and roads leading to ferries, etc. In many cases the old road scars are still visible from the satellite view. When looking for a ferry site you will usually be able to see the old road on both sides of the river; the ferry connected them. Google also has a Google Earth but I have found the MSN site to have better clarity at the higher magnifications needed to discern the finer features of a site.

Once you have a site marked by a mark or pushpin on a map, you can go to the area and start knocking on doors. I use the Microsoft Streets and Trips computer program maps as it utilizes decimal degrees for locating sites (under Tools/Options/Units). A decimal degree for latitude and longitude is the most accurate way to record the information to provide a driving map in your laptop. By using the route planner feature, you get driving instructions and a map to drive from one site to the next. I use these moving maps on my laptop in my truck hooked to a remote GPS antenna when looking for sites. Since Streets and Trips puts a green line showing my route on the map and a marker to show my location as I move, I can see in moments when I have made a wrong turn and can get back on track in minimal time. It also allows you to get very near the most accurate location you have at the moment. The one big disadvantage of Microsoft Streets and Trips is that it does not show the creeks and streams. Most actions in the Revolution took place at ferries, fords or bridges over creeks and streams or at the intersections of main roads, particularly if a large army was involved.

In conjunction with Streets and Trips, I also use the DeLorme Topo 6.0 topographic map program as it shows the names of the creeks and streams at the high magnifications. It can be used with a GPS for driving. DeLorme uses flags instead of pushpins like Streets and Trips. However, you can only use one program at a time with the GPS and so you must stop GPS tracking in one mapping program to switch GPS tracking to another mapping program. The TopoZone website ([www.topozone.com](http://www.topozone.com)) features USGS topographic maps of various scales and can be used for finding the names of creeks and streams but it is Internet based and not designed to be used with GPS.

For those of you who may have an old map that has been scanned and loaded into your computer or that you downloaded and want to use in a mapping program that will allow its use in a laptop with GPS for driving, I recommend the Ozi Explorer program. However, the old maps are not as accurate as modern maps, so the roads, etc. can be off by a great distance in places. The cost should be under \$100.00. <http://www.ozexplorer.com>

All this gets you close to the location. Now, you must start door knocking. Tell people what you are looking for and ask them if they know where it may be located or if they know someone else that may know its location. I have found almost every one to be very interested, even if they do not know anything. I usually tell them that the location is close to where they live, hoping that if they tell someone else, that person may have information on the site. Many times, the person you are talking to will refer you to a neighbor who has lived in the area for a long time.

With that name and address, off you go to talk to the person and from there, you can go wherever the search takes you. You will meet a lot of nice people along the way. One time I was calling a site by one name and the person I was talking to knew it by a different name. I finally mentioned a name or place he recognized and he told me where to find the site. Be sure to use all the names for the site you can think of including plantation or landmark names.

After knocking on many doors, I have found it helpful to have some business cards printed that explain who I am and what I am doing with phone numbers and e-mail address. If the person thinks of something after you leave they can call or an e-mail you with the additional information. The cards also require less explanation from you and give you a bit more credibility. These cards also helps in letting the person you are talking with know that you mean them no harm, in this era of high crime.

It is much easier to find locations in the country than in a town or city. Country people tend to stay put and usually spend their whole lives in the area or on the land where they were born. In a town or city, the buildings have usually covered the site location, so there are no longer physical indications of its location. In addition the population in a town or city contains a very high percentage of people who just moved in and/or are young and have no interest in history or the Revolution, so they have no idea where a site might be located. It is possible to find an older family that may have been in the area for a long time and may know about the site, but it takes a lot of door knocking to find them.

If you are having trouble narrowing the site, even after visiting the area, go back and carefully reread the historic texts. Often there is a clue that you overlooked on previous readings. This has happened to me more than once. Be sure to read the footnotes for clues.

Most Revolutionary War historians and buffs do research and read volumes and only occasionally, if ever, go into the field to try to tie the action to illusive sites. In the two years that I have been working on the Revolution in South Carolina I know of only three or four people who actually obtain and record an accurate location when at a site. GPS is an easy and convenient way to get an accurate location and pass it on to John Robertson and others. Anyone can read the books that tell you about the action but very few of these books give an accurate modern location. By knowing where the sites are they can be preserved for all to ponder and enjoy. Many Rev War historians and buffs that do go into the field go on trips to find places and are content with knowing that they visited the site. This is good, but it does nothing to add to the recorded knowledge base for future generations and other researchers. The result is that we all reinvent the wheel over and over, so to speak. GPS locations and local information on a site are a must to document the site for researchers and others interested in the Revolutionary War.

Recording a GPS location is easy, but you must have a portable GPS unit that can be carried in the woods. I use a Magellan 200 with the display set for decimal degrees. This unit is available online, at some Wal-Marts and at sporting goods stores for about \$100.00. It is bright yellow so it will be easy to find in the brush if you drop it and it is pretty rugged. I have dropped mine several times. The accuracy of this unit is about 16-25 feet in the open and about 25-50 feet under trees. Even though the accuracy may only be within 50 feet, it is still far better than no location at all. The location may be able to be marked or saved in the unit, but I write it down on a small spiral note pad that fits into a shirt pocket along with the name of the site. That way I do not get the sites mixed up when I visit more than one site on a trip. I also use a Garmin GPS V which is an older, better and more expensive GPS than the Magellan. Garmin makes an excellent line of handheld GPS units, with the better ones being \$300 and up. With a Gillson external remote amplified antenna, the accuracy is excellent.

SCAR helps organize Corps of Discovery trips where someone invites the public to a guided tour of Revolutionary War sites. The guide will usually be a local person interested in the Revolutionary War and who wants to share his local knowledge. It is a very good idea to take your handheld GPS unit and note pad with you so that you can locate the various features and site locations. These locations can then be plotted on your map. You will be surprised how many of these tours do not have their locations recorded accurately enough to plot on a map with precision.

Always check John Robertson's "Whatsnew" page and his Global Gazetteer to see if the information you have may be more accurate

than that recorded on his web site. In many cases, your information may be more accurate than that on the web sites, since you were standing on the site when you took your GPS reading. You can compare the two sets of latitude and longitude by going to Microsoft Streets and Trips and clicking FIND at the top next to the search box without entering anything in the search box. It will bring up a tabbed window that has the last tab labeled Lat/Long. Click that tab and enter the Lat/Long from the web site (remember that west longitude is negative and requires a – before the numerals), click OK and it will put a pushpin on the map at that location. Now repeat the procedure for your site's GPS (if it is not already on the map in the proper location). You can compare the two pins for closeness. Since you were standing at the location, your location should be more accurate than one selected from a map like TopoZone. When you find a site and get an accurate GPS location or find a reference to an action that is not on his site, please let John Robertson know so that his Global Gazetteer data base can be updated and made more accurate and comprehensive.

When you first start trying to locate obscure skirmishes, you will pick the wrong location for many of them on the first go-round. When trying to find the site you may discover that you had it wrong and must go back to the maps, etc. Do not get discouraged. The same thing has happened to me more than once. With persistence and more experience you will be able to locate sites very closely on the first try. It is a learning process that will yield great personal satisfaction. As you progress you will find new tools, maps, etc. and the hunt will become easier and easier.

