



Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution

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Commemorating those who fought for Liberty: Cowpens 225th Anniversary



Sons of the American Revolution compatriots honor the brave troops and fallen heroes of the Patriots' Victory at Cowpens. Photo by William T. Graves.

“It is not a field of a few acres of ground, but a cause, that we are defending, and whether we defeat the enemy in one battle, or by degrees, the consequences will be the same.”

Thomas Paine, 1777
"The Crisis" ★

On January 28, 2006 at Hopewell Presbyterian Church, Beattie's Ford Road in Huntersville, North Carolina, a memorable commemorative ceremony was held honoring the life and death of North Carolina Patriot militia Gen. William Lee Davidson and the brave Patriots who defended Cowen's Ford of the Catawba River on February 1, 1781 from the rapid advance of Lord Cornwallis' army from Ramsour's Mill. To the lament of bagpipes and under the majestic beauty of the Carolina blue skies, heritage societies laid wreaths by the memorial to the Patriot hero. In the historic sanctuary of Hopewell Presbyterian Church, founded in 1762 by Scott Irish Presbyterian immigrants in Northern Mecklenburg, North Carolina, SCAR editors, Charles B. Baxley and David P. Reuwer, discussed the conditions that created and sustained the American Revolution as epitomized by the rear guard action of Gen. William Lee Davidson and 300 brave militia who defended Cowan's Ford against the advance of Lord Cornwallis' southern army. **Miss Megan Dunbar, (left) of Lincolnton, NC sings "America the Beautiful".**



Graveside wreath laying was conducted by SAR officials Grady Hall, Rev. Clark Wiser, and Joe E. Harris, Jr. Members of the Daughters of the American Revolution respectfully placed wreaths with the Sons of the American Revolution, Society of Colonial Dames, and descendants of Gen. William Lee Davidson.

This event was organized by Darrell Harkey, historical coordinator of Lincoln County, North Carolina and President of the Catawba Valley Chapter of the NCS SAR. Rev. Dr. Robert K. Wise served as master of ceremonies and Rev. Jeff Lowrance, pastor of the historic Hopewell Presbyterian Church, in full kilt, clerical collar and plaids delivered the prayers.

A gallery of the 225 Anniversary Celebration of the Battle at Cowan's Ford, photographed by Dr. Sam Powell, Vice President of the NCS SAR can be found at <http://www.ncssar.com/images/CowansFord2006/index.html> then click on the link that says "Display as Slideshow".



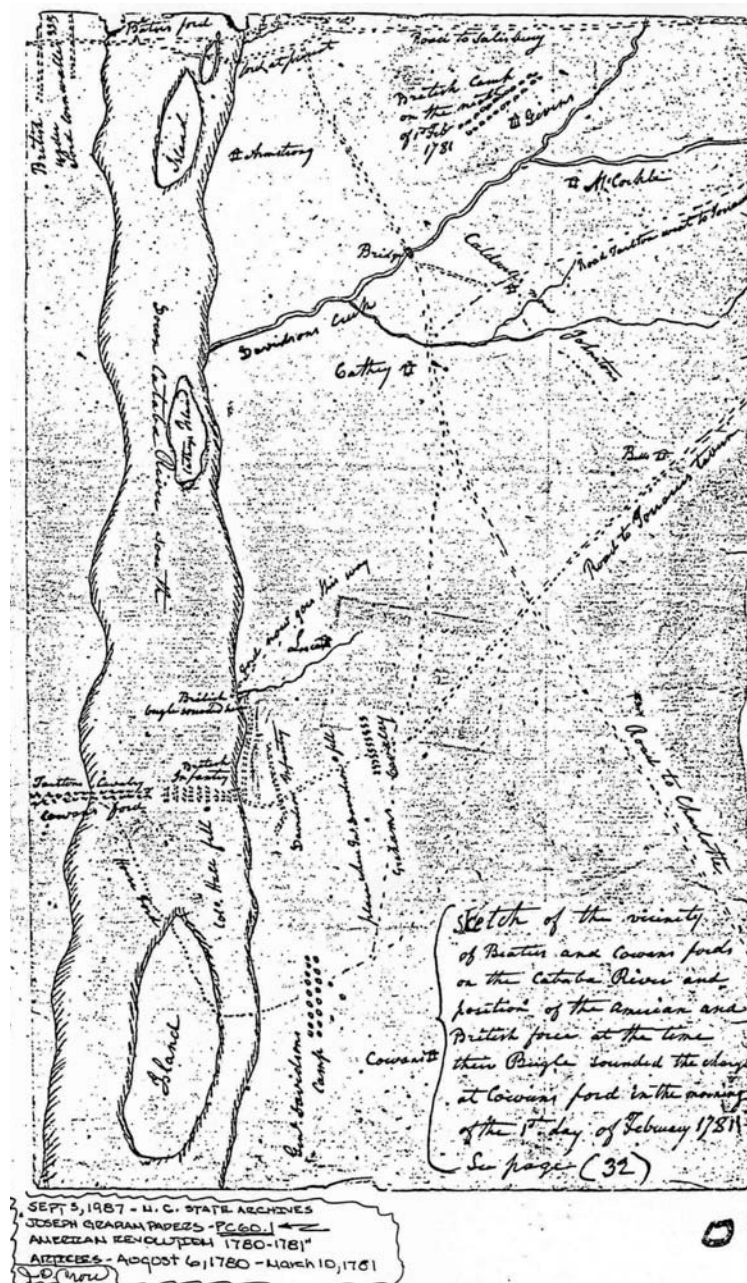
Battle of Cowan's Ford, February 1, 1781 from a painting in the Holiday Inn, Cornelius, NC painted by David Teague. Gen. William Lee Davidson receiving the fatal shot, on horseback lower right. Photography and computer graphics by Judson and Jeri Crow of Lincolnton, NC.

NC Patriot militia Gen. William Lee Davidson

William Lee Davidson (1746-1781) This North Carolina Patriot militia general died fighting Lord Cornwallis' troops on the shores of the Catawba River. William Lee Davidson was born in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania in 1746 and while yet a child his family moved to what is now Iredell County, North Carolina. Active in the pre-Revolutionary liberty movement, Davidson was a member of the local committee of safety in 1775. He was commissioned a major in the 4th North Carolina Regiment in 1776, and marched north with his men to join Gen. George Washington's army. After taking part in the Battles of Brandywine and Germantown in 1777, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel. He fought at the Battle of

Monmouth in 1778. Then in 1779 the remnants of the North Carolina troops were sent to the South, and Davidson left the Continental Army to join the North Carolina militia. In 1780 Davidson commanded a significant force of militia involved in numerous battles and skirmish actions. Later that year he was severely wounded in a battle with Loyalists at Colson's Mill. But Gen. William Lee Davidson's men, including Maj. William R. Davie's hard-riding horsemen, were determined to make the Redcoats pay dearly for every mile of advance into North Carolina. Employing guerrilla tactics, they swept down upon detached groups, harassed foraging parties, and all the while kept vigilant eyes on the advancing main body.

General Davidson, who had been wounded severely in the fight at Colson's Mill, had been recuperating at his home in the Centre community. On the last day of August 1780, upon the petitioning of the militia itself, he had been named a brigadier general to succeed NC Patriot militia Gen. Griffith Rutherford, who had been captured at Camden. Now he commanded the militia of the Salisbury district, which embraced the western third of the state and was by far the largest militia district. When Cornwallis and his crack British Guards plunged across the river at Cowan's Ford on the morning of February 1, 1781, the militia fell back and Davidson was killed while trying to prevent their retreat. Davidson counties in NC and TN, as well as Davidson College, and numerous towns are named after this soldier.



The Battle of Cowan's Ford – Trouble in their Rear

January 31, 1781. General Nathanael Greene opined that the British were determined to cross the Catawba River, and he thought it probable their cavalry would pass over some private ford in the

night; and in the morning when the infantry attempted to force a passage, would attack those who resisted it in the rear. "We made the necessary dispositions to prevent the enemy from crossing the Catawba; but so few militia came in, and the fords were so numerous, it was impossible to effect it," said Greene. Gen. William Lee Davidson had 500 North Carolina militiamen to defend the fords. After talking with Greene, Gen. Davidson shifted 250 men from Beattie's to Cowan's Ford, some four miles downstream. Cowan's Ford was a private ford, off the chief routes of travel, and not a particularly good place to cross the river. The wagon ford lay straight across the stream; but the smoother, more shallow horse ford turned at a forty-five degree angle about midway of the crossing, passed over the corner of a small island, and emerged from the river

several hundred yards below the wagon ford. At the coming-out-place of the wagon ford, Davidson placed only a picket of thirty on guard. At the emergence of the horse ford, where the enemy logically would cross, he posted his infantry. To protect his rear from surprise, he ordered his cavalry, armed with homemade swords and mounted on draught horses, to a position several hundred yards back from the river on a slight hillock. Cornwallis sent part of his army to make a demonstration at Beattie's – where Cornwallis believed most of Davidson's force was camped – while he led the rest of his troops to Cowan's Ford.

Militiaman Robert Henry was there on the bank. "The officer of the guard told us that Cornwallis would certainly attempt to cross that night or early in the morning; that each one of the guard had picked their stands to annoy the British as they crossed, so that

when the alarm was given, they would not be crowded, or be in each other's way, and said we must choose our stands...I chose the lowest, next to the getting-out place...I could stand it until the British would come to a place the water was riffing over a rock; then it would be time to run away."



Map by Joseph Graham is from the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh. Map and photographs provided by Judson Crow, Sr. Old country stone monument and bronze plaque to the Battle of Cowan's Ford.

Lieutenant Colonel James Webster, in command of a division including most of the artillery and wagons, was to march to Beattie's Ford. By a vigorous cannonade, he was to create a diversion, while the main body under Lord Cornwallis himself was to march to Cowan's Ford, "then slightly guarded," thought Cornwallis, and make a crossing. Most of the Patriot militia were asleep when the

British began crossing. At daybreak the head of the British column reached the bank of the Catawba. Cornwallis, recognizing the rain then falling would soon render the river impassable, thus giving the his opponent time to further strengthen his position, ordered his vanguard into the water, while he himself dashed first into the river, mounted on a very fine, spirited horse. One guard heard the noise of horses in the middle deep water. The pickets, once aroused, fired on the British troops, who were struggling across the swollen, fast-flowing Catawba, and inflicted some casualties. For most of Davidson's troops, the pickets' fire was the first warning of the crossing. Down at the emergence of the horse ford, General Davidson had heard the firing of the guard at the wagon ford and hurried his men to the scene of the action. They immediately rushed toward the ford, arriving just as the first enemy troops were emerging from the water and scrambling up the bank. The Patriots briefly put up a good fight, knocking down many British soldiers. At the moment Davidson surveyed the situation and was withdrawing his men from the river's edge to the cover of the undergrowth, a single ball shot from the British lines struck Davidson in the breast and killed him. His untimely death demoralized the militia, who broke and ran. "The loss of General Davidson is a great misfortune at this time," wrote Greene to Thomas Sumter, February 3, 1781.

Estimates of British casualties vary widely: from Cornwallis' account of four killed and 36 wounded to 100 British dead. *Greene Papers*, pp. 242-244 and *Rebels and Redcoats*, pp. 436-438.

"The Southern States are in such a defenseless condition, that they must fall under the dominion of the enemy, unless reinforcements are immediately sent from the Northward," General Greene decried after the Battle of Cowan's Ford to Baron Steuben. "If the enemy distress us in this State, I am without hopes of giving them trouble in their rear; and shall take measures to this purpose, with Generals Sumter, Marion and Pickens. O that we had in the field as Henry the Fifth said, some few of the many thousands that are idle at home."

[David P. Reuwer] ★



Cowan's Ford is now the site of a Duke Power Company hydroelectric dam which carries the same name which creates Lake Norman. Mrs. Jeri Crow is shown with the Cowan's Ford dam and ford site in the background. Modern NC Highway 73 crosses the Catawba River just downstream of the Colonial ford and battle site. There are two modern roadside commemorative parks on NC Highway 73, one near this view of the dam and another at the intersection of NC 73 and Beatties Ford Road, approximately one mile east of the Catawba River. Photo by Judson Crow, Sr. ★

Merle Allen "Mac" McGee

Our good friend lost his recent physical battle with cancer. Merle Allen "Mac" McGee (1928 – 2006) of Greenville, SC was a mortal fond of enterprise. To our great fortune, his long-standing enterprise was Revolutionary War artifact collecting and conserving. To him, it was not a challenge of conquest or prize, but a contest of knowledge. If we could introduce onto the ground a greater field advocate, we know not. He left us a treasure trove of artifacts replete with their respective battleground sites' log, and he left us much more. Many of his ilk appear to be in pursuit of private gain or personal glory. Mac would share so we could care.

Mr. McGee was an avid Revolutionary War historian. He has numerous artifacts on display at Ninety Six National Park, SC, where he served as a volunteer. He also was a contributing member of the Berlin Historical Society in Berlin, PA. He was contacted by many authors for consultation of historical documents and by scholars for the validation of Revolutionary War engagements. Of his generation's pristine field knowledge, we are now reduced comparatively to a handful.

We already miss his friendly countenance and adventurous spirit. We shall conclude, on the whole and to his account that he left all of us with some of his stuff but graced us with much of himself.

The streets of Heaven are paved with gold, it is said. But the dirt fields up where Mac now detects and trods are packed with finds of the highest quality, and we are left with the artifacts of his spirit and friendship. We sorely miss you and extend condolences to his wife, Bobbie, and family. May his soul remain under the patronage and protection of Providence until we see you again. ★

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Compatriots post colors at Hopewell Presbyterian Church.

Editor / Publisher's Notes

This is an exciting time. Fusion of traditional documentary history, professional and amateur archaeology, especially metal detecting of military artifacts, reenactors as experimental history...Larry Babits with reenactors at Cowpens with his stop watch, how long did it take, how far can it shoot, how far can you actually see from horseback...Larry, archaeologist - military historian - reenactor - experimentalist...

Searching for Information

SCAR has future articles planned on the second siege of Augusta, Hobkirk's Hill, Osborne's Landing, and Eutaw Springs. SCAR wants to publish materials on the Battles of Long Cane, 2d Cedar Spring-Thompson's Peach Orchard-Wofford's Ironworks-Clifton, Ramsour's Mill, Green Spring, Briar Creek, Great Bridge and Beattie's Mill. We are looking for reports, pension statements, private letters, maps, and archaeological finds to explain the action and put these battles on the ground. If you will share information you have gathered on these battles, either privately or are willing to submit something for publication, it would be greatly appreciated.

SCAR has located historians who are researching SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter's Battles at Blackstock's Plantation and Hanging Rock. SCAR will eventually share the same with you. If you have any information on these battles, please let SCAR know so we may share information you have gathered on either of these battles. A story unshared may become a site unshared.

SCAR Corps of Discovery – Cool Weather Battlefielding Season

During the last few months, SCAR has accompanied the **Corps of Discovery** sharing informal tours of Revolutionary War sites. Now that the first frosts blanketed our Southern woods, upon invitation of a host who will plan a trip and obtain landowner access permissions, SCAR publishes a meeting date, time, and tentative Revolutionary War related sites to be visited and invites all interested to car pool, join the hike and enjoy informal on-the-ground, interpretive presentations of research. A volunteer host/planner/guide is mandatory to plan the trip, to secure landowner permission for entry on private property in advance, to seek out local expertise, and to do some basic research on the sites. SCAR takes suggestions of field trips and volunteers to lead some trips. Public sites can also be included to insure knowledgeable guides are available to the group (i.e. if you have not toured the Cowpens battlefield with cartographer and part-time park interpretative ranger, John Robertson, you have not toured this National Historic field). These field trips are not "professionally" led, organized, or always presented by world-class scholars. However, they are free (except small admission fees to parks and the like) and you supply your meals and transportation. Your participation contributes to the dynamic exchange of information. Often the Corps' discovery of little-known battlefields creates the forum.

The Southern Campaigns **Corps of Discovery** is a group of friends who enjoy researching, finding, and touring the actual Revolutionary War battle sites. Details of each field trip are posted in the Calendar of Upcoming events. You are invited to join in the fun. SCAR will keep you posted.

A great group joined the Corps of Discovery field trip to York and Chester County, SC Revolutionary War sites led by Mike Scoggins, Chuck LeCount and Dr. Bobby Walker on January 22, 2006 pictured

at the Historic Brattonsville Visitors Center. We visited the sites of Col. William "Billy" Hill's Iron Works on Allison Creek, Bigger's Ferry, Stallions' Plantation, Col. Edward Lacey's Fort, Hillhouse Plantation on Turkey Creek – Lord Cornwallis' Camp, the back rooms of the McKelvey Center, White's Mill on Fishing Creek, Huck's Defeat at Williamson's Plantation, and Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church. [Photo report on p. 46.]



Pictured are travelers Michael Scoggins, Mary and Jerry Suttle, April and Austin Clinton, David P. Reuwer, Malcolm Marion, III, MD, Darrell Harkey, Steve McElavine, West Jenkins, Chuck LeCount, Will Graves, Robert H. Walker, MD, Jim Williams, John Robertson, Harold Walker, and Charles B. Baxley.

After starting the Race for the Dan River, Lt. Gen. Charles Earl Cornwallis was encamped on the old battlefield at Ramsour's Mill on January 25 thru January 28, 1781. To lighten his Army for the chase, he burned excess baggage. A mahogany tea chest and 7 silver



spoons were given to Mrs. Reinhardt. Her two brothers, Loyalist Nicholas and Philip Warlick, were killed fighting the Patriots. Her brother-in-law John Martin Shuford, a Tory Captain, was also killed. The spoons were given to family members and later passed off to departing Confederate soldiers as good luck symbols. Six spoons were lost but the 7th was brought back and passed down to Anna Casper. The engraving on the spoon handle was done in the 20th Century according to sources. Enjoy many more stories from the loquacious Lincoln County, NC historian Darrell Harkey as he leads a **Corps of Discovery tour** following Lord Cornwallis' march through southern North Carolina on his infamous Race to the Dan River on **March 11, 2006**. We will stop at Lincolnton, NC at the site of Lord Cornwallis' destruction of his heavy baggage on the Ramsour's Mill battlefield. See the Calendar of Upcoming Events for details.



Charles B. Baxley.....Editor-Publisher
David P. Reuwer.....grammarian & plenipotentiary
Steven J. Rauch.....calendar
Jim Picuch.....book reviews
Werner Willis.....artist
John A. Robertson.....cartographer
B. Caroline Baxley.....webmaster

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

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

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

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

Military historian and living history expert Patrick J. O'Kelley will lead a **Corps of Discovery** field trip on **April 1, 2006** to Revolutionary War sites in central North Carolina. Instead of doing the obvious large battles, starting in Cross Creek (OK, modern Fayetteville, NC) we will go from Fort Bragg to the coast. This will include the sites of the Piney Bottom Massacre on Fort Bragg and Moore's Creek Bridge. Patrick knows the ways on Fort Bragg, so

that alone will be interesting since the ground is almost unchanged from what it was then, dirt roads and all. Patrick also relates that the U. S. Army's Airborne and Special Operations Museum in Fayetteville is terrific. See the Calendar of Upcoming Events for details.

Plan to join us as it sounds like fun! **Tell us about your research and trips to discover our Revolutionary War heritage. Share in SCAR.**

Placefinders

John Robertson has started to catalogue and post on a limited access Internet site a data exchange of Revolutionary War site maps and documentation – placefinders. Contact John at jr1@irshelby.com.

Huzzah!

A SCAR's hat's off this month goes to the York County Cultural & Heritage Commission and their crew who hosted a first class weekend at the Museum of York County in Rock Hill, SC. Owen Glendening, Mike Scoggins, and Jeannie Marion graciously hosted 27 scholars and fans for the first public meeting of the Southern Campaigns Round Table. York County CHC has major plans in the works for a new center for the study of the Revolutionary War in the American South.

SCAR Roadtrips

February promises to be a great month for getting out in the southland. Military historian Steven J. Rauch will guide a battlefield walk at the Kettle Creek Battlefield near Washington, Georgia, site of an important Patriot victory in February 1779. See the Calendar of Upcoming Events for details. We hope to see you there!

Help Wanted

SCAR needs the services of a graphic artist and someone to help with magazine layout. We also need an article and photos of the February 11 and 12 Boyd's Ferry event. We are also looking for columnist and feature editors for future SCAR editions. Volunteers are requested to contact SCAR editor Charles B. Baxley at cbbaxley@charter.net.

Event Planning

Planning is complete for the **Nathaniel Greene Symposium and Battlefield Tours** to be held on **April 21-23, 2006** in Camden, SC. SCAR hopes you can join us for our learning, sharing, fellowship, and entertainment.

SCAR will co-sponsor a conference on Gen. Nathanael Greene's greatest battlefield victory at the **Battle of Eutaw Springs** on **September 9, 2006** in Eutawville, SC. Noted Revolutionary War scholar and author John Buchanan will keynote this conference. Mark this date on your calendar for great presentations, a battlefield tour (no you will not need SCUBA gear), commemorative ceremony, lively debates, and grand fellowship. ★

Fish Dam Ford Battlefield Update

Looking west from Chester County on SC Highways 72/121/215 at the construction site of new Fish Dam Ford Bridge over the Broad River in Chester/Union Counties, SC. The hill to the left is the site of recovered 18th Century military artifacts consistent with SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter's camp before the Battle of Fish Dam

Ford on November 9, 1780. This erosional feature is



hypothesized by SCAR editor, Charles B. Baxley, to be the old roadbed leading to the Fish Dam Ford. The causeway leading to the modern bridgehead is 20th Century. This view is not shared by the Brockington & Associates archaeology survey of the area commissioned by the SC DOT. Brockington places the ford access road on the south side of this hill. Remnants of the 19th Century roadbed are very evident leading from modern Chester, SC to the ford. At least one of the extant rifle pits has been saved, at least as of this writing in the orange plastic fencing. Photo by Charles B. Baxley. ★

Update on South Carolina's Francis Marion Trail Commission



FRANCIS MARION TRAIL COMMISSION

In 2005, South Carolina State Legislature created the Francis Marion Trail Commission and funded it \$110,000.00 dollars. The Legislature appointed seven commissioners to design a commemorative trail focused around the Pee Dee area and Berkeley County, South Carolina. This is the area that the brilliant, partisan warrior, General Francis Marion, dominated beginning in the summer of 1780 through 1782. The commissioners appointed a historic advisory committee that met on January 27, 2006 at Pinopolis, South Carolina, and recommended 15 sites and areas for the Commission to authorize archeological and historic research work to define and begin to tell the story of the partisan operations of Francis Marion and the men of the Williamsburg's militia.

The Commission has allocated funds to retain military historian and archeologist, Steven Smith of South Carolina Institute of Archeology and Anthropology (SCIAA), to undertake this initial research and site identification work. It is anticipated that a heritage tourism trail with interpretation and work on historic preservation of various representative Marion sites will be undertaken.

Some of the points made by the historians, agency advisors, and others were: 1) that some of the Marion sites are well known; 2) some are only known by their general area; 3) many of the Marion

battles were his famous fight, withdraw, fight, withdraw, fight, withdraw tactical battles covering many dozens of miles; 4) most of Marion's campsites, even the ones at the infamous Snow Island, were often and frequently moved for security and hygiene; 5) Marion controlled an enormous area in South Carolina, interdicting supplies and messengers in the Santee, Black, Lynches, and Pee Dee River basins; and 6) that other areas of Marion's life, especially that as a politician, his birthplace on the Cooper River and tomb at his brother's plantation, Belle Isle, should not be overlooked.

SCAR will keep you updated as to the Francis Marion Trail Commission's progress on putting the campaigns of General Francis Marion on the map. The site's accessibility, public vs. private nature of ownership, potential for preservation, and size of the action were important factors considered in developing the initial site list. Also the committee discussed battles representative of Marion's tactical flexibility which was demonstrated in the sieges of Fort Watson and Fort Mott; the raid on Dollard's Tavern on Black Mingo Creek; classic ambushes Parker's Ferry; the defensive "chase scene" fight-retreat-fight-retreat-fight starting at Singleton's Mill in British Col. John Watson's 1781 campaign against Marion. Marion also commanded a line in the traditional line battle formation adopted by Gen. Nathanael Greene at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. ★

New Fully Searchable CD Version of *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* Available

John Robertson, in cooperation with SCAR, is producing a fully searchable, composite compact disk (CD) of all issues of SCAR.

Features/advantages of the SCAR magazine on Compact Disk (CD): Each release of the SCAR on CD include full version of all previous SCAR newsletter up to and including the most recent at the time the CDs are mailed out. There is no need to keep more than the last version of the CD received. A menu is provided on the SCAR on CD that allows one to jump immediately to any issue of particular interest. Each issue of the magazine comes up on your computer displaying its first page, with a bar on the left showing "bookmarks" which function as table of contents; one click allows you to jump directly to any magazine feature or article, and also provides a link back to the main menu. This "table of contents" can easily be turned on and off from any page in any issue. The Adobe Acrobat Reader program is free for your computer. For some who have the capability of viewing the Adobe versions of the magazine on your computer, but have no way of downloading them from the Internet on your computer, the SCAR on CD will provide an alternative to receiving the expensive to copy and mail printed versions. The Adobe files show all images and maps in color, unlike the photocopied versions that are in black and white. For those would like to have printed color versions, it is possible to print (or to have your local Kinko's, OfficeMax, UPS Store, etc., do it for you) the color versions from the SCAR on CD just the same as it is possible to do with a downloaded version on your home computer's printer. Since all issues to date will be included on each SCAR on CD, this will require no hard drive space on your computer. When a new issue of the SCAR on CD is obtained, the old one may be discarded, donated to your local library, or given to a friend.

