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General Charles, first Marquis and second Earl Cornwallis

General Charles, first Marquis and second Earl Cornwallis Commander of all British Forces in the South

by Hugh Harkey

A brave and aggressive commander, Cornwallis was outwitted by the American leaders during the Revolutionary War costing the British their effort to win the war through a southern campaign. After the Revolution, he won the reputation as one of the greatest generals of British history.

Born in London on December 31, 1738, he was educated at Eton and commissioned as an ensign in the 1st Foot Guards. He served with distinction in the British army in Germany. Elected to Parliament, he took his place in the House of Lords following his father's death, where he supported the cause of the American colonists. He continued to advance his military career by serving as aide-de-camp to King George III, colonel of the 33rd Foot, and constable of the Tower of London.

Promoted to major general, Cornwallis did not allow his pro-American sentiments not his wife's appeal to the King to deter him from his duty. He arrived in America with Sir Henry Clinton's expedition in time to distinguish himself at Long Island, modern day Isle of Palms, near Charleston, South Carolina, in August, 1776. He

Lt. Gen. Charles, Lord Cornwallis by Revolutionary War Artist Werner Willis

Artist Werner Willis of Charlotte, NC shows his talent and attention to detail in his picture of Lord Cornwallis mounted as he may have appeared on campaign in the Carolinas and Virginia in 1780-1781.

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followed Clinton north serving at Princeton and Brandywine, New Jersey, was promoted to lieutenant general and became second in command to Clinton.

Cornwallis returned to Britain to be with his dying wife. He returned to America in time to play a major role as British strategy shifted to focus on the Southern colonies. Cornwallis was left in command of British forces in the South when Clinton returned to New York.

Cornwallis dealt a major blow to patriot hopes by defeating General Horatio Gates' army at Camden, South Carolina, on August 16, 1780. British efforts to break further rebel resistance were frustrated as the British army was drawn further into the interior away from Charleston and naval supply lines. Cornwallis' army was scattered at isolated outposts across South Carolina where they were constantly ambushed and harassed by partisan forces led by outstanding guerilla leaders with colorful nicknames like "Swamp Fox" Francis Marion, "Gamecock" Thomas Sumter, and "Wizard Owl" Andrew Pickens.

Cornwallis invaded North Carolina in the summer of 1780, as he continued his campaign to subjugate the South. His efforts met with fierce resistance. Patriot forces led by William R. Davie, another outstanding partisan leader, were outnumbered ten to one, but were

still able to repel three assaults by Cornwallis' seasoned regulars at the Mecklenburg Courthouse in Charlotte, North Carolina, on September 26, 1780, before finally yielding to the superior British force.

Cornwallis was forced to withdraw to Winnsboro, South Carolina, after the American victory at Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780, which destroyed the western flank of his army and resulted in the death or capture of his entire valuable light infantry corps led by Major Patrick Ferguson. The defeat of Banastre Tarleton's legion by Daniel Morgan at Cowpens on January 27, 1781, led Cornwallis to stage a second invasion of North Carolina as he set off in hot pursuit of Morgan in hopes of catching up with and destroying the American army in the South.

Cornwallis took the drastic action of burning his wagons, stores and baggage to enable his army to move even faster. Morgan was able to link up with Nathanael Greene near Charlotte, North Carolina. Gathering all the boats along the way and transporting them in wagons, the outnumbered American army stayed just a step away from Cornwallis and disaster as they made a superb withdrawal across the flood-swollen Catawba, Yadkin, Deep and Dan Rivers before retreating to safety in Virginia.

The American army reentered North Carolina and Cornwallis engaged it in battle at Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781. Cornwallis defeated the Americans at a cost of almost one third of his army killed or wounded. The British army could ill afford another such victory.

Editor's Notes

The plans for our Thomas Sumter Symposium (April 8-9-10, 2005) and battlefield tours are finalized and we have a great line up of presenters to cover Gen. Sumter's multifaceted life. **Dr. Dan Morrill**, a dynamic speaker, will kick off Friday afternoon with Sumter's early service in the French and Indian War, his trip to London with Lt. Henry Timberlake and three Cherokee Chiefs, and service as a Continental line officer in the American Revolution. I am also excited to announce that **Dr. Jeff Dennis** of Morehead State University will moderate our afternoon panel and travel with us and talk about his recent research on Thomas Sumter's trek with the Timberlake Expedition where he met King George III, in London. **Dr. Tom Powers** from USC Sumter will talk about the Gamecock as a militia and State Troop Commandant. **Thomas Sumter Tisdale, Jr.**, descendent and author of the popular book on Thomas Sumter's aristocratic, French daughter-in-law, will talk about Sumter's extensive post Revolutionary War activities as a political leader and businessman. We will end the Friday classroom session with an audience participation panel discussion on "The Gamecock". We have moved Friday's presentations to the newly renovated Robert Mills Courthouse, constructed in 1826 near the site of the British Goal, site of future President Andrew Jackson's imprisonment by the British in 1781.

Friday night, Historic Camden at the Kershaw-Cornwallis House will host our guest at their great "Groaning Board", a feast of heavy hors d'oeuvres and friendly discussion. On Saturday, we will visit four important, unmarked battlefields: the site of Gen. Sumter's first victory at Hanging Rock; his first attack on the British Provincial Volunteers of New York at Rocky Mount on the Catawba River; Sumter's narrow escape at Fish Dam Ford of the Broad River with archaeologist **Wayne Roberts**; and tour the site of Sumter's defeat of Lt. Col. "Bloody Ban" Tarleton at Blackstock's Plantation on the Tyger River with **Dr. Allan Charles**. Saturday night we return to the Joseph Kershaw House at

In violation of Clinton's orders, Cornwallis now chose to invade Virginia where he was eventually bottled up at Yorktown and forced to surrender on October 19, 1781. Cornwallis received little blame for the defeat from either the British press or public.

Cornwallis' career following the American Revolution revealed his real talent for civil administration and conciliation. After initially declining, he accepted the governor-generalship of India acquiring a reputation as a fair and just administrator. The old campaigner returned to the field to invade Mysore and storm Bangalore.

On his return to Britain, Cornwallis was appointed commander-in-chief and governor-general of Ireland where he suppressed an Irish rebellion and repulsed a French invasion. Acquiring a reputation for treating the Irish with leniency, he resigned when King George III refused to grant Catholic emancipation. He returned to India as governor-general and died at Ghazipur on October 5, 1805.

Cornwallis' likeness faithfully copies from the original portrait by Thomas Gainsborough – National Gallery, London, England.

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Historic Camden for dinner followed by the impeccable **Howard Burnham's** premier of an original monologue, in the character of Thomas Sumter. On Sunday morning, we will visit Sumter's final home site and tomb in Stateburg; visit two important sites in his 1781 "Dog Days" of summer campaign to "thunder at the gates of Charles Town". We will stop at the majestic Biggin Church ruins, burned by British Col. John Coates as he started his retreat towards Charles Town, see the site of Wadboo bridge, stop at Quinby Creek bridge and walk the battlefield where Sumter's career as a field commander ended at Shubrick's Plantation. We return to a visit and reception at the Sumter Museum. Quinby Plantation has extant Revolutionary War earthworks, a lovely avenue of oaks and we will walk out on the rice levies. Make your plans to join us for this program, excellent entertainment and great fellowship. For more information please visit our website at **www.southerncampaigns.org**.

As the British renewed their initiatives to reconquer their rebellious New World colonies in the Southern Department in December 1778, Southern Campaigns fans will be treated to many 225th anniversary events in the next two years. Reenactments, memorial services, scholarly conclaves, and tours are now being planned and scheduled. We will keep you informed with a list of events and contacts for which we need your help. Please submit your scheduled events and contact information. Southern campaigns sites at Petersburg, Va. (April 2005), Charleston, SC, and Lancaster County, SC for Buford's Massacre at the Waxhaws (May 2005), Beckhamville, SC and Ramseur's Mill, NC (June 2005), Brattonsville, SC (July 2005), Camden, SC (August 2005), and Kings Mountain, SC (October 2005) are presenting major 225th Southern Campaign anniversary events.

We received the wonderful news of the satisfaction of the purchase money mortgage on the core of the Battle of Camden site in December with State of South Carolina funds; the acquisition of a major portion of the Blackstock's plantation

battlefield in February; and the preservation of a portion of the Hanging Rock Battlefield announced in this newsletter. The Katawba Valley Land Trust, lead by Lindsey Pettus of Lancaster, SC, has been very successful in obtaining conservation easements on historical and environmentally important sites in the lower Catawba River basin. Lindsey has announced a major project to work with landowners on protection of the Hanging Rock battlefields.

SCAR understands that other non-profit organizations and governmental agencies are now working on protecting several other important Palmetto State Revolutionary War sites. We hope we can announce the next milestone acquisition soon. This preservation work and current focus of many local groups are critical as we have irrevocably lost most of the Revolutionary War battlefield historic context by over-development at Hobkirk Hill, much of Eutaw Springs and of Stono Ferry, all of Charleston, Augusta, Charlotte, and Savannah, some of Guilford's Courthouse, and most of Ramseur's Mill and Cowan's Ford. The efforts to relocate the "lost" Revolutionary War sites, to appropriately mark them, and widely disseminating the facts of what happened where are usually led by local people. Spreading this important knowledge is the most powerful force we have to build public awareness and influence to encourage protective uses of these sites entrusted to our generation. Please help us pry this information from the dusty archive files, the archaeology departments, and the knowledge base of local historians, property owners and collectors. We have over 230 Revolutionary War battle and skirmish sites to document in South Carolina alone. We need your help! Even the built over sites like Charleston, Ramseur's Mill, Hobkirk's Hill, Augusta, Granby, Eutaw Springs, Orangeburg, Savannah, and Charlotte can be appropriately marked and interpreted.

SCAR was in Manning, SC on March 11th and 12th for the third Francis Marion Symposium, hosted by Carole and George Summers; it was a great weekend. This enlightening gathering introduced me to some great presenters and several obscure Marion battlefields. The Summers are tireless organizers of the Marion Symposiums which benefit the

"The Hornet's Nest"

by artist Werner Willis

The plight of embattled patriots in the South was desperate. Savannah and Charleston had fallen. The remaining American Continentals in the South had been destroyed at Camden. The British readied for the invasion of North Carolina. The cause of independence looked hopeless.

A gallant patriot leader emerged to challenge British dominance. William Richardson Davie was barely 20 and fresh out of the College of New Jersey, today's Princeton University, when the American colonies' desire for independence exploded into an open fire.

Davie became an effective leader of partisan cavalry in the Carolina piedmont ranked by contemporaries and historians with the likes of Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox," Thomas Sumter, the "Gamecock," and Andrew Pickens, the "Wizard Owl." Davie developed a great passion for frontier warfare and took delight in circumventing British plans for the Carolinas.

True to his character, Davie and about 150 patriots attempted to stop the British invasion of North Carolina at Charlotte on September 26, 1780. An account of the battle

Clarendon County Revolutionary War murals project. For more information, see <http://web.ftci.net/~gcsummers/fmarionsymposium.html> We really enjoyed seeing many friends there.

We congratulate author and researcher Will Graves for his recognition from the Cambridge Chapter SAR. Will is a great Revolutionary War scholar, friend and author of the book on Patriot Col. James Williams. He is working on an expanded second edition to utilize the additional materials he has uncovered on Patriot Col. James Williams since the first edition's publication. Will is also working on research on that interesting and complex South Carolina Revolutionary War leader, Gen. Andrew Williamson.

This is a shared open forum for all fellow cohorts – rebel or loyalist partisans alike. Your input, criticism, contribution, and assistance are needed and appreciated.

Your contributions of money and articles, and my "real" job may continue to allow a monthly publication schedule. As there is no subscription or fee at this time, we solicit your voluntary contributions in proportion to your evaluation of the product. An email notice and web-based distribution of the SCAR Newsletter has ameliorated some of my printing and mailing costs. We remain glad to print and mail a copy to anybody without access to a high-speed Internet service and a printer; however, electronic publication allows us to use better color graphics and save printing and postage costs. We will email folks on our email list a note when the new edition of SCAR has been posted; you may review or download and print the current and previous newsletters from our website at www.southerncampaign.org. Please let us know your email address and preferred medium. To improve the publication, better maps and graphics are desirable and a volunteer with layout experience would be great.

Please send any names, addresses and email contacts of persons you know who are interested in sharing our study of the Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution and we will add them to our list. ★

action was described by Colonel Davie and his cavalry leader, Major Joseph Graham.

Mecklenburg in 1780 included the area that would become the counties of Gaston, Cabarrus, and Union. The town of Charlotte was situated on rising ground and contained about twenty houses built on two streets; known today as Trade and Tryon, crossed each other at right angles. In the intersection stood the courthouse, a frame building raised on eight brick pillars ten feet from the ground. A waisthigh rock wall built between the pillars enclosed an area that served as the town market.

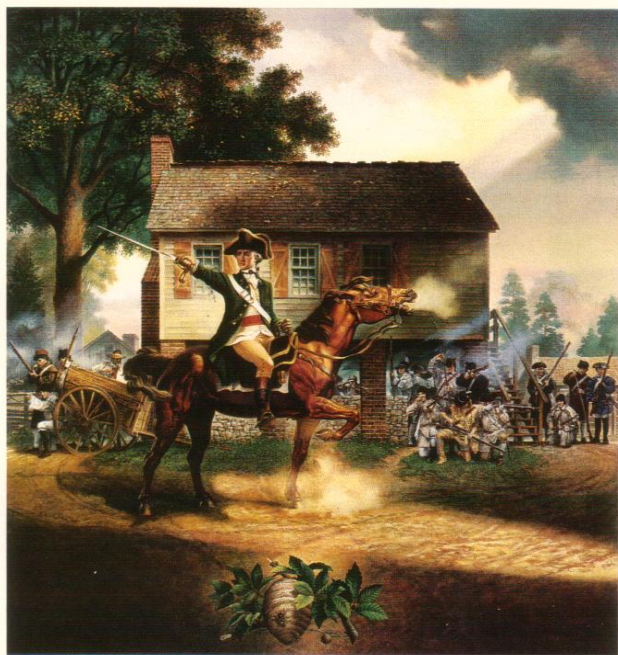
Davie posted one company behind the rock wall under the courthouse and the other companies in advance of the courthouse along Trade Street to wait for the invading British army led by Lord Cornwallis. At daybreak the chilly silence was shattered by snorting horses of the advancing British cavalry which was followed by light infantry and the entire British army. The American militia was eventually forced back to the courthouse, but not until the assaulting cavalry was repulsed three times and "vexed" Cornwallis was forced to admonish his troops. "Legion, remember you have everything to lose but nothing to gain." Then the famed British Legion

infantry pressed forward to rout the small band of American militia.

Outnumbered by almost ten to one, Davie's inspired soldiers kept their promise to give seasoned British regulars and assaulting cavalry "some earnest of what Lord Cornwallis might expect in North Carolina." This initial resistance spirited up the militia and led to further attacks on occupying British forces causing them to term the area a "hornets' nest" of rebellion. The name Davie a source of pride.

Davie relinquished his combat command to serve as the reluctant commissary general in which capacity he was very effective supplying Green's chronically destitute Southern army. He participated in the drafting of the federal constitution and entered politics where he became governor of North Carolina, the next to the last state to enter the Union. He served as Grand Master of Masons in North Carolina. Davie went on to become Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Napoleonic France. A sportsman, the former cavalryman never lost his love for the fine horses. He owned Sir Archie, the progenitor of the American Thoroughbred; the former cavalryman never lost his love for fine horses. He owned Sir Archie, the progenitor of the American Thoroughbred. Davie is perhaps best known as the "Father of the University of North Carolina" for his efforts in establishing that institution.