Our work must be done now, recorded and shared, so that it is not lost to history and future generations. Many people who had vast amounts of information have already died and unfortunately much of their knowledge died with them. The people that know about their local battles are often also old so they must be sought out and their information recorded and the site located before they pass on into history, too.

Last, I would like to encourage you to e-mail me if you have any questions. I will do what I can to help you. So far, I have come up with about 400 plus such sites in South Carolina and the list keeps growing. If you know of a battle, skirmish or murder site particularly in South Carolina connected with the Revolution, please email me. My e-mail address is: [parkerdist@shtc.net](mailto:parkerdist@shtc.net). I can do it; so can you!

## **An Example of Field Location Techniques: Finding McGill's Plantation and Major John James' House**

While we know of many of the important Revolutionary War sites in our state, there still remain important sites that have not been located. Recently I tried to locate all the Revolutionary War sites in Williamsburg County and I was having trouble finding two of the sites. The first was the skirmish at McGill's (McGile's) Plantation. In late August 1780, British Maj. James Wemyss led 200 regulars of the 63<sup>rd</sup> Regiment and 100 Provincials of the Royal North Carolina Regiment who burned several mills and laid waste to a 15 mile wide path from Kings Tree to Cheraw. Maj. John James' SC Patriot militia attacked the King's troops at McGill's Plantation on about September 20, 1780. This attack enraged the British, resulting in the hanging of Adam Cusack in front of his wife.<sup>43</sup> The second location sought was SC Patriot militia Maj.

<sup>43</sup> Patrick J. O'Kelley, *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas. Volume two 1780* (Blue House Tavern Press, 2004): pp. 296-297 and 308-309.

John James' house that was burned on 11 August 1780. James was a leader in the Williamsburg District Patriot militia and key aid to Gen Francis Marion.

These two sites were particularly hard to locate. In many cases, I have found that talking to people in the area will narrow the search or provide the actual location. No one knew any of the names associated with the sites in this case. I found my first clue in finding the plantation while I examined William Doblin James' *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion* to see if this account provided any clues in finding the location. James stated that:

At length Maj. James arrived. The news was, that the country through which Wemyss had marched, for seventy miles in length, and at places for fifteen miles in width, exhibited one continued scene of desolation. On most of the plantations every house was burnt to the ground, the negroes were carried off, the inhabitants plundered, the stock, especially sheep, wantonly killed; and all the provisions, which could be come at, destroyed. Fortunately the corn was not generally housed, and much of that was saved. Capt. James had fired upon a party at M'Gill's plantation; but it only increased the rage of the enemy.<sup>44</sup>

Unfortunately, this account did not provide much help in determining the exact location of the McGill's Plantation. Next I examined the 1825 Mills' map of Williamsburg District for any reference to M'Gill or McGill. I found two locations: one for McGill and the other for McGile. The reference to "McGile" was east of Indiantown on the road to Witherspoon's Ferry and McGill's Plantation was located west of Black River about four miles north of Kingstree. Armed with this information from the Mills' map, I next visited the Three Rivers Historical Society in Hemingway, SC to examine any information that might narrow the location of the skirmish. The staff there indicated that several local persons who may have knowledge of the location and they suggested I contact Bill Chandler, a Hemingway attorney. In a letter, Mr. Chandler stated that:

"McGill's Plantation has been known as the Snowden House for years. It is now occupied by Dr. Terrell Lewis and I believe that portions of the house are pre-revolutionary! Family tradition however is that the old home was rolled on logs from a site closer to Indiantown Swamp. Either way I believe the skirmish at McGill's Plantation would have occurred very near to the site of the present home on the eastern bluff of Indiantown Swamp."<sup>45</sup>

I had my first real clue. I narrowed my search to the "McGile" site and I found a road in the Indiantown area named Indian Swamp Road (S-45-290) and began inquiring with locals about McGill's or Snowden House<sup>46</sup>. However, no one in the community could

<sup>44</sup> William Dobein James, *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion, and a History of his Brigade from its Rise in June 1780 until Disbanded in December 1782; With Description of Characters and Scenes not heretofore published* (Charleston: Gould and Riley, 1821), p. 24. The author's father was Maj. John James. William D. James also rode with Gen. Marion as a teen in the later stages of the Revolutionary War.

<sup>45</sup> Personal communications with Bill Chandler. William H. Chandler, Esq. was a respected member of the South Carolina Bar, historian and member of the Francis Marion Trail Commission.

<sup>46</sup> Snowden House was a later name of the McGill Plantation.

provide information about the site. At this time, Mr. Chandler was undergoing treatment for throat cancer, and so I did not want to bother him with a phone call or further letters. Nonetheless, after many weeks of fruitless archival work, I finally called Mr. Chandler. He informed me that the location of the house was on the south side of SC Highway 261 just west of Stuckey, SC. The site is about 1.5 miles from the Indiantown Swamp Road I had checked earlier. With this information, I located the house about ¼ mile down Mt. Carmel Road.



**Looking to the South, down the avenue of live oaks leading to the McGill - Snowden house.**

Currently, the McGill house site has a long driveway that is an extension of the public road at its first bend. To the right of the house is a large open field with Indiantown Swamp beyond the tree line. Based on the terrain of the area the skirmish probably took place in the field about halfway between the present house and the swamp.



**The beautiful antebellum Snowden house is located on the historic McGill's Plantation. It is thought to contain the relocated pre-Revolutionary War McGill house, but moved across the field away from the Indiantown Swamp to this location.**



**View of the probable 18<sup>th</sup> century location of the McGill Plantation house near the copse of trees about 300 yards West of the extant McGill - Snowden house.**

With the McGill Plantation site located, I turned my search to locating Major John James' house that was burned as part of the British attacks on the area's Patriot homes. Again, I first turned to

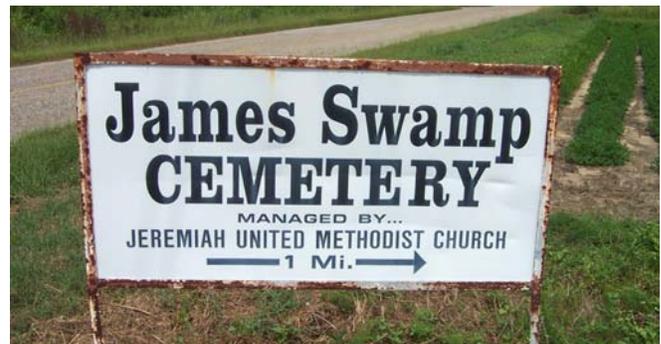
James' *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion* for an account of the action. James wrote:

Major Wemyss, in laying waste the country, was particularly inimical to looms and sheep; no doubt that he might deprive the inhabitants of the means of clothing themselves. What sheep he did not kill for the use of his men, he ordered to be bayoneted. He burnt the Presbyterian church at Indiantown; because, as he said, it was a sedition shop. Before a house was burnt, permission was seldom given to remove the furniture. When he came to Maj. James' he was met by his lady with much composure. He wished to bring her husband to submission, and said to her, "If he would come in and lay down his arms, he should have a free pardon." She replied, "As to that she could not have any influence over him. That times were such he was compelled to take a part, and he had taken that of his country." Wemyss after this had her and her children locked up in a chamber, from whence they did not come out, for two days and a half; and until the house was about to be burnt.<sup>47</sup>