Cartographer John Robertson (jrl1@jrshelby.com) is offering a new fully searchable and complete set of all issues of SCAR on one compact disk for sale quarterly. SCAR has reviewed the operation of this research tool and uses it in publication of this magazine. **Those desiring to receive the next issue of the SCAR on CD should send a check for \$20.00 (addressed to, and made out to) John Robertson, 500 Woodside Drive, Shelby NC 28150.** ★

Calendar of Upcoming Events

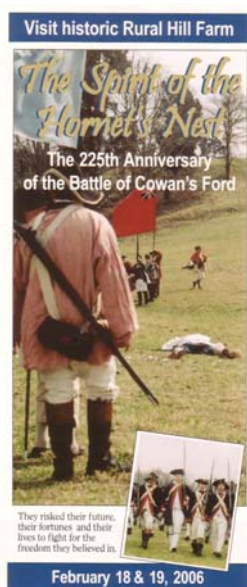
Please submit items to post upcoming Southern Campaigns programs and events of interest to Revolutionary War researchers and history buffs. Before you go, always call ahead to confirm events and admission policies. To add events, please contact Steven J. Rauch, calendar editor at sjrauch@aol.com or steven.rauch@us.army.mil.

February 10-11, 2006 - Boyd's Ferry in South Boston, Va. - "Crossing of the Dan" 225th Anniversary. Living history, guest authors, Gen. Nathanael Greene interpretation, Bateau rides on the river and period music. Jack Buchanan will present a lecture titled "A River Not Too Far: The Crossing of the Dan" and Larry Babits will explain the "Race to the Dan" at The Prizery, South Boston, Virginia. For more info/contact: Dan Shaw for more detail dan@possumhollow.us or (434) 575-7253 and Toll Free (866) 464-2543. <http://www.prizerv.com/Crossing/Celebration.htm>

February 11, 2006 – Washington, Georgia – The Battle of Kettle Creek 227th anniversary commemoration. Battle of Kettle Creek film and discussion at the Mary Willis Library at 9:00 am and walking tours of the Kettle Creek battlefield at 11:00 am and 12:00 pm lead by US Army historians Steven J. Rauch and Dr. Walt Andre from the US Army Signal Center, Fort Gordon, Ga. Chicken & Pork Bar-B-Que served at the battlefield picnic area between 11:30 am and 1:00 pm. SAR/DAR Wreath Ceremony at the battlefield monument at 2:00 pm, featuring U.S. Army Signal Corps Band & Ceremonial Detachment from Ft. Gordon, Ga. For more information contact: Bob Ramsaur at WFRAMSAUR@aol.com

February 12, 2006 – Elijah Clark State Park, Lincolnton, Georgia – Battle of Kettle Creek Commemoration. 2 pm – 4:30 pm. Learn how Georgia's Revolutionary War hero Elijah Clark led the pioneers to a victory at Kettle Creek. Special program for Kettle Creek participants: wreath ceremony at General Elijah Clark's Gravesite, tour of Elijah Clark Museum, and living history presentations. \$3 parking fee. 2959 McCormick Highway, Lincolnton, GA 30817 located 7 miles northeast of Lincolnton on US Highway 378. For more information, contact: (706) 359-3458 or <http://gastateparks.org/net/calendar/details.aspx?calendarid=16994&s=40790.0.1.5>

February 18-19, 2006 – Huntersville, North Carolina – 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Cowan's Ford. Join a celebration of



the events of February 1781, when Lord Charles Cornwallis made his march from the Carolinas into Virginia at Historic Rural Hill Farm in Huntersville, NC. Battle reenactments, folk artisans, weapons demonstrations and children's games on Saturday, February 18th, gates open at 10:00 am; Battle of Cowan's Ford 2:00 pm; grand muster and parade. Sunday, February 19th, gates open at 10:00 am; memorial services 11:30 am; musket demonstration 12:30 pm; Battle of Cowpens reenactment 2:00 pm; grand muster and parade. Admission adults - \$6.00; seniors - \$5.00; 5 - 17 years - \$4.00; 4 and under free; \$1.00 off each ticket purchased by February 10, 2006. Concessions and colonial crafts are available. For more information: <http://www.ruralhillfarm.org/servlet/Main?page=SpiritOfHornetsNest>

February 25-26, 2006 – Moore's Creek National Battlefield - 230th Anniversary of the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. Events include a short wreath-laying ceremony, living history encampment, weapons-firing demonstrations, and colonial era music programs. The park visitor center and museum re-opens after a major renovation, including the addition of a small theater, new exhibits and a new film. A new feature is a series of four, lighted troop movement maps. BG (ret.) Kenneth Newbold will be available at various times throughout the day to answer questions regarding troop movements of the Moore's Creek Bridge campaign. All events are free. A schedule of events is on the website at www.nps.gov/mocr. For further information contact Ann Childress, Superintendent, Moore's Creek National Battlefield, 40 Patriots Hall Drive, Currie, NC 28435; Telephone (910) 283-5591.

March 4-5, 2006 – King's Mountain National Park - Park 75th Anniversary. Kings Mountain will mark the park's 75th anniversary with a series of special events. Explore the park's newly reopened museum. Special exhibits highlight the history of the park. Guided tours to the battlefield and a militia encampment. Event is free, open Saturday 9-5 & Sunday 9-3. Info/contact: Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or www.nps.gov/kimo.

March 11, 2006 – Corps of Discovery field trip – southern North Carolina. Lincoln County NC historian Darrell Harkey will lead a Corps of Discovery tour following Lord Cornwallis route through south-central North Carolina on his infamous Race to the Dan River. We will stop at the site of Lord Cornwallis' destruction of his heavy baggage on the Ramsour's Mill battlefield of the previous summer to make a "flying army" to chase Gens. Daniel Morgan and Nathanael Greene to Virginia. The public is invited, but please call or email to reserve a space. We will meet and depart from 211 West Water Street, Lincolnton, North Carolina at 9:00 am. **Info/contact: Darrell Harkey 704-736-8442 (office) or 704-732-1221 (home) hiscord@charter.net.**

March 14 - 19, 2006 – Greensboro, NC - Battle of Guilford Courthouse 225th Anniversary celebration events. March 15, 2006 marks the 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. The very popular annual Guilford Courthouse Revolutionary War Lecture Series will begin at the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park visitor center on Tuesday, March 14 and run until Friday, March 17 with a different speaker each evening at 7 PM (speakers and topics TBA). An observance program is being planned for Wednesday, March 15 with additional activities in the park and with the Greensboro Parks and Recreation Department in the Greensboro Country Park and Tannenbaum Historic Park on the weekend of March 18-19. The annual "battle re-enactment" will be staged approximately 2.5 miles west of Guilford Courthouse National Military Park at Price Park located on New Garden Road near Bryan Blvd. The re-enactment will take place on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, March 18-19, 2006. Public inquiries regarding the re-enactment can be made by calling 336-545-5315. Re-enactment participants and vendors should contact the Greensboro Parks and Recreation Department's special web page at www.march1781.org for registration and information. All programs for this year's events are free and open to the public. The Lecture Series requires reservations for attendance at each program (call 336-288-1776, ext. 228). Info/contact: [Guilford Courthouse National Military Park](http://www.guilfordcourthouse.org) or see www.march1781.org.

March 25, 2006 – King's Mountain National Park - Women's History Program. The group *Common Knowledge* will present a program beginning at 2 pm. on women's skills in the park visitor center, including: medicine, cooking, dyeing, spinning and weaving, and clothing. Info/contact: Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

April 1, 2006 – Fayetteville, NC – Corps of Discovery field trip. Military historian and living history expert Patrick J. O’Kelley will lead a Corps of Discovery field trip to Revolutionary War sites in central North Carolina. The route will go east from Fayetteville to the coast including: the Piney Bottom Massacre on Fort Bragg and Moore’s Creek Bridge. This is a car pool trip, no fees. The public is invited, but please call or email to reserve a space. Meet at the Airborne and Special Operations Museum at 9:00 in downtown Fayetteville. Contact: Patrick O’Kelley, event host, at goober.com@juno.com.

April 1-2, 2006 – Mason Neck, Virginia – Crisis on the Potomac. Held at Gunston Hall, Saturday and Sunday, April 1 and 2 10:00 a.m. - 4:00 p.m. Commemorating the events of spring 1781 when Virginians faced danger from British raiders who were able to plunder some of Virginia’s plantations, tobacco warehouses, and slaves, causing George Mason to evacuate his family and belongings to Maryland. Experience firsthand a battle on the Potomac at the plantation home of George Mason. Info/contact: Mike Cecere <http://www.gunstonhall.org>.

April 5, 2006 – Winchester, VA - Lecture:” Women on the March: Military Life in the 18th Century.” The fourth and final lecture in "The World the War Made: The French and Indian War in the Development of the American People" lecture series. A lecture by Dr. Holly A. Mayer, associate professor of history, Duquesne University, author of *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community*. Event will be held at The Knowledge Point, 20 South Cameron Street, Winchester, VA at 7:30 pm and is free of charge. For more information see <http://www.theknowledgepoint.org>.



April 21 - 23, 2006 – Camden, SC – 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill and Gen. Nathanael Greene Symposium. Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site and SCAR will host a symposium and battlefield tours on Gen. Nathanael Greene in conjunction with the celebration of the 225th anniversary of the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill. Scheduled speakers include Chief Editor of the Greene papers, Dennis M. Conrad; noted

author John Buchanan; Professor Robert M. Calhoon; novelist Charles F. Price, Jim McIntyre, Greg Massey, Jim Picuch, and Professor Larry Babits, all noted Nathanael Greene scholars, who will speak on their latest research and publications. Saturday afternoon features a walking tour of the Hobkirk’s Hill battlefield between Greene and British commandant of South Carolina, Col. Francis Lord Rawdon. Saturday evening entertainment will feature noted thespian Howard Burnham’s portrait of Greene. On Sunday, attendees will travel by bus to the Eutaw Springs battlefield on the shores of Lake Marion. Guides will be Charles B. Baxley and David P. Reuwer. Sunday’s tour will encompass Greene’s Eutaw Springs campaign that pushed the British from the midlands of South Carolina to their tidewater enclave around Charleston. The field trips include opportunities to walk the actual battle sites and hear riveting presentations by on-site guides. For more information call Joanna Craig at Historic Camden (803) 432-9841 or see the symposium postings on www.southerncampaign.org or www.historic-camden.net.

April 22-23, 2006 - Petersburg, Va. - 225th Anniversary Battle of Petersburg. www.petersburg-va.org/revwar Battersea Plantation, Petersburg, Virginia. Online reinactor information and registration: www.petersburg-va.org/livinghistory.htm An open event for all

Revolutionary War reenactors - sutlers - demonstrators, affording excellent event opportunities. While this event is principally a commemorative recognition of the 225th anniversary of the 25 April 1781 Battle of Petersburg, it will also be observing three additional 225th anniversaries related to the battle: the subsequent bombardment by General Lafayette on British forces occupying Petersburg on 10 May 1781; the death and burial of British Major General William Phillips in Petersburg on 13 May 1781; and the arrival and occupation of Petersburg by Lord Cornwallis’ army (with Phillips’ merged army) on 22-25 May 1781. Info/contact: robert.paul.davis@us.army.mil

May 6-7, 2006 - Summerton, SC - 5th annual Victory at Fort Watson. 225th anniversary commemoration of the 1781 Southern Campaigns and sharing life on the backcountry frontier of the Santee River. Re-enactors demonstrate living history with battles, gunsmithing, open-fire cooking, textile production on looms, woodworking, and musket firing; play 18th century games and share camp life. Wildlife and nature expo includes guided nature walks/talks, wildlife exhibits. Open daily 10 am to 3 pm. May 6th at 2 pm the Francis Marion Swamp Fox Brigade Color Guard of the SCSSAR and the Scotts Branch High School JROTC will commemorate the Patriots victory. SCSSAR info/contact and wreath laying: call compatriot Muriel K. Hanna at 803-478-4179 or www.singletonchapter.org. Admission and parking are free, food is available. The weekend events are sponsored by Friends of Santee NW Refuge, The Col. Matthew Singleton Chapter, South Carolina Sons of the American Revolution, and Swamp Fox Murals Trail Society. The Santee National Wildlife Refuge is at I-95, Exit 102, US 15/301 6 miles south of Summerton, SC. Encampment, re-enactment or wildlife expo info/contact: George Summers at 803-478-2645 or www.francismariontrail.com or www.swampfoxtrail.com or www.clarendonmurals.com.

May 6-7, 2006 – King’s Mountain National Park - British Army Occupation Weekend. In 1781 the British Army under Cornwallis passed by the Kings Mountain battlefield on their way to Guilford Courthouse. This weekend re-enactors will camp at the park and represent the British Army on campaign. German Jaegers, Scottish Highlanders, British Regulars, and local Loyalists will discuss uniforms, equipment and weapons. Event is free, open 9-5 Saturday & 9-3 Sunday. Info/contact: Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

May 12 - 14, 2006 - Ewing, Virginia - Wilderness Road State Park - Raid at Martin’s Station. Slip into the shadows of Virginia’s 1775 wilderness as more than 150 living historians re-enact life at Joseph Martin’s frontier fort. Two cultures clash and the flames of war once again ignite on Virginia’s frontier. Activities include a re-enactment of Native Americans burning a cabin at Martin’s Station, tours of Native American warrior and colonial militia camps, frontier fort life, and 18th century vendors and colonial traders selling wares. <http://www.virginia.org/site/description.asp?AttrID=23887&Sort=A&MGrp=3&MCat=11> Telephone: voice: (276) 445-3065 reservations: (800) 933-PARK Email: wildernessroad@dcv.virginia.gov Website: www.dcr.virginia.gov/parks/wildroad.htm.

May 20 - 21, 2006 - Ninety Six, SC – Gen. Nathanael Greene’s Siege of Ninety Six. The 225th anniversary celebration continues with an encampment of British, Loyalist and Patriot (Continental and militia) forces and will focus on the 28-day siege (the making of gabions/fascines and various components of siege warfare). A wreath-laying ceremony featuring 18th century entertainment, including music. Contact [Ninety Six National Historic Site](http://www.ninety-six-national-historic-site.com) for details.

May 28-29, 2006 – Kings Mountain National Park - Military Through the Ages. Kings Mountain will host re-enactors representing every period in the nation's history, from Colonial through the modern military. Soldiers and sailors will discuss uniforms, equipment, weapons, and fighting vehicles. Event is free, 9-5 Saturday and 9-3 Sunday. Info/contact: Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

June 2 - 4, 2006 – Augusta, Georgia – 225th Anniversary of Liberation of Augusta. Events on Friday June 2 include a symposium at the Augusta Museum of History where Dr. Edward J. Cashin, US Army historian [and SCAR contributor] Steven J. Rauch, Gordon Blaker and Dr. Russell Brown will speak about the operation and battle in 1781; Loyalist Col. Thomas Brown; Georgia Patriot Col. Elijah Clarke, SC militia Gen. Andrew Pickens, and Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee who recaptured Augusta from its British/Loyalist occupiers. On Friday evening, experience food, music, dancing and conversation at Saint Paul's Parish Hall where historical interpreters in dress from the 18th century will be your hosts & hostesses for a period dinner. Tickets for this event may be purchased from Lynn Thompson at 803-279-7560 or email lynn@colonialtimes.us. **Saturday** from 10 am–8 pm at the Living History Park in North Augusta Historical interpreters will show colonial life and skills. Musketry, sewing, fire starting, woodworking, blacksmithing, tools and trades of the period. 2 pm Georgia Sons of the American Revolution will hold a wreath laying ceremony at Saint Paul's Church, site of the original fort. 4 pm – A reenactment of the Siege of Fort Cornwallis will take place adjacent to Saint Paul's Church behind the old railroad depot on Reynolds Street. **Sunday** 10 am – 4 pm Everyday Life during Colonial Times. 10 am please join us for an 18th century Anglican worship service in the meeting house at the Living History Park North Augusta. For more information see <http://www.colonialtimes.us/undercrown.html>.

June 3-4, 2006 - Columbia, Va. - 225th Anniversary Battle of Point of Fork. In keeping with the actual events of the engagement, the reenactment will occur on either side of the river, and in the river using authentically reproduced 18th Century James River Bateaux. www.virginiacampaign.org/pointoffork or info/contact: Columbia Events Coordinator Sarah Anderson at Post Office Box 779, Columbia, Virginia or (434) 842-2277.

June 10 and 11, 2006 – Lincolnton, NC - Battle of Ramsour's Mill anniversary weekend. Featuring a parade, BBQ, and presentations. Info/contact: event coordinator Darrell Harkey, 211 West Water Street, Lincolnton, North Carolina, 28092. 704-736-8442 (office) or 704-732-1221 (home) hiscord@charter.net

June 24-25, 2006 - Williamsburg, Va. - Under the Redcoat home.earthlink.net/~colscov/UTR.html

June 24 - 25, 2006 - Fairfield County, SC - Second Annual Reenactment of the Battle of Mobley's Meeting House. Held at Historic Feasterville. Sponsored by The Fairfield Museum. Information/Contact Pelham Lyles at (803) 635-9811 or fairfieldmus@chestertel.com.

June 24, 2006 – King's Mountain National Park - Militia Encampment & Guest Speaker Keith Brown. Keith Brown of the Catawba Nation will give a presentation on the Catawba in the Revolution at 2 pm. While no Catawbans were at the Battle of Kings Mountain, they did fight in many other battles in the area. The Backcountry Militia will have a military camp open to the public, offering living history demonstrations and weapons firings. Event is Free, Saturday 9-6. For more information contact Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

July 1, 2006 – King's Mountain National Park - Ferguson Rifle Presentation & Militia Encampment. Historians and Gunsmiths Bryan Brown and Ricky Roberts will give a presentation on the Ferguson Rifle at 2 pm. Brown and Roberts have both done extensive research on this unique breech-loading weapon. Brown has built many flintlock weapons and Roberts has fired in many flintlock competitions. A firing demonstration of the rifle will follow the presentation. The Backcountry Militia will have their camp open to the public. Event is Free, Saturday 9-6. For more information contact Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

July 15-16, 2006 – Williamsburg, Va. - 225th of the Battle of Green Spring. This event is held on the grounds of the Williamsburg Winery. For more information, contact: info@battleofgreenspring or see <http://www.battleofgreenspring.org>.

June 24-25, 2006 – Feasterville, SC – 226th Anniversary of the Battle of Mobley's Meeting House. Reenactors will camp in a historical setting on the grounds of the 1840 Feasterville Female Academy Boarding House and the 1830 Liberty Universalist Church both located a few miles away from the site of the June 1780 battle. Contact Pelham Lyles at the Fairfield County Museum at (803) 635-9811 or fairfieldmus@chestertel.com for more details.

August 12-13, 2006 – King's Mountain National Park - Grand Militia Muster. Militia from five different states won the battle of Kings Mountain. Visit the park to learn about militia service, weapons, and military equipment of the Revolution. Re-enactment groups will be camped at the park offering programs. Event is Free, Saturday 9-6 and Sunday 9-3. For more information contact Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

September 2-4, 2006 – Eutawville, SC – Reenactment to commemorate the 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Eutaw Springs – event sponsored by Second Regiment SC Continental Line living history group. <http://www.2ndsc.org/frames.html>.

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

September 9, 2006 – Eutawville, SC – 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Eutaw Springs Conference & Tour. SCAR and the Church of the Epiphany present a conference and guided battlefield tour on Gen. Nathanael Greene's greatest battlefield victory at the Battle of Eutaw Springs. Noted author and historian John Buchanan will keynote this conference. Mark this date for great presentations, a battlefield tour (no, you will not need scuba gear!), commemorative ceremony, and fellowship. Conference fee of \$45.00 includes the conference, battlefield tour, lunch, snacks, reception, and materials; registration deadline is September 5th. Info/contact SCAR.

September 12, 19, 26, and October 3, 2006 – Savannah, GA - The Coastal Heritage Society has their Battle of Savannah Revolutionary War speakers planned for September 12, 19, 26, and October 3d, 2006. For more information: www.chsgeorgia.org.

September 23, 2006 – King's Mountain National Park - National Constitution Event and Colonial Craft & Trade Fair. Park volunteer David Sherrill will portray Dr. Benjamin Franklin and discuss the signing of the Constitution. Craftspeople will

demonstrate woodworking, blacksmithing, weaving, and more. Musician R.G. Absher will perform period music. Event is Free, Saturday 9-5. For more information contact Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

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

October 7-9, 2006 - Savannah, Ga. - Dawn Walks and Interpretive Weekend. For more information see www.chsgeorgia.org.

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

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

October 27-28, 2006 - Manning, SC - 4th Francis Marion Symposium - "1781, The War Changes, Victory Starts in the South." FE DuBose Campus of Central Carolina Technical College, I-95, Exit 122, US 521, Manning, SC. Info/contact: organizer George Summers at 803-478-2645 www.francismariontrail.com www.swampfoxtrail.com or www.clarendonmurals.com.

November 4-5, 2006 - Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site, Camden, SC - Revolutionary War Field Days. Units interested in attending this event, please contact John Thornton at john@rncr.org, Chuck Wallace at cwallace@scchr.org, or Joanna Craig, Historic Camden director, at hiscamden@camden.net or (803) 432-9841.

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

Book Review

A British Soldier's Story: Roger Lamb's Narrative of the American Revolution

As edited and annotated by Don N. Hagist

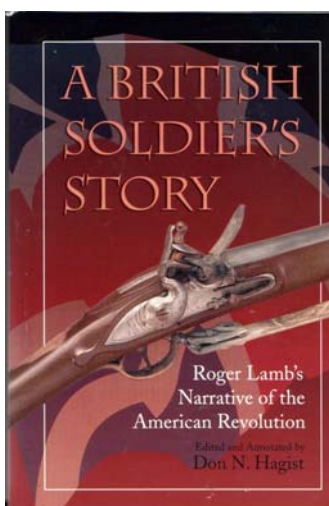
Rarely does a book effectively provide a short and concise review of an entire historical institution (in this case the British Army in the last quarter of the eighteenth century), supported by primary source material. Don Hagist has accomplished this in *A British Soldier's Story*. This new work was compiled over two decades of hands-on research and includes an annotated, highly readable period narrative of over a half dozen years that Roger Lamb spent in North America during the American Revolution.

The detailed introduction to the narrative provides a concise tutorial that the casual reader of military history, serious historian or educator will find both enjoyable and useful. For me reading this volume was an exercise in rediscovering (with footnotes) all those little gems of primary research that I have the ability to recall, but which are often far from being right at my fingertips.

The centerpiece of the book is the narrative of Roger Lamb himself, as abridged from his two volumes published in the early 1800s. In 1773, Lamb volunteered for the 9th Regiment of Foot and was posted to Canada when the Revolutionary War began. Having participated in the Saratoga Campaign and ultimate British surrender, he became part of the Convention Army, but escaped to the British

stronghold in New York City. There he joined the 23rd Foot and served in the Southern Campaign, eventually returning to captivity after the British surrender at Yorktown. Amazingly, he escaped once again to British headquarters in New York. At the end of the war Lamb returned home, settling into a contented life as a schoolteacher.

The narrative itself, digested to include only Lamb's army and North American experiences from his *Journal of Occurrences* and *Memoir of my own Life*, is a delightful and informative read. Lamb came from a "common" Irish



background, yet possessed a remarkable intellect, which comes through in the narratives. Lacking the usual self-promotion one often finds in similar autobiographical narratives, Lamb's accounts and insights into his relationships with comrades, captors and colonists not only gives the reader an intimate understanding of the author, but also provides a glimpse of the collegiality of the British Army that often goes unnoticed and undocumented.

Though Irish, Lamb considered himself an Englishman. While often recounting the bravery of his foe, ultimately he pitied the course the rebellious colonists took. He was often abused by his captors, but his writing never rose to the level of hatred. Rather, he was content to provide his readers with a social and even psychological commentary. For example, in one instance he attributed his bad treatment as a prisoner to the fact that soldiers from the town in which he was imprisoned were killed in battle earlier in the war.

The book gives an account of an ordinary person in extraordinary circumstances, with a happy ending! I highly recommend it.

Thomas S. Vilardi

A British Soldier's Story: Roger Lamb's Narrative of the American Revolution Edited/Annotated by Don N. Hagist. Ballindalloch Press, 620 Park Street, Baraboo, WI 53913. 206 pp., illustrations, maps, \$14.95. ★

Two accounts of the history of Col. John Thomas, Sr.'s Rifle



Photograph of the stock of Col. John Thomas' (Sr.) rifle. The silver inlaid thirteen-pointed star insignia inscription reads, "States United We Are One." By permission, The Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II. Furnished courtesy of Robert J. Stevens, Darlington, S.C. See SCAR January 2006.

How a Spartanburg Rifle Got to Windsor Castle

Text of article in *The Drover's Post*, Fall 2005, newsletter of the Spartanburg County Historical Association, Spartanburg, SC; received on October 1, 2005. [No byline.]

The Queen of England has hundreds of priceless antique guns in her royal armory at Windsor Castle. But only one of those guns is a 235-year old rifle made in Spartanburg County and used during the Revolutionary War. And that rifle bears something very special – one of the first symbols used to signify the thirteen colonies banded together as the United States.

The rifle was the property of Colonel John Thomas, organizer and leader of the Spartan Regiment, the militia unit from which the county eventually took its name. Thomas was born in Wales, brought to America as a child, and grew up in Chester County, Pennsylvania. He later moved to South Carolina and, around 1762, settled with his family in the Fairforest area. In 1775, he formed the patriots' Spartan Regiment and was elected its commander.

The rifle, which may have been made by James Robertson of Spartanburg County around 1770, has a walnut stock and finely crafted decorations, including a carved scroll design. A handsome side-opening patch box is engraved with an unusual design and surrounded by silver wire. John Thomas's initials are on the silver thumb-piece.

But the rifle's most intriguing feature is a silver star inlay with thirteen points, representing the thirteen colonies, bearing the inscription, "WE ARE ONE" and "UNITED STATES." The thirteen-pointed [*sic*] star with the "We Are One" slogan was one of the young nation's first symbols of unity. A similar emblem, carrying the term "American Congress" instead of "United States," appeared on colonial currency in 1776. Eric Newman, author of *The Early Paper Money of America*, says that Benjamin Franklin designed the currency's star symbol.