Werner Willis' dedication to historical detail is evident in his painting. "The Hornet's Nest." The background and models chosen and painstakingly researched to achieve the accuracy our heritage deserves. This signed limited edition print illuminates this small, but important, incident that altered the military plans of Lord Cornwallis and began the events that won Southern colonies' struggle for independence. ★



The Hornet's Nest
by Werner Willis

Charles B. Baxley.....Editor

Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution is dedicated to the study of the period of the War for American Independence in the Southern Department from 1760 to 1789. We facilitate the exchange of information on the Southern Campaigns' Revolutionary War sites, their location, preservation, historic signage, interpretation, artifacts, and archaeology as well as the personalities, military tactics, units, logistics, strategy, and the political leadership. We highlight professionals and amateurs actively engaged in Revolutionary War research, preservation, and interpretation to encourage an active exchange of information. All are invited to submit articles, pictures, documents, events, and suggestions. We feature battles and skirmishes, documents, maps, artifacts, Internet links, and other stories.

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Signed and numbered limited edition prints are available from Werner Willis printed on 12" by 9 7/8" art print stock for \$20.00. In the "Commanders & Heroes of the American Revolution" collector series are impressions of Lt. Gen. Charles Cornwallis, Brigadier Gen. Daniel Morgan, Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, Col. William Washington, and Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene. Werner Willis 3927 Brookwood Road Charlotte, NC 28215 (704) 509-2877

To Disturb the Assembly: Tarleton's Charlottesville Raid and the British Invasion of Virginia, 1781

John Maass

In April 1781, after months of bloody fighting in the Carolinas, Lieutenant General Charles Cornwallis, the commander of the British military forces in the southern colonies, turned his attention northward. "Until Virginia is in a manner subdued," wrote Cornwallis, "our hold of the Carolinas must be difficult, if not precarious." Although his mission would end in surrender at Yorktown later that year, Cornwallis and his forces cut a swath of terror through the commonwealth, destroying vital supplies, seizing property, and nearly capturing the governor and the entire General Assembly. He owed his success in part to the most execrated British officer to serve in the colonies during the Revolution: Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton.

Just twenty-six years old and a soldier for six of those years, the stocky, red-headed commander of the British Legion had a reputation for brutality and for giving no quarter to prisoners. Accordingly, he wore such epithets as "Bloody Tarleton" and "the Hunting Leopard." Tarleton had been born into a wealthy merchant family in Liverpool on 21 August 1754. After two years at Oxford, he enrolled in Middle Temple, England's most prestigious law school, but proved an indifferent student. He demonstrated a propensity for gambling and womanizing and frittered away most of his inheritance by the age of twenty. In April 1775, he purchased a commission in the King's Dragoon Guards. Bored in London, he volunteered for service in America the next year. By the fall of 1776, he was in New York with the 16th Regiment of Light Dragoons and settled into the rigors of cavalry duties. In December, he first tasted fame when he helped capture British-born Charles Lee, a major general and George Washington's second in command, whom British military leaders considered both a traitor and the patriots' most competent officer. In true Tarleton fashion, he later exaggerated his role in the capture.

In 1778, Tarleton was promoted to lieutenant colonel and placed at the head of the newly formed British Legion, a mixed unit of Loyalist cavalry and light infantry. Raised in New York and Pennsylvania, members of this Provincial unit wore leather helmets and short green jackets. Tarleton's rapid rise in the British service began once he departed New York in 1780 to join the Crown forces campaigning in the South. The legion accompanied their leader to Charleston, South Carolina, and throughout all of his southern campaigns.

As a result of several devastating, bloody defeats Tarleton and his soldiers inflicted on patriot forces in the Carolinas, he and his men became known for their ferocity and ruthlessness. His annihilation of Colonel Abraham Buford's 3rd Virginia Detachment at the Waxhaws, South Carolina, in May 1780, reinforced his cruel image and reinforced the opposition. Only one stain marked Tarleton's military career in British eyes: his negligent mishandling of troops at the Battle of Cowpens, South Carolina, on 17 January 1781, which resulted in a decisive rout of the British. Two months later, at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina, he received a wound to his right hand that necessitated the amputation of his index and middle fingers, but he continued to fight. An alarmed Major General Friedrich Wilhelm Ludolf Gerhard Augustin von Steuben, the former inspector general of the Continental Army, wrote that Tarleton's May 1781 arrival in Virginia "spread an universal terror."

Steuben was in a position to know. He had been in Virginia since late 1780, when Major General Nathaneal Greene received command of the Southern Department. Steuben assembled supplies and trained soldiers for Greene. Earlier invading forces under Benedict Arnold and William Phillips had hampered Steuben's efforts, and now Cornwallis and Tarleton were headed his way.

On 15 March, Cornwallis's British army already had defeated a larger force of American Continentals and militia under

Greene at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, yet Cornwallis suffered almost twenty-five percent casualties. Badly bloodied and low on supplies and ammunition, the British general led his weary regiments down the Cape Fear River to the coast, where he occupied Wilmington, North Carolina, for nearly a month. He decided against remaining in the port town for fear that Greene would advance upon British posts in South Carolina, turn against him, and cut off his supplies. Cornwallis also claimed to have received word of Major General Phillips's activities against the enemy in Virginia, and the prospect of success there encouraged him. "I was finally persuaded," he wrote his commander, Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton, in New York, "that, until Virginia was reduced, we could not hold the more southern provinces, and that after its reduction they would fall without much difficulty." Virginia also was the richest, most populous province, least touched by ravaging armies up to that point in the war; hence, it made an inviting target. In Virginia, Cornwallis hoped "a successful battle may give us America," as he had told Phillips. Clinton never approved of this move to Virginia. Instead he wanted Cornwallis to secure South Carolina and consolidate the Crown's control there.

Cornwallis disregarded Clinton's wishes and headed north. The spring of 1781 found Virginia, not previously the scene of a major military campaign of the American Revolution, suddenly faced with a hostile invasion. Prior sorties by the Crown's forces had in most instances been waterborne forays by limited detachments from Hampton Roads to burn military supplies, crops, and tobacco, including one devastating mission to Richmond in January led by turncoat Arnold, the newly minted British brigadier general. In fact, the General Assembly had left Williamsburg for Richmond due to such raids. With the imminent arrival of a sizable battle order of seasoned infantry and dragoons, the assembly vacated Richmond for Charlottesville on 10 May, followed a few days later by Governor Thomas Jefferson.

The invaders entered Virginia south of Petersburg in early May. Cornwallis arrived from Wilmington on 20 May and united his troops with those of Phillips, who had died of fever a week before. Thus reinforced, Cornwallis confidently embarked on what would be his final American campaign.

Virginia was easy plunder for an enemy that dominated the state's waterways. Greene thought the patriots in the state were "quite inadequate to the protection of that extensive Country intersected with rivers as it is." The raids from Hampton Roads had led a frustrated Jefferson to implore General George Washington to send troops to defend his home state. Jefferson also requested the commander's personal presence in Virginia, wearily surmising that "the public would have more confidence in a military chief." Washington declined, leaving his fellow Virginians to deal with the marauding redcoats.

The task of defending Virginia against Tarleton, Cornwallis, and the rest of the British forces fell to the Marquis de Lafayette, a young French aristocrat voluntarily serving the American cause as a major general. Only twenty-three years old, he had received orders from the Continental Congress to command (under Greene) a semi-independent force of light infantry, assorted Virginia state troops, and militia to oppose British incursions in the Chesapeake Bay. Lafayette arrived in Richmond on 29 April to find his three thousand troops inadequate, supplies scarce, and morale low. "We Have Some Militia But are in Such a Want of arms that I dare not Venture them into action for fear of an Irreparable loss," the marquis wrote to Brigadier General Anthony Wayne on 15 May. Lafayette was unable to prevent the junction of the armies of Phillips and Cornwallis at Petersburg on 20 May. "We cannot hope to offer great resistance . . . we lack arms," he wrote on 22 May to the Chevalier Anne-César de La Luzerne, a fellow Frenchman serving with Washington. "If we are caught, we shall all be routed." He could do little but delay Cornwallis and shadow his movements, avoid a pitched battle for which he was outgunned, and wait for a fortuitous opportunity to strike the British without risking his own much smaller force. "I am therefore determined to Skarmish," the marquis wrote from Richmond to

General Washington on 24 May, "But not to engage too far and particularly to take Care against their Immense and excellent Body of Horse whom the Militia fear like they would be So Many wild Beasts."

After combining with Phillips's regiments at Petersburg, a strengthened and aggressive Cornwallis moved quickly. The British crossed the James River in boats at Westover plantation from 24–26 May, forcing Lafayette to abandon Richmond and move north. On 28 May, Jefferson summoned "every man who possibly can, come armed with a good rifle and those who cannot must bring a good smooth Bore if they have it . . . the whole Country lies open to a most powerful Army headed by the most active, enterprising and vindictive Officer who has ever appeared in Arms against us."

The active, enterprising, and vindictive Cornwallis gave chase to the retreating Americans. "I shall now proceed to dislodge La Fayette from Richmond," he outlined in his strategy to Clinton. By 30 May, the British army, consisting of approximately seven thousand men and officers in several regiments of veteran foot troops and one of light cavalry, passed through White Oak Swamp east of the capital and bivouacked to the north at Hanover Court House. From there, Tarleton conducted several destructive cavalry raids, destroying supplies in rebel warehouses at Aylett and Hanover Town. "People are moving their Negroes, Cattle, Horses, & c. from the neighbourhood of the Enemy & from the route which it is supposed they will take," wrote Robert Honyman, a physician in Hanover County, on 27 May. "The Hardships, distress & damage at this time is unspeakable." Lafayette expressed his own frustration to Jefferson: "The British have so many Dragoons that it becomes impossible either to stop or reconnoitre their movements." He also feared Tarleton, writing Wayne about a recent attack on Virginia militia by Tarleton's men that injured the Americans "very barbarously."

As Lafayette clearly recognized, the British owed a large part of their advantage to their overwhelming superiority in mounted troops, including Tarleton's British Legion. "Of all our needs," Lafayette lamented to one of his subordinates, the Vicomte de Louis-Marie Noailles, on 22 May, "the lack of cavalry is the most fatal." Others shared his sentiments. "The enemy have . . . got so much the advantage of us in Cavalry or mounted Infantry," wrote a Virginia military officer, John Pryor, to Greene on 5 June, "that we are not able to set bounds to their progress to any & every quarter of this Country." Similarly, William Constable, an aide-de-camp of Lafayette, wrote to Jefferson, "We are in the utmost want of Cavalry, the Enemy's great superiority in Horse, giving them such advantage over us, that they have it almost in their power to over run the County, in spite of all our efforts."

A desperate Lafayette begged Steuben to persuade the General Assembly to supply fresh horses. "If they do not," he said, "it is impossible we can defend this country." On 24 May, the marquis wrote presciently to Greene, "The Enemy's Cavalry and Mounted Infantry Are So Numerous that we Cannot Guard Against partizan Strokes." Only fifty, ill-equipped mounted troopers were then in the marquis's command; as he succinctly observed, "Cavalry is everything in Virginia." Jefferson agreed with the consensus and directed all county lieutenants in Virginia to remove riding and draft horses from the path of the British troops. On 28 May, the House of Delegates advised the governor to authorize Lafayette to impress the necessary animals. Lafayette met with limited success, telling Jefferson that "all the fine Horses in the Country are falling into the Enemy's hands." He blamed the owners' unwillingness to move the animals out of Cornwallis's path and the impressing parties' difficulty in operating around the British forces. On 30 May, Steuben opined to Lafayette, "I am of the opinion that my 500 men, and even if it were 1,000, together with those you have, would not prevent Cornwallis from advancing or going wherever he pleases." Steuben's premise proved entirely correct.

Significantly outnumbered by the invading redcoats, the French marquis kept his thin units at a wary, respectful distance to the north and west of Cornwallis. The British battalions steadily marched towards Fredericksburg, and Cornwallis reached the North Anna River at Cook's Ford on 1 June. Lafayette arrived at Mattaponi Church the

next day. The British thrust appeared to be in preparation for an attack on Fredericksburg, site of a small arms manufactory, and Hunter's Iron Works, a valuable foundry at Falmouth. With little opposition, the British campaign was demoralizing the rebels in Virginia. Cornwallis had "thrown every thing into great confusion, as well as filled the minds of the people with the greatest discontent," wrote an apprehensive Virginia officer, Colonel William Davies, on 2 June.

The British also sought to prevent reinforcements in Pennsylvania under Wayne from reaching Lafayette, as the patriots intended. Lafayette, however, was too quick for Cornwallis, who abandoned any further moves to the north in pursuit of him. Though Tarleton's stalwart troopers raided near Bowling Green, Cornwallis recognized his inability to catch the fleet-footed Americans and bring them to battle. He halted his advance at Cook's Ford and altered his line of march. "From what I could learn of the present state of Hunter's iron manufactory," he reported later to Clinton, "it did not appear of so much importance as the stores on the other [western] side of the country, and it was impossible to prevent the junction between the Marquis and Wayne." Fredericksburg now appeared safe, but Lafayette had left the western part of Virginia defenseless.

The British quickly took advantage of the situation. While encamped outside the hamlet of Hanover Court House, Cornwallis's videttes captured American dispatches from Lafayette to Greene, Jefferson, and Steuben, thus alerting his lordship of the Virginia assembly's meeting at Charlottesville, as well as the large munitions collection at Point of Fork (now known as Columbia), the confluence of the James and Rivanna Rivers. The British commander was concerned that the assembly, recently reconvened in Charlottesville, would issue a statewide call for the mobilization of militia to repel his invasion. He had to prevent such an act. Therefore, he dispatched Lieutenant Colonel John Graves Simcoe, commander of the Queen's Rangers, and Tarleton, his most combative and controversial lieutenant, "to disturb the Assembly."

Cornwallis intended the much-feared cavalry officer to make a lightning-quick, hard-hitting "partizan stroke" and destroy supplies and war materiel in a westward dash on Charlottesville. At the same time, Simcoe and the Queen's Rangers would ride southwest to destroy the patriots' depot at Point of Fork. Tarleton's mission included the alluring assignment of not only breaking up the legislature, but also capturing Governor Jefferson, who was presiding over the assembly at the time and residing at his mountaintop home, Monticello. While Tarleton and the cavalry galloped off to wreak havoc upon Virginia's lawmakers and precious military supplies, Cornwallis intended to follow Simcoe's path. He planned to move the bulk of his army via the Ground Squirrel Bridge on the South Anna River, through Goochland County to Jefferson's Elk Hill plantation, on the north bank of the James River, several miles east of Point of Fork. There he would rendezvous with Tarleton and Simcoe.

Lafayette actually suspected such a move on the part of Cornwallis, but he could not prevent it. "It is possible they mean to make a Stroke towards Charlottesville," the marquis wrote Greene on 3 June, the very day Tarleton left the British position at Hanover Court House. The large quantity of stores accumulated there, "contrary to my directions," made Lafayette fear for the safety of the town. He had directed that stores at Charlottesville be removed to "Albermarle [sic] Old Courthouse"—the former county courthouse, near Scott's Landing (now Scottsville), about twenty miles south of Charlottesville—where Steuben had assembled six hundred regulars. The marquis also was frustrated at his inability to halt the continuing British advance. Due to the enemy's "cloud of light Troops it is difficult to reconnoitre," he lamented, "as well as to counteract any rapid movements they choose to make."

During this time of disturbance, few delegates bothered to attend sessions of the General Assembly. Not until 28 May could the reconvened assembly manage a quorum, when it probably met at the old Albemarle County courthouse. "We all fixed ourselves very comfortably, in full Assurance of being unmolested by the Enemy," wrote one young delegate, John Breckenridge, of Botetourt County, to his mother. The traveling legislature, which included Patrick Henry,

intended to elect a new governor to replace the outgoing Jefferson, whose term expired on 1 June.

Early on the morning of 3 June 1781, the confident, audacious Tarleton rode out of Cornwallis's camp on the North Anna River, hoping to surprise the Virginia government sixty miles to the west. The British column packed a punch. Although they suffered "the utmost distress for want of arms, cloathing, boots, and indeed appointments of all kinds," as Cornwallis told Clinton, Tarleton's men were hardened veterans. To strengthen the legion, Cornwallis first directed Tarleton to take along a contingent of mounted infantry of the 2nd Battalion, 71st Highlanders. The officers of that battalion, however, vehemently protested this duty, as they thought Tarleton had carelessly squandered several companies of the 71st's 1st Battalion in his defeat at Cowpens. Tarleton instead received a company of the 23rd Regiment, Royal Welch Fusiliers to ride behind his troopers and add additional firepower. The total force comprised 180 dragoons and seventy mounted infantry.