Like before the account did not provide many references, so I again contacted Mr. Chandler and he was most helpful with the following information:

I am most interested in the home of Major John James since I suppose he is my favorite hero. From early plats I can tell you that his property included a stream known as Panther Stump Branch and was near Cow Head Bay. I can personally locate both of these exact locations. More intriguing is a family memory that the old home of Mr. William Hanna which may have been lost to fire some time before the Civil War was on the original James site. I am not sure of the accuracy of this but I know the exact location of the Old Hanna house and it is close to both of the other landmarks I mentioned. It is undoubtedly on James property but I wonder if archeological work there might help us date that location.<sup>48</sup>

With this information, I located Cowhead Road that runs from SC Highway 261 at Brunson's Crossroads to the northwest for about 4.75 miles. Inquiries to many people about Major James' house, old Hanna house, Cowhead Bay, and Panther Stump branch yielded nothing. Only one person told me where the new Hanna house (which was built on the site of the old Hanna house that burned) was located, but talking to the owner soon revealed that it was not the location of Major James' house. However, in returning to Indiantown from the Hanna house, I found a sign for the James Swamp Cemetery on road S-45-40. This gave me a clue that I was close to the location Major James' house.



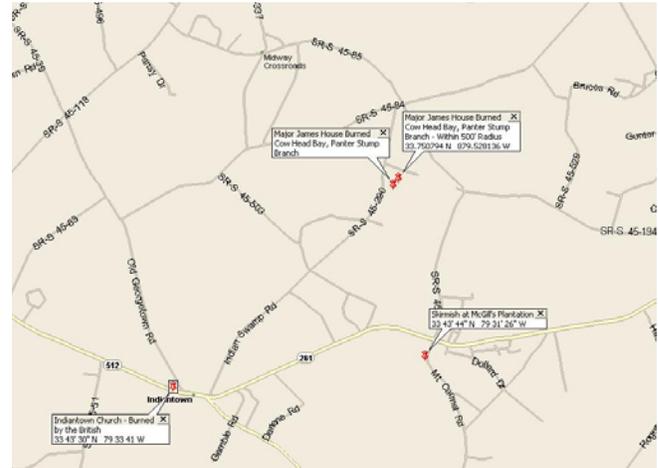
**Welcomed clue: The location of James Swamp.**

<sup>47</sup> James, *A Sketch of the Life of Brig. Gen. Francis Marion*, 40-41.

<sup>48</sup> Personal Communications with Bill Chandler.

The problem was now to find Panther Stump Branch. It did not appear on any of the maps and no one I talked to had ever heard of it. I took a chance and called Mr. Chandler again. He informed me that his brother had purchased some land on the north side of road S-45-40 and the name Panther Stump Branch was mentioned in the deed as being on that property. He also told me that the James house was on the East side of Indiantown Swamp Road (S-45-290). This information allowed me to go to DeLorme Topo 6.0 and locate the two roads, then trace the creek that would turn out to be Panther Stump Branch from the north side of road S-45-40 to the south side of that road. It turned out to be between Indiantown Swamp Road and the James Swamp Cemetery.

To ensure that my ideas were correct, I emailed Mr. Chandler with a copy of a map attached showing my location of Major James' house on it, and he confirmed that I was correct. Unfortunately, Mr. Bill Chandler died shortly after that last reply. These two sites could not have been located without his knowledge and assistance. A great deal of knowledge about the Revolutionary War was lost when he passed. He is missed but remembered.



This excerpt presents the location of the two sites on a map of the Indiantown area. (MS Streets & Trips)

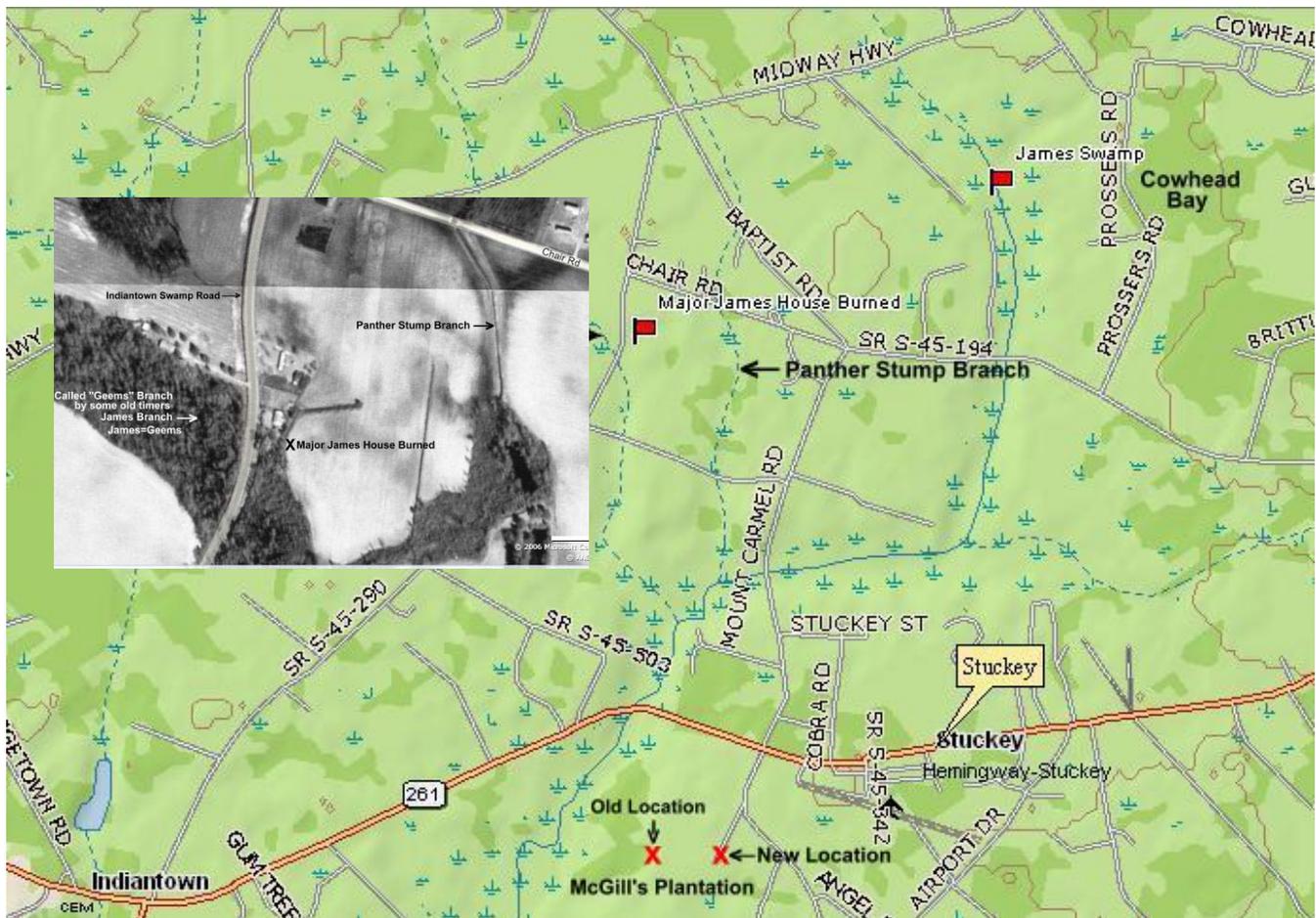


Figure 3. Delorme Topo 6.0 map excerpt of Williamsburg County, SC showing the locations of Maj. John James house and McGill's Plantation and Indiantown where Maj. James Wemyss burned the Presbyterian Church. Maps and photos by author.