How did John Thomas's rifle end up at Windsor Castle? In 1780, Col. Thomas was arrested by the British and held prisoner until the end of the war. At some point his son, Captain Robert Thomas, also a patriot militiaman, began carrying the rifle. On March 2, 1781, Robert Thomas was killed at the battle of Mudlick Creek in Newberry County. It is thought that a British soldier took the rifle off of his body.

According to George Shumway, author of *Rifles in Colonial America*, British Colonel George Hanger took the rifle to England after the war and presented it to Prince George. The prince

was fond of shooting and in 1802 paid a gunsmith to refurbish the gun. Eighteen years later, the prince became King George IV, and the rifle remained in the royal collection. Shumway writes that despite the post-war work, the piece is "a splendid example of a southern rifle from the Revolutionary War years and is a standard by which to judge others."

The rifle's star symbol has remained a part of Spartanburg's heritage. In 1976, the city used it as its emblem for the national bicentennial.

The Museum of York County hopes to borrow the John Thomas rifle and display it next spring [2006] in Rock Hill as part of an exhibit on the southern piedmont during the Revolutionary War.

"Our dream, of course, is to someday bring it home to Spartanburg, where it belongs, for good," says SCHA [Spartanburg County Historical Association] executive director Susan Turpin, "though I doubt the queen would ever go along with that."

So for now, one of Spartanburg's greatest historical treasures lies locked away in Windsor Castle, the property of the crown and a spoil of war.

-END-

The Thomas Rifle. . .

Text of newspaper column, "Carl May's Notebook," published in the *Spartanburg [S.C.] Journal*, August 1970; clipped and sent to Ilene Jones Cornwell by Carl May on August 10, 1970.

While in Columbia Wednesday, we stopped briefly at the Midlands Exposition Center and took a close look at the rifle that was carried by Col. John Thomas during the Revolutionary War.

The rifle is displayed near the door in one of two circular buildings. Other relics, from the Revolution to the present time, can be found on view.

The armed guard watched us closely as we took notes on the rifle, a beautiful example of the gunsmith's art. It is a long rifle often referred to as a "Kentucky Rifle." The octagon barrel appears to be about .58 caliber and is rifled so that the bullet will fly true to its mark. The gun is in a remarkable state of preservation.

A small silver medallion inserted in the stock has the initials "J.T." engraved in English script. Another silver medallion on the stock is a circle with 13 points to represent each of the 13 states. Engraved in the circle are these words: "United States We Are One." This is the first slogan of this nature we have seen from the days of the fight for independence.

The gun was loaned to the Tricentennial exhibit by Queen Elizabeth II from the Royal Arms Collection. The gun has a brass trigger guard, butt plate and patch box. It is of the flintlock type made about 1775, possibly at Smith's Gunworks near Pauline. The gun was acquired during the Revolution by Col. George Hanger, who served in South Carolina as commander of the infantry in Tarleton's Legion and presented [it] to King George IV.

The plaque on the gun indicates it may have been captured during the up-country fighting, 1780-81, and perhaps Col. Thomas's son, Robert, carried it when he was killed at Mudlick Creek during Roebuck's Defeat. Or, the rifle could have been carried by Col. Thomas when he was captured prior to July 12, 1780. He was first imprisoned at Fort Ninety Six and later transferred to Charleston until the end of the war. The rifle could even have bought his transfer. Many less fortunate prisoners died of disease, malnutrition and mistreatment at Ninety-Six.

Another Revolutionary War item on exhibit is the sword carried by Col. Tarleton during his campaign in the state.

(Accompanying the above clipping was a letter to Ilene Jones Cornwell from Journal reporter Carl May, dated August 10, 1970. Carl May wrote in the margin: "I have done considerable research on the Thomas family, as I am connected with it through the relationship with Samuel McJunkin on my mother's side of the family.")

"Most of the information on the Thomas Rifle was obtained from information displayed with the rifle, which is owned by Britain and loan to the [South Carolina] Tricentennial Commission for display at the Columbia Center. The description is from observation and it is similar to the Pennsylvania or 'Kentucky' rifles popular with the backwoodsmen during the Revolutionary War.

"I presumed the gun was made at Smith's Gun Works near Pauline, as it was said to have made guns for members of the Spartan Regiment during the Revolution. There are no maker's marks on the gun, other than the lock, which were mostly made by Golcher in Pa [Pennsylvania] and shipped to gunsmiths over the country by wagon or boat.

"Wofford's Iron Works or Berwick's Iron Works on Lawson's Fork Creek made iron during the Revolution. This iron was used for horseshoes, plows, etc. It is reasonable to surmise that Capt. William Smith, who commanded a company in the Spartan Regiment, and his brother, Sanford, made many rifles. They had octagonal barrels and were very accurate. The barrels had rifled bores to send the bullet true to its mark. The muskets fired a large ball and had smooth bores and were of shorter range.

"The many blacksmith shops of the farms in the Revolution turned out firearms. The Smith brothers had learned the gunmaking art before migrating to Spartanburg County. Many of these 'blacksmith firearms' bear no name as a protection to the maker from Tory raids.

"Lum Smith, a descendant of Sanford Smith, before he died, led me to the site of the Smith Gun Works on a branch near Dutchman Creek."

-END-

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Letters to the Editor

There is agreement that the mounted of Tarleton's British Legion wore green jackets; nonetheless, Ranney's painting is correct in that it depicts the wounding (mortally) of Cornet Robert Thomas Paterson who was an officer of the 17th Light Dragoons. After Savannah the 17th had been attached to the British Legion but, as a regular British unit, they did not and would not wear the green, even when their uniforms were worn. They patched their red jackets rather than wear the new green jackets that Tarleton had offered them. Since they were regulars who had arrived in this country in 1775, they possibly did not want to abandon their identity, or to wear the uniform of a provincial unit.

There are many references to the Light Dragons and their participation in the Battle of Cowpens in *A Devil of a Whipping* by Larry Babits. Further, their uniforms are described in Don Troiani's *Soldiers of America 1754-1865* (page 68.) Also, in Troiani's painting, "The Battle of Cowpens", he depicts the British mounted in red and the saddle blankets are clearly marked XVII- LD.



William T Ranney's "Battle of Cowpens".

That the Light Dragoons were heavily involved at Cowpens is evidenced by the lists of British participants. The list is, understandably, far from perfect, but it indicates that the men of the Light Dragoons were, with few exceptions, killed, wounded or taken prisoner. Although many of the British Legion mounted fled the field, the XVII Light Dragoons did not flee but fought to the end.

The history of the unit that I found on the Internet at www.relications.com/17LD/17hist.htm relates an anecdote of the event which is depicted in Ranney's work..

"During the action the American Colonel Washington called out, 'Where is now the boasting Tarleton?' Cornet Patterson of the Seventeenth was riding up to attack him, and was shot by Washington's orderly Trumpeter."

Anecdote by Lieut-General Sir Evan Lloyd, who served with the regiment in America.

Chris Swager, Santee, SC

Distinguished Patriots:

I wanted to say a big Thank You!! for a really fun time this past weekend. I really learned a lot from you both and all the other presenters/attendees. The SCAR roundtable group and Corps of Discovery has really turbocharged my efforts to do more research into not only family genealogy, but the entire southern campaign, with a "somewhat selfish" focus on Gen. Francis Marion and Gen. Thomas Sumter.

I did find that I have another relative that also served with Gen. Marion, a Sgt. George Summers from the Orangeburg area. He served as best we can tell approximately 1778 or 79 to 1781. He was buried in Rowesville, SC, across from the Cattle Creek campgrounds, where the marker remains. He was killed by Tory (those swine!) while home on leave as the story goes (and the marker says). As it always seems, there are some conflicting bits of info, but heck, that what makes the quest to find out more worthwhile!

Thank you again for a great service to all who enjoy and cherish learning more about the great Southern Campaigns!

Huzzah! West Jenkins, Columbia, SC

Mr. Baxley,

I have just in the last couple of days "discovered" your site and have found it to be quite educational and enjoyable.

I was able to do a little research via one of your volumes to verify the events leading to gggg grandfather Capt. Andrew Neel's death during the 1776 Cherokee Campaign. His brother was Col. Thomas Neel. The diary's interpretation indicated that it was Col. Neel's son Thomas, Jr. who was mortally wounded on August 12th (and died the next day), but the August 13th date of Andrew's will, etc, narrows it down to Andrew.

As a point of interest, Andrew's wife, L. Smith and many members of the Capt. Aaron Smith family (her parents) had been killed by the Cherokee on July 1, 1776 near Little River, SC. The Neel and Smith plantations were adjoining. Andrew's death created 5 orphan children who later received, thanks to Gen. Edward Lacey's efforts, reparations from S.C. - Generations of Neels have used the surname Smith as middle names for both males and females.

Jim Neel, Fairview, NC

SCAR:

I just discovered your Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution on the Internet. They are great.

I would like to correct 1 thing in Volume 2, No 10.1 on the Cherokee Campaign. On page 29, someone inserts the name Thomas Neel, Jr. in parenthesis next to the Captain Neel who is listed as dying. This appears to be a mistake, as we believe that the Neel who died here was Andrew Neel, son of Thomas and Sarah Neel. This Andrew was a brother of Colonel Thomas Neel, not his son.

Andrew was wounded on August 12, 1776 and then wrote his will on August 13 when he died. In his will he left 5 children. In 1785, a petition was submitted to the South Carolina legislature for both the children of Neel and Lacy. The same 5 children were listed in the petition. I can send you copies of these documents if you like. Thomas Neel, Jr. died later in 1781 per Bobby Gilmer Moss. Thanks,

George Shirley, Madison, Ms.

SCAR:

Thomas Waters [Loyalist Georgia militia colonel, defeated at the Battle of Hammond's Store by Lt. Col. William Washington's 3d Continentals and SC State dragoons] was the brother of Patriots Bordroyne and Philemon Waters. Waters moved from Grindal Shoals on the Pacolet River area of modern Cherokee County, SC to Wilkes County, Georgia with Elijah Clark, as did the hero of the Battle of Sullivan's Island, Sgt. William Jasper in 1773. The John Dooley and Benjamin and Nancy Hart family also moved to Wilkes County with Clark. From North Carolina the Benjamin Few family was a part of the group that met them just before crossing the Georgia-South Carolina line. Thomas Waters was the only Loyalist in the group. Dooley, Clark, Few and Benjamin Hart were Patriot officers in the conflict. Mrs. Louise Frederick Hays in her *Hero of Hornet's Nest* [biography of Col. Elijah Clark] states that the Harts gave the Clarks a cow after the Clarks came to the Grindal Shoals (first known as Carrol Shoals) area of South Carolina.

Robert A. Ivey, Gaffney, SC

Fortification Takes Shape: Coastal Heritage Society Turns to 1783 Manual for Building Instructions for Revolutionary War Redoubt.

By Chuck Mobley

The new Spring Hill Redoubt is nearing completion, a unique reminder of Savannah's bloody Revolutionary War past that combines techniques and technologies that are centuries apart.

"Nobody's built one of these in like 226 years," said Brian White, a 27-year-old Savannah College of Art and Design (SCAD) graduate student who's one of the project managers for the Coastal Heritage Society. But White and the rest of the crew know they're on track because they're following a 1783 British field manual. Unlike the Redcoats, they have some advantages the British Army didn't enjoy. No one, for instance, is laying siege to the city or shooting at the defense work.

But that doesn't mean the project hasn't been without its challenges. Compacting the tons of dirt moved onto the site has taken constant attention and effort, said White. The crews have also worked to artfully conceal a modern drainage system, said Eric Davenport, a 33-year-old SCAD graduate, also a project manager. And, unlike its predecessor, this redoubt is landscaped, a task made

doubly difficult by the angle of the redoubt's sides. "We've had to staple the sod to the side (of the redoubt)" said White, holding up an 8-inch-long staple. The crew has already sweated out a couple of strong storms, fearful that the sod would move before the 18-inch roots of the Bermuda grass take hold.

Still, the project has moved smoothly, and the project managers hope it will be completed later this month. The new redoubt will be part of Battlefield Memorial Park, a 25-acre complex that will include a children's museum and the Georgia State Railroad Museum. Facing at the intersection of MLK Jr. Boulevard and Louisville Road, it has a decidedly low-tech heritage. Its namesake, the original Spring Hill Redoubt, was thrown up by 200-300 slaves directed by British military engineer Capt. James Moncrief, said Scott Smith, executive director of the Coastal Heritage Society.

Moncrief and his crews were "going 20 hours a day" fortifying the city, said Smith, a longtime student of the battle. Their efforts paid off on the morning of October 9, 1779, when an allied attack slammed into the fortification and was savagely repulsed. Having suffered some 800 casualties in just 55 minutes of fighting, the French and American forces pulled out of Savannah.

The once fearsome fortification then gradually disappeared from sight as the area became industrialized. But it never faded from local memory. "This pays proper respects to the men who fought here," White said.



Spring Hill Redoubt under construction. Photo courtesy of the Coastal Heritage Society's preservation team head and project co-manager Brian White.

DIRT & DETAILS:

The new redoubt is 109 feet by 119 feet and was built on 300 truck loads of dirt that were brought onto the site. Construction on the new redoubt began in September. More than 60 Savannah-area foundations and individuals have contributed almost \$300,000 to build the new redoubt. The original redoubt was discovered in August 2005 by Coastal Heritage Society archaeologists. It is adjacent to, but does not touch, the new redoubt.

Article by Chuck Mobley reprinted from the "Savannah Morning News", January 10, 2006, by permission. Chuck Mobley may be reached at charles.mobley@savannahnow.com. For more information on the Spring Hill Redoubt recreation plan, see *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, September 2005. To support this interpretive effort of the major 1779 Siege of Savannah battle site or to learn more about major efforts to discover, interpret, make publicly accessible, and preserve Savannah's cultural heritage, contact the Coastal Heritage Society at <http://www.chsgeorgia.org>.

Anniversary Week at Cowpens National Battlefield

By John Robertson, assisted by Virginia Fowler

Education Day. On Thursday 12 January, "Education Day" was held for approximately 300 4th grade students who submitted the required pre-registration. One school drove 2 hours to attend the program. Eighteen stations on park grounds were set up with re-enactors, volunteers and park interpretive staff manning each. A musket was fired each 15 minutes so each group of students knew when to move to their next scheduled station. Kitty Evans from Historic Brattonsville told her inimitable African-American stories using handmade dolls. I have become well acquainted with Kitty on some long drives to and from Brattonsville, and we have found that we share something: we live much of our lives in a different century. David Sherrill, whom I have come to think of as "my favorite Hessian", more commonly found in green bearing a beautiful Jäger rifle, gave his dramatic impersonation of Benjamin Franklin. The students practiced marching drill conducted by members of the



2nd SC, Continental Line, one of whom was Bert Puckett who would later re-enact Daniel Morgan in the weekend re-enactments and in the video being taped. Using wooden musket replicas, the students were instructed in "order of arms" by members of the local Backcountry Militia re-enactment group. This is an activity I have long advocated because I have observed that this age group relates well to things they can get their hands on. SC Rangers re-enactors gave musket-firing demonstrations and also manned the stations demonstrating cooking, firemaking, and soldiers' uniforms. Author and story-teller Christine Swager gave a mini-presentation on period clothing. She was joined by Jeannie Rucker of the SC Rangers. The use of fifes and drums for the communication of orders to widespread units on a battlefield was demonstrated by the musicians of the 2nd SC. The 2nd SC also gave the dry-run cannon demonstration. There were other "education stations" for blacksmithing, spinning/weaving, children's games, candle-dipping, hides and furs, and 18th century medicine. Cowpens staffers gave battle descriptions, also 15-minutes in length. I found myself stopping in mid-syllable when the musket fired, ending with,

"and the Americans won." Planned Education Days in the past have sometimes been the victim of horrible weather. The weather was perfect for this one.

Saturday 14 January & Sunday 15 January, inside Cowpens National Battlefield. Guided battlefield walks were conducted hourly in the morning and early afternoon by volunteer guides assisted by park staff. The target time for these walks was an hour or less, and Steve Rauch let it be known that his would take somewhat longer. On the two days, I was scheduled to lead only a single walk but served as guide on at least five such walks, often with as many as one hundred in the group. On one walk, from the side trail, I saw a column of mounted dragoons coming up the restored Green River Road. I did something of a big U-turn so that the group was able to observe the dragoons putting their mounts through the equivalent of close order drill. It was a beautiful sight. After we passed the dragoons, we came upon some local re-enactors in the process of firing the 3-pounder "Grasshopper" cannon under the watchful eyes of 3 qualified NPS black powder officers (Eric Williams of Ninety Six, Bert Dunkerly of Kings Mountain, and Virginia Fowler of Cowpens). It prompted the inevitable question, "How many black powder officers are required to fire a cannon?", all in good fun, of course, with the inevitable answer, "three". The gun captain was local ear, nose and throat specialist, Chris Rucker, who also made the attractive wooden tampion (pronounced tom-kin) and the leatherwork for the cannon. Two cannon firings occurred on Saturday and one on Sunday. Musket firing demonstrations were given several times on the two days. Park visitors of all ages and re-enactors never tire of seeing black powder burn.



Drum and Fife Corps at Commemorative Ceremony.



Cavalry Demonstrations. Photos by Will Graves.



Dr. Bobby Gilmer Moss with his new book now in print on the Black Loyalists in the Southern Campaigns.

Patriots commemorate their Victory with wreaths at Saturday morning ceremonies. Photos by Will Graves.

On Saturday, the SAR and DAR held their annual commemorative service with a long processional, honor guard and fife and drum corps from the visitor center to the Washington Light Infantry Monument. From 10:30 am to noon on Sunday there was a salute to men of the WWII USS Cowpens CVL-25 and the modern CG-63, with guest speaker Capt. Dallas Bethea USN, ret., and with a concert by the 282nd Army Band from Fort Jackson.

The speakers and their audiences were provided with a very large heated tent. Visitors expressed appreciation for the comfortable accommodations in the sometimes bone-chilling winds. But it was a tent, and on Saturday there were high winds, some reported as high as 50 mph, and the sound of the wind on the fabric was continual background noise.

Speakers on Saturday:

SCAR editor **Charles Baxley** was the first speaker, attracting the audience and warming them up for the speakers to follow. Charles is without peer in his self-chosen background role as catalyst for any and all activities related to the study of the Southern Campaigns, but on the two occasions I have been present when he himself has been pushed onto the podium, I have found him to be a dynamic speaker. That view is shared by a member of his audience, Hugh Harrington, who said, "Baxley's animated and informed talk would get anyone interested in the rev war ... He referred to Christopher Gadsden as being the South's Sam Adams. I think Charles is right in there with those two in his ability to get people interested in the Revolution."



SCAR editor, Charles B. Baxley speaks on "Why the Fire of Liberty Did Not Go Out". Photo by Will Graves.

2. **John O. Marsh, Jr.**, Secretary of the Army under Presidents Reagan and G.H.W. Bush. Marsh's mother lives in Spartanburg, and his daughter is a freshman at a local college.



3. **Don Hagist**, editor/annotator of the *A British Soldier's Story*, *Roger Lamb's Narrative of the American Revolution*. More from Hugh Harrington: "Don Hagist's vast knowledge of the British soldier was fascinating. I thought I was pretty well informed but discovered that I haven't touched the surface. From the looks on the faces of the audience I was not alone. ..."

Don Hagist. Photo by Will Graves.

4. **Dr. Bobby G. Moss and Michael Scoggins**, co-authors of the recently published *African-American Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution* and the first of this pair of books, *African-American Patriots in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution*. These two books are in alphabetical order by names of individuals as are all of Dr. Moss' *Roster of...* books. These companion books provide a

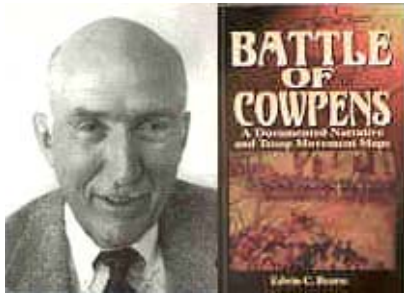
treasure trove for those researching individual African-Americans during the conflict and provide previously unknown perspectives on the role of Blacks during the war.

5. **Dr. Christine Swager**, author of forthcoming *The Valiant Died* on the Southern Campaign and the Battle of Eutaw Springs, containing no less than 35 pages of Southern Campaign maps, including that for the Battle of Camden by Calvin Keys and that for the Battle of Eutaw Springs by David P. Reuwer. Nathanael Greene was awarded one of the Revolution's six gold medals by the Continental Congress for his victory at Eutaw Springs. Since the Civil War, he has been declared the loser of that battle. With the publication of *The Valiant Died*, Greene will once again be named as the victor. Greene once wryly commented on victories claimed by the British in which it fell his lot to bury their dead.

Speakers on Sunday.

1. **Mickey Beckham**, author of the historical novel *Colonial Spy* (reviewed in [SCAR Vol.2 No.11](#), p.11-12).

2. **Edwin C. Bearss**



Ed Bearss, former National Park Historian, author of *Battle of Cowpens* and legendary military tour guide. US Army military historian Steven J. Rauch agreed to lead a battlefield walk with the stipulation that doing such would not prevent his hearing Ed speak. I was serving as guide for a battle field walk for some 100 persons less than an hour earlier and met Ed as he was returning from a lone walk on the battlefield. I stopped the group, shook his hand and said, "Ed, I believe fate will once again deprive me of ever hearing you speak". Somehow, a later walk was cut short, I skipped lunch and I did make it to the tent just as Ed began his talk. As someone who spends a lot of time giving battlefield walks for a few battles, it was with something akin to hero-worship for me to finally hear Ed, who is legendary for his guided battlefield walks worldwide and for numerous wars. His delivery, in his powerful gravelly voice, was something akin to that of an old-time politician or minister. I vaguely remember that his historical take on the battle was pre-Babits, but also recall

that I didn't care despite the fact that my similar talks reflect more modern scholarship. For someone who has lived the Cowpens story for over six years, hearing Ed Bearss was a very special experience. Ed is well into his 80s and is booked solid as a tour guide for two years ahead. I treasure my signed copy of Ed's 1967 [Battle of Cowpens, A Documented Narrative and Troop Movement Maps](#).

3. **William Ball**, former Secretary of the Navy.

4. **Dr. Bobby Moss and Michael Scoggins**.

On Sunday, **Howard Burnham**, gave a dramatic impersonation of Lord Cornwallis. His performances, based on extensive research and his own experience as an actor, always deliver "history in the real".

Re-enactors

Most re-enactors camped inside the park: Militia near the visitor center, British near the Scruggs House, and Continentals in the picnic area. I was able to take an early morning picture of the Continentals' camp.



Continental reenactors camp. Photo by John Robertson.

Shortly afterward, I spoke briefly to Dr. Larry Babits, as he and video crew went into the woods south of the picnic area to tape some militia there. The full-scale re-enactment on both days took place on property on the opposite side of SC Highway 11 from the park. Some 850 re-enactors registered and approximately 500 showed up. Those missed most were British unit re-enactors from northern states. It was a long trip knowing that your side was destined to lose, and those who did so were much appreciated. Attendance at both the park and the re-enactment was estimated at approximately 5,000 on each of the two days. My impression, after reading all the AARs (after action reports) on RevList, is that 25 years will not pass before this battle is re-enacted again and again until they get it right and as it was. This is unfinished business for both for the re-enactors and for their historical advisors.



Monday 16 January. In the early afternoon, those re-enacting the 2-day, 24-mile Commemorative March from Grindal Shoals to Cowpens, arrived at Cowpens NB. For those in the Pacolet area, this was a first-ever commemoration of their part of the story and they were very proud to support it and re-enact it. This will not be the last time.

Daybreak, 17 January. Approximately 30 hardy souls met in the dark and damp for a very special commemorative walk of the battleground on the 225th anniversary of the battle. When the first two emerged out of the darkness, I told them that I appreciated their coming, but had no one at all showed up, and had it rained, I would have done it by myself. It was a very special experience and I was pleased to share it with others. The temperature was moderate and there was little wind. Otherwise conditions were much as they would have been on the day of the battle. Among those taking the tour were former Cowpens/Ninety Six superintendent Farrell Saunders and Kings Mountain ranger Robert "Bert" Dunkerly. I served as tour guide and, for the very first time, did most of the tour in first person. It was exhilarating to speak through the mouths of Daniel Morgan, Thomas Young, Robert Kirkwood, my ancestor "Horse Shoe" Robertson whom I had long wanted to meet, Joseph Hayes, and Banastre Tarleton, all before the battle was joined. I was not able to speak to a 71st Highlander because of the language barrier. Near the end, I reverted to third person and finished the tour. Hot chocolate or coffee was available in the big tent near the visitor center.

After Action Report from a Foxhole

For the Cowpens staffers, these were incredibly arduous days. Some things did not go as planned, others were simply unplanned, and adjustments were made. We saw more of the things not going right than did the public. Most of us saw none of the re-enactments, heard few of the speeches, and saw few of the demonstrations on park property. Despite efforts by the park to acknowledge the terrific support by area businesses and agencies, most visitors were unaware of this local generosity. However, a lot of things went incredibly right. In some ways, it was like a moon landing: none of us had ever



done it before or would ever get a second chance; it required an incredible amount of planning over a long period of time, and all came to fruition in a very short period of time, sometimes under horrible weather conditions, right or wrong, with minimal opportunity for adjustment. But a lot of things were right for a lot of people, and there will be some great memories. The Eagle landed at Cowpens.

Some curmudgeon Smokey-bear type of park ranger, skillfully played at Cowpens by historic cartographer and extraordinary Battle of Cowpens interpretive guide, John A. Robertson of Shelby, NC.

Cowpens 225th Anniversary – Living History

This was a one of a kind event that combined the National Park Service and a regular reenactment. First the bad. There were some things that did not go very well.

The first and foremost of these was transportation and reenactor parking. There were no signs that said "this way to reenactor parking" so folks drove all around trying to figure out where the spots were.