Tarleton's column initially followed the North Anna on the south bank in Hanover County. They proceeded through Brown's Ordinary in western Hanover at dawn, following the main road that led to the Ground Squirrel Bridge. The soldiers behaved themselves, although many fearful residents "buried their most valuable effects" to hide them from the enemy, reported Robert Honyman. Once across the South Anna River, Tarleton turned west and entered Louisa County on the road to the courthouse. The troopers rested only once, at noon, due to the heat.

That evening, Tarleton stopped at Cuckoo, a small crossroads in eastern Louisa County, some forty miles from Charlottesville. While the soldiers rested and fed their mounts, some of the officers relaxed inside the Cuckoo Tavern. They did not go unobserved. Jack Jouett, a twenty-eight-year-old captain in the Virginia militia and an Albemarle County resident, either overheard the British discuss their intentions or surmised their hostile plans. Once he was able to detach himself inconspicuously from the area, at about 10 P.M., Jouett jumped on his mount and raced westward to warn the assembly and Jefferson. He assumed Tarleton would take the main road to Charlottesville via Louisa and Shadwell, so he opted for an overgrown, little-used trail known to locals as the Mountain Road.

Tarleton continued west on the main road. He and his column reached Louisa at 11 P.M. on 3 June, rested briefly on "a plentiful plantation," as he remembered it, and resumed the dusty march at 2 A.M. on 4 June. Before dawn, the raiders captured and burned twelve lightly guarded wagons of supplies intended for Greene's forces in South Carolina. The British took "Horses, Saddles & bridles [and] whatever provisions they wanted, but the soldiers were restrained from taking anything else," reported Robert Honyman. "Where ever they had an opportunity, the soldiers & inferior officers likewise, enticed and flattered the Negroes, & prevailed on vast numbers to go along with them, but they did not compel any." Approximately six miles before reaching his objective, Tarleton detached a squad from his main force to Belvoir, home of John Walker. Here in the pre-dawn darkness, his dragoons netted Francis Kinlock, a member of the Continental Congress from North Carolina.

Meanwhile, after a severe thrashing from the brush and tree limbs barely visible during his desperate ride, Jouett managed to arrive at Monticello. He awakened Jefferson, who was hosting Archibald Cary and Benjamin Harrison, the Speakers of the Senate of Virginia and the House of Delegates, and a few other members of the General Assembly. Refreshed by a glass of wine from Jefferson's cellar, the exhausted Jouett continued his dash to Charlottesville, where he again spread the alarm.

From Belvoir, Tarleton hurriedly rode on with his main body of troopers to Castle Hill, the prominent home of Dr. Thomas Walker, John's brother. Tarleton snatched from their beds the elder Walker and houseguests Judge Peter Lyons, Colonel John Syme, Newman Brockenbrough of the Virginia legislature, and William and Robert Nelson, two brothers of Thomas Nelson Jr., a brigadier general of the Virginia militia forces. At Castle Hill, Tarleton allowed his men a brief pause for a hurried breakfast before riding on to Charlottesville.

The enemy troops forced at least one of the captives, Brockenbrough, to accompany the column, but they allowed Judge Lyons to remain at Castle Hill (perhaps because his weight of 300 pounds made him difficult to transport). "As to civility," noted Lyons, "we all received much more of it, than we expected."

Tarleton arrived at Charlottesville early on Monday, 4 June. He and his men had traveled seventy miles in one day, thus gaining "the advantage of a surprise," Tarleton correctly thought. With little loss, his horsemen quickly defeated a poorly trained militia guard at Secretary's Ford below the town and entered Charlottesville with little opposition. Thanks to Jouett's warning, most members of the General Assembly already had left for Staunton over the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Several delegates, however, had tarried too long loading public records in wagons, and Tarleton's men promptly bagged them. One captive was a state militia officer and delegate from Fayette County (named the previous year for Lafayette; now part of Kentucky) named Daniel Boone. The British overtook him and a companion, both dressed in frontier hunting shirts and leggings, as they rode slowly toward Staunton. In his rustic attire, Boone initially went unrecognized as a legislator or military officer until his companion inadvertently referred to him as "captain." Legionnaires took the pair into custody and marched them off to British headquarters. The enemy held Boone with the other prisoners overnight in a filthy coalhouse, then brought him a few days later to Cornwallis's main camp at Elk Hill. Also among the British captives were former Lieutenant Governor Dudley Digges, three other members of the assembly, and the state printer, James Hayes, whose duties included the crucial task of printing state currency. Though no doubt considerably chagrined, they suffered little personal harm at British hands. Tarleton later boasted that he had treated "the gentlemen taken on this expedition . . . with kindness and liberality."

Although Lafayette had ordered all military stores to be removed from Charlottesville to the old Albemarle courthouse, the citizens of the town largely had ignored his dictates. According to Cornwallis, the British destroyed one thousand muskets made in Fredericksburg, clothing, five hundred barrels of powder, and other stores. American appraisals of the ruin were much lower. William Christian, brother-in-law of Patrick Henry, said that "the damage was not great; perhaps about three hundred guns destroyed, and some stores, but the greatest part had got out of town." The losses, according to Lafayette, comprised one hundred fifty stand of arms, a small amount of powder, and county records. Tarleton's forces also liberated about twenty British prisoners of war held in camp west of town. While his troops busied themselves in Charlottesville, the Hunting Leopard turned to the pursuit of bigger prey: Thomas Jefferson. He detached a small band of soldiers under Captain Kenneth McLeod, of the British Legion, and pointed them toward Monticello.

At Jefferson's home, the owner, his family, and his guests prepared to avoid impending capture. They ate breakfast before Cary, Harrison, and the others left to join their fellow assembly members in Charlottesville. Jefferson calmly sent his wife and other relatives to safety at Blenheim, a neighboring Albemarle plantation belonging to the Carter family, then busily sorted through his papers. An often repeated but unsubstantiated story claimed that Jefferson ordered his horse shod while he walked to Carter's Mountain behind Monticello to view Charlottesville with his small telescope. He saw no enemy troops in town and began to return home when he realized he had forgotten his walking sword on the mountaintop. On reaching the summit, he used the telescope for another glance down into the town and saw the streets occupied with British dragoons. Jefferson quickly retreated to Monticello and hastily departed on horseback after receiving a second warning from Christopher Hudson of the Virginia militia, who described Jefferson as "perfectly tranquil and undisturbed." Whatever the actual course of events, he did ride off only a few minutes before the arrival of McLeod and his men and joined his family at Blenheim. A disappointed Tarleton had to admit that his "attempt to secure Mr. Jefferson was ineffectual."

Although they failed in their main objective, the British soldiers obeyed Tarleton's orders and did very little damage to Monticello. They touched nothing in the house other than a few bottles of wine. According to family tales, Jefferson's personal valet, Martin Hemings, and another slave, Caesar, were hiding valuable silver articles under the portico when the British arrived. Caesar, trapped, hid under the floor of the portico overnight and into the following day until Tarleton's horsemen left the mountain. McLeod supposedly deposited the key to the house with Hemings and enjoined him to let no soldiers inside. This indulgence starkly contrasted with Tarleton's burning of many homes and barns in the Carolinas. "I did not suffer by him," Jefferson recalled. "On the contrary he behaved very genteely with me."

While Tarleton handled operations in the Charlottesville area, Simcoe's mounted column of Loyalist cavalry captured and destroyed large quantities of valuable American supplies at Point of Fork, Steuben's main supply point, on 5 June. While Simcoe's men destroyed the supplies, Steuben beat a hasty and humiliating retreat south of the James. Cornwallis set up camp at Elk Hill on 7 June. Only partially successful due to the escape of most of his intended quarry, Tarleton left Charlottesville after a few days and led his column and prisoners down the Rivanna River to Elk Hill. There, Tarleton paroled most of his captives, including Daniel Boone, but he retained those whom he considered lower class—lacking wealth or position—as prisoners of war.

The swift, unexpected, and destructive procession of the much-feared Tarleton and his troopers through the rolling hills of the Virginia piedmont created a chaotic situation for the region's inhabitants and the military officers attempting to combat him. Although some members of Albemarle's militia turned out upon word of the raid, they did not attack the British regulars in Charlottesville. Rumors of Tarleton's movements abounded, and reliable information was in short supply. On 5 June, writing to Greene, who was no doubt anxious for intelligence from Virginia, Captain John Pryor, at Buckingham Court House, advised him of the "late operations of the Enemy." Pryor noted that Steuben would have had no time to write. Pryor was sure that "many of the Members of the Assembly are taken at Charlottesville where the Assembly were sitting," and that some may have "previously adjourn'd" to another site. As late as 9 June, Greene, in South Carolina, continued to urge Lafayette not to "spare any pains to remove all the public Stores out of the enemies way." "I am exceedingly distressed to find it altogether out of my power to give you the support your situation claims and my inclinations lead to," wrote the southern commander.

As it turned out, Lafayette was unable to report the attack on Charlottesville and Point of Fork to Greene until 18 June. He succinctly described the losses as "trifling" a few days later. "Upon the whole," he wrote to Greene on 20 June, "our loss was not very Considerable But will Show [a] great deal in Newspapers." Steuben lost complete contact with Lafayette for more than a month. Military operations in Virginia to counter Tarleton's column were confused and ineffective for weeks after the British left Charlottesville. Rumors of Tarleton thundering over the Blue Ridge into Augusta County to try again to capture the assembly caused great commotion in Staunton, which the fleeing delegates had reached by 7 June.

In Staunton and beyond, acrimonious debate and harsh accusations about Jefferson followed the alarm of Cornwallis's operations. A party of delegates tried to censure Jefferson once the assembly reconvened at Staunton, for alleged derelict conduct in protecting the state during repeated British incursions. The legislature had failed to elect a new governor by the time Tarleton's troopers rode into Charlottesville, thus adding to the confusion and leaving the commonwealth without a chief executive until the election of Brigadier General Thomas Nelson Jr. on 12 June. A few delegates, mostly supporters of Patrick Henry, called for an inquiry into Jefferson's conduct during the previous year, which had seen several British incursions into the state. Late in 1781, the assembly completely exonerated Jefferson. During his presidency two decades later,

political enemies vigorously renewed the charges, which Jefferson bitterly remembered.

As the assembly gathered in Staunton, militia companies of frontier riflemen from Augusta County assembled at Rockfish Gap to defend the Shenandoah Valley. From Staunton, Colonel William Davies echoed a familiar refrain when he wrote to Greene, "The enemy have at length driven us over the mountains; their superiority in cavalry is so great that there is scarcely any security below." The local militia responded to calls to arms by Virginia officers, but "at least twice as many militia are taking the field as are necessary," Davies lamented. He feared that as soon as the harvest began and the volunteers grew tired of service, the forces would shrink to "a very small handful." In the end, they never had to fight, for Tarleton's troopers ventured only a few miles west of Charlottesville and never attempted to cross the Blue Ridge.

While Tarleton, Simcoe, and their hard-riding troops ravaged Virginia's supplies and disrupted its government, Lafayette did not intervene. Lacking cavalry and still awaiting the arrival of Wayne's Continentals, who were on the march to Virginia from York, Pennsylvania, the marquis prudently decided to receive reinforcements before aggressively attempting to oppose Cornwallis. Wayne's regiments, in excellent spirits, reached Lafayette's position near Raccoon Ford on the Rapidan River on 9 June. On 13 June, an American scout captured the dispatch Tarleton had written to Cornwallis reporting his raid on Charlottesville. This paper was published promptly to warn local residents of the potential danger they faced should Tarleton come their way.

At Elk Hill, Cornwallis considered sending Tarleton and the British Legion to raid the old Albemarle courthouse and pursue Steuben. His lordship abandoned this plan upon news of Wayne's arrival and opted for a slow retirement towards Richmond. Before they left Jefferson's property at Elk Hill, Cornwallis's troops—in contrast to Tarleton's troops at Monticello—burned barns filled with hay and corn, carted off cattle and sheep for their own provisions, and killed all the young horses. Jefferson wrote bitterly that Cornwallis "treated the rest of the neighborhood somewhat in the same style, but not with that spirit of total extermination with which he seemed to rage over my possessions." The British also induced thirty of Elk Hill's slaves to leave and accompany the army. Many of them quickly succumbed to smallpox and other camp diseases. "I suppose," Jefferson wrote of the British in 1788, "their whole devastations during those six months amounted to about three million sterling." However, another Albemarle resident, Davis Ross, complained of his neighbors, "I think the Country people stole as much or more than the British destroy'd."

With rebel skirmishers at his heels, Cornwallis and his reunited army began their march south along the north bank of the James on 15 June, with the vanguard of his forces arriving near Richmond the next day. As the long column of redcoats trudged along the dusty roads of Virginia to Yorktown, the beleaguered General Assembly in Staunton voted to honor one of the few patriot heroes of the campaign. On 15 June, the lawmakers directed Governor Nelson "to present to Captain John Jouett an elegant sword, and pair of pistols, as a memorial of the high sense, which the General assembly entertain; of his activity, and enterprize in watching the motions of the Enemy's Cavalry on their late incursion to Charlottesville, and conveying to the Assembly timely information of their approach, whereby the designs of the Enemy were frustrated, and many valuable stores preserved." The hero received the French-made pistols in 1783 and the sword in 1803.

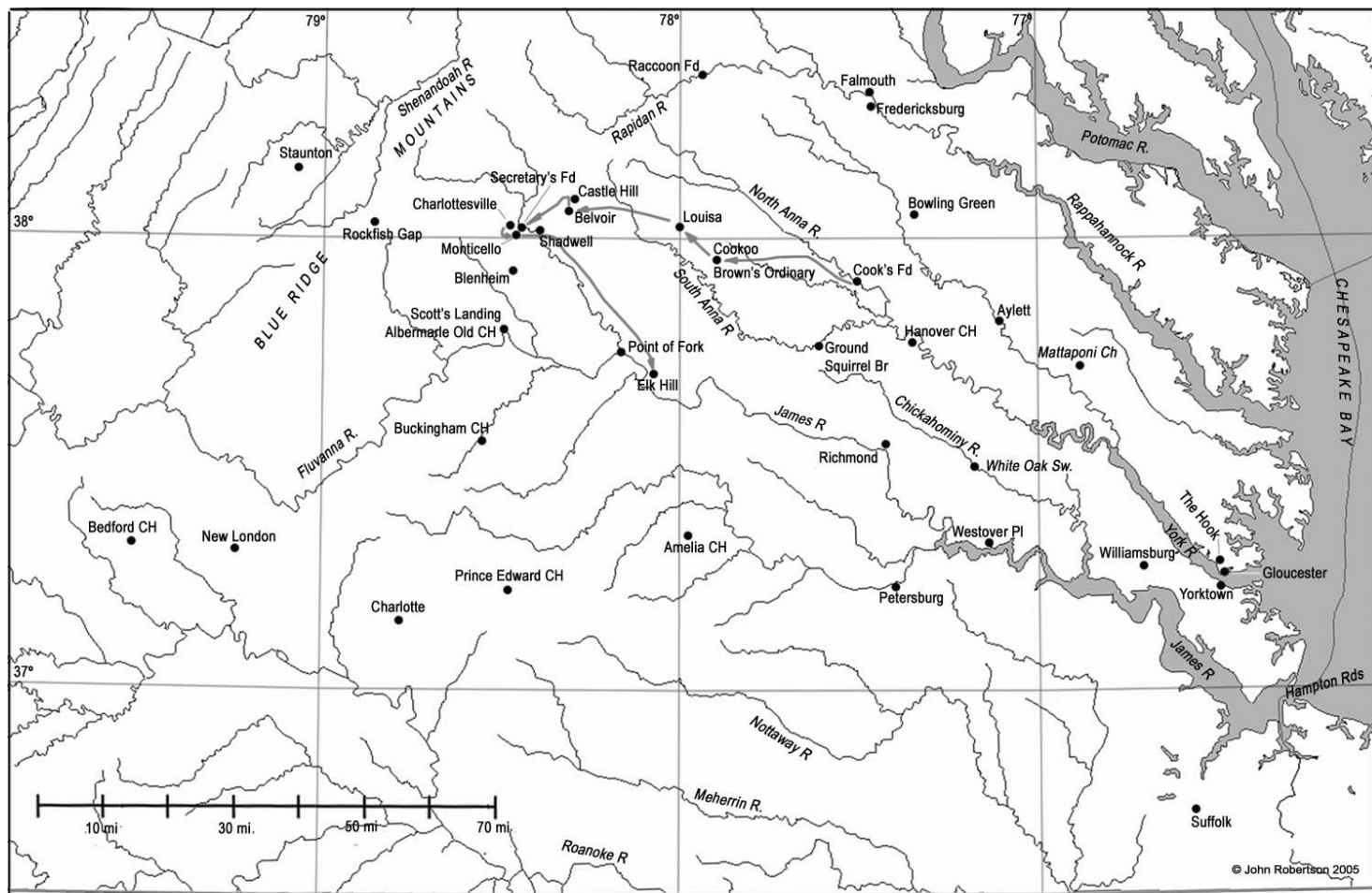
Tarleton had one more escapade in store for Virginia. For sixteen days in July, he and his troops galloped in a round trip from Suffolk to Petersburg, Amelia Court House, Prince Edward Court House, Charlotte, New London, and Bedford. They stole fine horses and destroyed supplies while fending off the Virginia militia. The cavalry leader covered thirty to forty miles a day but lost many soldiers and mounts to the summer heat. In late August, he joined Cornwallis at Gloucester and Yorktown.