Editor's note: These techniques, in conjunction with archival research, cadastral plat maps and field archaeology more accurately define historic sites.

John C. "Jack" Parker, Jr. is retired and lives in Patrick, SC where he is completing his monumental effort to locate over 300 South Carolina sites prominent in the Revolutionary War. His guidebook to those sites will be published later this year. You may contact Jack at [parkerdist@shtc.net](mailto:parkerdist@shtc.net). He wants you to!

## Rebuttal: The Patriot View of the Cherokee Indian Campaign of 1776

by Patrick J. O'Kelley

Many years ago I thought I knew how the various tactics of the American Revolution were used to achieve independence from Great Britain. Like most inexperienced historians, my opinions were based more upon popular history and modern viewpoints, and not upon any actual research. While writing my four volume series *"Nothing but Blood and Slaughter": The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas*, my opinions changed dramatically. I soon discovered that most of what I knew had been incorrect. A similar epiphany occurred to me about the Indian wars in the South during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. I believed that the Southern settlers' war against the Indians was brutal, vicious and showing no mercy. I also believed that there was wholesale slaughter of men, women and children in the Indian towns. However, I soon discovered through researching that my opinions were flawed when compared to the primary accounts.

Jeff Dennis' article "Native Americans and the Southern Revolution, Part II: The 1776 Cherokee War "Creates" Story of Independence" in the last issue of *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution (SCAR)* [Volume 4, Number 3 (July-August-September 2007): pp. 21-27] includes many statements that were biased against the Patriot soldiers. This rebuttal article attempts to show the other side's opinions.

Prior to the Revolutionary War there were two main external enemies in the Carolinas - the Spanish and the Indians. Both of these were perceived to be enemies because of the constant fighting against them for almost 200 years before the Revolution. The distrust of the Spanish was so great that during the Revolution neither side trusted each other, even when they were supposed to be allies.<sup>1</sup> The last raid against the English colonies in North America by Spanish forces was the burning of Brunswick, North Carolina in 1748. The other enemy was the Indians to the west, specifically the Cherokees. This was a more realistic threat than the Spanish to the South Carolinians due to the 1760 Cherokee War that had its roots in the Cherokee/Creek War of 1755. That war between the two native cultures occurred because the Cherokee wanted to move their settlements westward into the lands of the Creeks. The Creek Indians did not want these new settlers in their lands and struck back. After the decisive Battle of Taliwa, the Cherokees claimed the land of the Creeks in South Carolina and Tennessee, and the Creeks were driven farther south into Georgia.<sup>2</sup>

The Cherokees made a treaty with the British that allowed several forts to be built on Cherokee land and it also made the Cherokees allies in the war against France. On a strategic level, it would also reduce any chance of Creek retaliation. During a joint Virginia-Cherokee expedition against the Shawnee Indians in Ohio, the Cherokee warriors lost much of their equipment. The Cherokees then took the Virginians' horses. In a time when taking a horse literally meant stranding someone to the elements, leading to possible death, this was considered a hostile act. The Virginians suspected French influence and struck back killing 20 of the warriors. While the moderate Cherokees attempted to collect restitutions for the slain warriors, others attacked settlements all along the frontier. The Cherokees did not distinguish Virginians from other settlers, striking all along Virginia and the two Carolinas.

South Carolina Governor William Henry Lyttleton marched towards the lower settlements with full force, which brought about

quick negotiations to end the hostilities. Two warriors were charged with murder and handed over, and 29 chiefs suspected of leading the hostilities were placed in Fort Prince George. Before Lyttleton's force could make it back to Charleston, the Cherokees struck again by massacring settlers at the Long Cane [the 1760 Calhoun Massacres], attacking the militia at Broad River, and then striking Fort Prince George to free the chiefs who were being held hostage. The commander of Fort Prince George retaliated by killing the chiefs.<sup>3</sup>

The fighting was more than South Carolina could handle and Governor Lyttleton asked for support from the British government. Lord Jeffery Amherst sent 1,200 Highlanders and British Regulars. The war did not go well for the British until the Catawba Indians of South Carolina allied themselves against the Cherokees. Lt. Col. James Grant, the newly appointed British commander, also modified the tactics against the Cherokees. Instead of trying to destroy the Cherokees in a pitched battle, he would destroy their ability to wage war. To do this he would burn their towns and destroy their crops. This tactic worked. Faced with starvation, the Cherokee signed a treaty ceding most of their eastern lands to South Carolina. A similar treaty was signed with Virginia. The Cherokee honored their treaties and did not participate in Pontiac's Rebellion.

The origin of the "total war" tactic against the Cherokee was not a Southern invention but a British one. It was acceptable according to the rules of war at the time. [Ed. The original settlers of Virginia and the Northeast practiced total warfare against the Indians.] The British used the same tactic against the South Carolinians after the capture of Charleston in raids that would be similar to Sherman's march through South Carolina in 1865. [Ed. The British showed restraint in South Carolina until the Patriot militia uprising in the Backcountry in the summer of 1780.] Many of the young officers in the French & Indian War against the Cherokee would later become the senior commanders who would fight against the British 15 years later. They learned that to stop the Cherokee you needed to destroy their ability to wage war.

At the beginning of the Revolution, both sides courted the Cherokee attempting to gain alliances or at least a guarantee that they would stay out of the hostilities. Even after a routine patrol of the 3<sup>rd</sup> South Carolina Rangers was ambushed in August of 1775, the South Carolinians did not retaliate against the Cherokees.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, South Carolina President Henry Laurens sent them 1,000 pounds of powder and lead for hunting to placate the Cherokees. Realizing the effect this would have on the Cherokees, the shipment was intercepted by Loyalists in October 1775. The Loyalists' excuse for doing this was because the ammunition would be used by the Indians to "kill us".<sup>5</sup> Though there were no further attacks by the Cherokees in 1775, they did harbor Loyalists who escaped from the "Snow Campaign". Due to their actions the Cherokees were looked upon with suspicion but they suffered no retaliation.

In the *SCAR* article about the Cherokee War, Prof. Jeff Dennis wrote: "During 1776, in fact, to be pro-American in South Carolina nearly became concomitant with being anti-Native American." This is not quite true; the distrust was against the Cherokees. Other Indians not only were looked upon positively in South Carolina but also thrived in the melting pot that was 18<sup>th</sup> century South Carolina. The most obvious example of this was the Catawba Indians. The Catawbias supported the Patriots and continued to have their own land along the border of North and South Carolina until the British invasion of 1780 drove them out and took that land.