There were shuttle buses from the parking lots, but in the beginning these buses would come around every 30 minutes, or every hour, which did not help to meet deadlines. The battle on Saturday was postponed by about ten minutes because there were spectators at the NPS site that had to wait to get a bus to the battlefield. By Sunday this problem had been corrected.



Visitors in the camps. Photo courtesy of the Spartanburg Historical Association and photographer Brian Ilnier.

Another flaw was the lack of sutlers. There were two who showed up, Smoke and Fire and Godwin. Normally, I would sell my books out of one of three sutler tents, but none of them showed up. I asked one of those sutlers why they did not come and they told me that it was due to the red tape and bureaucratic attitude of the NPS. I do not know what this was, but maybe some sutler who did not go can explain it. The sutlers who were there said that they did OK in sales. Unfortunately for us the sutlers were over a mile away from the Patriot camp and almost a mile from the British. There were shuttle buses, but there was so much going on that we did not have time to go visit the two sutlers. Some of our members did not come because they had heard there was not going to be any sutlers at all. I figure that the next time this event will ever happen again will be 25 years from now, but if it does ever happen again they need to put the sutlers closer to the camps.

The only rainy weather that we had was on Friday night, around 8:00 pm. This gave the whole site a waterlogged feel for the next day. I came in with my busload of JROTC kids after the rain hit, which was great for us, but no consolation to those who had their tents blown down and all their clothing soaked. That night there was a commanders' meeting in a heated tent (that dried up a lot of the wet clothing), where we went over the scenario for Saturday.

Saturday started early. The officers' meeting and recon of the site was at 0800. While we were gone the troops were formed and drilled by the sergeants. The site was excellent! If you are on one end you had a fantastic view of the Blue Ridge Mountains in the distance. The field was about the actual size of the real battlefield and due to this we were able to fight the battle at approximate distances.

Once we got back to the camp we quickly formed up for a demonstration firing on the third line of the original battlefield. I initially predicted that my unit would have 40 men in the ranks, and was off by 10. However we had folks who came down, even though their units did not, and joined the unit in the fight. We had men in our ranks from New York, Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Maryland. I also predicted about 400 American troops, but in reality were about 300. It looked the British had about 150 on the field, but I will leave the actual numbers to someone who was in that camp. I do not quite

know if we were the largest cavalry event ever, since about half dropped out at the last minute. Even with that loss there was about 12-15 horses on the field.

We marched up to the actual third line, and on the way I gave my guys a history lesson of what happened at each point we crossed. For some it was an experience to put the ground of the battle in a more realistic light. We fired some volleys and then broke and went back to camp to prepare for the battle. It was during this time that the wind started to pick up. In the Patriot camp it was not too bad, but on the battlefield it was almost arctic.

We marched off to the battle, picking up our pre-rolled, waxed and packaged cartridges along the way. The battlefield was about two miles away, and we marched down the old Green River Road and across the street to the field where we would recreate the battle. Though it was probably in the 20s with the wind chill factor, there were quite a few spectators. Every part of the reenactment was also being filmed by Partisan Pictures (History Channel) and the NPS for a site movie. Bert Puckett (Mel!!) had some Hollywood makeup job on him that gave him a nifty looking scar on his face, and some long hair. The British commander, Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, was played by Mark Schneider of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia who normally does Lafayette.



Mark Schneider as British Commander, Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton. Photo by Ron Crawley.

We placed the different elements in the exact order they were in for the battle. This was not just three lines, but it was companies laid out in the pattern that the original companies were. For those who have my book [*Nothing but Blood and Slaughter...*, Vol. Two], look at the map of the initial positions and you will see what I am getting at. All the units that had bayonets fought with them fixed the entire battle.

The British were first engaged by the cavalry. For us this was the nine white-coated horsemen of Lt. Col. William Washington's 3d Continental dragoons, led by Daniel Murphy. They fired their pistols and then ran back. The British deployed into open order and then fired at the militia. This was a mistake on their part since the British troops most likely never fired a shot until they met up with the Continental line (this was true for all the British except the 7th Fusiliers, who fired early and were quickly stopped by their commanders). The skirmish line fired and then ran back. The British artillery fired on the whole. All of this action was not seen by us on the left side of the Continental line, but we could hear it. The British came on against the militia line, and were met with volleys by the companies. The British stopped and fired again, but they should have just come on with the bayonet. They eventually pushed the militia back, who fled between the holes in the Continental main line.

Out of sight from us these guys were met by the British dragoons, and then the British dragoons were chased back by Washington's dragoons. As soon as the militia cleared out of our way we began our volleys. The whole Continental line fired by companies from left to right. Way over on the right the Continentals began their withdrawal, when the 71st Highlanders flanked them. We did not see it, but we could see the whole line move back. When it was our turn we also marched back, loading as we moved to get the next volley off quickly.

We halted, turned and fired off the last volley, with the British close by. As soon as we fired we charged bayonets through the smoke and carried the charge to the British artillery piece. The Brits who had not ran surrendered, and I collected up whatever swords from officers that were in my reach.



Volley fired by the Continental Line. Photo by Calvin Keys.

Not many people died on Saturday since the field was full of mud puddles and it was mighty cold with that wind. We gathered back up, did a pass in review, turned in unused ammunition, and then moseyed on back to camp. That night the wind died down, but it was still a bit chilly. We had a follow up officers' meeting to determine how to correct mistakes of the day. It was mighty nice in that warm tent and some did not want to go. Mel... I mean Bert Puckett was off in the woods with some militia filming for a few hours. We sat around our fire watching the klieg lights at the film site. Most of the partying was subdued due to the cold weather. The next day the weather was fantastic. It got up into the 60s, and the sun was shining. No wind on this day, so it was just like a spring day. In the morning some folks went to get filmed by the production companies. We had to do another demonstration fire on the actual battlefield, and then we were on our own for a little while before the battle.

Sunday's battle went quick, real quick! The whole battle was over in less than ten minutes. When the Brits charged the Continental main line they really did take us by surprise and we had to run for real from those bayonets. On Sunday there were plenty of casualties since the field had dried up, and most would be able to get out of the uniforms after the battle.

After the quickie battle there was still time, so we had planned for a tactical. The units marched up to the ammo truck, got more ammunition and then positioned themselves. Most of the British units left, which was too bad, since the tactical was actually the best part of the whole weekend.

The tactical pitted the militia against the Regulars. Someone asked me if there was ever a battle where Loyalist militia took on Patriot Regulars. All I could think of was the Regulator war, but even that was not "regulars". If anyone can think of a time that happened please post it here.

The militia had the artillery and were commanded by Paul Hutchins. They were about 200 yards away, while we held the higher elevation. The fight started out with their artillery peppering our lines. We traded volleys with them, by companies, and the militia then made a mistake. They sent one company out to flank our line. This one company was separated by their main line by about 100 yards. While the main force of the Regulars marched forward, our three Carolina companies quickly filed right into the gap to cross that "T". A rifle unit followed us to pour fire into the separated militia company, while we poured fire into the flanks of the militia main line and artillery. While we did this the dragoons chopped up the separate militia company until they had to run away or die.



Artillerists manhandle their three pounder "grasshopper" into firing position. Photo courtesy of the Spartanburg Historical Association and photographer Brian Ilnier.

We fired a devastating volley from all three companies into the militia main line. They had some British with them who charged us with bayonets, but the three company volleys devastated their ranks until there was nothing left. They attempted to flank our right side, but once they moved that way the Regular main line began to move forward.

I kept my eye on the cannon that was shooting at the main line. After it fired a shot I started a bayonet charge into the ranks. The artillery saw us coming and did not load again. When the militia noticed that we were not stopping, they took off running. Two militia companies stayed, only to surrender with Regulars on their front, sides and rear.

After that we all were released from the field and some marched back to camp, while others marched to the parking lot to get their cars. All in all it was a pretty good time.

Patrick J. O'Kelley, Lillington, NC

I pretty much second Pat's [O'Kelley] comments re: signage (lack of) and so on. Also, in the Crown camp, we did not have a wussie heated party tent!

I agree with Pat's disappointment that many of the promised cavalry did not show up. They missed the ideal site for major action.

"Tarleton" was portrayed by Mark Schnieder of Colonial Williamsburg - who plays "Tarleton" at Under the Redcoat. Good man and an excellent equestrian. He would be a perfect look-alike if he had red hair! He did a good job with it. It is just too bad that the 17th Light Dragoons dropped out at the last minute along with some other promised horse. Oh well - as they will say in a later war: "Who ever saw a dead cavalryman?"

As Patrick O'Kelley mentioned - there were some miscues and some misunderstandings about just how we were to do the assaults. I never, at any time, was really clear on just when the artillery was to fire (and we got slowed down on day 1 - Saturday - by a misfire in one of the cannon. I was not going to move my infantry in front of it until we got it pointed in a safe direction to clear.)

We came out - deployed - "saw" only the first line militia (the ground was rolling so you could, as Pat mentioned, see only part of it - very realistic to the lay of the actual ground). We pushed with our light infantry since we did not have sufficient horse to simply charge them. We then moved the whole line up to their position -- where we "saw" the Rebel host on the hills - looking like that climactic scene from "Spartacus" where the whole Roman Legion is in checkerboard across the hill! It was a magnificent sight. The odds were about right - 300 or so of them against 80 - 90 of us - the "thin red line"! (Actually, that was a bit disappointing. We should have had about equal numbers to do the proper show but a lot of our regular units did not show up for whatever reason.) So we dropped packs (as they did), deployed at open order and attacked.

One miscue (my misunderstanding) was that the 71st was to attack the militia on the (Rebel) right flank before going at the Continentals on the 3d line. Instead, we moved the whole line forward after a volley and began the flanking maneuver after the Rebels' 2d line of militia withdrew. Then we started the move against the Continentals' 3d line, halted and fired a volley - which was to signal a general charge by the whole line. Our volley was when the Rebel flank was to give back - starting the apparent withdrawal - but the unit on that flank returned fire - when they should have turned around to withdraw and refuse the flank! That meant that we could not start the bayonet charge because they were not ready to shoot at us! So we fired again to give them time and then came on. When they shot into the 71st, many did go down and the others, correctly, SAT down and surrendered. The "7th" action was similar.



The Maryland Line advances. Photo courtesy of the Spartanburg Historical Association and photographer Brian Ilnier.

That entire action took 22 minutes from the time we deployed against the Rebels' 1st line to the surrender. That was with lag time and some firing that did not happen historically - but was done so that we would not look silly charging only to have to stop while the enemy reloaded to shoot at us.

On Sunday, as Pat mentioned, the weather was about perfect. We deployed straight onto the field and, as discussed in the After Action meeting Saturday evening - we came on strong!

A few scattered shots - quickly suppressed - were fired at the Rebels' 1st line - who quickly withdrew. We "saw" the rest of the Rebel horde on the hills - stopped long enough to drop packs - sent the 71st on a wider flanking maneuver while the cannon fired - moved the whole forward against the Rebels' 2d line - fired into the militia with the 71st Highlanders and then charged the Continentals' 3d line. We didn't stop other than to fire. We (I was with the 71st for that action) moved at a trot until we got too close to the Rebels - most of whom had eyes that looked like a deer caught in the headlights as we closed on them! We had to slow to a march pace to let them get far enough ahead to turn and fire! We went right by the flank of some units that were shortly hit by the rest of the line. We were told to come on and not stop and that's what we did.

When we got the volley - it was a red-carpet treatment on our side of the line. Point-blank range - we could not have survived that volley. The few who miraculously survived then surrendered.



The 71st Highlanders charge with bayonets affixed. Photo courtesy of the Spartanburg Historical Association and photographer Brian Ilnier.

All of this with fixed bayonets. No problems of which I am aware. It was spectacular!

It took exactly 7 minutes from the time we deployed to the surrender. Dr. Larry Babits is going to be revising his book a bit! We covered approximately the same distance, on similar terrain, doing about the same things that "they" were doing that day. It was a short battle. I will not go into the logistics issues but will give some "majick moment" comments:

1. Doing the whole thing with fixed bayonets - much more realistic.
2. The horse actions - - Mark "Tarleton" Schneider was showing us his sword at the end of the battle - - he commented, "all of them (Rebel dragoons) seemed to want to put a nick in my blade!" It looked like a saw - they were swinging them!
3. I want to publicly thank the officers and men of the 71st Highland Regiment for allowing me to take part with them and kitting me out (no - no kilt - not in that wind!!). Seriously, it is an honor when a unit

asks a person to assume their persona and I appreciate it. Damn those basket-hilt broadswords are heavy! But I actually got to be "the dying Highlander" for one time! (You do not know how close I came to ordering the final charge by running in front of the 71st and shouting "HOOOOOT MON!" - but I restrained myself.) It was a different experience and was fun. To the "Braw Laddies" of the 71st - Thank You.

4. We really learned a lot about how that battle probably flowed. After Saturday's show, the Brits stayed behind to do some more deployments and attacks for the cameras - it was enlightening.

5. I was also disappointed that only a few redcoats wanted to stay for the tactical after Sunday's battle. It would have been a good chance to fire more than one or two shots (with some of the 18,000 rounds of ammo that were provided by the 2d SC - all 120 grains - all waxed and bundled into properly wrapped and tied bundles of 15 rounds).

I want to thank the organizers. It was an almost perfect site. After the tent-eating mini-hurricane of Friday evening, it was brisk but tolerable weather. I want to thank the Brits of the various units who comprised the 7th (mostly the 7th and 64th with some of the 33d and 4th Coy Guards) and the 71st (with some of the 5th Coy Guards and 33d Lights), and Legion (Legion Lights and Jaegers) as well as our dragoons (including a Continental 4th Dragoon - hey - green coat anyway!). We can not forget the artillery guys who humped those guns up and down those hills only to get to fire a couple of shots each day!



Prof. Larry Babits on the battlefield with stopwatch, using this living history recreation to empirically study the field movements of the battle. Photo courtesy of the Spartanburg Historical Association and photographer Brian Ilnier.

But we showed how fast troops could move. We showed how close the fighting probably got.

We showed the confusion that can apply - and is multiplied when you take into consideration that we did not have the fear, real bullets flying, pain, and suffering of a real fight.

Another "majick moment" - after Saturday's surrender - I had handed my sword to Sjt. Ragu of the 2d SC - who gallantly returned it - even though I did hang him about a year or so ago. For those who do not know him, he has got a really serious suntan - permanent type. After the battle Saturday, some yokel came up to me and asked: "wasn't that a black guy you surrendered to?" I answered - "Yes - a Serjeant Major of a SC Continental unit." He says: "What was he doing here?" To which I answered: "fighting for his country - as thousands of black folks did during this war - just like he was doing a week ago Friday in Iraq with the 82d Airborne! Fighting for you! He is a real soldier." The jerk just turned around and left in dudgeon.

I should have simply slugged him. That would have been another magic moment - for both of us!

Speaking of idiots - I heard about one hilarious incident Friday evening. Cowpens is pretty isolated, about 10 miles from anything else. Some drunken fool stopped at the gates of the park (as he probably often did in the past) to relieve himself. Sitting his beer can on one of the gate pylons, he proceeds to get down to business, when a carload of reenactors pulls up to the gate and spotlights him like a deer! Never missing a beat - he turns around - as a National Park SET Ranger pulls up and turns on the flashing lights! Caught red - er - yellow-handed, said drunk was ticketed and run in for drunk and disorderly (a Federal offense due to the location)! He had a bad night.

Jay Callaham, Greensboro, NC

From a mounted standpoint it was an outstanding weekend! On Saturday we had six 3d Dragoons in the saddle along with Alan Bowen of the OMTV portraying a mounted militiaman and Burt Puckett portraying Gen. Daniel Morgan for eight mounted on the American side. Gene Hough, a member of the Philadelphia Light Horse, kindly galvanized on both days and rode British, giving the British Horse a total of three including Tarleton on Saturday. We did indeed miss the 17th Light Dragoons from up north but I am sure we will all appear on the same field in the future - hopefully sooner rather than later.



Bert Puckett as Gen. Daniel Morgan. Photo by Calvin Keys.

The Saturday battle kicked off under a murderous wind with the 3d Dragoon element discovering the British force and relaying the information to General Morgan, who was played to the hilt by Burt Puckett. Upon informing the General, the 3d Dragoons posted as a

reserve behind the Continental line. We made two charges, the first in support of the retreating American militia and a second against the British flank as they retreated under the pressure of the Continental bayonet charge. After our second charge we encountered the British element led by Mark Schneider, who I thought made a fantastic Tarleton, near the guns and then drove them off with our greater numbers as the remaining British surrendered.

I do want to say hats off to all the British. I know this was not an easy one to make and an even harder one to portray as a losing force but from my vantage point everything I saw seemed to work very well.

On Sunday we had two more British dragoons arrive and we started the day by riding to the original battle field and performing a special mounted memorial to the veterans of the battle. We then entertained the crowd with a thirty-minute cavalry demonstration and returned to our camp.

For the Sunday battle we again kicked off the action and fell into reserve. This time the amplified British horse charged the American right and we had a good little saber tussle before driving the Green Dragoons back. We again charged in with the Continentals and again met Tarleton back near the guns.



Mark Schneider as the British Legion commander in green jacket and Jay Callaham commander of the 4th Company, Brigade of Guards in America in red. Photo courtesy of the Spartanburg Historical Association and photographer Brian Ilnier.

The tactical after the battle was especially fun and I want to compliment everyone on the ground for their care, consideration and help in designing the horse movements across the field. The only safe way we can provide a mounted element at these events is with your help. I believe the organizers of this event, Herb, Annie, Athena, the NPS and so many others did a wonderful job and the only complaint I heard was that it was too short. I guess sometimes accuracy comes at our expense.

Finally, thanks to the 3d Dragoons who allowed me to lead them on the field. They did everything I asked of them and it was an honor then as always to ride with them.

Daniel Murphy, Asheville, NC

Just wanted to let everyone know that Cowpens was much fun. The weather, though a bit blustery Saturday (massive understatement, BRRRRR), does not get much better overall. Blue sky both days,

snowcaps on the mountains in the background, made the rain Friday night worth the hassle. (I know, I know, I was dry and warm in my hotel room, but you know what I mean.)

Anyway, my only disappointment if you want to call it that is that our participation was very limited because of the roll we were playing. But hey, that is OK since we were performing in what had to have been the most accurate to history reenactment I have ever been in.



Gen. Daniel Morgan's Victory Lap. Photo by Calvin Keys.

As Continental troops, we only fired 3 rounds at the most both days. However, we did have the pleasure of watching the battle play out in front of our eyes. I have to say just watching the attacks on the first two lines, then seeing the Brits turn their attention on us, really gave me an appreciation for the calm way in which the Virginia Continentals retreated, then turned and fired. Does not get much better than that. And Hey! We had a front row seat to the largest mounted dragoon skirmish I have seen! (I was not at Charleston). It was so neat to see the Continental dragoons fight off Tarleton's, not 50 feet from where we stood in ranks awaiting the bayonet charge from the British! Thanks to all who had a hand in planning this one. It was a great job!

Glad I could go down and be a part of it with you all. My only regret is the fact that I stayed in a hotel (my first time doing that), instead of having more time to spend with all of my friends around the campfire. It really did take away from my overall experience and I probably will not be doing that again (though I have to admit the warm dry bed Friday night, and the shower/toilet, was nice).

Rob Friar

Virginia State Navy & 7th Virginia Regiment

The Cavalry at Cowpens: Thinking Inside the Box

By Daniel Murphy

Recently I was asked to be the cavalry coordinator for the 225th anniversary reenactment of the Battle of Cowpens. I considered this an honor as for years Cowpens had always held a special significance for me. It was a turning point in the American Revolution and one that was heavily influenced by the actions of the cavalry. While I was thinking about how my fellow reenactors and I might carry out the mounted scenario, I began to see a number of wrinkles in the different

theories regarding Continental Lieutenant-Colonel William Washington and how *he* led the American cavalry. No reenactment can ever duplicate the exact movements of a battle and that was never my intent. However, there are so many conflicting cavalry assessments in the otherwise excellent works on the battle that I started pouring over primary accounts of veterans, attempting to think "inside the box," and develop a better understanding of what happened.

Now before we go any further let me state right here that I do not hold a candle to the horsemen who took that field 225 years ago! They lived and fought from the saddle 24/7, where I am lucky to just ride once or twice a week and make an occasional foxhunt or reenactment. Beyond fencing classes I have no formal arms training whatsoever. I personally have never seen modern combat and, like other reenactors, all I really know about 18th century warfare I either read in a book, heard around a campfire, or attempted to recreate at an event. I do try to present what I believe is a reasonable impression of a Continental light dragoon based on documented sources from the period. And it was the documented accounts of Cowpens veterans that led me to my conclusions regarding the use of cavalry in the battle.



Alonzo Chappel's (1828-1887) *Battle of Cowpens, 1858.*

The Battle of Cowpens was fought on the 17th of January 1781. Brigadier General Daniel Morgan had picked a well-known drovers' field on which to collect his troops and offer battle. It was an open, rolling piece of ground with scattered trees and Morgan was counting on a frontal attack from his adversary, British Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton. Morgan arrayed his forces in three lines. The first line was made up of rifle bearing skirmishers spread across a broad front. The second line, 150 yards back, was composed of closely ranked militia and commanded by SC Patriot militia Col. Andrew Pickens. And in his third, or main line, Morgan placed his Continental Infantry under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel John Eager Howard of the Maryland Line along with companies of militia on either flank of the regulars. Morgan expected Tarleton to attack his position and his plan called for his skirmishers to harass the British approach and then fall back to Pickens' line of militia. The militia would then deliver two fires into the teeth of the British assault. After delivering their volleys, the militia were to withdraw behind Howard's main line and reform. Morgan trusted Howard's line to then hold Tarleton's men in check, wearing them down with concentrated blasts of musketry while Pickens' militia reformed and then hit Tarleton's preoccupied men on the flank, delivering an American victory.

Behind Howard's line Morgan posted Lt. Col. Washington and the 3rd Continental Light Dragoons to act as a mounted reserve. Washington had some eighty Continental dragoons under his command, including a handful of men from the 1st Light Dragoons, and another thirty South Carolina State Dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel James

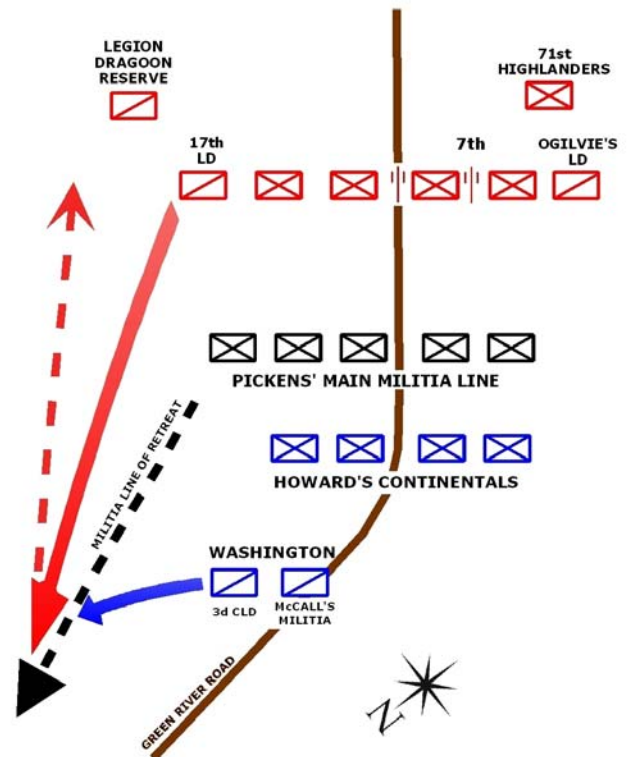
McCall.¹ In addition, forty spare sabers were issued the night before to hand picked members of the militia, some of whom had seen former service with Washington at Hammond's Store, giving Washington a total of around one hundred and fifty men.² First contact was made with the British before dawn by a ten-man vedette sent out from Washington's 3rd dragoons. The leader of the vedette, Sergeant Lawrence Everheart, was captured and the others rode back, warning of Tarleton's approach.³ As dawn began to break, Tarleton's cavalry closed on the southern edge of the field and promptly drew the fire of Morgan's skirmishers, retarding the British advance. Tarleton then came forward, assessed the situation and decided to attack, ordering his infantry and two artillery pieces to deploy on the edge of the field. As his infantry formed for the assault he augmented each flank with a troop of cavalry, placing a fifty man troop of 17th Light Dragoons on his right and a troop of British Legion Dragoons on the left while holding the remaining two hundred Legion Dragoons in the rear as a reserve.⁴ Tarleton's infantry advanced until they came within range of Pickens' militia who promptly opened fire. The lethal volley stunned the British but they dressed their ranks with cool professionalism and pressed ahead, allowing only one company of militia to get off a second volley before they withdrew. When Tarleton saw the militia withdrawing to the American left he promptly directed Lt. Henry Nettles' troop of 17th Light Dragoons to exploit the moment and charge the retreating militia.⁵

Contrary to Hollywood myth, a saber charge was not just a streaming horde of horses galloping toward an objective. For a more realistic impression, think of the cavalry as accelerated infantry making a bayonet charge. The key element is momentum as men and horses are formed in disciplined ranks so that the unit strikes as one solid blow, only reaching a gallop in the final yards. Further, the immediate goal of a mounted charge is not so much to kill the enemy as it is to break apart the enemy's formation and create a route. Nettles' men did just that, cutting through the American militia and instantly creating a panic in the American left rear as they chased the militia back several hundred yards to where the militia had picketed their horses. Robert Long of the militia mistakenly thought he was being attacked by "200 or 300 cavalry" and James Collins remembered thinking "my hide is in the loft" as the British 17th threatened to turn what had began as an orderly withdrawal into an all out flight that would have ruined Morgan's plan.⁶ To counter this threat, Lt. Col. Washington attacked the British 17th with his 3rd Dragoons and, contrary to other histories of the battle, I believe Washington did so while holding the militia cavalry in reserve.