Tarleton's last battle of the American Revolution came on 3 October 1781. During a skirmish at the Hook in Gloucester County, he

was unhorsed and injured but escaped capture by French forces. When Cornwallis surrendered to Washington at Yorktown on 19 October, Tarleton surrendered to Brigadier General Claude-Gabriel de Choisy at Gloucester. He felt in danger for his life and sought protection from French officers after his parole. American officers refused him the invitations to socialize that they extended to Cornwallis and other British officers.

Tarleton arrived in London a hero on 18 January 1782. His stock might have risen even higher had he captured Thomas Jefferson

and the entire General Assembly of Virginia. If not for a stop at a country tavern, the happenstance presence of an alert militiaman, and the dramatic nighttime journey of Jack Jouett, Tarleton would have counted a huge coup for the British, struck a terrible blow to the morale of Virginians, and, perhaps, changed the outcome of the Revolutionary War. ★



Locations named in John Maass' *To Disturb the Assembly*. Arrows show Tarleton's movements (not intended to imply precise route) in his Charlottesville raid as described in the article.

Map of British Lt. Col. Banister Tarleton's Charlottesville Raid sites by John A. Robertson.

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<http://www.lva.lib.va.us/sb/pubs/cavalcade/index.htm>

John Maass received a B.A. in history from Washington and Lee University in 1987 and a M.A. in American history from the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. John is a graduate student in history at the Ohio State University studying the colonial and Revolutionary War south. He is the author of *"That Unhappy Affair: Horatio Gates and the Battle of Camden"* (Camden, SC: Kershaw County Historical Society, 2001) and most recently, "A Spirit of Disobedience: Scotch-Irish Disaffection in the Revolutionary War, 1780-1781," *Journal of Scotch-Irish Studies*, Vol. 2, No. 1.

Calendar of Upcoming Events

Please submit items to post upcoming Southern Campaigns programs and events that may be of interest to Revolutionary War researchers and history buffs.

Through April 9, 2005 – Anderson House, The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, DC – 2118 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W. An exhibition from the library and museum collections featuring South Carolina in the American Revolution with a unique collection of portraits, engravings, historic documents, journals, maps, medals, and Andrew Pickens' presentation sword. For more information contact: Ellen M. Clark emclark@societyofthecincinnati.org.

March 5, 2005 – Kings Mountain National Military Park, SC - Women's History Day Re-enactors will demonstrate and discuss the role of women during the Revolution. Presentations will include medicine, cooking, spinning and weaving, clothing, and more.
<http://www.nps.gov/kimo/pphtml/events.html>

March 11-12, 2005 - Manning, SC – 3rd Francis Marion/Swamp Fox Symposium – “1780, The War is Changing, No Southern Hospitality for the British” 225th Anniversary of South Carolina Campaigns. 803-478-2645 Accommodations: Days Inn (803-473-2913), I-95, Exit 115 & US 301, Manning, SC. www.francismarionsymposium.com

April 2-3, 2005 – Ninety Six, SC - Revolutionary War Days at the Ninety Six National Historic Site. Celebration of Gen. Greene's Siege of Ninety Six (May 22-June 18, 1781). A commemorative wreath laying ceremony will be held on Saturday at 2:20 pm. www.nps.gov/nisi

April 8-9-10, 2005 - Camden, SC - "Campaigning with the 'Gamecock': Life and Campaigns of Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter - Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site, Joanna Craig, Charles B. Baxley, and David P. Reuwer co-host a symposium featuring South Carolina militia Gen. Thomas Sumter "The Gamecock" with extensive battlefield trips to Gen. Sumter's battlegrounds. Please reserve your seats early as attendance is limited by bus capacity. For more information call Joanna Craig at Historic Camden (803) 432-9841 or see the symposium postings on www.southerncampaign.org or email: hiscamden@camden.net.

April 16-17, 2005 – Petersburg, Virginia - 14th Annual Commemorative Battle Reenactment. This event is an observance of the Revolutionary War battle fought in Petersburg on April 25, 1781, and is an open event for all Revolutionary War period reenactors and free to visitation by the general public. For further information write or call: Director of Tourism, 15 West Bank Street, Petersburg, VA 23804 Telephone: (804) 733-2402 / 733-2404 FAX: (804) 861-0883 E-mail: petgtourism@earthlink.net
<http://www.petersburg-va.org/revwar/invitation.htm>

April 23 and 24th, 2005. Musgrove's Mill State Historic Site, Clinton, SC - 3rd Annual Living History Festival - Living History Camp with both military and civilian re-enactment units. Weapons and tactics demonstrations, grounds tours, and more. 864-938-0100 brobson@scprt.com

April 30-May 1, 2005 – Kings Mountain National Military Park, SC - Hesse-Kassel Jaeger Korps encampment; re-enactors, representing the German troops who fought in the Revolution, will be camped at the park. Soldiers will demonstrate the unique Jaeger rifle, used to combat the American long rifle in the Revolution.
<http://www.nps.gov/kimo/pphtml/events.html>

April 30, 2005 – Point South, Yemassee, SC - 2nd Annual Tullifinny Trot 10 km run and 2 mile walk along a portion of the trail on April 30th, 2005 (9:00 AM). This race commemorates the 226th anniversary

of the Battle of Coosawhatchie and the establishment of the Revolutionary War Trail. Packet pick-up is from 7:30 to 8:30 AM at the trailhead on race day. Proceeds will benefit the Revolutionary War Trail Foundation. Contact Dave Jirousek at the Lowcountry Council of Governments for additional information on the event. (843) 726-5536
<http://www.lowcountryrevtrail.org/events.php>

May 12, 2005 – Charleston, SC – The Charleston Museum hosts "THE SIEGE OF CHARLESTON, 1780" - LECTURE & BOOK SIGNING AT 6:30 p.m. Museum's Assistant Director, Carl Borick, presents a lecture and signing of his book, *A Gallant Defense* which examines the reasons for the shift in British strategy to the rebellious southern colonies, the efforts of their army and navy to seize Charleston. In addition to covering the military aspects of the campaign around Charleston, the book also delves into the effect that it had on the civilians of the South Carolina Lowcountry.
<http://www.charlestonmuseum.org/event.asp?ID=54>

May 13-15, 2005 - Charleston, SC – celebrate the 225th Anniversary of the Siege of Charleston: Revolutionary War Days at Drayton Hall, Middleton and Magnolia Plantations.
<http://www.revwarcharleston.com>

May 13, 2005 - Charleston, SC - Grand British Ball at Charleston's Old Exchange Building, from 7:15pm until midnight. Authentic 1780 Grand British Ball at Charleston's Old Exchange Building to celebrate the fall of Charleston to the British Crown Forces and toast King George III as part of the 225th Anniversary of the Siege & Fall of Charleston. Participants must be in period correct clothing for the 1780 time period in either British military dress or civilian attire. Continental army uniforms are inappropriate. Music will be provided by the Charleston Chamber Orchestra. Dance caller will be John Millar of Colonial Williamsburg. Hors d'oeuvre, finger foods, and non-alcoholic drinks are included. Ticket cost is \$35 per person and all net proceeds going towards educational programs on the American Revolution. Tickets limited to 180 persons. For more information:
<http://www.charlestonball.org>

May 13-19, 2005 – Knoxville, Tennessee – HistoryAmerica Tours presents a bus tour: The Overmountain Men, From Sycamore Shoals To Kings Mountain, hosted by Edwin C. Bearss.
http://www.historyamerica.com/tours/overmountain_men.htm

May 21, 2005 - Ninety Six, SC - Living History Saturdays Living History volunteers (in period dress) show and acquire early American daily living skills. Examples are woodworking, fireplace cooking, candle making, baking in the Beehive oven, and repairing shingle roofs.

May 28-29, 2005 – Kings Mountain National Military Park, SC - "Military Through the Ages". Soldiers representing each period of American history will discuss uniforms and demonstrate historic weapons.
<http://www.nps.gov/kimo/pphtml/events.html>

May 27-29, 2005 – Lancaster, SC - 225th Anniversary of Col. Abraham Buford's defeat at the Battle of the Waxhaws (Buford's Massacre). Weekend educational and commemorative events planned.
<http://www.discoversouthcarolina.com/whattodo/revwar.asp>

June 4-5, 2005 - Beckhamville (Great Falls), SC - 225th Anniversary of the skirmish at Alexander's Old Field.
<http://www.battleofbeckhamville.com/index.html>

June 11-12, 2005 – Lincolnton, NC - Battle of Ramseur's Mill 225th Anniversary event featuring free Bar-B-Que, and for campers, straw, wood, and water are available as well as choice camp sites. Events are still in planning stages including a real shooting match with the 1st prize being a custom made rifle by Todd Carpenter, gunsmith. Hosted

by Locke's Militia and Davie's Partisan Rangers. For more information contact Darrell Harkey at **704-736-8442** or email hiscord@charter.net.

June 18, 2005 - Ninety Six, SC - Living History Saturdays Living History volunteers (in period dress) show and acquire early American daily living skills. Examples are woodworking, fireplace cooking, candle making, baking in the Beehive oven, and repairing shingle roofs.

June 25-26, 2005 – Salem Crossroads, SC (near Winnsboro, SC) - The Battle of Mobley's Meetinghouse 225th Anniversary. A small band of Whig militia under Capt. John McClure, Maj. Richard Winn, and Col. William Bratton attacked and dispersed a gathering of local Tory militia in northwest Fairfield County, South Carolina near the Little River in early summer of 1780. The re-enactment will be held on the grounds of the historic Feasterville Female Academy and Boarding House, 7 miles north of Salem Crossroads on SC Highway 215 North. The public is invited to watch morning drills, an encampment, and a small re-enactment will bring this historic event to life. Contact Pelham Lyles at Fairfield County Museum, 231 South Congress Street, Winnsboro, SC 29180. 803-635-9811 or

fairfieldmus@chestertel.com

June 25, 2005 - Museum of York County, Rock Hill, SC - *Liberty or Death: Rebels and Loyalists in the Southern Piedmont*, an exhibition on the Revolutionary War in the Carolina backcountry between 1780-1782, opens at The Museum of York County, 4621 Mt. Gallant Road, Rock Hill, SC 29732.

<http://www.chmuseums.org/HBrevexhibit.htm>

June 27, 2005 – Charleston Museum - BATTLE OF SULLIVAN'S ISLAND 6:30 p.m. In school, students learned that Gen. William Moultrie commanded the fort on Sullivan's Island, Gen. Charles Lee doubted the fort would hold, Sgt. William Jasper selflessly jumped upon the parapet to replant the blue rebel flag and the backcountry S.C. Militia and SC Continentals, commanded by Col. William "Danger" Thompson of Belleville plantation, stopped Lord Cornwallis' Army at Breach Inlet. But, what happened to the main characters in the drama that was the Battle of Sullivan's Island once all the smoke cleared? Carl Borick, assistant museum director, will lecture on the interesting fates of the heroes and villains of the famous battle in commemoration of Carolina Day (June 28).

<http://www.charlestonmuseum.org/event.asp?ID=55>

July 8, 2005 - McCelvey Center, York, SC and the Museum of York County, Rock Hill, SC - 8:00 AM—5:00 PM. "Huck's Defeat and the Revolution in the South Carolina Backcountry, May-July 1780," a symposium at the McCelvey Center, 212 East Jefferson Street, York, SC 29745. Presentations: "The British Strategy in the South in 1779 and 1780" by Dr. Rory Cornish, Associate Professor of History and History Department Chair, Winthrop University, Rock Hill, SC; "The Partisan Counteroffensive in the Carolina Backcountry in the Summer of 1780" by Dr. Walter Edgar, Claude Henry Neuffer Professor of Southern Studies and the George Washington Distinguished Professor of History, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC; "Loyalist Mobilization in the Carolina Backcountry in the Summer of 1780" by Dr. Carole Troxler, retired Professor of American History at Elon University, North Carolina; "Provincial Soldiers at the Battle of Huck's Defeat" by Todd Braisted, commander of the Brigade of the American Revolution and creator/editor of The Online Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies; "Rev. John Simpson, Presbyterian Minister and Rebel Leader" by Melissa Massey, research assistant at Kennesaw State University and curatorial assistant at the

Root House Museum, Marietta, Ga.; "Whig and Tory Leaders at the Battle of Huck's Defeat" and "The Battle of Huck's Defeat" by Michael Scoggins, research historian, Culture & Heritage Museums, York, SC. Followed by a reception at the Museum of York County to highlight the opening of the *Liberty or Death* exhibition.

<http://www.chmuseums.org/HBhucksymp.htm>

July 9-10, 2005 – Brattonsville, SC - Battle of Huck's Defeat at Williamson's Plantation. Historic Brattonsville hosts a 225th anniversary celebration of this backcountry Patriot victory. Saturday, July 9, will feature reenactments of Huck's Defeat at Williamson's Plantation on the actual site of this Patriot victory and Gen. Thomas Sumter's first action as commandant of the SC Militia at the Battle of Rocky Mount. Sunday, July 10 will feature reenactments of the Battle of Stallions (or Stallings) Plantation, which took place in York County in the late summer of 1780, and Gen. Sumter's victory at the second Battle of Hanging Rock. For fans of Revolutionary War battle reenactments, this promises to be a great weekend. Saturday activities will also include a reunion, at Historic Brattonsville, of descendants of the men who fought on both sides of the Battle of Huck's Defeat, including descendants of Whig militiamen, Tory militiamen, and Provincial soldiers of the British Legion and New York Volunteers. A list of known and probable soldiers who fought in this battle is posted at <http://www.chmuseums.org/HBancestors.htm> and the organizers are actively seeking to communicate with descendants of these soldiers. <http://www.chmuseums.org/HBhucksymp.htm>

July 16 & August 20, 2005 - Ninety Six, SC - Living History Saturdays Living History volunteers (in period dress) show and acquire early American daily living skills. Examples are woodworking, fireplace cooking, candle making, baking in the Beehive oven, and repairing shingle roofs.