The uneasy peace with the Cherokees became unraveled once the British returned to the South. Dennis wrote: "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." This was not "coincidence" and the Cherokees did know of the return of the British. The British did not return at the end of June 1776, but had been in the Carolinas since March of 1776. After the Loyalists had been defeated at Moore's Creek Bridge, the British invasion fleet stayed at Bald Head Island at the mouth of the Cape Fear River until a new British Southern strategy could be conceived. Part of that strategy was for the Indian agents, such as Alexander Cameron and Richard Pearis, to entice the natives to strike at the settlements or at least to keep settlers out of Cherokee territory. Pearis had convinced the Cherokees that "all their distress and problems were due to the Whigs".<sup>6</sup>

As a final measure, a delegation of northern Indians of Shawnee, Delaware and Mohawk arrived in May in the Cherokee country preaching war. The northern Indians were there to plan for a coordinated attack along the frontier with the Shawnee, Cherokee, Creek, and Iroquois to coincide with the British invasion. The mission of the Cherokees would be to cut off the flow of wagons west through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky. These attacks did stop movement into Kentucky for a period of time.<sup>7</sup> Though the Cherokee prepared for war there had been no hostile actions against them by the South Carolinians.

In May, Cherokee warriors attacked the Hanson family in South Carolina. They killed the father, mother and one of their sons. They would have killed the Hanson's other three children, all under the age of 10, but Winnie, the 7 year old sister was able to hide them from the attacking Cherokees. After the war party had left, Winnie was able to lead the other children to safety at Earle's Fort. The Cherokees continued their attack near Fort Prince and killed an old man, the father of David Anderson. The Cherokees then burned down his farm.<sup>8</sup>

Interestingly, there was no retaliation against the Cherokees even though these brutal murders occurred. South Carolinians instead attempted to subdue any further attacks by arresting Alexander Cameron. When the Cherokees learned of the plan, they asked if Capt. James McCall could be the man to come to Seneca to bring back any prisoners because they said they trusted the officer. Capt. McCall and twenty of his men passed through two Cherokee towns unmolested in June. When they arrived at Seneca, the Cherokees invited McCall and his men to a dinner but the invitation was only a ruse. Thinking that there was no danger, McCall let his guard down. The Cherokees attacked that night. Four of his men were killed; McCall and six others were captured. McCall's men were able to kill six of the Cherokees during the fight. After McCall's capture, the Cherokees struck the settlements again. McCall had to witness the torture and murder of the prisoners brought into the Cherokee towns. Fortunately McCall was able to steal a horse and travel north to rendezvous with Col. William Christian's Virginia militia. McCall's accounts of what happened would anger the Virginians who wanted to exact revenge for the killings that occurred that summer.<sup>9</sup>

At the same time that McCall was meeting with the Cherokees, Capt. Edward Hampton and his brother, Capt. Preston Hampton, also had been sent on a mission to seek peace. Instead of being welcomed as emissaries, the Hampton brothers were held captive by the Cherokees and had their horses, guns and a case of pistols taken from them. The brothers managed to escape from the Indians

and return home. A short time later, Cherokee leaders came to the Hampton home and recognized Preston, their former prisoner. He did not trust the Cherokees and sent his children to warn the neighbors that the Indians were at his home. Preston's father, Anthony Hampton, came out to talk to the Indians and as he was shaking hands with the chief, Big Warrior, another Cherokee fired and mortally wounded Preston. The chief then let go of the old man's hand and drove a tomahawk through his skull. Another Cherokee grabbed their infant son and dashed him against the wall of the house. Anthony's terrified wife was killed with a tomahawk. The five remaining brothers, Edward, John, Wade, Henry, and Richard Hampton would all fight in the war against the enemy that had enticed the Cherokees to kill their family members.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout this killing the South Carolinians attempted to negotiate with the Cherokees and did not retaliate against the Cherokees' homeland. The South Carolinians even went to the extreme measure of treating the continued raids as a law enforcement problem and attempted to arrest those inciting the Cherokees. The attack against the Hampton's home and family was the last straw. The local militia tracked down the Cherokee raiding party and killed almost all of them on Round Mountain [between modern towns of Saluda and Tryon, NC].<sup>11</sup>

To ensure that Loyalists were not attacked, the British agents had told the Cherokees to not attack any settlers that had a "Passover pole" in their yard. Joseph McJunkin wrote: "a combination was entered into by the British, Tories and Indians. The Tories erected what were called passovers at their houses — viz: peeled poles with white cloths wrapped around them." Unfortunately, to the Cherokees, one white settler looked like another and Loyalists were still killed. McJunkin told of "Capt. James Ford, who lived on the Enoree River at a place called the Cane-brake. He and his wife were killed under their passover, and his daughters taken captive by the Indians."<sup>12</sup>

Capt. Matthias Barringer and seven of his Catawba County militia were on a scouting expedition in Burke County, North Carolina at the same time in July. They were massacred by a "Cherokee war party armed with British rifles." There were many more attacks on the settlements that killed hundreds of men, women and children. It was at this time that the usually moderate Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson was angered enough to state, "I hope that the Cherokees will now be driven beyond the Mississippi."

All of this unprovoked killing finally drove a coordinated army of 4,000 militia from Virginia and the Carolinas to march towards the Cherokee towns to exact revenge. Though they had not started the Cherokee War of 1776, they were going to end it with the same tactic that had ended the Cherokee War of 1760. Due to the unrestrained killing by the Cherokees, many Loyalists also joined the ranks of the backwoods militia to put down the continuous attacks. North Carolinians under Patriot militia Gen. Griffith Rutherford were to rendezvous with Maj. Andrew Williamson's South Carolinians and attack the lower and middle Cherokee settlements. The Virginians under Col. William Christian would march west and strike the over-hill Cherokees. The Georgians would strike north and attack the Indian settlements in that part of Georgia.

In describing the August 1, 1776 Battle of Essenece Ford, Prof. Dennis wrote that: "A 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." However, it was not just a militia but Maj. Williamson's South Carolina and Georgia army, consisting of 240 Georgia militia under Col. Samuel Jack and 230 South Carolina militia

under Maj. Andrew Pickens, 20 Catawba Indians under the command of Capt. Samuel Boykin, and Capt. Felix Warley with thirty-three of the 3<sup>rd</sup> South Carolina Rangers. They moved towards the only crossing point on the Seneca River - the Esseneca Ford - near the Cherokee town of Seneca. Williamson did not "stumble" upon the Cherokees but knew they had to cross at that ford and that the ford would be protected.

Cameron's force was not 1,200 warriors but was a party of 30 Cherokee warriors and of 30 Loyalist militia who had concealed themselves behind a fence paralleling the road leading to the first houses in the town. To remain undetected the Indians had filled up the spaces between the fence rails with corn stalks. At two o'clock in the morning on August 1<sup>st</sup> Williamson's lead element passed by the Indians lying in wait. A signal musket was fired from one of the houses and Cameron's troops fired into the flank of the Patriot column. The first volley of the ambush only killed SC 3d Continental Rangers commandant Lt. Col. William "Danger" Thomson's horse, but his men broke and ran. Capt. LeRoy Hammond rallied twenty soldiers and led a mounted bayonet charge against the Indians behind the fence. The Cherokees thought there was a much larger force charging at them and they were delayed long enough for Williamson's men to get away. The Cherokees pursued the fleeing militiamen but Andrew Pickens occupied a low ridge and re-ambushed the Cherokees. After the smoke cleared the militia had five killed and thirteen wounded. The Cherokees lost only one killed and three wounded. One of Williamson's men that had been mortally wounded was Francis Salvador, the Jewish volunteer. He had been shot three times, scalped by the Cherokees and left for dead. [For more on Salvador, see [SCAR Vol. 4 No. 1-3](#), January - March 2007, p. 15.]