Maintaining a reserve when charging opposing cavalry was a basic rule of 18th century tactics.⁷ True to those tactics Washington had given his men specific instruction not to fire their pistols and instead use their swords alone.⁸ Given the speed, fluid nature and short range weaponry of mounted combat, casualties were generally low and the tables could easily turn in a melee. A routed enemy could quickly rally and counterattack and at times the victor was simply the force with the last ready reserve. Further, the 17th's troop was only a third of Washington's force and their ranks were open in their pursuit of the militia. Washington did not need to commit his entire command at once. SC Patriot Thomas Young of the mounted militia supports this theory in his memoirs. Notice how he refers to "the cavalry" but not himself. "After the first fire, the militia retreated, and the cavalry covered their retreat...In this I can hardly be mistaken, for I recollect well that the cavalry was twice, during the action, between our army and the enemy."⁹

However, Cornet James Simmons of the 3rd Dragoons clearly took part in this charge. He recalled being in a "smart action" that left "18 of their brave 17th Dragoons dead on the spot" and went on to describe the 17th's red and buff uniforms as opposed to the green coats of Tarleton's Legion Dragoons.¹⁰ On foot, the fleeing American

militiamen saw the 3rd Dragoon's attack up close and personal: "In a few moments, Col. Washington's cavalry was among them, like a whirlwind, and the poor fellows began to kneel from their horses...The shock was so sudden and violent, they could not stand it, and immediately betook themselves to flight."¹¹ Aided by a volley from the reforming militia, the 3rd Dragoon's counterattack bowled into the scattered British horsemen and drove them back to their lines. The 3rd Dragoons pursued the 17th all the way past Howard's line of Continentals, and Howard's left hand company even fired a parting volley at the 17th as they fled past.¹² This charge by Washington's dragoons was crucial to the success of the battle as it secured the American left and allowed the militia to rally and reform in the American rear as per Morgan's plan.

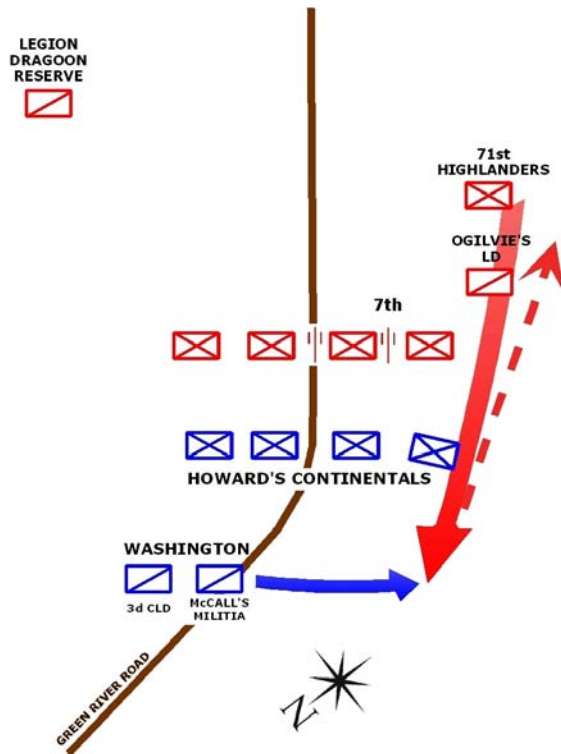


British dragoons chase Patriot militia from first line and Washington's dragoons engage the British to relieve the pursuit of the Patriot militia. Graphic by Ron Crawley.

As the 3rd Dragoons rallied back, the infantry fight was rapidly heating up before Col. Howard's main line. Tarleton's infantry swept ahead after the militia fell back and quickly encountered Howard's Continentals. The two sides traded volleys, then Tarleton decided to bring up the 71st Highlanders and flank the American right. Leading the 71st's attack was a single troop of British Legion Dragoons under the command of David Ogilvie¹³ whose men cut through the North Carolina riflemen posted on Howard's right flank. The riflemen withdrew, falling back but keeping up a fire on Ogilvie's horsemen. Running in on the heels of this mounted attack, the Highlanders gained Howard's flank. Howard ordered his right hand company to swing back and refuse the flank. However, a mix up of orders caused the right hand company to suddenly march to the rear so Howard ordered his remaining companies to fall back as well.

At this moment the battle approached its climax with the main line retreating and Ogilvie's troop of cavalry running unopposed on the American right. Once again Washington quickly responded and sent forward the mounted militia under Lt. Col. McCall.¹⁴ Riding with McCall was Thomas Young. "I soon found that the British cavalry had charged the American right. We made a most furious charge, and

cutting through the British cavalry, wheeled and charged them in the rear.”¹⁵ Notice Young says they wheeled back about and charged the enemy, a difficult, disciplined maneuver. The reader should not be put off by the title of militia as these men were true veterans and fully capable of independent action. Their attack sent Ogilvie’s troop reeling back in disorder beyond the Highlanders and cleared the American right rear.¹⁶



British engage Continental Line and Washington responds to the British challenge to the Patriots’ right flank. Graphic by Ron Crawley.

Some historians are hesitant to believe any American cavalry made a charge against Ogilvie’s troop at all and this may be because Howard makes no mention of it in his later accounts. But Captain Henry Connally of the North Carolina militia supports Young’s claim. Connally’s company was posted on the right of Howard’s line and displaced by Ogilvie’s charge, who “fell upon us with great fury but we were fortunately relieved by Washington’s legion.”¹⁷

When one considers the confusion Howard was dealing with at the time in his own lines, it is easy to see how he may have overlooked the event. Lieutenant Roderick McKenzie of the 71st Highlanders further substantiates that this second charge took place. “Captain Ogilvie, with his troop, which did not exceed forty men, was ordered to charge the right flank of the enemy. He cut his way through their line, but, exposed to a heavy fire, and charged at the same time by the whole of Washington’s dragoons, was compelled to retreat in confusion.”¹⁸ Howard later muddies the water further by stating that he saw Washington posted on a hill in his rear as he directed the withdraw of his infantry.¹⁹ Obviously, Washington could not have been in two places at once. And he would not have been if he had once again employed the use of a reserve and sent McCall after Ogilvie’s troop. There is little doubt that the defeated British troopers thought the entire American cavalry was charging them, but the plausibility of such a claim clearly diminishes under closer scrutiny. Aside from the tactical purposes earlier stated regarding reserves, this economy of force makes even more sense given the mounting crisis of Howard’s retreating line taking place before Washington’s very eyes.

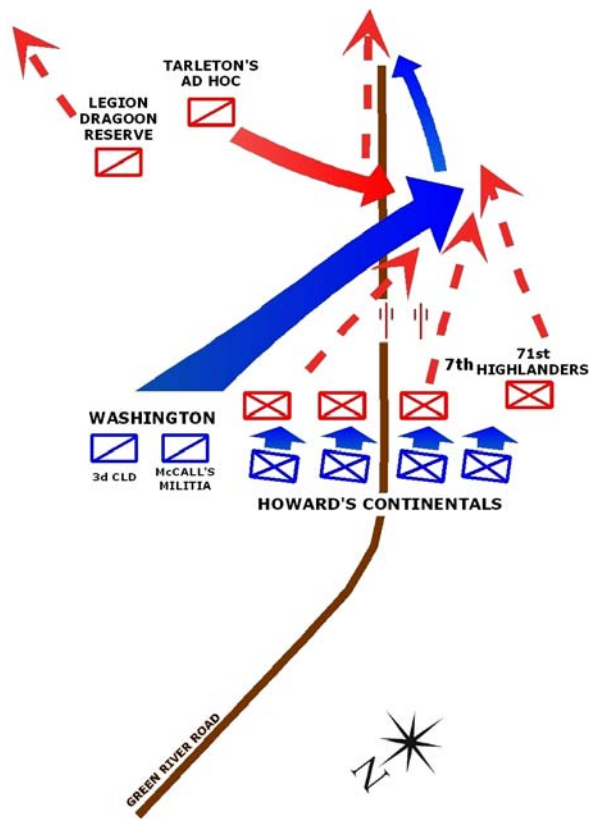
General Morgan was clearly alarmed and rode to Howard who assured Morgan that his men were not beat and in fact acting under orders. Morgan then directed Howard to reform his line in front of Washington who was in the rear of the main line atop a small rise.²⁰ At this time Washington noted the ragged pursuit of the Highlanders and sent word to Howard. “They are coming on like a mob. Give them one fire and I’ll charge them.”²¹

The Highlanders clamored after Howard’s men, closing to within thirty yards when Howard ordered the line to turn about and fire. The volley stopped the Highlanders cold and Howard’s Continentals began fixing bayonets. Washington, now facing a static and dazed enemy, seized the opportunity and committed his entire force just as Thomas Young and the mounted militia rallied back from their charge on the right. “At this moment the bugle sounded. We, about half formed and making a sort of circuit at full speed, came up in rear of the British line, shouting and charging like madmen...The British broke, and throwing down their guns and cartouche boxes, made for the wagon road, and did the prettiest sort of running!”²² Sweeping around the American left, Washington’s force slammed into the British right flank. Cornet Simmons recalled how “In pursuit of their cavalry...[the]...Charge was made on the right wing of their Army.”²³ In contrast to Simmons’ statement, previous works have consistently placed this charge of Washington’s horsemen as passing the American right and striking the British left, but Col. Howard further corroborates Simmons’ statement in a letter to John Marshall. “Washington...was posted in our rear and moved to the left in pursuit of Tarleton’s horse which he pursued round our flank and never lost sight of them until [sic] they abandoned the ground.”²⁴

These accounts also provide deeper insight into Washington’s actions. He was not charging the British infantry. Instead, Washington was attacking Tarleton’s mounted reserves posted back on the British right as Howard’s line swept forward. In effect he was covering the American counterattack. Tarleton then turned to his two hundred Legion Dragoons and directed them to make a countercharge but the vaunted “green dragoons” were having none of it. “[A]ll attempts to restore order, recollection, or courage, proved fruitless. Above two hundred dragoons forsook their leader, and left the field of battle.”²⁵

As Washington rolled forward, Pickens’ militia rallied and came up on the main line firing at targets of opportunity, the British infantry fled for the rear beyond their guns. Cornet Simmons recalled shooting down the artillery horses while Howard’s men captured the two actual pieces. Still encountering no mounted resistance, Simmons’ and the rest of Washington’s men then swung into the fleeing British foot soldiers “composed of their Legeonary [sic] Infantry, intermixed with the Battallion of the Brave 71st...who, under the Operation of a Universal panic, (having been charged on the left of their army by our friend Col. Howard) instantly surrendered.”²⁶

Meanwhile, Tarleton continued to seek a mounted force to stem the American tide, managing to rally some forty men who made a spirited charge that temporarily checked Washington’s scattered ranks: “It was a small body of officers, and a detachment of the seventeenth regiment of dragoons, who presented themselves on this desperate occasion; the loss sustained was in proportion to the danger of the enterprise, and the whole body was repulsed.”²⁷ However brief, this sudden attack did manage to inflict a number of casualties on Washington’s men before the British were driven off in detail.



Washington's cavalry strikes the British right flank during the Patriots' counterattack. Graphic by Ron Crawley.

Washington himself was leading the pursuit of this ad hoc force when a small party of trailing British officers including Cornet James Patterson of the 17th Light Dragoons charged him.²⁸

*"The three advanced a breast and one of them aimed a blow the effect of which was prevented by Sergeant Perry who coming up at the instant disabled this officer. On the other side another had his sword raised when the boy came up and with a discharge of his pistol disabled him. The one in center who it is believed was Tarleton himself made a lunge which Washington parried & perhaps broke his sword. Two of the three being thus disabled the third then wheeled off and retreated ten or twelve paces when he again wheeled, about & fired his pistol which wounded Washington's horse - By this time Washington's men had got up and & Tarleton's horse moved off at a quick step. Thus, the affair ended. Washington had given orders not to fire a pistol and when the boy was questioned for disobeying the order he said he was obliged to do it to save the life of his Colonel. The excuse was admitted."*²⁹

This quick thinking "boy", sometimes referred to as a "waiter" in other accounts, was likely a member of Washington's staff but his name and identity have unfortunately been lost to history and to date no one knows his exact identity.

As alluded to in Howard's account above, Washington apparently believed he crossed swords with Tarleton. Tarleton never confirmed this. What is certain is that Tarleton realized the jig was up and fled the field as did his cavalry reserve, giving the Americans one of their greatest victories of the war and leaving behind eight hundred and thirty-nine dead, wounded and captured for a casualty rate of 84%. Exact American casualty figures are less clear but at least twenty-four were killed and another one hundred and four were wounded.

Tarleton and his cavalry then rode several miles and impressed a local farmer named Adam Goudelock as a guide. Washington and his

dragoons later showed up in pursuit and Goudelock's wife purposely routed them away from Tarleton's course out of fear for her husband's life.³⁰ This misdirection cost the American dragoons their quarry and effectively ended the cavalry actions for the Battle of Cowpens.



Extant 18th Century cabin reported to be that of Adam Goudelock who was taken as a guide to Tarleton to find his escape over Hamilton's Ford over the Broad River after his defeat at Cowpens. The cabin was relocated from its original site on Splawn Road several miles to grounds of the home of 19th Century Gen. Elijah Dawkins at 116 Goudeysville Road, Cherokee County, SC (SC 18 & 211). Tour by Rev. Robert A. Ivey; photo by Will Graves.

I began this research to prepare for the 225th Cowpens reenactment. In the course of planning the battle I worked with Dr. Lawrence E. Babits, author of *Devil of a Whipping* and who, in my opinion, is hands down the leading authority on the battle of Cowpens. With some trepidation, I presented my contrasting theories regarding the cavalry actions and Dr. Babits graciously studied them. He even took the extra steps of both validating and supplying additional supporting evidence for the theories in the form of a letter from John Howard to William Johnson, author of an 1822 biography on Nathanael Greene.

The reenactment itself was held on a slightly smaller field, but with very similar terrain features to the actual battle. After watching the reenactment, Dr. Babits believed that the previously perceived time of the battle - forty-five minutes - was probably far shorter and only took around twenty minutes.

After experiencing the reenactment from a mounted perspective, it is my opinion that William Washington definitely made some split-second decisions in reacting to the British dragoons' flank attacks, which both Dr. Babits and I now believe happened within minutes of each other. While waiting in reserve with the rest of the modern day dragoons, I knew the attacks were coming. Both attacks, particularly the one on the right, were partially obscured by the third line of Continentals as well as the retreating American militia, and I was amazed at how fast the opposing attacks appeared and carried forward. This speed only confirmed my prior belief that Washington employed a reserve. I left the event fully convinced that Cowpens was a battle fought at a blistering pace with little room for error. Hopefully our understanding of the battle will continue to grow in the future. Yet I think certain one conclusion will never change: the riders who closed up and crossed swords on that field 225 years ago were truly some outstanding soldiers!

End Notes

1. Hammond, *Pension*.
2. Young, *Memoirs*.
3. Simmons, *Everheart pension*.

4. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p. 216.
5. Ibid.
6. Young, *Memoirs*.
7. Diary of Baylor Hill, Vol. III, p. 56.
8. John Eager Howard to William Johnson. 1822. Courtesy of Dr. Lawrence Babits and Sam Fore.
9. Young, *Memoirs*.
10. Simmons, *Statement*. Fortsque, *History of the Lancers*, p. 63. Babits, *Whipping*, p. 46.
11. Collins, *Autobiography*, p. 57.
12. John Howard to William Johnson.
13. David Ogilvie was actually a member of the 17th Light Dragoons placed in temporary command of this Legion Dragoon company. Lt. Roderick McKenzie of the 71st refers to Ogilvie as a Captian other sources rate him as an Ensign. Babits, *Whipping* p. 47. McKenzie, *Strictures*, p. 98. He is listed as a Coronet in the 17th Regiment of (Light) Dragoons in the 30 June 1780 War Office *List of all the Officers of the Army*:...
14. Simmons, *Everheart pension*.
15. Young, *Memoirs*.
16. McCall's men were veterans of many battles. See McCall, *History of Georgia*, pp. 293-510.
17. Connelly, *Pension*.
18. McKenzie, *Strictures*, p. 98.
19. John Howard to William Johnson.
20. Ibid.
21. Johnson, *Sketches*, Vol. 1. p. 381.
22. Young, *Memoirs*.
23. Simmons, *Everheart Pension*.
24. John Howard to William Johnson.
25. Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p. 218.
26. Simmons, *Everhart Pension*.
27. McKenzie, *Strictures*, p. 101.
28. Babits, *Whipping*, p. 130. Stewart, *Highlanders*, p. 272.
29. John Howard to William Johnson.
30. Babits, *Whipping*, p. 134. Johnson, *Sketches*, Vol. 2, p. 383.

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The author would like to thank the following for their expertise and assistance, Charles B. Baxley, Ron Crawley, Dr. Lawrence Babits, Sam Fore, the National Park Service, the modern 3d Dragoons and II South Carolina and all the reenactors that took part in the 225th Cowpens Anniversary Celebration. And finally, my wife Jennifer for her incredible patience and support.



The British Legion dragoons lead by the infamous Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton. Photo by Calvin Keys.



The Magnificent Seven. Modern Third Continental Dragoons at Cowpens. Left to right - Daniel Murphy, Ed Harrelson, Mike Kyle, Don Lyons, Henry McMillan, Ron Crawley, and Alan Bowan. Photo by Calvin Keys.



Lt. Col. William Washington was awarded a silver Congressional Medal for his gallantry at the Battle of Cowpens. The medal is inscribed: “*Gulielmo Washington Legionis Equitum Praefecto Comitiae americanae*” — The American Congress to William Washington, Commander of a regiment of Cavalry.

On the reverse side: “*Quod Parva Militum Manu Irenue Prosecutus Hostes Vitrutis Ingenitae Praeclarum Specimen Dedit In Pugna A.D. Cowpens, 17th January 1781*” — Because, having vigorously pursued the foe

with a small band of soldiers, he gave a brilliant specimen of innate valor in the Battle of Cowpens, 17 January 1781.



Cowpens 225th Camp life. Photo courtesy of the Spartanburg Historical Association and photographer Brian Ilner.

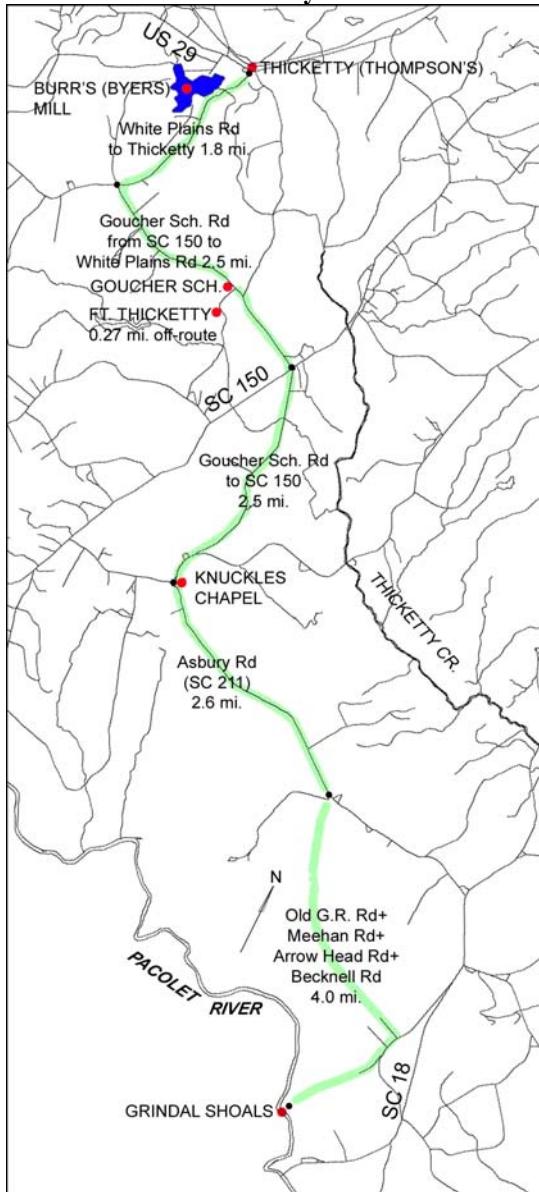
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Commemorative Walk from Grindal Shoals to Cowpens NB

Following approximate route taken by Gen. Daniel Morgan

Day I: Grindal Shoals to Thicketty
13.4 miles

End Day I

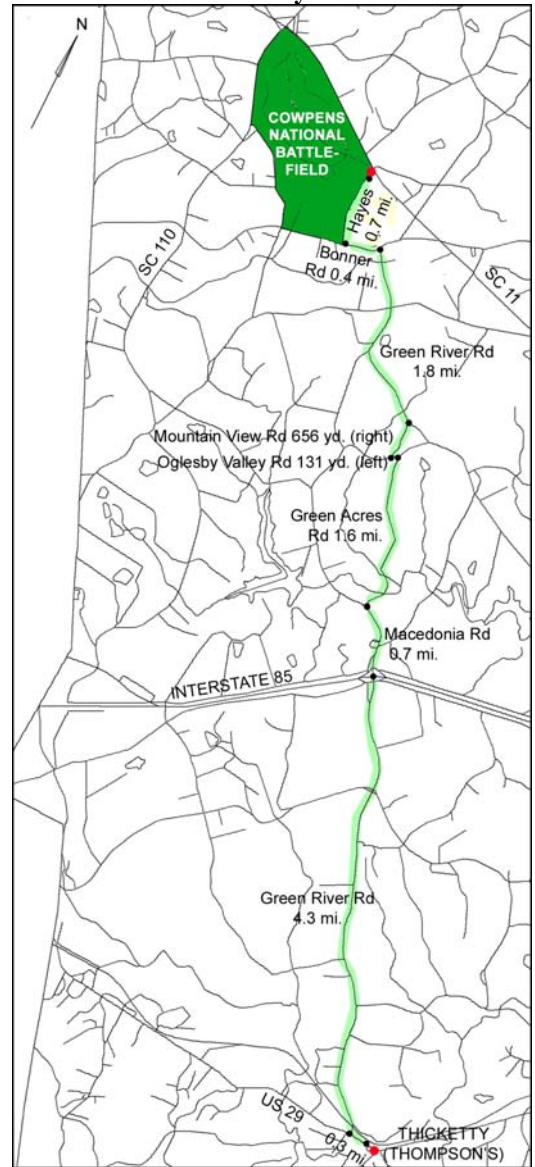


Start Day I

Maps of the two-day commemorative hike from Grindal Shoals of the Pacolet River to Cowpens, drawn by cartographer John Robertson. The Commemorative Walk route was selected by a committee based on modern practicalities and to approximate the route of march. SC Patriot militiaman Thomas Young, in his pension application, said that Gen. Daniel Morgan's army took the 2nd left (on modern Asbury Road SC-211) after leaving Grindal Shoals rather than the 1st left (modern Arrow Head Rd). Arrow Head Road is the approximate mid-point of Morgan's camp. Those at the upper end (SC-211E, to the east) are far more likely to have taken the route described by Young.

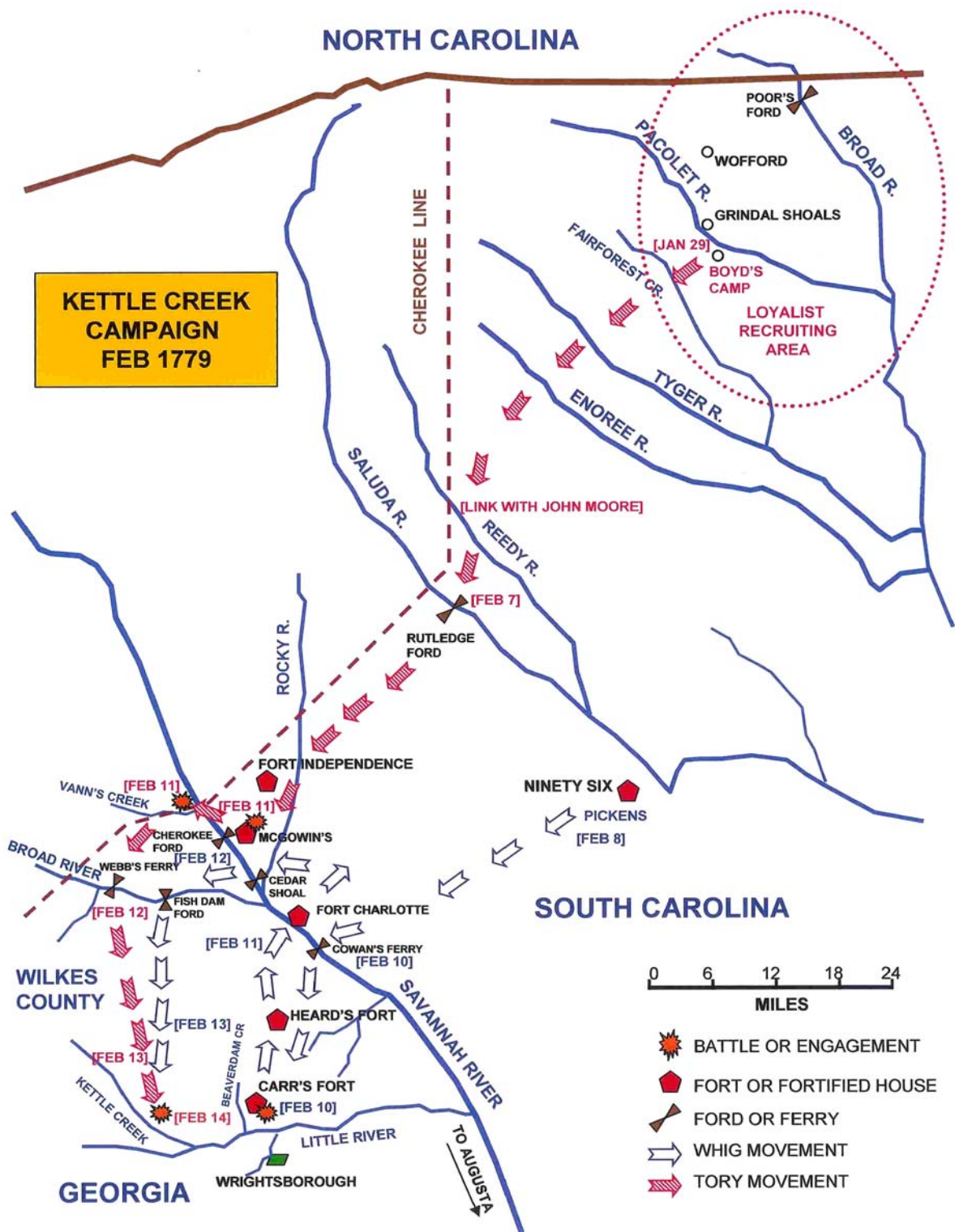
Day II: Thicketty to Cowpens NB
10.3 miles

End Day II



Start Day II

Some historians believe that the Patriots entered Cowpens park area at its lower west corner by New Pleasant Church (the old road passing to the west of the picnic area and passing between the Scruggs house and the battlefield), however they got there. The restored Green River Road on the actual battlefield is probably fairly close to the original. Since there was a boggy area at the lower west corner of the battlefield, it is reasonable that the road would have passed it on the higher ground on its east side and it is my belief that it would have turned southeastward (it was a SE/NW route) about halfway between the battlefield and the Scruggs house. The mapped route is a "commemorative route" in the same sense that the Commemorative Motor Route represents the actual Overmountain Victory Trail. ★



The Battle of Kettle Creek

by Robert S. Davis

The Battle of Kettle Creek has not lacked for notice or recognition but rather in understanding. It does not fit into the better-understood campaigns of the American Revolution and remains as dark and isolated in history as it has existed as a place. This obscure and enigmatic military event, however, continues to intrigue researchers with its riddles and with its answers that have special relevance to our lives. Most Americans would acquaint conspiracy

theories to only modern America but the events that ended with the fighting at Kettle Creek, Georgia on February 14, 1779 also resulted from a well documented, although little known, covert operation of international proportions. In 1778, British planners in London determined to revive the "Southern Strategy," a plan to invade the former southern colonies with an army that would rally and organize thousands of frontier Americans believed to still be loyal to the Crown. Such a counter-revolution, they believed, would eventually restore all of the former colonies south of Maryland and likely bring about the collapse of the entire American Revolution. Could this grand scheme have achieved the goals of its planners, it would have significantly changed history.