August 20-21, 2005 – Camden, SC - 225th Anniversary programs and reenactment of the patriot defeat at the Battle of Camden at the Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site. <http://www.historic-camden.net> and <http://camden225th.org/index.htm>

August 20, 2005 – Musgrove's Mill State Historic Site, Clinton, SC - 225th Anniversary celebration of the Patriot victory at the Battle of Musgrove's Mill. Guided tour of the battlefield followed by a memorial service at the battlefield. Space is limited, contact Brian L. Robson, Interpretive Ranger, Musgrove Mill State Historic Site 864-938-0100 brobson@scprt.com

October 8, 2005 - Ninety Six, SC - Annual Candlelight Tour Guided tours proceed along the one-mile historic trail, which is illuminated by the soft glow of candlelight and torchlight. Along the way, costumed volunteers portray Colonial citizens and soldiers who tell stories of peace and war at old Ninety Six in the 1700's. Tours begin at 7 pm & leave every 10 minutes until 8:20pm

October 22, 2005 – Brattonsville, SC - first reenactment of the Battle of Kings Mountain at the Historic Brattonsville site.

November 5-6, 2004 – Camden, SC - Revolutionary War Days. 10 am to 5 p.m. daily featuring: British court-martial, Military Music, Period Fashion show and dancing, military roundtable discussion, 18th century church services, and kids' activities. Colonial craftsmen and demonstrations; Sutlers Row teaming with unique traditional gifts. <http://www.historic-camden.net>

★

"Campaigning with the 'Gamecock'"

Life and Campaigns of Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter Symposium and Battlefields Tours--April 8-10, 2005

Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site announces a symposium & battlefield tours pertaining to the life and military campaigns of "The Gamecock": Patriot Brigadier General Thomas Sumter.

The symposium will be held at the Greater Kershaw County Chamber of Commerce and Visitors Center in the historic Robert Mills designed Courthouse, Camden, SC from 1:00-5:00 pm on Friday, April 8th. Lead presenter is Dr. Dan L. Morrill, history professor at UNC-Charlotte and author of *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, who will address Thomas Sumter's life up to 1780 – his early Virginia years, military service in French and Indian War, London trip with three Cherokee Chiefs to meet King George III, financial problems, move to South Carolina and service as an officer in the Continental Army. Dr. Thomas L. Powers, USC-Sumter history professor, will discuss Gen. Sumter, the gutsy partisan commander of the SC militia during the 1780-81 Southern Campaign and the tactics and battles that earned him the name of the "Gamecock." Thomas Sumter Tisdale, Jr., a Charleston lawyer and author of *A Lady of the High Hills*, a biography about the general's daughter-in-law, will review Sumter's distinguished post-war years in politics and business. The symposium will close with a panel discussion about Thomas Sumter by the presenters moderated by Dr. Jeffrey W. Dennis, professor of history at Morehead State College, Ky. Jeff has written on the ethno-history of the American Indians in colonial and Revolutionary times. His thesis featured Lt. Henry Timberlake's expedition to take three (3) Cherokee Chiefs to London to meet King George III after the close of the French and Indian War. Timberlake was accompanied to the Cherokees, to London and back to Charleston by Sgt. Thomas Sumter. Sgt. Sumter escorted the Chiefs' home to the headwaters of the Savannah River. Jeff has also researched South Carolina Revolutionary War hero, Gen. Andrew Pickens.

Entertainments will include a candlelight reception at the Kershaw-Cornwallis House at Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site on Friday evening and, on Saturday evening, an elegant dinner and premier performance of a dramatic monologue on the "Gamecock," written and presented by noted British thespian and playwright, Howard Burnham of Columbia, SC.

Saturday and Sunday are devoted to field trips. Each day, attendees will travel by bus to some of the Gamecock's important battle sites, many of which are unmarked and on private property. Bus guides will be Charles B. Baxley and David P. Reuwer, acclaimed battle sites tour guides of the Tarleton and Camden Campaign symposia. An attorney by profession, Baxley is past president of the Kershaw County Historical Society and creator-editor of the in-depth newsletter, *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. An adjunct professor of historic preservation at the College of Charleston for the past five years, attorney Reuwer's second vocation is the documentation and preservation of Revolutionary War battlefield throughout the South. Reuwer was the lead surveyor of the Eutaw Springs Battlefield.

Each battlefield tour will include opportunities to walk some of the battle sites and hear riveting presentations by on-site guides. Saturday will focus be on some of Sumter's important battles in the upcountry – Sumter's first command at Rocky Mount on the Wateree River followed up by his brilliant victory at Hanging Rock with Hanging Rock resident, Kip Carter. **"We have got a great victory; but it will scarcely ever be heard of, as we are only a handful of raw militia; but if we had been commanded by a continental officer, it would have been sounded loud to our honor."** Thomas Sumter to Capt. Joseph McJunkin re: Patriot victory at Hanging Rock. We will take the first public tour of the site of the Battle of Fish Dam Ford of the Broad River with project archaeologist Wayne Roberts. We will tour Sumter's victory over Tarleton at beautiful Blackstock's Plantation on the Tyger River with Dr. Allan Charles, Professor of History at USC-Union and author of *Narrative History of Union County*. Dr. Charles' great, great, great, great grandfather fought in and was captured at the Battle of Blackstocks.

Sunday's tour will encompass Gen. Sumter's 1781 "Dog Days" of summer campaign to "thunder at the gates of Charles Town". We will visit the majestic ruins of Biggin Church, burned by British Col. John Coates, and follow the route of Coates flight across Wadboo Bridge to Quinby Creek Bridge. After a luncheon at beautiful Mepkin Abbey and paying our respects to the grave of US President Henry Laurens, we will visit the battlefield where Thomas Sumter's field command ended at the Battle of Shubrick's Plantation on Quinby Creek. We will walk the avenue of oaks to view the extant earthworks on the battlefield and see the antebellum rice dikes. This battlefield tour will visit Sumter's grave and end with a visit to the Sumter Museum, highlighted by the premier viewing of a newly acquired miniature portrait of Thomas Sumter and a wine & cheese reception.

Registration for this symposium is limited to 50 (bus capacity), so take advantage of the early registration fee: \$250/person or \$450/couple. Full registration fees: \$275/person or \$500/couple. Historic Camden, Kershaw County Historical Society, and Friends of the Sumter County Museum member fees are \$225/person and \$400 /couple. Friday symposium and candlelight reception fee: \$55/person, \$90/couple. Spouse Saturday evening dinner theatre fee: \$35/ person. Early Bird Registration deadline: March 25, 2005. Final Registration deadline: April 1, 2005 (**non refundable** after this date). Payment may be made by cash, MasterCard/Visa (phone or mail), or check made payable to Historic Camden and mailed to P.O. Box 710, Camden. SC 29020.

For more information please call Joanna Craig, Director of Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site (803) 432-9841 E-Mail: hiscamden@camden.net or see the symposium postings on

www.southerncampaigns.org

"Campaigning with the 'Gamecock'"

Life and Campaigns of Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter Presents the Premier Performance:

The Indefatigable "Mr" Sumter: the Gamecock game to the last

A new dramatic encounter

by

Howard Burnham

It is 1832 and the longest surviving general of the Revolution is 'passing over' to the celestial Grand Muster. He calls in once more to the High Hills of Santee to take stock on his long and controversial life from a plowboy at Preddy's Creek, VA, to a royal drawing room with George III, to humiliation of Fishing Creek, to the glory of Blackstocks, to quarrels with Greene, Morgan, Lee and Marion, to service in state and national assemblies, and finally to states rights and "nullification".

A chance to meet one of the most colourful, irascible and controversial figures of the Revolutionary War – the Carolina Gamecock himself!



HOWARD BURNHAM was born in Bournemouth, England, 1946. Came to the United States in the 1998. He is of American descent. Six times great grandfather, Thomas Burnham, was an attorney in Hartford CT in the 1670s; three times great grandfather, Abner Burnham, served in the CT line in the Revolution and was pensioned in 1832. A namesake distant cousin was killed on day one of Chickamauga, commanding Battery H 5th US Artillery.

Great Uncle had been a pony express rider and scout who served with the British in South Africa, where he was an influence on Baden Powell. King Edward VII personally decorated him with the D.S.O., President Teddy Roosevelt allowing him to accept it and keep his American nationality.

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A Sergeant Loves the Irish

Jack Gardner

“This part of the country is very thickly inhabited; the land indeed is not very productive, yielding corn and some grain. Along the Haw River you may see some good settlements, especially the Haw Fields, which abound very plentifully with fine corn fields, wheat, rye, oats and barley. The inhabitants here and about Guilford Court House are chiefly Irish, being very courteous, humane and affable to strangers, as likewise are the inhabitants of the counties of Mecklenburg and Roan, over the River Yatin, the latter being remarkable for being the true friends to their country on this present critical occasion, which no other parts about here can boast of. The inhabitants from here to the River Yatin are chiefly high Dutch and very great Tories and enemies to their country.”

Sgt. Maj. William Seymour, *A Journal of the Southern Expedition*, March 14, 1781. (2d Maryland, Continental Line) ★

Annotated Pension Affidavit of Richard Clinton

Annotated by Charles B. Baxley

An interesting document describing Revolutionary War Patriot militia activity in South Carolina was called to my attention by Joan Inabinet who discovered it in a family's files in the Camden Archives. Joan transcribed the document and invited me to annotate it for the Kershaw County Historical Society's publication, *Update*.

Among genealogical records in the “Clanton” family folder is a photocopy of the handwritten transcript of the Revolutionary War pension application filed in Davidson County, Tennessee, on June 7, 1832, for “Richard Clinton,” then aged 77 years.

Inabinet pointed out that the phonetical spellings of persons and places in the Camden, SC vicinity indicate that the Tennessee transcriber was himself unfamiliar with the names and was probably making a literal record of the pronunciation of Richard Clinton, who signing with an X was perhaps not literate himself. The fact that the surname where it occurs in the Kershaw County, SC area is recorded as “Clanton” rather than “Clinton” also suggests phonetical transcription.

Congress passed the Revolutionary War veterans' pension act in 1832, some 50 years after the war's end. Over 10,000 veterans and their widows applied for these pensions and left historians a treasure of valuable affidavits supporting their claims of Revolutionary War service. No doubt these were recollections refreshed by consultations with history books, other veterans and often enhanced by coaching and storytelling over the years, but for document-less militiamen, they were essential for establishment of the requisite Revolutionary War service to qualify for the pension.

The following affidavit was typed as exactly as possible from the photocopy, indicating additional paragraphs added for ease of reading with this symbol: []. My comments and explanations have been added in square brackets and italicized text [*like this*].

Declaration

In order to obtain the benefit of the Act of Congress passed June 7th 1832

State of Tennessee
Davidson County

On this 10 day of December 1834 personally appeared in open Court before the Judge of the Circuit Court of Davidson County and State of Tennessee Richard Clinton aged Seventy Seven years, who being first duly sworn according to law doth on his oath make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the Act of Congress passed June 7th 1832.

That he entered the service of the United States in the Spring of 1779 in the station of a private draftsman from the town of Cambden [*Camden*], County of Cashaw [*Kershaw*] in South Carolina he was

about twenty three years of age when he was first draughted [*drafted*] on Beaver Creek in Cashaw County, and the Company there draughted were placed under the command of Captain McKorkle who marched directly for Cambden & there awaited the rendezvous of some other companies from other States

[] here we lay for about two weeks when a full meeting of all the expected forces had assembled, when all started off under the Command of Colonel Marshall, a militia colonel, [*Col. John Marshall, was a Captain, commanded a company in Col. Joseph Kershaw's Camden District Patriot militia regiment.. After the war, Col. Marshall served as a justice of the peace in Lancaster County, SC.*] for the head quarters of the Regular Army under the officers Linkhorn [*Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, Patriot commander Southern Department until his surrender in Charleston May 12, 1780*], Mootery [*B. Gen. William Moultrie, Patriot second-in-command of the Southern Continental Army until his capture May 12, 1780*], & Williamson [*B. Gen. Andrew Williamson, commander Ninety-Six District Militia Brigade*—what was the respective station of each applicant does not now remember if he ever knew—The company in which applicant was placed at Cambden (then known by the name of Pine tree), being so very small it was thought better upon consultation that Capt. McKorkle should resign his Captainship over said Company, and it was thereby placed under some other Captain, whose forces were also small, by which a full number was completed—the name of this officer applicant does not know since he was with him so short a time as will be explained more at large hereafter:

[In the meanwhile the Army under Col. Marshall reached the Black swamp [*Black Swamp, on the Savannah River, about 25 miles upstream from Purysburg, now Hardeeville, SC*] where was encamped the regular officers under the aforementioned officers Sinkl---[*probably James Sinkler of Eutaw Springs, SC*], Williamson [*Gen. Andrew Williamson*] & Wooten—the distance from Cambden to the Black swamp was about 200 miles. [*This was about April 20, 1779.*] The British forces had possession of Savanna [*Savannah*] in Georgia of the object of the Continental Army, seemed to be on attack upon them. After the Regiment under Col. Marshall had reached Black swamp, the Regular Army remained stationary for two weeks, making preparations to carry into operation the intended movements. After which time the main Army under the aforesaid officers moved off towards August in Georgia, leaving behind them at Black swamp of their aidcamps, Laurieance [*Col. John Laurens, son of US President Henry Laurens, formally an aide-de-camp to Gen. George Washington*] by name, with all the militia of the Southern States.

[On the very day of the removal of the Continental Army, our Scouts brought intelligence of the approach of the British Army. A general p[ause?] prevailed amongst our Army, occasioned by certain knowledge of our force being inadequate to meet them on the field—A hasty retreat was therefore resolved upon, and was carried into execution by Aidcamp Laurence [*This occurred on April 28, 1779.*]—And directed our course towards Charleston, and was pursued with great eagerness by the British into the very suburb of the City—[*This describes the unsuccessful campaign of British Maj. Gen. Augustine Prevost who attacked Charleston on May 11-12, 1779 from his base in Savannah.*]

[It was about 250 miles from the Black swamp to Charleston [*in reality, about 70 miles*] which was run over in the shortest space of time, cutting down & destroying every bridge or any thing else that would in the least retard the march of the pursuing foe. The British hovered around Charleston for about three weeks from their first appearance, and then proceeded to Stouough [*Stono Ferry over the Stono River, just SE of Rantowls off of US 17, South of Charleston, S.C. Patriots fought a battle against retreating British on June 20, 1779.*] about 30 miles, where their shipping met them & carried them off.

[Aidcamp Laurieance [*Laurens*] then discharged all the militia, so placed under his command at Black swamp, giving to applicant a written discharge, which has been lost, not deeming it of any value, or any other writing which he may have occasion to speak of hereafter—Applicant was draughted for three months and served perhaps something more—

Applicant after his di[s]charge at Charleston, returned to Cambden & there remained for at least 9 months, when the British having been successful in taking Charleston, [*Charleston fell to a combined Naval and Army assault lead by British Lt. Gen. Henry Clinton and Admiral Arbuthnot on May 12, 1780*] covered almost the whole of the State of So. Carolina with their marauders. Cambden soon became a stand for them, & applicant was necessarily compelled to surrender his home [*Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton and his loyalist British Legion entered Camden on May 29, 1780 chasing SC Gov. John Rutledge and Col. Abraham Buford.*—he betook himself to a --- company of men, under Capt. [*Luke*] Petty [*also seen as "Petit," maybe a former Continental cavalry officer with B. Gen. "Count" Cashmir Pulaski's Legion, which was decimated at the Battle of Savannah Oct. 9, 1779 or there was a local Camden District Patriot militia Captain named Petty*] & Majr. Davie [*Maj. William Richardson Davie, Mecklenburg NC Militia cavalry*], of about (60?) men who done all the mischief in the power, by harrassing the British in every possible way within the compass of a fair area—However, applicant will say that the mischief they done the British was very considerable when the good they done for thier Country was in proportion—

[In one of their excursions, which shall soon be related, applicant was so unfortunate as to lose his finger. Proceeding upon the principle laid down of doing all the injury in our power to our enemies & benefitting our Country & ourselves as much as possible, we crossed one evening a rock called flat rock [*still called Flat Rock, located on the Flat Rock Road in northern Kershaw County, site of a granite quarry*] about a quarter of a mile in length, & thence pceeded a few steps into a very wooded Country where the British passed with their provisions, forage &c for the detachment of their Army stationed at the hanging rock. [*This ambush took place on July 21, 1780.*] On the evening spoken of, the British had passing a couple of waggons loaded with a hogshead of rum in each. We seized upon these with the drivers & attendants-- made them all (13 in number) prisoners and emptied the Contents of the hogsheads upon the earth. After doing this, we were making our way to the head quarters of Genl Sumpter's army in the Wax-saw [*Waxhaws or Catawba Indian Nation in upper Lancaster County, SC and eastern York County "the New Acquisition District" along the Catawba River*] settlement, when having crossed the flat rock (in order to avoid detection, the rock serving the prints of the horses feet), & had proceeded, say 6 miles from the Rock, when we came across a man by the name of Shaw.