The morning after the fight Williamson marched into the abandoned Seneca town and burned it to the ground. The backwoods army then marched into present-day Oconee County destroying Indian towns along the way. After the destruction of the towns and 6,000 bushels of stored corn, the militia fell back to Twenty-Three Mile Creek and established a base camp for reinforcements.<sup>13</sup> Williamson launched an attack from this base against the Cherokees on August 2. After marching two days, the Patriot army destroyed the lower Cherokee settlements of Sugar Town, Soconee and Keowee. Six days later 640 men of the South Carolina militia burned the towns of Estatoe and Tugaloo. The Cherokees fell back into the mountains and waited for their warriors to gather. Williamson's army moved into present-day Pickens County and camped by the Little River.

It was from this camp that Pickens fought the famous Ring Fight at Tamassy. Pickens and a 25 man patrol were surrounded by about 185 Cherokee warriors. Pickens was able to hold back the Cherokees in this extremely one-sided fight until help arrived. Pickens claimed that this was the most perilous battle in which he had ever taken part. In the end, either sixteen or eighty-three Cherokees were killed, depending upon the source. The only man killed on the Patriot side was Cornell, a half-breed.

Prof. Dennis wrote, "the Ring Fight, however, was hardly a key strategic victory". It is true that the Ring Fight was not a strategic victory nor would anyone ever assume it could be. Strategic victories are usually on a larger level and not something that only involves a few men. The Ring Fight was a small, brutal fight for survival by men separated from their main army. No strategy was involved except kill or be killed. Dennis also states "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." That account of blood and gore came from one of the journals kept by Arthur Fairie that

Jeff Dennis describes as "the leading record". The Fairie accounts were written or discovered in 1850, almost 80 years after the campaign. There is a very good chance that the account that is named after Arthur Fairie was not even written by a person named Arthur Fairie. In the October 2005 issue of *SCAR*, Will Graves wrote, "the authenticity of the journal is not conclusively established. Despite being presented as a first-person, eyewitness account kept contemporaneously with the Cherokee Expedition, the evidence is clear that the journal was written sometime after the events described in it."<sup>14</sup>

There are two Fairie accounts. One was attached to a pension account of Joseph Clinton or William Davis. The other account was serially published in the "Yorkville Miscellany", a newspaper published in York County, SC from June 15, 1850 to August 31, 1850 by Rev. Samuel L. Watson of the York County, Bethel Presbyterian congregation, grandson of a Revolutionary War SC Patriot militia colonel in Thomas Sumter's brigade. The original account that Rev. Watson used has not been found. Will Graves wrote: "No copy of the actual pamphlet cited by Watson has been found by me. My best guess is that the [South Carolina] Archives' version was prepared first and later used by the same author to embellish the account of the expedition, thereby resulting in the Watson version."<sup>15</sup>

The Ring Fight happened on August 11<sup>th</sup>, and in the "Clinton" Fairie account, it is not even mentioned. In fact, in the Clinton version it states that Fairie did not even rendezvous with Williamson's army until August 30<sup>th</sup>. The description of eye-gouging and scalping the Cherokee came from the embellished Rev. Watson's version of the Fairie account and it was also not describing the Ring Fight. In the Watson account the "eye gouging" incident happened on August 9<sup>th</sup>, and it states, "we had two killed and sixteen wounded: three of the latter died next day, of whom were Captain Neel and Captain Lacy, a couple of brave officers and good men." This would not have been the Ring Fight, but would have been the fight in the same area at Tamassy on August 12<sup>th</sup>.

Rev. Watson's account describes the fight as this, "so close was the engagement, that a stout Indian engaged a sturdy young white man, who was a good bruiser, and expert at gouging. After breaking their guns on each other, they laid hold of other and the cracker had his thumbs instantly in the fellow's eyes, who roared and cried, "Canaly," "Enough" in English; "damn you," says the white man, "you can never have enough while you are alive." He then threw him down, set his foot upon his head, and scalped him alive; then took up one of the broken guns and knocked out his brains." If this account is factual, the fighting it describes is still the nature of war. In an intense fight there would have been no prisoners taken. Where would they put this one Indian who decided that the fight was too much and he wished to surrender? This militiaman did what all soldiers have done; whether it is ancient Rome or modern Fallujah. During an attack you kill the enemy, you only take prisoners once the threat is removed or the area is secured. The Cherokee who moved in close enough to be killed was not a "poor warrior", but an enemy who was a hand's breadth away from killing the militiaman.

Prof. Dennis also wrote, "...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." However, in this war against the Cherokees what struck me is the absence of accounts of killing "lame and elderly" and especially women. On the contrary, this was mainly a fight against Cherokee warriors who tried to slow down Williamson's army by fighting delaying actions. In the "Clinton" Fairie account, there are numerous examples of

prisoners being taken and being cared for. Williamson even spared Nancy Ward's town of Chota due to her support of the backwoods army. As an example of Williamson's atrocity though, Dennis offers a single account, "...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." This was written in the embellished Rev. Watson account attributed to Arthur Fairie. There are no women being preyed upon "often", just this one instance.

The "Clinton" Fairie account describes this same instance when "the front, or front guard, espied an Indian squaw; on her they fired two guns, which put us all in alarm, allowing it an attack, but soon found there were no more Indians there. We got up a half Indian that was in company to ask her some questions — although she was wounded in the shoulder and leg, yet she could speak, and told the interpreter as follows: That all the Over Hill Indians, and all the Town Indians were gone through woods at that battle that was fought the day before, also that they were camped about 4 miles ahead, & were preparing to give us battle by the Tennessee River. There we marched with all the speed possible, although very much abounding with difficulties, occasioned by the badness of the roads."<sup>16</sup> In the Clinton account the woman is shot by the advance guard, though no mention is made of malicious intent. Such incidents happen in all wars. In the embellished "Rev. Watson" Fairie account the militiamen kill her, but there is no mention of that in the "Clinton" account. In the "Clinton" Fairie account, the Indian woman's fate is not known, but in that same account numerous prisoners of men, women and children are taken and cared for by the army. They are not killed, tortured or mistreated. In fact, a few days after that instance, Fairie writes that "Col. Thomas' men being on the hunt of some plunder, found an Indian squaw, & took her prisoner, an easy prey, for she was lame." That woman was not killed, but had been left behind by a retreating Cherokee army and Williamson's army took her prisoner.

After Pickens' Ring Fight, Williamson advanced from Little River with his full force to engage the Cherokees. The advance party under Maj. Pickens skirmished with 300 warriors until Williamson's main body arrived. The Cherokees withdrew but they left behind evidence of their own atrocities. McJunkin wrote of the Cherokee's brutality in dealing with an old woman. "We came up with a party [of Cherokees] which had an old lady prisoner, her name was Hite. The Indians killed her when they found they would be compelled to give way. She was left naked. Her nephew, Mr. Edward Hampton, was of our party, and supposing when he first saw the body of the old lady that she was his aunt, he took off his hunting shirt, & went backwards & covered the body, & afterwards buried it with as much of decency as circumstances would admit."<sup>17 18</sup>

Williamson's army burned the abandoned towns of Tamassy, Chehohee and Eustash in the middle of August, then returned to the camp on Twenty-Three Mile Creek and found that the militia who were detailed to guard the camp had left and gone home. Winter was coming and the men did not have the proper clothing. Williamson furloughed the rest of his men so that they could also go home, get winter clothing, and to report back for duty on August 28<sup>th</sup>. Williamson and his remaining 600 men returned to the burned town of Seneca and built Fort Rutledge [so named for South Carolina President John Rutledge built on a bluff overlooking the modern home of Clemson University].