Sir Henry Clinton, British commander in North America, had no faith in this plan for a southern campaign, believing that it would divide and weaken his army while wasting men on a campaign too limited to succeed. He only told British Archibald Campbell, a lieutenant colonel and engineer with no combat experience, that the expedition even existed only the night before it sailed with Campbell as its commander. Clinton sent with the fleet the then equally inexperienced 71st Regiment of Foot (Fraser's Highlanders), a unit that some critics charged consisted, at least in part, of impressments made from the dregs of English society, with a medley of Hessian and Loyalist provincials corps. Quite likely, Sir Henry sent the officer he could most afford to lose with the troops he least needed on what he regarded as a fool's errand imposed upon him by Lord George Germain, British Secretary for the Colonies.

Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell, despite his circumstances and a harrowing voyage literally into what for him was the unknown, managed to triumph over the weather, sabotage, and privateers to rout an inferior American army and capture Savannah, the primary port and capitol of colonial Georgia, on December 29, 1778. Maj. Gen. Augustin Prevost, commander of the troops from East Florida, afterwards superceded him. While insulted by that turn of events and desperate to return to Scotland to marry, he still marched rapidly to Augusta with a force of 1,044 men. Campbell captured Augusta, the state's most prominent backcountry settlement on January 29, 1779 and, as civil governor, he eventually formed 1,800 Georgia men into a Loyalists militia upon receiving their submission and oaths to the King.

This experience, however, had been anything but encouraging to Archibald Campbell. His superiors in New York had assured him of a reinforcement of 6,000 Carolinians, as well as significant numbers of Indian allies. In his memoirs, he documented how his expectations steadily declined the further he marched into the interior of Georgia. Although reports arrived that thousands of Loyalists were mobilizing on the Saluda River, he had lowered his expectations to 1,000 men by the time that his troops had reached Augusta. One of his men had died at the hands of an American patrol and Colonel Marbury's horsemen had captured the British outpost at Middleton's Ferry on February 9, 1779. Campbell cancelled a plan to attack the growing American camp across the Savannah River, and fearing that his troops would become entrapped at Augusta, he evacuated his camps in the early hours of February 14, 1779.

Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell left having not received any word from the agent he had sent ahead into the southern frontier to announce the arrival of the British army and to form an army of thousands of Loyalists. Sir Henry Clinton had introduced this man, reportedly an Irishman who had lived on the South Carolina frontier, to Campbell in New York. Identified by Campbell only as "Boyd," this shadowy agent of the King left Savannah sometime after January 10, 1779 and, by January 24, had reached the Wrightsborough Quaker settlement, northwest of Augusta.

Boyd has been a major mystery in Southern history. William Millen, one of several Wrightsborough men Boyd approached as a guide, made a deposition in which he called him James Boyd. South Carolina Loyalist Zachariah Gibbs would identify the Loyalist leader he followed in the Kettle Creek campaign as Col. John Boyd. The confusion may come from two different Boyds working together, one of whom met Millen and the other who led the overall project. Boyd, or the Boyds, most likely came from the Raeburn Creek/Bush River area of the South Carolina frontier, today's Rabon Creek in Laurens County. Campbell would write of Boyd coming from "Red Creek." No such place has been found in the South Carolina backcountry, although in Campbell's native Gaelic, "Red Creek" would be "Raeburn." A James Boyd settled on or near Raeburn Creek by 1744. He had as neighbors James Lindley, Aquilla Hall (Lindley's father in law), and Samuel Clegg (likely related to the Boyds), Loyalists who would go to the gallows after having been at Kettle Creek. Francis Pickens, grandson of SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Pickens, would remember Boyd as being from what became

Newberry County, a claim consistent with that area. Leading South Carolina Loyalists hailed from that settlement, including Moses Kirkland, one of the major architects of the southern strategy; the Cunningham brothers and their cousin the infamous Loyalist militia partisan Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham; and Loyalist guerilla leader Col. David Fanning.

The Raeburn Creek and similar settlements in nearby Tryon County, North Carolina had been the nucleus for thousands of frontiersmen marching in support of the King's cause in 1775. British leaders in London and America failed to recognize the importance of the fact that these men had been defeated, even then, by larger numbers of their colonial neighbors. These people lived outside of societal mainstream on the frontier in combinations of Baptists, ex-Quakers, North Carolina Regulators, various groups of immigrants, "white savages" (white men who emulated the life style of Indians), escaped slaves, Indians, bandits, and other ethnic minority groups who had been tolerated and protected by the old British colonial system. North Carolina's Herman Husbands, a radical political and religious leader, had inspired these and other men to resistance against the mainstream years earlier in the North Carolina Regulator rebellion.

Even their support of the old colonial system declined with the persecution and exile of Loyalist leaders, many of whom escaped with hundreds of their followers to the Indian nations, the British colonies in the Floridas, and beyond. Boyd likely reached New York in 1778, for example, by way of East Florida as one of the "Schoffelites," men from the South Carolina frontier allegedly named for a notorious horse and chicken thief named Joseph Coffel and who were largely French-German Palatines. Coffel had been an enemy of the South Carolina Regulators, vigilantes who had fought a successful campaign to force the colonial South Carolina government to establish jails and courts in the backcountry frontier. Such men as the Schoffelites, upon reaching East Florida, often joined the ranger battalion of Englishman and former Georgia planter Loyalist Lt. Col. Thomas Brown. The men of this unit, whom even the British called banditti, consisted of frontiersmen experienced with the Indians. Loyalists could also join "McGirth's gang," a band of mixed race partisans and bandits led by Daniel McGirth, a South Carolinian who had tried to negotiate an end the Regulator movement through compromise.

By January 29, 1779 Col. Boyd had returned to the South Carolina frontier. He established his camp near present-day Spartanburg, where Christopher Neally brought him 150 recruits, as well as a supply of ammunition. A party set out to obtain more munitions from a fort on the Broad River. Local Whig militiamen were away at that moment garrisoning a fort on the Savannah River. They would abandon that post in a belated effort to protect their homes from the Loyalists. With 350 or more South Carolinians, Boyd set out for Augusta and the British army on February 5, 1779.

At this same time, North Carolina Loyalist leader John Moore had been gathering men in Tryon County, NC since the previous December. He ordered his men to capture SC Patriot militia Col. William Wofford but a group that he sent to attack the house of SC Patriot militia Col. John Thomas (Sr.) on Fairforest Creek seeking gunpowder was repulsed the Thomas family. The members consisted of but one young militiaman, Josiah Culbertson, and a group of women and children who made themselves look formidable by firing randomly through doors and windows. (Colonel Thomas and his other men in the house had fled; the gunpowder saved would be instrumental in the Whig summer of 1780 victories at Hanging Rock and attack on Rocky Mount.) Undeterred by this setback, Moore received reinforcements from a group that had gathered at Poor's Ford, North Carolina [Broad River] on February 5, 1779.

NC Patriot militia Col. Andrew McLean of Tryon County would write to the North Carolina General Assembly for help in stopping the further theft of horses (some even from plows), saddles, and guns by the Loyalists but little could be done as the state had been stripped of troops for an army sent to South Carolina and Georgia under Gen. John Ashe. McLean learned that Samuel Bakerstaff, one

of Moore's men, proclaimed that their body would soon consist of 2,000 men who would return as masters of the country. The North Carolina Assembly immediately ordered NC Patriot militia Brigadier General Allen Jones to assemble 2,750 light horsemen to pursue the Tories but events moved too quickly for anything meaningful to happen in North Carolina to impede Moore.

By then, Moore and his some 250 had joined Boyd on the Reedy River in [modern Greenville County] South Carolina. Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell had issued open commissions in the provincial units based upon the number of Loyalists recruited. Under that system, Boyd now qualified as a colonel, with Moore as his lieutenant colonel, and John Spurgeon of South Carolina as his major. The Loyalists crossed the Saluda River at Rutledge Ford on February 7, 1779. Two hundred South Carolina Whig militiamen under Cols. Thomas Brandon and James Williams pursued Boyd's ad hoc Tory Regiment but they lacked the speed and numbers to impede their enemies' march. From the nearby plantation of Adam Crain Jones, they heard the Loyalists, with drums and fife playing so "merrily," set out for Georgia. Fearing attack, the Patriot militiamen withdrew.

Col. Boyd faced a more serious problem with dissention among his ranks. Men like Aquilla Hall, described as a "Campbell" (slang for a Royalist Scotsman?), allegedly used threats and intimidation to force men to join this effort. Hall already had a bad reputation. Stories circulated that he had committed a murder before the war and that he had allowed Indians to capture and execute the inhabitants of a frontier fort. Boyd's command captured Fort Independence and the outpost at Broadmouth Creek on the South Carolina frontier. They had a very different experience on February 11, 1779 when they reached Cherokee Ford, in today's Abbeville County, SC one of the few places where the Savannah River could be crossed without a boat. There they encountered a small group of SC Whig militiamen of Captain Robert Anderson's company who blocked the passage to the ford by defending McGowan's blockhouse on the South Carolina side of the river. Under a man variously identified as Lieutenant Shanklin, Ramsey, and Calhoun, these eight men used two small wheel less cannons called swivel guns to intimidate Col. Boyd into not attacking. Reinforcements for the besieged Whigs soon arrived from the Georgia side of the ford for the militiamen in the form of Georgia Patriot militia Captain James Little and his company of forty Georgians. As the Loyalists conferred around their flag, within site of the fort, Little turned down a request by one of his men to start a fight with the enemy by firing cannon shot at the enemy council.

Boyd finally decided to march northwest until the high ground approached the riverbank, opposite from the mouth of Vann's Creek in today's Elbert County, Georgia. The Loyalists then crossed the river into Georgia on rafts and swam their horses. Companies of The Whig militia under Captains Little and Anderson, along with the South Carolina companies of William Baskins, Joseph Pickens, and John Miller took advantage of the Loyalists' vulnerability to attack from the Georgia shore during the crossing. These 120 Whigs could not see through the dense growth the size of the force that they tried to stop. They were soundly routed when the Loyalists counterattacked and flanked the militiamen, leaving Baskins and Miller among the eighteen prisoners taken by the Loyalists. Anderson also reportedly lost one man killed and fifteen wounded. Miller not only became a prisoner but he also received a wound in his knees. Boyd reportedly also suffered the loss of some 100 of his party who took the opportunity during the confusion of the battle and river crossing to abandon him and return to their homes in the Carolinas.

Now on the northernmost Indian frontier of Georgia, the Loyalists proceeded to march southwest across what was then Wilkes County, Georgia to the Quaker settlement at Wrightsborough where Boyd knew he could find allies. His command reportedly crossed the Broad River [of Georgia] at Webb's Ferry on February 13, 1779 and then rode hard for most of the rest of the day during which they skirmished with pursuing militiamen. On Sunday morning, February 14, the King's men proceeded only some two miles, from near the site

of the present day city of Washington, to halt on Kettle Creek, near the present day Tyrone community and only a few miles from Wrightsborough.

These 600 Loyalists had every reason to have felt that success lay just hours away. They camped on both sides of the creek, which was made especially defensible by winter rains that had caused it to rise above the many channels in this swampy, cane-choked stream. On the east side of Kettle Creek, Boyd made his headquarters in a small farm called a cowpen, on a hill that faced the creek on all but the east side. His men found a cow and began butchering it. John Hamilton, a Loyalist officer from the British camp in Augusta, would later imply that he reached Kettle Creek and, therefore, could have told Col. Boyd that the Redcoats awaited the arrival of the Loyalists. Guards set out for Augusta with the prisoners taken at Vann's Creek and to announce Boyd's pending arrival to British Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell. An unknown number of malcontents were allowed to leave although they left to return to the Carolinas believing that the Loyalists would succeed. Extra horses were released to speed up the march.

Even without knowledge of previous events or the current situation, the Loyalists should not have been terribly concerned. Andrew Pickens and others would later accuse Brigadier General Andrew Williamson, commander of South Carolina's Ninety Six District Patriot militia, of treason for doing little to challenge the superior numbers of well-trained British regulars at Augusta. Williamson knew that groups of Loyalists had gathered, one near Ninety Six and another beyond the Saluda River by the night of February 8, 1779 but he could do little beyond apprising his superiors of the gravity of the situation and urging that troops be dispatched to put down the Tory uprising. Those American leaders mistakenly believed that Campbell intended to bring about the Loyalist revolt by crossing into the South Carolina frontier. Continental Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln had the 4,000 men of the main army at Purrysburg, South Carolina to keep the British forces in Savannah in check, while Gen. Williamson, with 800 men, and later Gen. John Ashe of North Carolina, with 1,600 troops, massed on the Savannah River, across from Augusta, to try to block any advance by Campbell. Georgia Patriot militia under Colonel Benjamin Few and Georgia horsemen under Colonel Leonard Marbury, however, did attack British outposts and persons suspected of being Loyalists in Georgia, while battling Royalist guerillas led by Daniel McGirth; and by Georgia Loyalist militia Col. John Thomas [not to be confused with SC Patriot militia Col. John Thomas Sr. and Jr. of the Spartan or Upper Fairforest Regiment] and Major Henry Sharp, both of Burke County, Georgia.

British Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell had dispatched eighty horsemen under Captains John Hamilton and Dugald Campbell to receive the submission of the settlers of Wilkes County, the area at that time north and west of Augusta. Delegations of Quakers and Baptists had come to the British camp with offers to surrender their settlements in exchange for protection. Captains Hamilton and Campbell also had orders to try to obtain news of Boyd.

The Loyalist horsemen initially achieved great success as each of the stockade forts they encountered submitted or fell without a great effort. Local Patriot militia under Colonel John Dooly, Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke, and Major Burwell Smith soon found themselves not only menaced by the riders from Augusta but also possibly by Loyalist partisans under Daniel McGirth. The Georgians evacuated their command across the Savannah River but when they tried to return, the Loyalists drove them back, at a crossing of the Savannah River near the mouth of the [Georgia] Broad River.

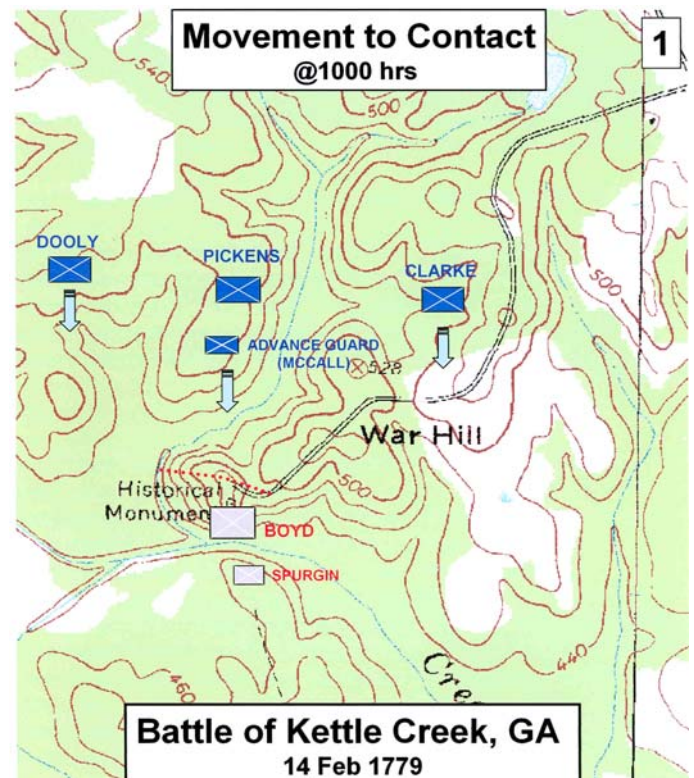
Being overwhelmed, Col. Dooly next tried to find allies in South Carolina but there he faced a different problem. The previous summer, SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Williamson had brought more than 500 men to Wilkes County to help against Creek Indian attacks. These South Carolina militiamen had found no Indians, or even Dooly, but only Georgians not too frightened to charge their rescuers inflated prices for supplies. Williamson had ordered his subordinates to have nothing to do with Dooly.

Col. John Dooly, however, now sought help from SC Patriot militia Col. Andrew Pickens, Williamson's subordinate who commanded the defenses along the Indian frontier. Pickens joined with Dooly and they skirmished with the Loyalist horsemen from February 8 to 10, when Captains Hamilton and Campbell left the river for the interior of Wilkes County. The joint force of Whig militiamen then crossed the river at Cowan's Ferry [again in Georgia, not to be confused with Cowan's Ford of the Catawba River in North Carolina] and there Pickens demanded that he retain overall command of all of their forces. Dooly agreed. Pickens then paraded their command and he told their men that he meant to pursue their enemy and that he would be obeyed. They then set out in pursuit of the Loyalist horsemen. The companies under Captains Anderson, Baskin, Miller, and [Joseph] Pickens stayed behind to guard the river passes, what would soon after result in the clashes at Cherokee Ford and Vann's Creek.

Local people told Cols. Pickens and Dooly that the Loyalists under Captains Hamilton and Campbell had set out for Robert Carr's Fort, near Wrightsborough (near today's Thomson, Georgia). The South Carolina colonel dispatched a messenger to reach the fort first and have the gates of the fort closed. When the Loyalists approached, the garrison would fire a gun and the militiamen under Pickens and Dooly would strike their enemy from the rear, pinning the horsemen to the fort. The messenger failed or the few and elderly men in the fort refused to comply. Captains Hamilton and Campbell, with their riders, dismounted and entered this cluster of log cabins unopposed except for the last of their number being fired upon by the approaching militiamen. The horses and baggage of the Loyalists, left outside fell prey to the besiegers. A force under a Captain William Freeman ran a gauntlet of fire to seize a new building that guarded the spring that served as the stockade's only water supply. Pickens' Captain Andrew Hamilton approached the fort to demand its surrender or at least the release of the civilians. Loyalist Captains John Hamilton and Dugald Campbell declined. Pickens considered waiting until nightfall and then rolling a wagon of burning wood onto the old dry fort. He even sent for cannons.

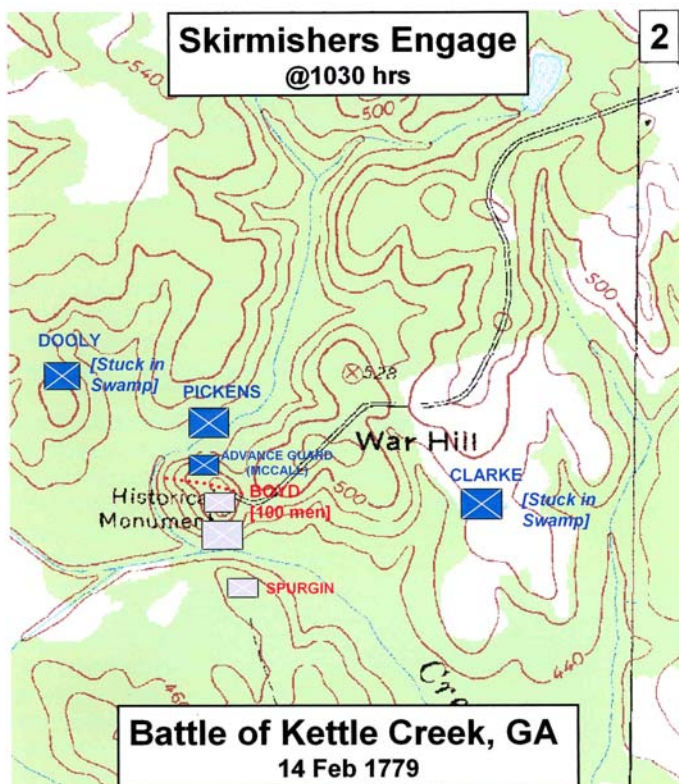
Before either plan could be carried out, however, Colonel Dooly's subordinate Captain Autrey arrived with a message from Colonel Pickens' brother, Captain Joseph Pickens, which warned of Boyd's approach. The message, arriving hours after the events it described, could not have told of Boyd's crossing at Vann's Creek. Andrew Pickens now faced a dilemma. He could have waited out the surrender of Carr's Fort and either then retreated to South Carolina with his prisoners or waited at Carr's Fort in hope that the approaching Loyalists would pass that way en route to nearby Wrightsborough. Dooly must have had the deposition made by William Millen of his meeting with Boyd at Wrightsborough by then and knew that the Loyalist leader had been seeking guides from sympathizers in that settlement. Pickens chose to abandon the siege of Carr's Fort and return to South Carolina in hopes of intercepting Boyd there. He and his command set out on the night of February 10, 1779 into the unknown.

On the Sunday morning of February 14, 1779 these Whig militiamen found themselves near Kettle Creek, almost exactly where they had begun their hunt for Boyd almost four days earlier. Their march had been wet and exhausting. They had returned to South Carolina and then crossed back into Georgia at Cowan's ferry. They crossed the Broad River at Fish Dam Ford [again, this is all in Georgia, not the South Carolina Broad River and Fish Dam Ford] on February 12 and used scouts under Dooly's Captain Joseph Neal to find their prey. At dusk on the thirteenth, the scouts skirmished with the rear of Boyd's column and they camped on their arms at Clarke's Creek, only four miles from their enemy. Reinforced by the survivors of Vann's Creek, Pickens now had 200 men and Dooly had another 140.



The Kettle Creek battlefield is marked on the USGS map (Philomath quadrangle UTM 17 325198E 3729825N [WGS84/NAD83]) as War Hill, which is also the name of the unimproved road leading to the battlefield. After camping four miles north of Kettle Creek, Col. Pickens divides his forces into three groups to simultaneously attack the Loyalists left, center and right. Boyd strategically placed videttes on top of War Hill while his main body camped south of the steep hill on both sides of Kettle Creek. Maps by Steven J. Rauch.

With no reliable information about the force he faced, Col. Andrew Pickens now planned a complicated attack against the hill that the scouts could see, today's War Hill on the east side of a bend in the stream. Pickens would attack from the center with his Upper Ninety Six Regiment and other South Carolina militia. Col. Dooly, with his Wilkes County Patriot militia regiment, would move through the woods and assault the hill from the west, while his lieutenant colonel Elijah Clarke would do the same from the east. Pickens' advance guard had orders not to fire until ordered to do so but they disobeyed upon coming upon the enemy's sentinels. Altered, Boyd formed those men around him into an ambush that blunted the assault by the South Carolina militiamen. The columns under Dooly and Clarke became entangled in the cane and trees. Unbeknownst to the attackers, most of Boyd's command had camped on the south side of the creek where they could rally and form unimpeded by the militiamen.

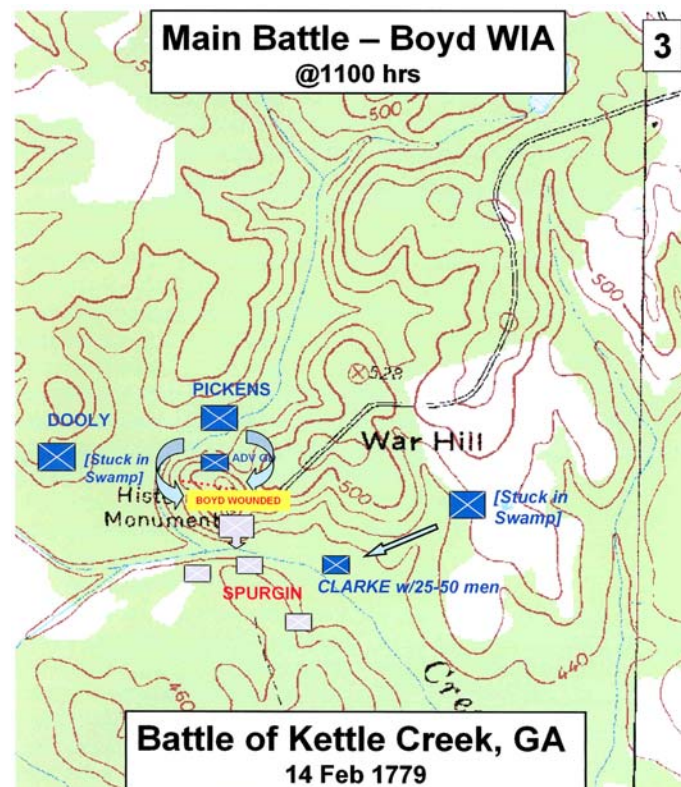


Pickens' Patriots advance patrol, likely commanded by SC Patriot militia Lt. Col. James McCall, mounts War Hill and are immediately engaged by Boyd's videttes giving a general alarm to the Loyalists camp. Clark and Dooly are tied up in the swampy lands on either flank and are unable to support Pickens' frontal attack. Boyd personally leads 100 Loyalists up War Hill to reinforce his line on the hilltop.