[Some of the company proposed carrying him along with us for that evening & then loosing him but others proposed swearing him, which was accordingly done. Major Davie stepped up to him & made him take a Solemn oath that he would not let the British know of our being in the Country & having the prisoners until the rise of the sun on the morrow, & then discharged him—he was then dismissed, & applicant has since heard, as soon as let go, that the faithless being run with all his speed to the hanging rock, which was about 6 miles off & informed the British of every thing we could have wished them not to know--

[That night we stopped to procure some provisions for ourselves, & food for our horses, started off from the place, through a lane, at the end of which we were alarmed by the report of firearms—we fled in precipitation, not knowing from whence they proceed & not doubting but that we had been betrayed by this faithless man already spoken of—such occurrences of faithlessness happening every day-- Every man amongst us commenced shifting for himself, as we did not see each other until we had rendezvoused the next day at Genl Sumpter [*B. Gen. Thomas Sumter, elected commandant of the South Carolina Militia*] camp. 2 of our men was killed & all the prisoners lost save three—In this skirmish, applicant lost his finger. Capt. Petty was also shot in the arm, which caused the loss of it—

When the battle of Eutaw springs [*Sept. 8, 1781*] was fought, Genl Sumpter made an attempt to arrive there to assist the American Army as much as possible & rushed all haste from the Wax-saw settlement, but when he arrived at the --- of battle, it was over, the British under Lord Rawdon [*Col. Francis Rawdon-Hastings, British commandant of Royal South Carolina was not actually present at Eutaw*

Springs for this battle; Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart commanded the British at Eutaw Springs.] having been defeated—Applicant was with Genl Sumpter in these marches—The whole American forces then pursued the retreating foe, as far as Broughton's swamp, when it was accessed inexpedient to pursue them any farther, they having gained so great a distance upon us—here, at Broughton's swamp, Genl. Sumpter dismissed all of this men, giving to none of them, as applicant knows of, a written discharge—

[Applicant served, he believes about 6 months in these excursionary services—making with the first three months 9 months service—Applicant has no documentary evidence, that he knows of no person, whose testimony he can procure, who can testify to his service—Applicant upon reflection, will state most positively that he served at least 9 months—He hereby releaves every claim whatever to a pension-- and believes that his name is not on the pensioners of the agency of any State

his
Richard X Clinton
mark

★ Laurens County, SC Bridge to Commemorate Revolutionary Sites

Joseph C. M. Goldsmith

In these days of tight state and county budgets which do not provide for enough teachers for our public schools nor adequate classrooms, nor enough park rangers at our State and National Battlefield Parks, it is hard to raise the \$1500.00 to \$1800.00 cost of a roadside historic marker for a Revolutionary War battle or other important site. Using an idea from Charles McKinney, the Cambridge Chapter of the SAR and the Henry Laurens Chapter of the DAR have petitioned the Laurens County legislative delegation to re-name a numbered bridge across the Little River on SC Highway 560 in Laurens County as the Gen. James Williams Bridge. Williams was a leader of the South Carolina Patriot militia and was the highest-ranking officer killed in the important Patriot victory at Kings Mountain on October 7, 1780. [*There is some evidence that Col. James Williams was promoted to Brigadier General, but SCAR has seen no unequivocal evidence of his promotion; of course this may not deter a legislative delegation from granting Williams a post-humus promotion. Ed.*]

This bridge is adjacent to the James Williams Plantation on which two Revolutionary War battles, the Battle of Fort Williams and the Battle of Mud Lick Creek, took place. [Williams' Fort should not to be confused with the first Battle of Ninety-Six called by some participants as the Battle of Williamson's Fort, so named because Gen. Andrew Williamson built the fort around his barn.] The first battle at Williams Plantation was later on the afternoon after the Patriots' victory at Hammond's Store on December 28, 1780. Col. William Washington chose to maintain the momentum of his victory over the Loyalist and ride the seven more miles towards Ninety Six and forcibly evict the Tories in the Col. Williams' fort and burned it to the ground to deny it's re-occupation by the Tories. The second battle at the Williams' Plantation occurred adjacent to the first near Mud Lick Creek, also called the Battle of Hayes' Mountain or Little Mountain. The Battle of Mud Lick Creek took place after the massacre of Patriots at Hayes' Station on November 19, 1781 when companies of the Tyger Regiment (Lower Fairforest Patriot Militia) commanded by Maj. Benjamin Kilgore of the Spartans under Col. Thomas Brandon, Jr. hearing of the attack of the Tories, rode hard but arrive too late at Hayes' Station to help in the defense. Kilgore's Patriots took revenge on those Tories that they could locate later the same afternoon. The Williams Plantation and Mill were re-located using field research techniques taught by Charles McKinney to the Clinton High School Jr. R.O.T.C. under Lt. Col. (ret.) Joel E. Rexford as part of their mapping and locating remnants the original road from Ninety-Six to the Blue Ridge Mountains.

Re-naming the bridge will keep the name and site alive and "on the record" until such time as a proper marker can be afforded. Further, as the bridge is already paid for by the State, it will add no tax burden other than the cost of the paint for a state prisoner to make a new sign for the bridge. And it brings low-cost good publicity for the

politicians and helps to promote our revolutionary heritage, local heroes, and patriotism.

If approved, the DAR, SAR, the Clinton High School Jr. ROTC with local and state officials will plan a fitting ceremony at the bridge, followed by transferring the possession of a flint-lock pistol, given by the State of North Carolina to General Williams for leading the victory at the Battle of Musgrove's Mill, and installing the pistol at the museum at Musgrove's Mill State Historic Site. The third annual convoy "DAR/SAR Tour" of fifteen colonial and Revolutionary War sites in and near Laurens County, SC will follow this ceremony. This periodical will receive the date as soon as it becomes available. The public of all ages will be invited. ★

William T. Graves Receives Award

Charlotte, NC author and researcher William T. Graves, noted Revolutionary scholar, historian and biographer was presented the second annual "Gen. James Williams Outstanding Patriot" award by the Cambridge Chapter of the South Carolina Society, Sons of the American Revolution. The award is given to a selected non-SAR member for significant contributions to increasing awareness and appreciation for the American Revolution in the seven county service area of the Cambridge Chapter.

Graves' contributions centered on his watershed research and publication of a biography of local hero James Williams, Colonel of the Patriot "Little River" Regiment (South Carolina 3rd Militia – Mounted Rifles). The award was presented as the grand finale of the chapter's annual Patriot Dinner, attended by an estimated eighty people from various SC Chapters of the SAR and DAR.

Last year's winner was Lt. Col. Joel E. Rexford (USA ret.), Commander of the Clinton High School Jr. R.O.T.C. for inspiring his cadets with the fact that the heroes who fought and died in many of the local Battles were the same ages as themselves. ★

Battle of Hanging Rock Property Protected with Conservation Easement -- Ingram-Horton-Richards-Carter House Hanging Rock, South Carolina



Congressman J.P. "Dick" Richards and United States secretary of state, John Foster Dulles.

Photo of cold warriors Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles and Congressman J. P. "Dick" Richards in front of the Ingram-Horton-Richards-Carter House from *Heath Springs, South Carolina 1752-1970* by Andrea V. Steen. Representative Richards was the Chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee in the 1950's and lived in the magnificent antebellum home (shown in the background) on the Hanging Rock Battlefield.

D. Lindsay Pettus, President of the Katawba Valley Land Trust, announced that Leonard H. "Kip" Carter has granted a conservation easement to the land trust to protect his historic home and property south of Heath Springs, SC on Flat Rock Road in Lancaster County. The Ingram-Horton-Richards-Carter House is a two-story four-over-four frame home built in the early 1800s. The easement includes 25 acres surrounding the house. The conservation easement will protect the natural, cultural, ecological, open space, and scenic features of the property while allowing continued use by the property owner.

"This is our first easement on a historic home, and we greatly appreciate Mr. Carter's vision to protect this important resource," stated Pettus. "The house is located on a portion of the battlefield on which Gen. Thomas Sumter and his militiamen defeated a superior force of British and Loyalist troops at the second Battle of Hanging Rock on August 6, 1780 during the American Revolution. This battle included action by South Carolina Revolutionary heroes Major William Richardson Davie and a young Andrew Jackson. The home also bears the marks of General Sherman's army, who camped here during Gen. Sherman's tour of South Carolina in the Civil War in 1865. For many years, Congressman and Mrs. J. P. "Dick" Richards owned the home, so it has connections with a number of periods of our nation's history."

Mr. Carter stated, "I feel that those of us who own a historic property have a unique obligation to our children and grandchildren to preserve it so that the future can learn about our past. An understanding of our common past allows us to create a richer future. One day I will be gone but I am leaving a legacy for Lancaster County and South Carolina that will endure."

The conservation easement was developed with the assistance of Lancaster attorney Mark Grier and Ken Driggers of the Palmetto Conservation Foundation in Columbia. The house has been determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, and a nomination for formal listing is being developed. The preservation of the Carter easement will be an important step in the protection of the Battle of Hanging Rock site. The South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism already owns a 260-acre parcel nearby at the geologic feature known as the Hanging Rock.

The Katawba Valley Land Trust is a nonprofit, private conservation organization dedicated to the protection of natural resources, open lands, water, historic resources, and vistas of aesthetic value in the Catawba River Valley and surrounding areas. To date, the land trust has protected 2,701 acres in 35 land transactions in four counties.

The April 8-9-10, 2005 Thomas Sumter Symposium and Battlefield Tours will visit this lovely antebellum home which is located near the British 1780 Hanging Rock fortified camps.

For additional information, please contact: Lindsay Pettus, President, Katawba Valley Land Trust at (803) 285-9455. ★

CALL FOR PAPERS

Conference Title: Native Peoples and the American Revolutionary Era, 1760-1810

Sponsor: Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center (MPMRC)

Location: MPMRC, 110 Pequot Trail, Mashantucket, CT 06338

Date: 23-24 (or 25) September 2005

This conference will explore the Revolutionary era's profound impacts on, and legacies for, North America's indigenous populations, and their

contributions and sacrifices to this nation's struggle for independence. We invite scholars to address such topics as Native military service, tribal diplomacy, and the social, political, geographical, and economic effects of the war on Indian communities. Ultimately, we face the question of how much or how little these communities enjoyed the benefits of citizenship in the republic that emerged. We also welcome other topics that fit within the scope of this symposium.

Interested participants are also invited to workshops that will address possible remedies for primary- and secondary-level curricula's comparative neglect of this aspect of American history. These are tentatively scheduled for the weekend prior to the symposium, the weekend of the symposium, and the weekend after the symposium.

Persons interested in speaking at this conference should send titles and abstracts of their intended talks no later than 31 March 2005 to:

Dr. Kevin McBride, Director of Research and Information Resources
Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center
110 Pequot Trail
Mashantucket, CT 06338
(860) 396-6814
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Letters to the Editor

Dear Mr. Baxley:

I write in regard to the contention in January issue of "Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution" (Vol. 2, No. 1) on musket balls recovered from the Monmouth battlefield, p. 13, that musket balls were in the mouth of men undergoing surgery -- thus giving rise to the expression, "bite the bullet."

My colleague, Mark Hilliard, historical interpreter with the U.S.S. Constitution in Boston, has persuaded me that this would be highly unlikely -- the patient would swallow the musket ball during the surgery. Instead, the patient would bite on a stick or a strip of leather that he could not swallow. The bites in some musketballs may be attributable, Mr. Hilliard contends, to the soldiers biting on lead balls as they marched, or, as stated by your author, while they used the bullets in their mouths to slake their thirst on a hot day.

In Baltimore, we have such a bitten musket ball in the Samuel D. Harris National Museum of Dentistry that was recovered from the North Point battlefield of the War of 1812. The ball, with the bite marks from dozens of men in it, had been given to archaeologist Kathy Erlandson around ten years ago by a local man who had found it by means of metal detection on the field of the September 12, 1814 battle. Ms. Erlandson in turn donated the projectile to the National Museum of Dentistry. If Mr. Hilliard is correct, the musket ball is in the museum under false pretenses, as it were, since it was not used to "bite the bullet" though of course it remains an interesting artifact related to early dentistry even if used for those other uses.

Best regards,

Christopher T. George
Editor, *Journal of the War of 1812*
Author, *Terror on the Chesapeake: The War of 1812 on the Bay*

Dear Editor --

Thank you for your continued fine work in the Journal. While you may have seen no evidence that James Williams was officially a Brigadier General, neither have I. Nor for that matter have I seen the documents making George Washington the General of the Army. Yet I trust the learned scholars who attest to him being just that. While the evidence both for and against Williams' General Officer status is contradictory, it is equally well balanced pro and con. I would quote our learned scholar and local expert on Williams, Judge H. Wayne Copeland in a paper:

"Was he a Colonel or a Brigadier General? Professor Bobby G. Moss refers to him as promoted to Brigadier General for leading the victory of Musgrove's Mill in two different works¹; Dr. Lyman Draper² in some places refers to him as Col. and at other places as Brig. General; Dr. Walter Edgar calls him a "Brigadier of Militia"³ as does John Buchanan⁴; while George Washington wrote of him as Colonel. The eminent biographer of James Williams, William T. Graves, Esq.⁵ carefully lists the evidence for each position. The enemy report of his demise at King's Mountain refers to him as a Brigadier General.⁶ While apparently North Carolina thought him to be so, by sending this native son a Gentleman Hero's weapon-set ..."

In the most thorough work on Williams in modern times, William T. Graves also enumerates the numerous and quite plausible reasons that Williams' colleagues would have personal motivation to self-aggrandizement by undermining Williams' reputation and rank. I submit that Bobby Moss, Lyman Draper, John Buchanan and Walter Edgar have sufficient expertise to merit calling him a General, without anyone in another district needing to feel threatened by it.

Most Sincerely,

Joseph C. M. Goldsmith
Clinton, SC

¹ *South Carolina Patriots*, Bobby G. Moss, page 995 and *Patriots at King's Mountain*, Bobby G. Moss, page 270.

² *King's Mountain and it's Heroes*, Lyman C. Draper, 23 different places refer to Col. James Williams, yet page 511 quotes "...500 rebels under the command of Brig. Gen. James Williams ..."

³ *Partisans and Red-coats*, Dr. Walter Edgar, page 160.

⁴ *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, John Buchanan, page 223 *et al.*

⁵ *James Williams: An American Patriot in the Carolina Backcountry*, William T. Graves, Chapter One.

⁶ *Field Journal*, British Lt. Anthony Allaire, entry for October 7, 1780

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SCAR hopes Joe Goldsmith's letter sparks some enlightening research on this important Patriot. SC Patriot Militia Col. William Hill spent much effort in his later life trying the character and motives of James Williams claiming that he was disloyal to Gen. Thomas Sumter, was motivated by personal interest, and took inordinate credit for the Patriots' success at Musgrove's Mill on August 19, 1780 in his personal report to SC Rebel Gov. John Rutledge in exile Hillsboro, NC. A definitive answer on whether or not Williams' actually received a promotion to Brigadier General of the SC Militia after his success at Musgroves Mill and Sumter's defeat at Fishing Creek would be enlightening. Gov. Rutledge did not recognize Thomas Sumter's June 15, 1780 promotion to Brigadier General of the SC Militia by his peers until October 6, 1780; as it so happened, James Williams was killed the day after at the Battle of Kings Mountain. *Ed.*

Congressman John Spratt (D-5th SC) introduces Heritage Corridor Study Legislation

On March 14, 2005 Congressman John M. Spratt, Jr. of Rock Hill, SC introduced bill H.R. 1289 to direct the Secretary of the Interior to conduct a study of the suitability and feasibility of establishing the Southern Campaign of the Revolution Heritage Area in South Carolina, and for other purposes. It was referred to House Committee on Resources.