When the men returned at the beginning of September, Williamson left 300 men to guard Fort Rutledge at Esseneca and moved with 2,000 militia to rendezvous with Gen. Rutherford. Guided by his

Catawba scouts, Williamson marched through Rabun Gap to the Tennessee River and reached the town of Cowechee on September 17<sup>th</sup>. Williamson hoped he would meet with the North Carolinians but Rutherford was not there. The South Carolinians pushed on through the narrow trails up the mountains, following the Coweecho River. On September 19<sup>th</sup> Williamson marched into a major ambush at a steep-sided gorge known as the "Black Hole" near present day Franklin, North Carolina. The advance party under Lt. Hampton found themselves under attack by 300 Cherokees and Loyalist militia. The Rev. James Hodge Saye, basing his narrative on interviews with his aging grandfather-in-law Patriot Maj. Joseph McJunkin and other participants in the Revolution, wrote: "In an instant in front, in rear, on the right and the left, the warwhoop sounded."<sup>19</sup> This did not phase the militia, because "In Williamson's advance was tried woodsmen and not to be terrified by Indian warfare." Rev. Saye wrote: "The warwhoop was answered by a shout of defiance, and the rifles of the Indians answered by an aim equally deadly. The whites were pressed into a circle by their foes... As soon as the firing was heard the main army pressed to the rescue. Before their arrival the advance had to contend with fearful odds. It was not only a woodsman's fight from tree to tree, but often from hand to hand. Among these, Major Ross of York District had a hard scuffle with an Indian."<sup>20</sup> Hampton's men held them off until the Ninety Six militia and Colonel Thomas Neal's regiment arrived.

During the fight, Catawba Indians on the Patriot side were mistaken by the Cherokees as allies and did not receive any fire from the Cherokees. The Cherokees soon recognized the Catawbas by the buck tail they wore in their hair to distinguish them from the enemy and began firing at any Indian wearing a buck tail. The battle lasted for two hours. Andrew Hamilton wrote: "orders were given for detachments of the army to gain the heights above the Indians." Due to the terrain of the gorge there was no way to counterattack except to charge straight into the Cherokees. The South Carolinians ran straight towards their attackers clearing the enemy positions with bayonets. The Cherokees were not able to fight back due to the lack of powder and they saw the threat of soldiers occupying the heights around them; they were forced to withdraw.

The Patriots lost ten militiamen and one Catawba Indian killed, with 22 militia and two Catawbas wounded who died that night. The Cherokees left four dead and their loss would have been much greater but the South Carolinians had mistaken them for the Catawbas and had held their fire several times during the battle. Williamson finally met Rutherford at Hiwassee on September 26<sup>th</sup>, creating a combined force of 4,000 men.<sup>21</sup> Williamson proceeded with this larger army through the Middle, Lower and Valley settlements. They destroyed the towns of Hiwassee and Lawasee. McJunkin wrote, "There we destroyed corn in the fields and in the cribs—considerable corn was thrown into the river and floated down and lodged in fish traps, which was afterwards found & preserved by the Indians, & saved many of their lives."<sup>22</sup> Thomas Sumter took a detachment through the mountains with the intention of destroying Frog Town. McJunkin wrote, that Sumter "found nobody at the town but a set of miserable old squaws; we returned in darkness..."<sup>23</sup> When the destruction of the towns and supplies was finished Williamson established several forts in the lower towns and on the frontiers and then disbanded part of his army.

Col. William Christian and his Virginia army crossed the Holston River on October 1<sup>st</sup> in a march towards the over-hill towns. Capt. James McCall who sought revenge for the murder of his men by the Cherokees at Seneca in June led them. As the backwoodsmen pushed on towards the Tennessee, they found that the Cherokees had withdrawn into the mountains. They had left behind their horses, cattle, pigs, 50,000 bushels of corn and 15,000 bushels of

potatoes. Christian wrote that the Indians “retreat faster than I could follow.” He wrote to Patrick Henry, “I know, Sir, that I could kill and take Hundreds of them, and starve hundreds by destroying their Corn, but it would be mostly the women and children.” Christian did not want to make war against women and children and wrote, “I shewed pity to the distressed and spared the supplicants, rather than that I should commit one act of Barbarity.”<sup>24</sup>

Throughout the entire campaign against the Cherokee in the summer of 1776, the South Carolinians had lost 99 men killed and wounded. Thirteen Loyalists disguised and painted as Indians had been captured. The numbers of the Cherokee dead is unknown. One estimate states that over 2,000 of all ages and sexes were killed, but there is no primary evidence for that number. The primary accounts show considerable restraint against making war on women and children. This is remarkable considering the hundreds of settlers who had been killed prior to the backwoods army finally striking back. Hundreds of Cherokees were taken prisoner and cared for by the approaching army. The armies did not harm towns that were considered friendly.

The burning of towns and stores of food though not considered “fair” today by those not in the military, it is a tactic that is as old as warfare, it is also a strategy that is extremely effective. The Cherokees had enough of that style of war. The defeated Cherokees ceded lands to Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia and North Carolina on July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1777 in the Treaty at Long Island, Tennessee. The Cherokees ceded to the State of South Carolina the present-day counties of Anderson, Pickens, Oconee, and

**Patrick J. O’Kelley** is a decorated veteran of the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Ranger Battalion and the 5<sup>th</sup> Special Forces Group. He served in combat on the island of Grenada and in Desert Storm, being awarded a Bronze Star and a “V” device for valor for his actions. He is a historian and has been a Revolutionary War reenactor for 30 years. His combat experience gives him a unique perspective that allows him to analyze events from the War for American Independence in a way that most historians will never know. He is the author of five books about the war in the South during the American Revolution. His four volume series, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, has been called the most complete history of the war in the South during the Revolution. Pat’s monumental *Unwaried Patience and Fortitude* is the transcription and annotation of Francis Marion’s orderly book from 1775 to 1782. He has worked with several theatrical and television productions about the Revolution, including “The Patriot” and the History Channel’s “Revolutionary War” series. The Sons of the American Revolution have also awarded him both the Bronze and Silver Citizenship Medals for his contributions to the history of the Revolutionary War in the South. He is currently a Junior ROTC instructor at Lee County High School in Sanford, North Carolina. He was listed in “Who’s Who Among America’s Teachers” in 2005 and was selected as one of the National Honor Roll’s Outstanding American Teachers in 2006. He lives in Barbecue Church Township, North Carolina with his wife Alice and his three daughters, Cailin, Katriane and Adelise.

Greenville. The Cherokee chief Atta-Kulla-Kulla tried to appease the conquerors by offering 500 warriors to fight against the British, but the offer was not accepted and left hard feelings on both sides.