Cols. Boyd and Pickens had respectively relied on determination and courage. Luck had been with both of these leaders and during previous acquaintances but now they faced each other in a confrontation where fate could only reward one of them with success. Unintended circumstances decided the issue. Three of Dooly's riflemen, including Micajah Williamson, found themselves behind the enemy lines and opened fire on Col. Boyd with all three of them hitting their mark and mortally wounding the Tory commander. With their leader down, the Loyalists' cohesion began to fall apart. Their captain Christopher Neally arrived with his men and Major John Spurgeon, Boyd's third in command, tried to rally the panicked Tories on high ground on the west side of the creek. John Moore, the second in command, had disappeared and the Loyalists wrongly presumed that he had been killed. Elijah Clarke lost a horse charging with his men across the creek with his fifty men but he succeeded in defeating Spurgeon's efforts and in sending the remaining Tories to flight.

The mortally wounded Col. Boyd fell into the hands of the Whig militiamen after the battle. He would proudly proclaim to all who would hear that he died for his King and country; while telling the pious Presbyterian Pickens that he wanted no prayers from a "damned rebel" but that he would have succeeded if only he had not been shot. The victorious South Carolinian accepted personal items from the dying man to bring to Boyd's wife, a relation of Pickens. Fearing that troops from the British army might arrive from Augusta, Pickens and Dooly had the dead buried on the battlefield and quickly marched their men back to South Carolina. The Loyalists who had set out towards Augusta with the prisoners taken at Vann's Creek surrendered to captains Baskin and Miller upon learning of the events at Kettle Creek in hopes of receiving pardons.

Actual casualties proved light on both sides, as most of the "King's men" chose to escape to Wrightsborough or to return to their homes in the Carolinas. Boyd and nineteen of his men were killed and twenty-two others were taken prisoner. Pickens and Dooly lost seven men killed and fifteen wounded. The latter included Captain James Little and Pickens' later son-in-law John Harris, both of whom were saved from near death by the work of a surgeon named Langdon.

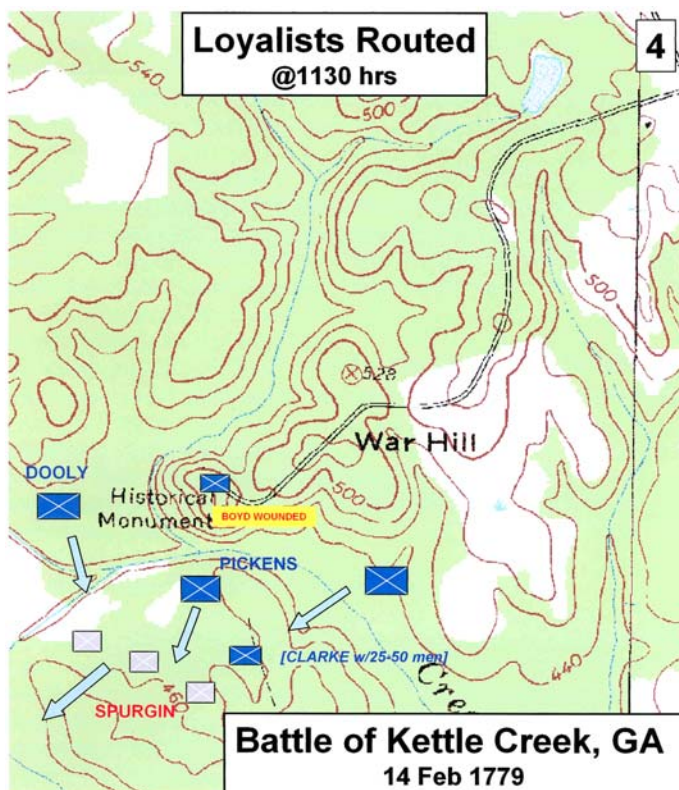


Pickens moves up to War Hill and engages Boyd's Loyalists, likely flanking Boyd from both sides. When Boyd is fatally wounded and his troops panic and are routed.

With the Loyalists who went home and later surrendered to local authorities, the number of Boyd's men taken prisoner eventually reached some 150 men held at cowpens in Augusta and later at Ninety Six, South Carolina. Five of their number at Ninety Six and two in North Carolina were eventually tried and hanged.



Southern canebrake similar to one that delayed Dooly and Clarke's flank attacks on Boyd's Loyalists. Photo courtesy of Robert S. Davis.



A portion of Clarke's Patriot militiamen break free of swamp, cross Kettle Creek, and attack Boyd's Loyalist right flank, now commanded by Maj. Spurgin [Spurgeon].

Two hundred and seventy of Boyd's command escaped the Battle of Kettle Creek to safely reach the British army with the help of John Hamilton. They were formed into the North Carolina Royal Volunteers under Lt. Col. John Moore and the South Carolina Royal Volunteers (later the second battalion of the South Carolina Royalists Regiment). Both units virtually disappeared by the summer of 1779 from desertions and transfers. Moore would live to serve at numerous other Loyalist defeats including King's Mountain, Hammond's Store, and Ramseur's Mill before he was captured and hanged. Major Spurgeon died fighting for his King in Burke County, Georgia, on March 31, 1779.

Although the Battle of Kettle Creek was one of a few badly needed guerrilla victories for the Patriot cause in the midst of a string of much larger military defeats, it was more important for what it represented. Its final secret is that even if Boyd and his followers had marched unopposed across the Deep South and entered Augusta, in triumph, to join Campbell's army, their arrival would have in no ways mattered. The British had expected thousands of loyal southerners to rally to their flag but only some 700 to 800 men, at most, assembled. At least some of them consisted only of criminals trying to escape local civil authorities and other less than desirable recruits, some of whom, like some "Patriots," only acted under coercion under threats to their lives and property. This number of men in no way justified the risks and expense to reach them. That fact should have shown all sides that the time for "Americanizing" the Revolution with any hope of success for the British had passed. The Tories made better refugees than soldiers. Meaningful Loyalist military support in the South, if it ever existed, had largely departed to other lands and almost all of the adherents they still had among the general population lived at the mercy of their Whig neighbors. However, campaigns to find the mythical Loyalist army in the South would continue to almost the end of the war and through such defeats at King's Mountain, Hammond's Store, Ramseur's Mill, and even Yorktown.

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Battlefield maps by Steven J. Rauch.

The Kettle Creek Battlefield

by Robert Scott Davis

On February 14, 1779, a Revolutionary War battle occurred on Kettle Creek west of the present day town of Washington, in Wilkes County, Georgia. Within the complexities of the real event, the misunderstandings about it in legend and history began. In that fight, 340 Georgia and South Carolina Patriot militiamen under Cols. Andrew Pickens, John Dooly, and Elijah Clarke attacked some 600 Americans who supported the British cause. By that afternoon, the Patriot militiamen had won the day against their fellow, and probably near identical, neighbors. Twenty or more of men believed to have been the Loyalists lay dead on the ground. The militiamen had suffered four men killed, three mortally wounded, and fifteen other casualties. Even by the standards of the American Revolution, these numbers were low but this engagement did give Georgia's rebellion from Great Britain one of its few, and certainly what became its most memorable, victories in battle.

News of the battle quickly spread through the Loyalist and Patriot communities, as shown in letters buried in the British archives until well into the twentieth century. Georgia Patriot militia Col. John Dooly wrote an account of the battle only two days after it happened that found its way to Continental Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, commander of the Southern Department. SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Williamson repeated Col. Andrew Pickens' report of the same to Lincoln in a letter on February 20, 1779. Lincoln allowed an abstract from the Williamson letter to appear in a South Carolina gazette. The press in the thirteen states soon reprinted that report. The earliest histories of the American Revolution in the South also carried mentions of the battle that continues to find at least passing mention in modern works.

Kettle Creek, as a place, however, has had a shadowy past. The stream likely received its name from an Indian kittle (fish trap). Truly part of the southern frontier, the area had been the lands of neighboring Cherokee and Creek Indians as recently as 1773. Captain McFarlin's South Carolina troops camped on the creek to combat Indian raids in 1776. Georgia's revolutionary state government included the area in original Wilkes County, Georgia's first county, in 1777, on its then northern most frontiers. A year later, the Creek Indians destroyed Robert McNabb's Kettle Creek fort and killed its namesake. By 1779, two major paths converged on the north side of the creek and then crossed the stream where the close proximity of two hills forced the creek and its swamp to narrow as it passed between them. Here, in this cane-choked bend, travelers could find relatively easy passage across the water to the south and west side of the stream. By then, a settler had established a cowpen on a hill in the bend of the creek.

The battle of February 14, 1779 occurred when the Loyalists stopped in the meadow there to rest and to slaughter a cow they had

found. A frontier “cowpens” was more than merely a split rail pen. It had almost all of the features of a farm and even a frontier fort. The Loyalists taken prisoner at the battle would find that such a compound also worked well as a prison or concentration camp. A typical cowpen of that place and period usually included cabins, riflemen armed to hunt game, and even crops, surrounded by a broad meadow that made any assault a dangerous proposition. Andrew Pickens, in the first battle fought in South Carolina during the American Revolution, had helped to successfully use a cowpens as a defensive position at Ninety Six against these same Loyalists and others in 1775. Pickens would also bring his South Carolina troops to Kettle Creek in 1781, en route to an invasion of the Cherokee lands. In 1782 Ga. Patriot militia Col. Josiah Dunn died in a night skirmish against Loyalists at the mouth of Kettle Creek.

A community grew up around the battlefield after the war. Immediately north of the site, Archibald Simpson, alleged to have owned the cow slaughtered by the Loyalists before the battle, helped to establish the New Liberty (Kettle Creek) Presbyterian Church and cemetery. William Hammett, a veteran of the battle who had been wounded there and lost two brothers in that fight, owned the battlefield. There Jeremiah Fletcher became involved in a brawl with Kettle Creek veteran Peter Strozier at Hammett’s still house in 1790. Local people, however, eventually moved the Revolutionary War period road to the south. The church became abandoned with its site is today marked only by a few grave markers. The meadow at the battlefield likewise disappeared. The battlefield became a neglected place in the woods whose importance became known only to local families. In 1865, the Wilkes Countians again used the site as a cowpen because it had become so obscure that invading federal troops would presumably not be able to find it. Thomas W. Callaway’s 1877 map of Wilkes County showed the location of the battlefield but no roads anywhere near it. In Washington, Georgia, Eliza Bowen wrote articles about the battle in the local newspaper as early as 1879 but bemoaned the fact that so many relics had been removed from the battlefield over the years with no effort made to preserve them locally for public display. Ten years later she admitted that she was probably only one of two people in Washington to have visited the site, although she noted that “it would make a very pleasant summer day’s excursion to go up to the battlefield and carry a lunch.”

The Battle of Kettle Creek moved into popular history in Georgia through Hugh McCall’s history of Georgia in the American Revolution (1816). His detailed, but not always accurate, account of the events of the campaign that led to the battle almost certainly came from correspondence with Andrew Pickens (d. August 11, 1817). He likely supplemented that information with stories told to him by Elijah Clarke, Andrew Hamilton, and other veterans and, possibly, details journal kept by his father, SC Patriot militia Lt. Col. James McCall. Subsequent publications of the history of the battle, until the Bicentennial of the American Revolution, almost exclusively paraphrased the account in McCall’s book.

That public notice of the battle generated by McCall started the tradition of bestowing participation in the battle upon the memories of long deceased Georgia heroes of the era, such as Nancy Hart, Stephen Heard, and Abram Simon. Former Georgia governor George Rockingham Gilmer started this trend with his published parable, in 1851, of how slave Austin Dabney had been awarded a pension, land, and his freedom for having been disabled by a wound in the Battle of Kettle Creek. Records recently discovered in the National Archives show, however, that Dabney actually received his wound in Augusta in May 1782.

This notice created interest in the battlefield site. Adiel Sherwood described the creek as the site of a Revolutionary War battle in his 1827 gazetteer of Georgia. An imaginary vignette of the battle began to appear in prints by the 1840s and, in 1846, William Bonner published a detailed map of the State of Georgia that he compiled from information sent to him by local county officials that included the location of the Kettle Creek battlefield. In 1886, Henry T. Slaton, the owner of the battlefield property, sought to draw notice

to the site with a lengthy article, based in supposition and local tradition that firmly placed Kettle Creek in the very small world of Georgia folklore.

Kettle Creek, as an object of interest of any type, did not emerge from obscurity again until 1900. By then the Daughters of the American Revolution had been formed with a Wilkes County chapter. Meadow “Met” Andrews Green, regent of the chapter and cousin of Eliza Bowen, persuaded her banker husband to purchase twelve and one half acres of the battlefield for seventy-five dollars and to donate the land to the Wilkes County Chapter. The African American woman who had owned the property later remarked that even the people immediately living around the battlefield knew nothing of its importance until Mrs. Green had stirred up local interest in the site.

Mrs. Green and her sister, Civil War writer Eliza Frances Andrews, began a campaign to persuade Congress to erect a shaft monument at the site. To promote this effort, they published a list of names of men thought to have been in the battle. Although only 340 men served in the Whig militia at Kettle Creek on February 14, 1779, the various lists grew to eventually include some 600 names, including men later documented as not coming to Georgia until after the American Revolution. After ten years, the initial monument effort failed but the tradition of the Kettle Creek lists continued and, eventually, included a list entered into the official records of Congress.

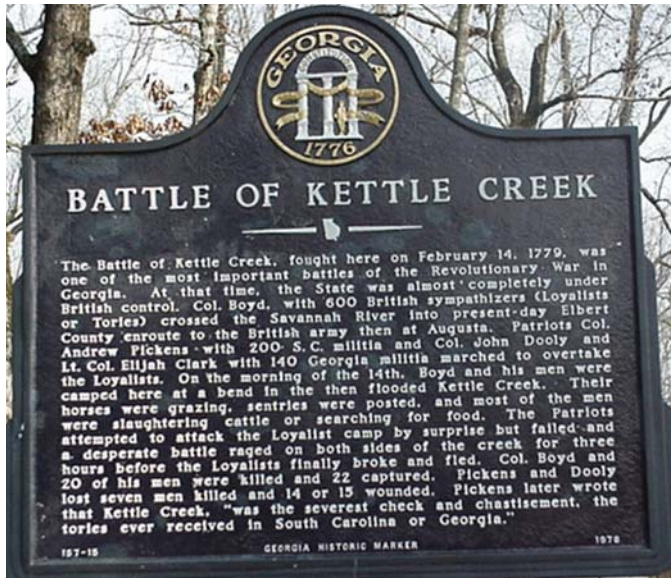
While the interests in these lists grew, however, the battlefield remained an obscure, almost unreachable, spot in a dense wood. The War Department finally erected a shaft monument on the site in 1930 as one of many monuments, large and small, created at government expense during the Great Depression. Because of the site’s isolation, a road and bridge had to be cut to the west side of the site for the dedication ceremony and dinner that was held there on a cold and wet June 6, 1930. The monument commemorated a place that had no other physical reminders of its historically significant past. Even the creek had been rechannelled in 1920-1921.



1930 Kettle Creek Battlefield Monument. Photograph by Steven J. Rauch.

In 1930, the federal government was persuaded by the Kettle Creek DAR to erect a suitable memorial to commemorate this important event of the Revolutionary War. In addition to the monument, much improvement was made to the site, including the building of an access road and a bridge over the creek. At a ceremony on June 6, 1930 a granite obelisk was unveiled in the presences of many dignitaries, including then Army Chief of Staff General Charles Summerall. One each side of the obelisk there are appropriate inscriptions. Steven J. Rauch

After the crowds and dignitaries left, the battlefield again lapsed into an obscurity that lasted for decades. By the 1950s, almost no one, even in Wilkes County, knew of the significance of the site. Few visitors made the difficult trek to the battlefield. The county maintained the wagon path to the east side of the site after the monument commemoration bridge collapsed.



Georgia State Historical Marker at Kettle Creek.

In 1958, the State of Georgia erected two aluminum markers relating to the battle site and, in 1960, antiquarian and veterinarian Dr. Turner Bryson persuaded the last surviving members of the Wilkes County Chapter of the DAR to assign the ownership of the property to the Wilkes County Board of Commissioners. Had he not taken this action, theoretically the property would have passed to their descendants upon their deaths.

Dr. Bryson and others worked to find a place for Wilkes County in the modern world that both preserved and used the area's extensive history. He had created the Callaway Plantation historic site to educate the public on his county's past and, in 1962, he formed the Kettle Creek Battlefield Commission to try to establish a "first rate park" at the battlefield. Bryson had the site cleaned up, the road maintained, and picnic tables erected. By 1975, however, the picnic tables had been broken. The historical marker dedicated, by Senator Richard B. Russell, had been shot full of holes before being stolen.

Kettle Creek commemorative efforts, however, continued. In 1962, Dr. Bryson arranged for the first symbolic reburial of a Revolutionary War veteran at the battlefield, an idea that, many years before, Met Andrews had opposed as disrespectful of the deceased veterans. The newly created Kettle Creek Chapter of the DAR has continued this program although to date only one of the soldiers represented by the reburials has been documented as having been in the Battle of Kettle Creek. In 1967, a "reenactment" of the Battle of Kettle Creek took place at nearby Washington, Georgia with soldiers in Continental and British uniforms. Visiting dignitaries, also in period dress, included the governor of Georgia. In 1973, Wilkes

County novelist Janet Harvill Standard compiled a book of published accounts of the Battle of Kettle Creek that chiefly originated from the publication by Hugh McCall in 1816.

For Kettle Creek, this situation might well have continued into the present except for the largely accidental intervention of a few individuals. The Kettle Creek Chapter of the DAR nominated the battlefield site for a national park in 1972 but the National Park Service turned down the site based upon a NPS report in 1960 that had described it as lacking national significance. A similar effort to have the site placed on the National Register of Historic Places also failed. David Mercer Sherman, a hiker and Georgiana enthusiast from Albany, Georgia, serendipitously visited the site of the battle in 1973 and subsequently nominated it for a state park under the Georgia Heritage Trust program. He urged that any state park contain several hundred acres so as to preserve as much of the natural appearance of the areas possible.

As a result of Mr. Sherman's efforts, the then Historic Preservation Section of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources hired Robert S. Davis as Georgia's first history intern and to write a report on the site's potential as a state park. Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr. of the DNR served as his supervisor and co-author. The report, issued in 1975, included research into Kettle Creek as a place, an historical event, and as a source of legend. Thomas provided the first title trace of the ownership of the property. As a consequence of the final report, works on the American Revolution in the South published during and since the Bicentennial have had the advantage of access to source material beyond McCall's history.

A severe economic downturn in the late 1970s killed the plans for making the site any sort of state park although Thomas succeeded in having forty acres of the site placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1975. The Georgia legislature appropriated \$10,000 for the Kettle Creek battlefield to compensate for funds from the Bicentennial that never materialized. Lucy Singleton and Turner Bryson used the funds for a gate and other improvements to the site. The Wilkes County Board of Commissioners and the Samuel Elbert Chapter of the Georgia Sons of the American Revolution, in cooperation with many other groups and individuals, today maintains the original twelve and one half acre site for tourists.

As with almost all Revolutionary War sites, virtually nothing remains of the battlefield as it would have appeared in 1779 but, in the commemorations in 1979 and 2004, documented history has at last played a role in the public presentations. The site now has a historically accurate historical marker and, as appropriate for the traditions of the battle, a monument with a list of the names of the soldiers in the battle as the work of the Kettle Creek Chapter of the DAR. This latest incarnation of the Kettle Creek list, however, has only participants whose presence can in some ways be documented. It even includes names of Loyalists, the Americans who fought for the King's cause on that ground on February 14, 1779, and a feature that may be unique to the Kettle Creek monument.

The site still has problems. Important parts of the battlefield remain in private ownership. Although relic hunters have found such significant items as a mastodon tooth, rare Indian artifacts, and early Anglo-European items on the site, no professional archaeological work has been done at Kettle Creek or at other places related to its campaign. Similarly, no ecological studies have been made to determine what, if anything, of the modern flora might relate to the Revolutionary War era. For Kettle Creek, however, the historic site, the history, and the traditions now support each other on the same hilltop.

This article is an abstract of Robert S. Davis, "Change and Remembrance: How Promoting the Kettle Creek Battlefield went from the Means to Becoming the End in Itself." *Journal of the Georgia Association of Historians* 24 (2003): 61-79.

Kettle Creek Battlefield, Washington, Ga.

By Steven J. Rauch

The Kettle Creek battlefield is a 12.5 acre tract owned by Wilkes county and is marked on the USGS map (Philomath quadrangle UTM 17 325198E 3729825N [WGS84/NAD83]) as War Hill, which is also the name of the unimproved road leading to the battlefield. The battlefield can be accessed two different ways. The first is from GA 44 and US 78B/GA 10B, follow GA 44 west 8.3 miles. Turn right onto Stoney Road at the historical marker and follow that road for 1.4 miles to Court Ground Road. Turn left on to Court Ground and travel 1.4 miles until you see War Hill road on your left. Turn left on War Hill (a dirt road) and follow for .8 miles to marker and site. From the town of Washington you may take Skull Shoals Road for 8.6 miles to Court Ground Road. Make a left from Skull Shoals on to Court Ground and travel south on Court Ground for 1.6 miles. Look for War Hill road on your right. Take War Hill road about .8 miles to the Kettle Creek Battlefield.



The entrance to the Kettle Creek Battlefield. There is a small gravel parking lot where visitors can and should park. Too many people have been driving cars to the top of the hill and caused much damage and erosion.

Kettle Creek Battlefield Bicentennial Marker Erected in 1979

Steven J. Rauch

The marker pictured was erected in 1979 to observe the Bicentennial of the Battle of Kettle Creek. It was designed and researched by the Washington - Wilkes Historical Foundation, Dr. Turner Bryson, President, and The Kettle Creek Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Mrs. John Singleton, Regent.



The marker pictured was erected in 1979 to observe the Bicentennial of the Battle of Kettle Creek.

THE PATRIOTS WHOSE NAMES APPEAR ON THIS MARKER ARE THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN PROVED TO HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THE BATTLE OF KETTLE CREEK ON FEBRUARY 14, 1779.

Many brave men fought on this hallowed ground. Some were wounded and others died here but never had occasion to make any official record of their service. Research and proof of record of service have been found in Revolutionary War Pension Statements, Military Service Records, Land Grants Records and National Archives, Washington DC.

Wilkes County Regiments, Georgia Patriot Militia. (140 MEN)

Col. John Dooly, Comdr.	Isham Burke
Lt. Col. Elijah Clark	Owen Fluker
Major Burwell Smith	Micajah Brooks
Capt. Alexander Autry	Charles Gent
Capt. John Cunningham	Jesse Gordon
Capt William Freeman	William Hammett *
Capt. Daniel Gunnells	James Hays
Capt. James Little *	Jesse Hooper
Capt. Joseph Nail, Sr.	David Madden
Lt. William Black	Benijah Noridyke
Ensign Joseph Nail, Jr.	Peter Strozier
Archibald Simpson	Benjamin Thompson
David H. Thurmond	John Webb
Micajah Williamson	Nathan Smith

* Wounded at Kettle Creek

Upper Ninety Six Regiment, South Carolina Patriot Militia. (200 MEN)

Col. Andrew Pickens, Comdr.	Patrick Cain
Capt. Andrew Hamilton	Francis Carlisle *
Capt. Robert Anderson	William Carruthers
Capt. James McCall	Thomas Cofer
Capt. Joseph Pickens	Edward Doyle
Capt. Thomas Weems	Thomas Hamilton
Capt. Levi Casy	John Harris *
Lt. Joseph Calhoun	William Hutton
Lt. Alexander Ramsey	Andrew Liddle
Lt. Samuel Roseman	John Loard
Lt. Thomas Shanklin	James Luckie
Lt. Joseph Wardlaw	William Luckie, Jr.
Thomas Langdon, MD	John McAdams
William Anderson	John McAlphin
John Bird	Joseph McClusky
Willis Breezily	Elijah Moore
William Buchanan	Samuel Moore
Alexander Patterson	Richard Posey
Samuel Reed	William Speer
John Trimble	William Turk

* Wounded at Kettle Creek

Additional South Carolinians from The Auditor General Account Book , 1778 - 1780, South Carolina Dept of Archives and History.

William Adams	John Calhoun
Alexander Aaron	James Cane
Robert Anderson	James Caldwell
William Baskins	James Calvert
John Beard	William Carothers

David Beard
Robert Bell
John Bole
John Buchanan
William Brown
Willis Breazeale
George Crawford
George Deardon

Samuel Carson
Daniel Carmichael
Alexander Chevas
Thomas Cofer
Cosby
Capt. John Cowan
Thomas Coyle

Additions to the Memorial Marker

John Thompson	William Thompson
William Downs	Samuel Whatley, Private
Nathan Barnett	David Hollomon
Austin Webb	Edmund Butler
John Milner	Absolom Davis
John Barnett	

For a detailed analysis and supporting documentation related to individuals on the marker, see Robert Scott Davis, Jr. *Kettle Creek Battle and Battlefield: A Commemorative Booklet on the 200th Anniversary of The Battle of Kettle Creek*. Washington, GA: Wilkes Publishing Company, 1978. pp 31-41.