The act provides for the Secretary of the Interior, in consultation with appropriate State historic preservation officers, States historical societies, the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation, and Tourism, and other appropriate organizations, to conduct a study regarding the suitability and feasibility of designating the study area as the Southern Campaign of the Revolution Heritage Area. The study shall include analysis, documentation, and determination regarding whether the study area - (1) has an assemblage of natural, historic, and cultural resources that together represent distinctive aspects of American heritage worthy of recognition, conservation, interpretation, and continuing use, and are best managed through partnerships among public and private entities and by combining diverse and sometimes noncontiguous resources and active communities; (2) reflects traditions, customs, beliefs, and folklife that are a valuable part of the national story; (3) provides outstanding opportunities to conserve natural, historic, cultural, or scenic features; (4) provides outstanding recreational and educational opportunities; (5) contains resources important to the identified theme or themes of the study area that retain a degree of integrity capable of supporting interpretation; (6) includes residents, business interests, nonprofit organizations, and local and State governments that are involved in the planning, have developed a conceptual financial plan that outlines the roles of all participants (including the Federal Government), and have demonstrated support for the concept of a national heritage area; (7) has a potential management entity to work in partnership with residents, business interests, nonprofit organizations, and local and State governments to develop a national heritage area consistent with continued local and State economic activity; and (8) has a conceptual boundary map that is supported by the public.

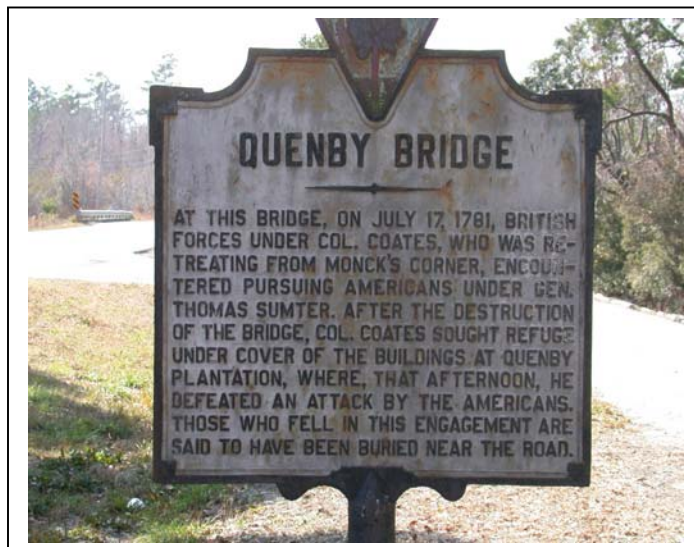
Study Area - (A) South Carolina - The study area shall include the following counties in South Carolina: Anderson, Pickens, Greenville County, Spartanburg, Cherokee County, Greenwood, Laurens, Union, York, Chester, Darlington, Florence, Chesterfield, Marlboro, Fairfield, Richland, Lancaster, Kershaw, Sumter, Orangeburg, Georgetown, Dorchester, Colleton, Charleston, Beaufort, Calhoun, Clarendon, and Williamsburg. (B) North Carolina- The study area may include sites and locations in North Carolina as appropriate. The heritage area may include the following sites of interest: (A) National Park Service Sites- Kings Mountain National Military Park, Cowpens National Battlefield, Fort Moultrie National Monument, Charles Pinckney National Historic Site, and Ninety Six National Historic Site as well as the National Park Affiliate of Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site. (B) State-Maintained Sites- Colonial Dorchester State Historic Site, Eutaw Springs Battle Site, Hampton Plantation State Historic Site, Landsford Canal State Historic Site, Andrew Jackson State Park, and Musgrove Mill State Park. (C) Communities- Charleston, Beaufort, Georgetown, Kingstree, Cheraw, Camden, Winnsboro, Orangeburg, and Cayce. (D) Other Key Sites Open to the Public- Middleton Place, Goose Creek Church, Hopsewee Plantation, Walnut Grove Plantation, Fort Watson, and Historic Brattonsville.

Not later than 3 fiscal years after the date on which funds are first made available for this section, the Secretary of the Interior shall submit to the Committee on Resources of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate a report on the findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the study.

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Extant Revolutionary War Earthworks on Col. Thomas Shubrick's Plantation on Quinby Creek with David Reuwer on top and Charles Baxley standing by. Photos by George Beall.



Roadside historical marker at Quinby (Quinby) Creek Bridge. Note modern bridge in the background.



Old rice dikes at Shubrick's Plantation on Quinby Creek.

Col. Isaac Shelby's Account of his Exploits During the Revolutionary War

Transcribed and annotated by William T. Graves

Isaac Shelby (1750-1826), a Maryland native, was appointed a colonel of the patriot militia in Sullivan County, North Carolina in early 1780. (Sullivan, along with 5 other counties in what was then western North Carolina, was ceded by North Carolina to the federal government in 1788 and subsequently became the state of Tennessee when that state was formed in 1796). Along with Col. John Sevier (1745-1815), Shelby commanded the so-called Overmountain Men in their participation in the various engagements in the western portions of Georgia and the Carolinas during the latter stages of the Revolutionary War. After the war, Shelby held a number of important political offices including serving as the first governor of Kentucky. (Sevier was the first governor of Tennessee.)

In August 1814 while serving as governor of Kentucky, Shelby wrote the following account of his involvement in the Revolutionary War. The account was written in response to a request from Col. William Hill (1741-1816), the founder of Yorkville, South Carolina and a noted patriot militia officer who served under, and was a particular friend of, General Thomas Sumter. Col. Hill was writing his own history of the Revolution as fought in the Carolina backcountry and he solicited Shelby's input.

The original of this account, along with some of the correspondence between Shelby and Hill, is held in the Shelby & Hart Collection #659z in the General and Literary Manuscripts, Manuscripts Department, Wilson Library, The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The following transcription of that document was made from a photocopy of the handwritten original and consequently may contain errors of interpretation. The endnotes were added by the transcriber.

Shortly after the fall of Charlestown in May, 1780, the enemy had well overrun the States of Georgia & So. Carolina and had advanced to the borders of No. Carolina-- General Charles McDowellⁱ of the latter State made a requisition of Colonel Isaac Shelbyⁱⁱ & Col. John Sevierⁱⁱⁱ to march a body of men from the Western Waters to aid in repelling the enemy who were in considerable force under Major Ferguson^{iv}-- It was in the month of July of the same year Col. Shelby & Col. Sevier marched with the regiments of Sullivan & Washington Counties^v and formed a junction with General McDowell, on Broad River with which force he was able to check the advance of the Enemy Commanded by Ferguson, an officer of great experience and enterprise as a partisan who headed a force of British and Tories amounting to upwards of three thousand men.

Very shortly after this acquisition of force, General McDowell detached Col. Shelby & Lieut. Col. Elijah Clarke with six hundred men to attack and carry a British post on Thicketty garrisoned principally by Tories & commanded by Capt. Patrick Moore^{vi}-- The American detachment consisted of six hundred men who appeared before the British garrison & instantly surrounded it on the morning of the 22nd July, 1780,^{vii} just at day light. Capt. William Cocke,^{viii} was sent in with a flag by Col Shelby to demand a surrender of the Garrison. Capt. Moore at first refused to surrender, but on being warned by Capt. Cocke of the consequences of the garrison being stormed by the Americans he surrendered although his post was made doubly strong by abattees (sic, abatis) well constructed around it. Our men took one hundred prisoners of the enemy & two hundred stand of arms that were all charged with bullets & buck shot. This surrender was a fortunate event as the place was capable of sustaining an attack from double our force of small arms.

At this time Major Ferguson, with an army of three thousand Tories & British with a small squadron of horse commanded by Major Dunlap,^{ix} lay encamp[ed] some miles south of Warford's Iron Works^x in

the edge of South Carolina. General McDowell detached Colonel Shelby with Lieut. Col. Clarke^{xi} & Col. Joseph McDowell^{xii} with seven or eight hundred horse men to reconnoiter the Enemy's camp and cut off any at his foraging parties which might fall in their way-- Col. Shelby with this light party, hung upon the Enemy's lines for several days--until the morning of the 22nd of July^{xiii} just at day light at the Cedar Springs he fell in with a reconnoitering party from the enemy's camp of about the strength of his own party and near Warfords Iron Works, Commanded by Major Dunlap--an action severe and bloody ensued for near an hour when, the enemy's main body came up, and the Americans were obliged to give way, with the loss of near twenty men & some valuable officers. Colonel Clarke was taken prisoner.^{xiv} It was believed our men killed more than double that number of the Enemy as they brought off upwards of fifty prisoners mostly British regulars with one lieutenant and one ensign-- General McDowell lay at that time 25 miles or upwards distant on the north side of Broad River at the Cherokee ford with the main army. The enemy made great efforts to regain the prisoners and continued their pursuit for several miles--often occasioned our party to form and give battle while the prisoners were hurried on ahead, by which means the Americans made good their retreat to Genl. McDowell's headquarters with all the prisoners on one of the warmest days ever felt.

General McDowell continued to maneuver on the north side of Broad River, not being in force to attempt an attack upon Ferguson camp, until the 18th of August^{xv} at which time he received information that five hundred Tories were encamped at Musgrove's Mill on the Bank of the Enoree River.^{xvi} Colonel Shelby & Lieut. Col. Clarke were again selected by General McDowell to head the detachment destined to cut up that party of Tories. McDowell's camp was then at Smith's ford of Broad River forty miles or upwards from the Tories encamped at Musgrove's--Major Ferguson lay about half way with all his force and only two or three miles from the route our party had to travel.^{xvii} They commenced their March from Smiths ford at sun about one hour high on the evening of the 18th of August, 1780, with seven hundred picked men well mounted, amongst whom were several of the field officers of McDowell's Army who volunteered their services and they were joined by Col. Jno. Williams^{xviii} and his followers making all together a force of between seven and eight hundred picked men--They traveled through the woods until dark, then took the road, and traveled fast all the night great part of the way in canter, never stopped even to let their horses drink, & arrived within half a mile of the enemy camp just at break of day, where they were met by a strong patrol party of the enemy, coming out to reconnoiter-- a sharp fire commenced in which several of the enemy fell & they gave back to their camp; at this juncture a country man who lived in sight came up & informed Colonel Shelby that the enemy had been strongly reinforced the evening before with six hundred regular troops, from Ninety Six, the queens American regiment from New York commanded by Col. Innes^{xix}--The Americans after a hard travel all night of forty miles or upwards were too much broke down to retreat, they prepared for a battle as fast as possible, by making a breast works^{xx} of logs and brush which they completed in half an hour, when the Enemy's whole force appeared in full view, their lines lay across the road upwards of half a mile in length, a small party under Capt. Shadrack Inman^{xxi} had been sent on to scrimmage with the Enemy as soon as they crossed the river (for their Camp was on the south side at Musgrove's plantation) -- Capt. Inman had orders to give way as the enemy advanced--when they came within 70 yards of our breast works, a heavy & destructive fire commenced upon them. The action was bloody & obstinate for upwards of an hour and a half. The Enemy had gotten within a few yards of our works: at that juncture Colonel Innes who commanded the enemy was badly wounded and carried back, and every other regular officer except one Lieutenant of the British was either killed or wounded when the enemy began to give way, just at that moment also Capt. Hawsey^{xxii} an officer of considerable distinction among the Tories was shot down near our lines while making the greatest efforts to animate his men. The Tories upon the fall of Capt. Hawsey broke in great confusion, the slaughter from thence to the Enoree River about half a mile was very great, dead men

lay thick on the ground over which our men pursued the enemy-- In this pursuit Capt. Inman was killed while pressing the enemy close in his rear-- great merit was due to Capt. Inman for the manner in which he brought on the action-- and to which the success of the day was greatly to be attributed. This action was one of the hardest ever fought in the United States with small arms. The smoke was so thick as to hide a man at the distance of twenty yards---Our men took two hundred prisoners during the action, and would have improved the victory to great advantage, their object was to be in Ninety Six^{xxiii} that night distant 25 or 30 miles and weak and defenseless. But just after the close of the action an express arrived from General McDowell with a letter to him from Governor Caswell^{xxiv} informing of the defeat on the 16th of our Grand Army under General Gates^{xxv} near Camden. In this situation to secure a safe retreat was a most difficult task our small party broke down with fatigue two hundred British prisoners^{xxvi} in charge, upwards of forty miles advance of General McDowell who retreated immediately and dispersed upon the receipt of the news of Gates's defeat--Ferguson with 3000 men^{xxvii} almost directly in their rear. It required all the Vigilance and exertion which human nature was capable of to avoid being cut to pieces by Ferguson's light parties-- it was known to Col. Shelby that he had a body of dragoons and mounted men. That would endeavor to intercept him which caused him to bear up towards the mountains. The enemy pursued as was expected fifty or sixty miles until their horses broke down and could follow no further--It is to be remarked that during the advance of upwards of forty miles and the retreat of fifty or sixty, the Americans never stopped to eat, but made use of peaches and green corn for their support. The excessive fatigue to which they were subjected for two nights and two days effectually broke down every officer on our side that their faces & eyes swelled and became bloated in appearance as scarcely to be able to see.

This action happened at the most gloomy period of the revolution just after the defeat and dispersion of the American army, and is not known in the history of the Revolution. After our party had retreated into North Carolina clear of their pursuers, Colonel Shelby crossed the mountains to his own country and left the prisoners taken in the action in the possession of Col. Clarke to carry them on to the North until they could be safely secured; he gave them up shortly after to Colonel John Williams^{xxviii} to conduct them to Hillsborough in North Carolina, at this period there was not the appearance of a Corps of Americans embodied anywhere to the Southward of Virginia--In this action the Americans loss was small compared with that of the enemy who over shot them as they lay concealed behind their breast works. The loss of Capt. Inman was much regretted, he fell gloriously fighting for his country on the 19th of August, 1780, with many other brave spirits who volunteered their services on that occasion and defeated the enemy far superior in force to their own.

The defeat of General Gates, the surprise and complete dispersion of General Sumpter^{xxix} & the dispersion of Genl. McDowell's Army, no appearance of an American corps existed to the Southward of Virginia, & many of the Whigs from the Carolinas and Georgia with General McDowell at their head retreated to the west side of the Allegany Mountains for refuge from a pursuing foe--- It was at this gloomy period of the revolution that Colonel Shelby, Colonel Sevier, Colonel Campbell^{xxx} and General McDowell who had fled to their country began to concert a plan for collecting a force & making a forced march to surprise Major Ferguson with his party who had advanced up to the foot of the Mountains on the East side and threatened to cross over and lay waste the Country on that side for their opposition to his Majesties' arms.

The Americans once more in pursuance of their plan which they had concerted on the Western waters began to collect on Doe River in the edge of the mountains that separates the Eastern from the Western waters about the 24th of September, 1780-- at which place Colonel Shelby, Colonel Sevier & Colonel Campbell with their regiments and General McDowell with his followers rendezvoused, but previous to their march from Doe River it was discovered that a certain

Crawford^{xxxi} and one or two others had deserted to the enemy--They proceeded however on their proposed route to the top of the Yellow Mountain--but here it was determined in a council of officers as useless to attempt to surprise Major Ferguson, and they concluded to file off to the left--through mountains almost impassable, get in the enemy's front and act as circumstances might enable them to do--fortunately on the first day they got clear of the mountains on the east side--They fell in with Colonel Cleveland^{xxxii} an officer of great zeal in the cause of liberty, with 400 men, who had embodied in the Northern Counties of North Carolina, with a view to join any other American party that might be collected to oppose the advance of the enemy--The next day they fell in with Colonel John Williams^{xxxiii} and sundry other field officers of distinction from So. Carolina, with their followers who has also advanced with a view to join any Americans collected to oppose the Enemy, having all together about four hundred men--The whole then moved on towards Gilbert Town^{xxxiv} where it was expected Ferguson's Army lay--It was now discovered that the American Army thus accidentally collected without a head, was a mere confused mass, incapable of performing any great military achievement. The officers Commanding regiments assembled and determined that a Commanding officer was expedient, but the Senior officer^{xxxv} of the army was unpopular and as the campaign was a volunteer scheme it was discovered that those who had the right to command would not be chosen--It was determined to send for General Morgan,^{xxxvi} or General Davidson,^{xxxvii} to take the command and General Charles McDowell proposed to undertake this mission and actually set out in pursuit of one of those Generals--During their sitting it was proposed that until General Morgan or General Davidson arrived that the officers composing that board should meet once a day & determine upon the movements of the army-- this being agreed to, it was also proposed and agreed to that Col. Campbell should be appointed officer of the day to execute the plans adopted by the Commandants of regiments.