The Cherokee campaign of 1776 broke the back of Indian resistance. Most of the Cherokee nation would remain within their own lands for the rest of the Revolutionary War. Only the warriors under Dragging Canoe, along with some Creek Indians and Loyalists, refused to honor the treaty and moved to Chickamauga Creek where they established a new settlement. Alexander Cameron went with Dragging Canoe and continued to supply him with arms and ammunition. This would lead to further bloodshed and further Indian defeats, loss of land, and the eventual loss of their entire homeland.

<sup>1</sup> James A. Lewis, *The Final Campaign of the American Revolution, Rise and Fall of the Spanish Bahamas*, (University of South Carolina Press, 1991), pp. 19-30.

<sup>2</sup> Larry Worthy, *The Creek Indians of Georgia*, <http://ourgeorgiahistory.com/indians/Creek/creek01.html>

<sup>3</sup> *Cherokee War 1760-1762*.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.ricehope.com/history/CherokeeWar1760.htm>. Fort Prince George was built on the Keowee River under modern Lake Keowee in Oconee County, SC; for a description of its archaeology, see:

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.state.sc.us/scdah/exhibits/cherokee/6a-ANOUTPOSTREVISITED.htm>

<sup>4</sup> John William Griffiths, *To Receive Them Properly, Charlestown Prepares For War, 1775-1776*, (University of South Carolina, Department of History, 1992), pp. 117-118.

<sup>5</sup> Gary D. Olson, *Loyalists and the American Revolution: Thomas Brown and the South Carolina Backcountry, 1775-1776*, (The South Carolina Historical Magazine, Volume 68, Number 4, October 1967), p. 216.

<sup>6</sup> John L. Nichols, *Alexander Cameron, British Agent Among the Cherokee, 1764-1781*, (South Carolina Historical Magazine, Volume 97, Number 2, April 1996), p. 109. [Ed. Several revisionist scholars believe that the Southern British Indian agents knew that they could not support their Indian allies in 1776 and did not encourage the Cherokee attacks; the attacks were motivated by trade problems and constant territorial incursions by the European settlers.]

<sup>7</sup> Nichols, *Alexander Cameron*, pp. 95-98 and 105.

<sup>8</sup> James Walton Lawrence, *Hogback Country*, (“The News Leader”, 1982), pp. 13-15. Earle’s Fort was located near the North Pacolet River, about one mile north of the North and South Carolina state line; Fort Prince was located in the modern Wellford community of Spartanburg County, SC.

<sup>9</sup> Nichols, *Alexander Cameron*.

<sup>10</sup> Southern Studies Program *Figures of the Revolution in South Carolina, An Anthology, Spartanburg, Anderson, Beaufort, Aiken, Florence, Georgetown*, (University of South Carolina, 1976), p. 173; a versions of the famous Hampton massacre is the eyewitness account of John Mynum, related by J.B.O. Landrum in his *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina*. The Hampton massacre occurred just north of the modern Greer, SC and is memorialized by a stone monument on US Highway 29 near its intersection with Gap Creek Road [Highway S-42-908].

<sup>11</sup> Lawrence, *Hogback Country*, pp. 16-19.

<sup>12</sup> Samuel McJunkin, *Narrative, Thomas Sumter Papers*, Draper Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 23VV153-203 (hereinafter cited as McJunkin, *Narrative*). The McJunkin Narrative has been transcribed and annotated, see, Will Graves, “*What Did McJunkin Really Say*,” *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, Volume 2,

Number 11 (November 2005): pp 29-47 (hereinafter cited as *SCAR, McJunkin*).

<sup>13</sup> Patrick J. O’Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter, The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, Volume One, 1771-1779*, ([www.booklocker.com](http://www.booklocker.com), 2004), pp. 158-159.

<sup>14</sup> Will Graves, “Arthur Fairies’ *Journal of Expedition Against the Cherokee Indians from July 18<sup>th</sup>, to October 11<sup>th</sup>, 1776*”, *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution (SCAR)*, Volume 2, Number 10 (October 2005): pp. 20-36.

<sup>15</sup> Graves, *Journal*.

<sup>16</sup> Graves, *Journal*.

<sup>17</sup> McJunkin, *Narrative*.

<sup>18</sup> An interesting improvised artillery was used against the Cherokees at this time. Sumter’s son, Thomas (Jr.), wrote, “The Indians had prepared a blind of bushes and prepared for an ambushade. Sumter seeing it, and the leaves wilted, said he suspected it. He wheeled about two or three horses, on each of which a swivel was mounted and fired at the blinds and the Indians quickly decamped.” Lyman Draper, *Thomas Sumter Papers*, Draper Manuscript Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

<sup>19</sup>———James Hodge Saye, editor. *Memoirs of Major Joseph McJunkin, Revolutionary Patriot*, (Richmond, VA, *Watchman and Observer*, 1847) (hereinafter, Saye, *McJunkin*). McJunkin’s discussion of Black Hole can be found in his *Journal*, Draper Manuscripts @3VV212-221; see *SCAR, McJunkin*.

<sup>20</sup> Saye, *McJunkin* and McJunkin’s *Journal* in *SCAR, McJunkin*.

<sup>21</sup> O’Kelley, *NBBAS, Volume One*, pp. 166-167.

<sup>22</sup> McJunkin, *Narrative*.

<sup>23</sup> McJunkin, *Narrative*.

<sup>24</sup> Nichols, *Alexander Cameron*, pp. 110-111.

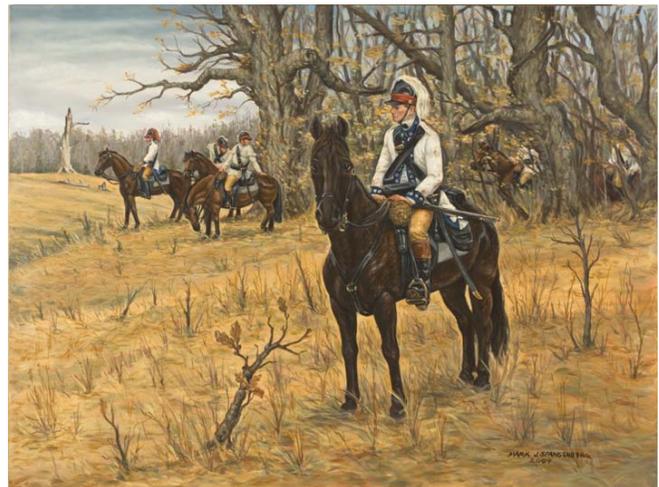


★ Trooper Eugene Hough, with cavalry carbine and uniform of the First Troop of the Philadelphia City Cavalry, explained his kit at the Cavalry Conference and posed on the battlefield. *SCAR* photo.

## Parting Shots



If you missed the Cavalry Conference, here is the *grande finale*, a surprise cavalry charge demonstrated on the Cowpens battlefield by green-coated troopers of the British legion and a lone redcoat of the 17<sup>th</sup> Regiment of Horse. *SCAR* photo.



Offered for sale at the Cavalry Conference by the artist, Mark J. Spangenberg of Greensboro, NC, this painting, “the Resolute Dragoon”, represents the Third Regiment, Continental Dragoons as they may have appeared in the Southern Department in 1781. Reproductions are available from the artist at 2508 Camden Road, Greensboro, NC 27403, phone (336) 274-4108. [markspangenberg@bellsouth.net](mailto:markspangenberg@bellsouth.net) ★