These regulations being adopted the army marched into Gilbert Town. Ferguson had left it two or three days. The Americans pursued upon his trail which appeared for some distance as if he intended to take shelter under the walls of Ninety Six--in order to move with greater velocity in their pursuit the American officers spent the whole of Thursday night in selecting their best men, best horses and guns, & by daylight on Friday morning were ready to pursue with nine hundred and ten picked men well armed and mounted on good horses --the residue about seven hundred of weak horses and foot men, were directed to follow as fast as possible--the Americans pursued hard on the Enemy's trail all day on Friday without lighting until they arrived at the Cowpens just at dusk, here they killed some cattle, stayed an hour and roasted some beef then resumed their pursuit. The night was very dark but it was discovered that Ferguson had changed his rout and that instead of Ninety Six, his object appeared to be to set in the rear of Lord Cornwallis, who lay at Charlotte, in North Carolina with the British Grand Army---& that his making this circuit was merely to gain time to collect his Tories who had been suffered to go to their homes before it was known that the Americans had collected to oppose him-- At the Cowpens Colonel Williams and his men left the Army & started just after dark to go to attack six hundred Tories said to be collecting at Major Geiles's^{xxxviii} but a few miles distant from that place. The Colonel was much importuned to abandon that object but refused in the morning however just at day light on the army arriving at the Cherokee ford of Broad River, Colonel Williams with his men came up in the rear this was a welcome sight as from the sign on the enemy's trail the American army had gained ground greatly upon him and the conflict was growing to a crisis--This was Saturday morning and at sun rise it began to rain hard. The army however continued unremittingly to pursue its main object, traveled hard all day through the rain, until they got within a few miles of the enemy where he lay encamped on Kings Mountain, and where he had only arrived late the evening before--On gaining information of the position of Major Ferguson's Army, the American line of battle was formed as follows-- Colonel Campbell's regiment headed by himself formed the center column to the right; Colonel Shelby's regiment commanded by himself formed the center column on

the left. The right wing was composed of Colonel Sevier's regiment, Col. McDowell's regiment, Col. Winston's regiment & commanded by Col. Sevier in front. The left wing was composed by Col. Cleveland's regiment, Colonel Williams' regiment, Colonel Lacey's regiment & Colonel Brannum's^{xxxix} regiment, & headed in front by Col. Cleveland himself, in this order the American Army advanced in four lines until it arrived in sight of the Enemy's Camp on Kings Mountain at three o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday the 7th day of October, 1780. The two center columns then wheeled to the right and left formed a front, marched up and attacked the enemy, while the right and left wing were marching round. The action then became general and lasted one hour and a half. The Americans had upwards of sixty killed and wounded--and they killed and took of the Enemy eleven hundred and five--three hundred and seventy five of them were left weltering in their Gore upon Kings Mountain among the latter Major Ferguson himself, he fell in the close of the action--about the same time or shortly before Colonel Williams was mortally wounded of which he died.^{xl}

The American Army from this period was successful to the end of the Revolution. In November of 1781, General Marion^{xli} received information that 4 or 500 Hessians in Garrison at Colliton Hall near Moncks Corner, were in a state of insurrection; he detached Col. Mayam^{xlii} of the Dragoons, Colonel Shelby and Colonel Sevier, with a party of eight hundred men to attack the post. The party was commanded by Colonel Mayam. They appeared before the British Garrison early on the 26th day of November, 1781. The Hessians had been sent to Charlestown the day before, under an apprehension of their

disaffection. But the British in the Garrison amounting to one hundred and fifty surrendered at discretion under the impression that the Americans had Artillery--this post was six or eight miles below the Enemy's Grand Army at Ferguson's Swamp commanded by General Stewart.^{xliii} The Detachment were all mounted and carried the prisoners by turns through the woods on their horses and arrived the night after about one o'clock' at General Marion's headquarters in the Swamp of the Santee River, at the distance of near fifty miles from where the British surrendered.^{xliv}

General Stewart sent a strong detachment, to regain the prisoners but could not come up with them.

The Enemy's whole army retreated to Charlestown two days after the reduction of the post at Colliton Hall and never came out again during the Revolution.

William T. Graves is a retired attorney who lives in Charlotte, NC. He published his study of SC Patriot Militia Col. James Williams and is a frequent contributor to *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. Will is working on an expanded second edition of his book and researching the life of SC Patriot Militia General Andrew Williamson.

ⁱ Charles McDowell (c 1743-1815), Burke County, North Carolina militia officer.

ⁱⁱ Isaac Shelby (1750-1826), author of this memoir, was a native of Maryland who in early 1780 was appointed a colonel of militia in Sullivan County, North Carolina (in an area that later became Tennessee). He served as the first governor of the State of Kentucky.

ⁱⁱⁱ John Sevier (1745-1815), called "Nollichucky Jack", a North Carolina patriot militia officer who later became the first governor of the State of Tennessee.

^{iv} Patrick Ferguson (1744-1780), British officer holding the rank of major in the 71st Highlanders. After the fall of Charleston in May 1780, he was appointed inspector of the (Loyalist) militia of Georgia and the Carolinas by Gen. Henry Clinton and dispatched to Ninety Six to organize ant train Loyalist militias in the Carolinas backcountry. Ferguson was detached and given the temporary rank of Lt. Col. in command of Tory forces in South Carolina in 1780.

^v These counties later comprised part of what became the State of Tennessee.

^{vi} Moore was a native of Virginia of Irish decent. Settling in South Carolina, he became a Tory officer and died in 1781.

^{vii} Shelby's memory of the date for this engagement is incorrect. The attack on Fort Anderson on Thicketty Creek near Spartanburg, South Carolina occurred on July 30, 1780. Col. Charles McDowell, Col. Andrew Hampton, and Major Charles Robertson (Col. John Sevier's second in command), along with Shelby, were the patriot officers present at this engagement.

^{viii} William Cocke (1748-1828), one of the officers in Col. Sevier's regiment.

^{ix} James Dunlap (?-1781), a Tory officer particularly notorious among the North and South Carolina populace as being very brutal.

^x Wofford's Iron Works.

^{xi} Elijah Clarke (1733-1799), a native of North Carolina who later moved to Georgia and took command of a patriot militia regiment he formed in that state.

^{xii} Joseph McDowell (1756-1801), a patriot militia officer from North Carolina. Although Shelby indicates that Joseph McDowell commanded a unit at this engagement, other records indicate that, in addition to Shelby and Clarke, the only other unit commander present at Cedar Spring was Col. William Graham (1742-1835), a Virginia native who was appointed a colonel of militia from Tryon County, North Carolina.

^{xiii} Again, Shelby has confused the dates of this engagement. This engagement took place on August 8, 1780. It isvariously referred to as the second Battle of Cedar Spring, Greene's Spring, Wofford's Iron Works, Buffington and/or the Peach Orchard. The site is located in present day Spartanburg County, South Carolina on Lawson's Fork of the Pacelot River.

^{xiv} It is doubtful that this statement is true since Col. Clarke was one of the commanders present at the Battle of Musgrove's Mill that occurred on August 18, 1780. If true, Clarke effected his escape from captivity in time to be at Musgrove's Mill. Some accounts do indicate that Clarke was wounded at Cedar Spring, but, if so, his injuries did not prevent his full participation at the Battle of Musgrove's Mill only 10 days later.

^{xv} Other accounts place this date in doubt. The correct date for the departure of the patriots from Smith's Ford is probably August 17, 1780. This is based on the entry in Lt. Anthony Allaire's diary stating that an express arrived in Ferguson's camp at Richard Winn's plantation (some 40 miles from Musgrove's Mill) at 7 o'clock pm on August 19, 1780, informing Ferguson of the action at Musgrove's Mill. Although possible for a rider to have covered the distance between the two locations in the time described, it seems more likely that the express was sent the day following the battle.

^{xvi} The site of Edward Musgrove's Mill is now a South Carolina state historic park located off South Carolina Highway 56 in Laurens County. The Battle of Musgrove's Mill occurred mainly on the opposite (east) side of the Enoree River from the site of the mill and is located in Union County, South Carolina very close to the Spartanburg County line.

^{xvii} Ferguson's camp was much further away then the patriots thought. From Lt. Anthony Allaire's diary, it is known that Ferguson was camped at Richard Winn's plantation (near present day Winnsboro, South Carolina) some 40 miles from Musgrove's Mill.

^{xviii} Col. James Williams (1740-1780), a native of North Carolina who moved to Ninety Six District of South Carolina and took an active role as a patriot militia in the South Carolina backcountry from the inception of the war until his death on October 8, 1780, from wounds suffered the day before at the Battle of King's Mountain. Throughout this account, Gov. Shelby erroneously refers to Williams as "John" instead of James.

^{xix} Col. Alexander Innes, commander of the South Carolina Loyalist Regiment.

^{xx} No other contemporary account of the battle refers to the patriots having erected any sort of breast works. Given the short time the patriots would have had been the initial contact with the Tories and the firing of the first shots, it seems unlikely that any substantial breast works could have been constructed. It is more likely that the patriots took up positions behind trees at the top of the hill above an old Indian field which led up from the mill site.

^{xxi} No information about him has been located.

^{xxii} Shelby's account (which Col. William Hill largely copied verbatim in his *Memoirs*) is the only eyewitness account that mentions Capt. Hawsey. The British and Tory officers known to have been present at the battle were: Lt. Col. Alexander Innes (South Carolina Royalists), Major Thomas Fraser (South Carolina Royalists), Captain Peter Campbell (New Jersey Volunteers), Captain James Kerr (1st Battalion of DeLancey's Brigade of New York loyalists), Captain Abraham DePeyster (Ferguson's corps), Lt. William Chew (New Jersey Volunteers), Lt. John Camp (New Jersey Volunteers), Col. Daniel Clary (head of the local Tory militia) and Captain David Fanning (local Tory militia). According to Lt. Anthony Allaire, Col. Innes sent an express on August 19, 1780, to Ferguson at Richard Winn's plantation informing Ferguson that the officers wounded at the Battle of Musgrove's Mill were: himself, Maj. Fraser, Capt. Campbell and Lts. Chew and Camp. No officers are named in Allaire's account as having been killed at the battle.

^{xxiii} There was a star fort at the village of Ninety Six (then also known as Cambridge). At the time of the Battle of Musgrove's Mill, the British garrisoned the fort; possession of that fort changed hands several times during the course of the war.

^{xxiv} Richard Caswell (1729-1789), Governor of the State of North Carolina (1776-1780) and major general of the North Carolina militia, commander of the North Carolina militia at the Battle of Camden on August 16, 1780.

^{xxv} Horatio Gates (1728-1806), American Continental Army major general. He commanded the Patriot army which defeating a British Army at the Battle of Saratoga, NY in 1778 and was appointed by Congress as the commander of the Southern Department of the Continental Army after the surrender of Patriot Gen. Benjamin Lincoln and the fall of Charleston on May 12, 1780. Gen. Gates was in command at the disastrous Battle of Camden.

^{xxvi} Shelby's estimate of the number of prisoners taken at Musgrove's Mill is too high. The report filed by James Williams contemporaneously with the battle lists 70 prisoners as having been delivered by him to Hillsborough, North Carolina.

^{xxvii} Shelby's estimate of the size of Ferguson's Corps is greatly exaggerated. Most sources put Ferguson's Corps at roughly 1,100-1,300 men, at this time.

^{xxviii} Sic, the reference should be to Colonel James Williams.

^{xxix} Thomas Sumter (1734-1832), former South Carolina Continental Line officer who resigned his commission in 1778 and retired to his plantation on the Santee River in South Carolina. Following the fall of Charleston in May 1780, he embodied the South Carolina Patriot backcountry militia to oppose the British. Sumter was elected as South Carolina militia brigadier general by his peers on June 15, 1780, which election was confirmed by South Carolina Gov. John Rutledge in exile with extraordinary governmental powers on October 6, 1780.

^{xxx} William Campbell (1745-1781), Washington County, Virginia militia officer elected as commander for the combined Patriots militias' attack on Maj. Ferguson at Kings Mountain.

^{xxxi} James Crawford, who along with Samuel Chambers, deserted the Patriot forces on or about September 27, 1780. They were members of Sevier's troops. The patriots feared that these men would betray their intentions to Ferguson.

^{xxxii} Benjamin Cleveland (1738-1806), of Wilkes County, North Carolina militia officer.

^{xxxiii} James Williams.

^{xxxiv} Modern day Rutherfordton, North Carolina.

^{xxxv} The officer alluded to is General Charles McDowell.

^{xxxvi} General Daniel Morgan (1736-1802), Continental Line officer of Virginia and hero of the Battle of Saratoga. Since Morgan was not promoted to the rank of Brigadier General until October 30, 1780, Shelby is probably incorrect in his recollection that application was made to Morgan for appointment of a commander for the forces gathered to face Ferguson. Gen. Horatio Gates was still the commandant of the Southern Department even after his defeat at Camden on August 16, 1780. Morgan reported for duty to Gates late in September 1780 at Hillsboro, NC. Gates created a light corps for Morgan's command consisting of Virginia dragoons under Lt. Col. William Washington and Infantry and riflemen under Marylander Lt. Col. John Eager Howard. Gen. William Smallwood of Maryland was appointed to command the western North Carolina militia.

^{xxxvii} William Lee Davidson (1745-1781), North Carolina Continental Line officer appointed as NC militia Brigadier General following the capture of NC militia Brigadier Gen. Griffith Rutherford at the Battle of Camden.

^{xxxviii} It is not clear to whom this is a reference. It may be someone named William Giles who, according to Draper in his *King's Mountain* treatise, was a member of James Williams' command and a resident of Union region of South Carolina.

^{xxxix} This is evidently a reference to Col. Thomas Brandon (1741-1802), a member of James Williams' command.

^{xl} Williams died on October 8, 1780, and was buried where he died. What is believed to be his remains were dug up in the early part of the Twentieth Century and reburied in front of the Cherokee County Administration Building in Gaffney, South Carolina. A memorial erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution marks the site.

^{xli} Francis Marion (1732-1795), former South Carolina Continental line commander and later legendary South Carolina militia officer.

^{xlii} Hezekiah Maham (1739-1789), South Carolina militia officer who served under Francis Marion lead the Patriot attack on the British outpost at Colleton Hall, the seat of the John Colleton family near Moncks Corner at Fair Lawn Barony. This site is when the famous Colleton Hall hospital burning took place, each side accusing the other of the arson.

^{xliii} Alexander Stewart (1741-1794), British officer who, as a Lt. Col., commanded the British forces at the Battle of Eutaw Springs fought on September 8, 1781. Stewart was slightly wounded in the elbow at this engagement. At the time Shelby references, Stewart still held the rank of Lt. Col. and he was not the commander of the British forces in Charleston. Lt. General Alexander Leslie commanded those forces.

^{xliv} No reported battle corresponding to Shelby's description of this engagement has been located. The closest found is the following description given by the National Park Service: "December 1, 1781: Encounter at Dorchester, South Carolina. After the Battle of Eutaw Springs, Nathanael Greene departed the area. British forces are now commanded by Major John Doyle who takes over from a wounded Alexander Stewart. Greene launches an assault at Dorchester located 15 miles northwest of Charleston and defended by 850 men. The British fail to realize that Greene has only 400 men under his command and hastily retreat to Charleston after destroying what they are unable to carry with them. British forces are so concerned about a Patriot attack upon the city that they take the extraordinary step of arming black slaves."

http://www.nps.gov/revwar/revolution_day_by_day/1781_bottom.html