Letter Col. John Dooly to Brig. Gen. Samuel Elbert About the Battle of Kettle Creek

Camp at Cowan's Ferry Feby. 16, 1779

Sir/

I arrived here last night out of Georgia after having one of the severest marches that I ever had in my life. I crossed Savannah River on the 12th of this instant about ten miles above fort Charlotte with Colo. Pickens with about 140 of my Regiment and Colo. Pickens had about 200 of his Regiment and we then pursued Colo. Boyds and Mores Regiments of Tories and horse-thieves and the 14th we overtook them near Phillips fort at Kettle Creek killing some Beefs and we immediately fired on some of them and in a few minutes it became a general engagement and held for about 15 minutes very hot and then they retreated across the creek through a large cane swamp and embodied them selves on the other side on a hill and we pursued them over the creek and in a few minutes it became a general engagement on the other side though the enemy had great advantage of the ground of us from the first and we had some difficulty in getting our men across the creek and I think upon my honour that from the first of the engagement to the last it was at least 3 ours constant firing and some times it appeared to me that they fired 200 guns at us in half a minute but notwithstanding they had at least 700 men we drove the Villains and beat them a fair fight wounded there great Colo. Boyd for death and left him on the ground and took their colors [colors] and from the best accounts I can get from the prisoners we killed or wounded Colo. More as he could not be found by his own people after the engagement. Was over we left about 20 or more of them men dead on the ground and a number wounded and a good many of them very mortally and we had 4 men killed on the ground and 14 or 15 wounded though we had 3 of our wounded died on our return and I am afraid some more of our men will die one of my Captains was badly wounded a fine soldier Capt. Little and I believe we had no other officers killed or wounded but I must assure you Sir that most of our officers and men behaved very well Colo. Pickens and Colo. Clark behaved wonderful well and acted with a great deal of courage and spirit Colo. Clark had his horse shot down from under him and I am sure that it must be nothing but the hand of Providence that saved Colo. Pickens and Colo. Clark and my self from being killed or badly wounded as we were much exposed on horseback during the

whole engagement. we took two of these Captains and 12 or 14 Privates and released about 20 of our prisoners they had though they had 3 of our Captains that they carried off with them that had been prisoners with them for some days and they are just this moment come in and have brought in the guard that was guarding them with them.

The letter from the Yale University libraries was published for the first time with the original spelling and grammar in Robert Scott Davis, Jr., *Kettle Creek Battle and Battlefield: A Commemorative Booklet on the 200th Anniversary of the Battle of Kettle Creek, Wilkes County, Georgia*, Washington, Georgia: Wilkes Publishing Company, 1978: p. 11-12.

Letter – Col. Andrew Pickens to Capt. John Irvine

March 12, 1779.

SIR:

On receipt of this immediately march, with twenty-five men of your company, to Ninety-Six, and join Col. Williams, in order to guard the prisoners while on trial. You will receive orders from Col. Williams when you arrive at Ninety-Six. Dinborough is to supply you with provisions while on duty. You will have Lieut. Joseph Wardlaw and any others of your company that were prisoners with the Tories, and can be any evidence against any of them. Elijah and Samuel Moore, that were with me at the battle of Kettle Creek, I am well informed have some horses and two rifle guns that were taken at that battle, and as that property belongs to the people in general, you will order them, without loss of time, to bring those effects to me, or they may depend on being prosecuted for the same.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

Andrew Pickens

(From Robert Wilson Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, Volume 2 [1776-1782], New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1857: p. 109; Reprint Edition, New York: Arno Press, 1971.)

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Compiled by Steven J. Rauch.

**Notes From Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell's
Journal Related to the Augusta and Wilkes
County Operations in January – February 1779.
Additional Comments are provided in brackets as noted [].**

8th [January 1779] This Day the following Proclamation was issued.

BY ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL Esquire commanding His Majesty's Forces in Georgia.

WHEREAS Information has been received that many Ringleaders of Sedition, and some skulking Parties from the Rebels of Carolina, still continue to infest this Province, and under Colour of the Night, have the Audacity to rob, and otherways ill treat those true and faithful Subjects of His Majesty whom they have not been able to seduce from their Allegiance; and whereas the aiding and concealing any Person or Persons acting in illegal Capacities, or who may yet hold out in Arms against the Authority of the King, must be highly prejudicial to the Tranquility and Interests of the Loyal Inhabitants of Georgia; Lieutenant Colonel Campbell hereby directs, that all His Majesty's faithful Subjects shall guard themselves against the Dangers of such wicked and destructive Enemies; and doth hereby command them in Hist Majesty's Name to make diligent Search after all such notorious Offenders, that their lurking Places, as well as those of their wicked Confederates may be instantly made known. Any Person or Persons knowing or suspecting the Concealment of such public Offenders are strictly commanded, on pain of the severest punishment and confiscation, to repair immediately to Head Quarters, or to the next Military Post, and make the same known to the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's Troops for the Time being.

For each Rebel Committee or Assembly Man, brought into any of the Military Posts, a Reward of Ten Guineas will be paid to the person or persons who bring him; and for every Rebel who is found lurking about the Country, a like Reward of Two Guineas will be paid upon his being delivered over to any of His Majesty's Officers.

GIVEN at HEADQUARTERS at EBENEZER, this Eighth Day of January 1779, and in the Nineteenth Year of His Majesty's Reign.

(Signed) ARCHD. CAMPBELL

GOD SAVE THE KING.¹

[Extract from letter Campbell to Lord George Germaine concerning the situation in Georgia written on January 20, 1779]

From those Circumstances, I am of Opinion that I can with a great Degree of Safety proceed to Augusta with a Chosen Corps; and as I mean to carry nothing with me but a few Light Field Pieces, a Month's Bread, Rum and Salt for the Army, I am in hopes our Motions from their Rapidity will be crowned with Success.

Although occurring Circumstances can only guide our future operations on my Arrival at Augusta; Your Lordship may nevertheless rest satisfied, that however ambitious I may be of reducing another Province to the Obedience of the Crown, I shall at all Times remember, that the Conquest already made, is too valuable to hazard on any wild Experiment: At all Events every Exertion will be used to collect the largest Force in that Quarter, to answer the essential Purposes of our future Progress.²

Feb'y 3d. [1779] At Augusta I received by the hands of a Mr. Freeman, an Address from the Inhabitants of Wilkes's County, an offering to surrender several stockaded Forts on the Frontiers of Georgia, about 50 miles from the Town of Augusta, which the Inhabitants had erected to prevent the Incursions of the Indians. Eighty of the Carolina Horse were instantly detached under the Provincial Officer, Captains [John] Hamilton³ and Campbell⁴, to receive the Submission of these Forts, and to favour the Approach of 600 Loyalists, who were coming from Red Creek, South Carolina, under the Command of Colonel Boyd, a Gentleman who came a Volunteer with me from New York; and who on Account of his Influence among the Back Woods Men of North and South Carolina, was dispatched to these Districts on my taking the Town of Savannah, with Directions to collect the Loyalists and join me at Augusta.⁵

7th [February 1779] Captain Hamilton had settled all Matters with the Frontier Forts, excepting one, [Carr's fort] which stood out on hearing that 300 Rebel Horse [under Pickens] were on their Way to

his Neighbourhood.⁶ Hamilton and Campbell who were apprized of their Approach, took a Resolution that was prompt and judicious: They stormed the Fort before the Enemy came up, and the Rebels found them too determined, and too securely posted, to practice the same Efforts to regain it.

10th [February 1779] Upon examining our Rolls, I found that Eleven hundred Inhabitants of the Province of Georgia had joined us with their Arms; and took the Oath of Allegiance to the King. These were formed into 20 Companies, and a proper Rendezvous established in each District, convenient for their respective Plantations. Orders were also issued for their sending immediate Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions, to the nearest Military Post; owing to which, the predatory Incursions of the Rebels were severely checked.⁷

[Campbell now starts to get nervous about Rebel activity on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River. He issues orders for several courses of action for his men in case of attack]

Feb'y 11th [1779] At Augusta, a general Inspection of Arms, Ammunition and Accoutrements took Place; and the Troops were ordered to be in Readiness to march or fight at a Moment's Notice. . . About 3 o'clock this Afternoon two Spies arrived from Golphin's Plantation, announcing the approach of 1600 Rebel Troops from North Carolina, under Generals Ash and Obrien. [Campbell, who had been planning to attack a rebel detachment at Fort Moore began to vacillate as intelligence of additional forces from South Carolina joined Ash and he talks himself out of his own plan] I was under Orders of a Superior, who might think my Conduct rash and unreasonable...and that the whole Force of the Rebels opposite to Augusta amounted to 3800 men.⁸

Feb'y 12th [1779] I thought it my Duty to assemble the Field Officers, and to consult with them respecting our future Operations; the Result of which was a follows.

That from every Intelligence there was scarcely a hope of our being now joined at Augusta with the Loyalists from the back Country. That it was impossible to obtain a Sufficiency of Provision and Rum in this Neighbourhood to last us any Time; and there was no Reason to expect Supplie of either, nor any Reinforcements of Men from General Prevost, That the Militia were stationed at their homes, and could not be much depended upon in a general Action; and that there were six deep Ravines between us and General Prevost's Army; At any of which, 1000 determined Men might keep us for many days at Bay. From a due

¹Campbell, Journal, 38-39.

²Campbell, Journal, 43.

³Probably John Hamilton, Lt. Col. Royal North Carolina Regiment. He survived the war and died in England in 1817.

⁴An enigma. Maybe Peter Campbell of Trenton NJ, Captain 6th NJ Volunteers. He could also be Captain Angus Campbell who was paid on Feb 27, 1779 for clothing the black Pioneers. Or he could have been Major William Campbell of the SC Royalists who was killed at Stono Ferry, SC June 20, 1779. One other possibility is he was Captain Dugald Campbell, also of the South Carolina Royalists. (See appendix 1 List of Promotions and Appointments by Campbell, Campbell, Journal, 82.)

⁵Campbell, Journal, 58.

⁶Carr's Fort according to Robert S. Davis is misplaced by Ashmore and Olmstead and was located at the confluence of Beaverdam Creek and Little River in the southern part of Wilkes County. Col. Andrew Pickens besieged Hamilton and Campbell in this fort until the patriots learned that Boyd and his loyalists were moving into Georgia. Boyd was attempting to rendezvous with Hamilton at Carr's fort and then move on to Augusta. Some of Boyd's men did make it and Hamilton then evacuated Carr's Fort, moved to Wrightsboro and then to Augusta. See footnote 154, Campbell, Journal, 122.

⁷Campbell, Journal, 60. Later Campbell wrote to Clinton on March 4 that 1400 men had sworn allegiance. Many of those "loyalists" after Campbell's retreat from Augusta explained to the Whig militia commanders, such as John Dooly, that they were forces to take the oath. It appears their allegiance depended on the immediate fortunes of war rather than any sincere devotion to either cause.

⁸Campbell, Journal, 62-63. "Obrien" was actually Brig. Gen. John Bryant of South Carolina. The total rebel force was actually about 2,400 men, still twice the number of Campbell's force.

Consideration of these Circumstances, and of the State of the Enemy's Force and our own, it was thought good Policy to fall back to such a Situation as might enable our Detachment to preserve a Communication with their Friends below.⁹

[The decision made, Campbell now communicates his intention to abandon Augusta. Note that this is the day before the Battle of Kettle Creek, which had no impact on the subsequent British operations conducted by Campbell.]

13th [February 1779] Such being the opinion of the principal Officers, our Carriages and Harness were examined and repaired; and Expresses were sent by different Routes to acquaint General Prevost with my Resolution of quitting Augusta: Expresses were also sent up the Country with Orders for the Troops in Advance to join me at Boggy Gut on the 15th of February.¹⁰

Feb'y 14th [1779] At 4 o'Clock this Morning the Troops marched from Augusta to Boggy Gut with more Ammunition and Provisions than they had, when they quitted Ebenezer on the 24th of January.¹¹

15th [February 1779] At Boggy Gut, our position was this Day amended, and an ample Supply of Cattle brought from the neighbouring Swamps. Captains Hamilton and Campbell joined the Army with their Detachment and a Number of Rebel Prisoners. To these gallant Officers I gave the Rank of Major, as an Encouragement to others to follow their example. Before these Officers left the Frontiers of Georgia, a Report prevailed among the disaffected part of the Inhabitants, that Colonel Boyd with 600 Loyalists from the back Country were entirely cut off by a large Party of the Rebels to the Northward of Ninety-Six, on their Way to join the British Army: This night an Express arrived from Gene. Prevost, with Intelligence of the Enemy's Movements towards Augusta, and apprizing me of my Danger.¹²

Feb'y 16th [1779] At Boggy Gut, one of our Scouts returning from Burke's County informed me, that 500 Rebel Horse had passed our Left through the Woods, towards the Bridge at Briar Creek. This Scout also brought a Confirmation of Colonel Boyd's Defeat above Ninety-six. That the Colonel had been successful in two Skirmishes with the Rebels, but that a large Body meeting with those which were repulsed, came upon them unexpectedly, and killed him and many of his Officers. That the surviving Loyalists had retreated towards the Quaker's Districts; and it was supposed that some of them would this Evening be within 50 miles of Odom's Ferry on Briar Creek.¹³

18th [February 1779] Two hundred and seventy of Boyd's Party from the Back Country were this Day conducted to Camp by our Cavalry after having experienced uncommon Difficulties in fighting their War though the Rebels; notwithstanding, which, they continued to possess their Loyalty, and the most enthusiastic Zeal, as good and valuable Citizens.¹⁴

[Campbell includes a copy of a message from General Prevost dated 17th February 1779 which includes some of Provosts' thoughts on the Augusta operations.]

TO COLONEL CAMPBELL.

Head Quarters, Ebenezer 17th February 1779.

⁹Campbell, Journal, 64.

¹⁰Campbell, Journal, 64.

¹¹Campbell, Journal, 64.

¹²Campbell, Journal, 65.

¹³Campbell, Journal, 65-66.

¹⁴Campbell, Journal, 66-67.

Dear Sir,

I wrote you a short Note this Morning, acknowledging the Receipt of yours of the 13th and 14th. And approving of your Movement. I always thought that our being able to keep our Post at Augusta depended on the single Circumstance of the Back Country people's joining heartily in the Causes, as without that we must be certain of finding great Difficulty, if not Impossibility in preserving a Communication to such a Distance; and I do not think it would be prudent to persevere in a Measure that might bring the whole in Danger.¹⁵

Notes selected and annotated by Steven J. Rauch.

Colonel Andrew Pickens account of the Kettle Creek campaign as written in a letter to Henry Lee in 1811 from the Draper Collection, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The severest conflict I ever had with the disaffected or Tories was in Georgia at Kettle Creek in 1779. The plan had been previously laid at New York by the British command with a Coln. Boyd who commanded the Tories when Savannah was taken by the British. Coln. Camble was advanced to Augusta. When this was done Boyd who had returned from New York, was to notify the disaffected on the western frontier of North & South Carolina & force his way along the frontier into Georgia & join Camble at Augusta. Genl. Williamson went with the militia, except part of my regiment to oppose Campbell's crossing Savannah River. My Regiment was mostly in small detachments on the frontier from Saluda to Savannah River to guard against the incursions of the Indians. Col. Campbell detached Coln. Hamilton, now consul in Virginia, with 200 mounted, mostly irregular, up Savannah River on the Georgia side. The Whigs of Wilkes County fled to the Carolina Side of the River & gave me immediate notice. I immediately went down with what men I could hastily collect & ordered others to follow on. I met at the river Colonels Dooley & Clark from Georgia with about 100 men. Hamilton appeared the next morning & shewed an intention to cross the river; but we had secured all the flats on the Carolina side. I had not men enough to cross & guard other places which were necessary. We maneuvered opposite each other for two days up & down the river for ten miles. On the evening of the second day he disappeared. I immediately sent two men to reconnoitre to know whether it was a feint or whether he was gone some distance. They returned & informed me that he had taken the road to a fort about ten miles from the river where there were some old men with some women & children. I immediately commenced crossing the river & as we had but one flat at the place & all horsemen it was nearly break of day before we got all over. When we all had gotten over, I had the men paraded, for as Dooley was a full Colonel in Georgia & I in Carolina he then had command. Clark was then Lieut. Coln. under Dooley. I then spoke to Dooley & told him that unless he gave up the sole command to me, I would not proceed further to which he readily consented. I then spoke to the men & told them I was determined to pursue the enemy & attack him wherever I found him & that if any wished they might return; but further that I was determined to be obeyed, to which they all heartily agreed.

As soon as it was clear light we proceeded with all the rapidity possible & when we came to the fort where they had stayed that night, they had just left it & said they were going to Kerr's Fort which was about twelve miles further. I then dispatched two men on good horses who were well acquainted with the country, to get to the fort before them, _____ those in the fort to shut their gates & keep them out, for

¹⁵Campbell, Journal, 67.

that I would certainly be there in a short time after them. They got into the fort, but were so neglectful or stupid as not to mention their business until Hamilton stopped in after them. His rear had not got quite to the fort when my advance fired on them. They took to the fort, a smart firing commenced & I had several men wounded. We got a few men into a small house near the fort which annoyed them much. At length I sent in a flag desiring them to surrender and save the effusion of blood. Hamilton refused. I then dejoined him to let the women & children come out which he also refused. It was an old Stockade fort, full of little old cabins & very dry. As soon as it was dark, I intended to set it on fire, & had prepared lightwood for the purpose upon a wagon whereby which would have been casually rolled down _____ descent of a hill against the gate along a smooth road which led to it.

Just as it was growing dark I received a particular account of Coln. Boyd & his tories, advancing along the frontier of South Carolina, & was expected to reach Savannah River that night to the number of seven hundred men. There was no time thus to be lost. I ordered the wounded men to be taken off called the principal officers together & communicated to them the intelligence. It was immediately agreed to recross the Savannah River and try to intercept them if possible. We immediately kindled a long line of fire just over the Top of a Ridge which ran parallel with the fort about 150 yards from it so that they could see the light of the fires from the fort. Their horses saddle and bridles were all taken, many were tied to the stockades. We got to Savannah river early the next morning, got over that day & ten or twelve miles on the Carolina side; but could get no certain account where Boyd with his party was. Early next morning I sent two or three active men with good horses to proceed up the river & when they got certain intelligence of the enemy – to return and in the mean time I would proceed up the river as fast as possible. About the middle of the day ours returned, I had these gone 14 miles up the river. He informed me that Boyd with upward of 700 men had crossed the river, above the settlements on rafts. Cpts. Anderson, Baskins, and Miller & my brother a Capt. Had crossed Savannah River at the Cherokee ford, with about 80 men expecting to prevent Boyd from crossing; but as his men had mostly got over before they got up, they attacked him, not knowing what number had crossed, & were defeated. He had seen Anderson who had informed him of his defeat. We then halted. Cpts. Baskins & Miller were made prisoners with some men. When Cpts. Anderson & Pickens came in & gave us a full account of the business, numbers who had not turned out at first had joined us, we amounted to about 400 men _____ officers. & men willingly agreed to pursue them, we recrossed the river that evening & sent out spies to discover the route rout, they had taken who returned in the night but could give no satisfactory intelligence.

As soon as light sent out again & directed them to proceed up Broad River, the western branch of Savannah River, till they found their trail in the mean time I would proceed up that river until I heard from them, knowing that they surely cross that river to get to the British at Augusta & as it was then above the inhabitants could get no information of them till we could find their rout, in the evening my spies met me & had seen their rear crossing Broad river, 8 or 10 miles higher up & had taken a stragler prisoner who could give satisfactory information respecting them. I then immediately crossed the river to the South side, endeavoring to get between them & Augusta & still keep a few active men ahead to reconnoiter & give intelligence. In the dusk of the evening their spies came in sight of ours & exchanged a few shots, but without hurt to either party. We lay on our arms that night, as soon as light next morning proceeded & by sun rise came on their track, we proceeded but a short distance when we came to where they had encamped We pursued on as fast & with as much caution as possible.

About 10 oclock we heard their drums a mile ahead. This was the first time they had beaten their drum or hoisted their colours since they had corssed Savannah River. I then halted, examined & had our guns fresh picked & primed, & told my men that if any of them had any thing to eat, to divided with their comrades I then made arrangements for the attack expecting to come up with them upon their marchers. Col. Dooly had the right division, Lieut. Coln. Clark the left, with order when we came up with their rear to press forward on their flanks, which I would press forward upon their rear. We then moved on with his division, I went on with the center on this trail with a small advance, with orders when they discovered any of the enemy, not to fire but immediately let me know. This enemy had not gone more than two miles from where they had beat their drum, when they halted at Kettle Creek to kill some cattle which they found there & cook their breakfast. In their front was the Creek, both margins of which were grown thick with cane, in their rear was a cleared field, about ¼ of a mile in their rear was a beef killed & a few men butchering it.

My advance came pretty near before this discovered them, being too eager & not attending to their orders they imprudently fired on them, which gave the alarm. Boyd, being a man of courage & action, advanced immediately with a party of men, through a field to the edge of the woods & concealing them behind old trees which had fallen down & an old fence. The main body was draw in up along the edge of the cane which came in a circular form round on right. I advanced with the center to the top of the hill where Boyd was concealed with his party. As I had the men formed in a line advancing on their line, we received a fire from his party, which killed & wounded a few men. We were within thirty yards before they fired or we discovered them as they lay flat on the ground. They immediately fled down through the cleared ground to their main body. Fortunately for us when Boyd had run about 100 yards three balls passed through him. The action then became general & warm, for about twenty minutes they galled us much out of the cane. The divisions on the flanks did not press as I wished them to cross the creek above & below. This was not for want of courage but for want of experience & a knowledge of the necessity of obeying orders. They retreated across the creek & formed on a rising ground. We pressed through the cane, the action was renewed more obstinately & continued near half an hour. As they had the advantage of the ground they contended obstinately; but at length gave way. There were about 70 of the enemy killed on the ground & many wounded. We took a number of prisoners, nearly all their horses & bridles with a number of good rifles which they had collected in their progress. Out loss was inconsiderable, though. Some brave men & some died of their wounds. The prisoners which they had were recovered. I left a few of their prisoners to bury their dead with a promise that they might return to their families if they return to me which they did. It was dark before we got from the ground. I brought off all my own wounded & recrossed Savannah River the next morning at Fort Charlotte.

**Letter courtesy of Robert S. Davis and transcribed for SCAR by
Steven J. Rauch.**

The Loyalists at Kettle Creek¹⁶

Colonel Boyd

There is a great deal of historical mystery surrounding the leading Loyalists who fought at Kettle Creek, certainly the most

¹⁶This information is abridged and edited from Robert S. Davis, Jr. and Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr. *Kettle Creek: The Battle of the Cane Brakes*, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, August 30, 1974. Additional information has been added where noted.

controversial of these being the first name of the Col. Boyd who led the Loyalist force at the battle.

Capt. Hugh McCall unknowingly initiated the mystery concerning Boyd in his second volume of *The History of Georgia* (1811-1816). McCall did not give Boyd's first name but did say that Boyd was an Irishman who had lived for several years in South Carolina. A disposition by William Millen stated that a James Boyd was at the house of John Moore in Richmond County, Georgia, in January of 1779 in an attempt to gain support from Georgia Loyalists and to recruit men for the British Army at Savannah. Millen apparently met Boyd and said that Boyd had arrived at Savannah with the British invasion. This James Boyd is probably the Boyd at Kettle Creek, for Millen's deposition agrees with Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell's description of Col. Boyd. Campbell knew Boyd personally, having met him in New York at a meeting with Sir Henry Clinton. Boyd's death, first recorded by Campbell in his journal, is one of the few facts upon which all of the secondary and primary accounts of the battle agree.

Testimony given at the Memorial [pension claim] of Loyalist John Hamilton after the Revolution indicates that Lt. Col. Campbell gave Loyalist Officers in Georgia warrants [contracts] for their commissions according to the number of Loyalists they recruited for the British [Major's rank for recruiting 200 to 250 men, Lt. Col. For 350 men recruited, and Colonel for 500 men recruited]. Boyd having recruited well over 500 men may have held this rank on such a warrant.

E. Alfred Jones, in his article "The Journal of Alexander Chesney" (1921), stated that Boyd's first name was "John." Jones' source was the 1783 Memorialist Claim of Zacharias Gibbs, one of Boyd's men who was with him at the battle. "Thomas" was Boyd's first name, according to Robert M. Calhoon in *The Loyalist in Revolutionary America, 1760-1781*. His source apparently was Gary Olson's "Thomas Brown, Loyalist Partisan." in *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*.

Perhaps the strangest first name was given by William E. Cox in "Brigadier-General John Ashe's Defeat... Brier Creek." Cox, who said Boyd's first name was "Floyd," obtained his information from the pension statement of a Revolutionary War Veteran who had pursued a Col. Floyd (the name "Boyd" was written above "Floyd" in brackets, apparently by some "editor" or clerk). This "Col. Floyd Boyd" appears to have actually been Loyalist Col. Matthew Floyd, who was recruiting Loyalists in 1780 and probably had nothing to do with Kettle Creek or Col. Boyd.

Additional biographical information on Boyd is as elusive as his first name. Robert DeMond, in *The Loyalists in North Carolina during the Revolution*, implied that Boyd had lived in the Lower Yadkin Valley of Anson County, North Carolina, near the South Carolina border. There was a Loyalist, Robert Boyd, whose land was confiscated in the Yadkin Valley in Anson County, but it is more probable that Boyd was from South Carolina, as McCall wrote, although he may have ventured to Anson County to recruit Loyalists.

Francis Pickens (grandson of the Andrew Pickens) wrote in 1848 that Boyd was from Newberry District, South Carolina, and that Andrew Pickens knew Boyd prior to Kettle Creek. Francis Pickens also wrote that Boyd's dying words were: "Sir, I glory the cause; I die for my King and Country!" Boyd was supposed to have given Andrew Pickens a brooch and asked him to write a letter to Boyd's wife. An interesting note is that despite the various accounts [all of which are secondary sources] about Boyd's dying words to Pickens, Andrew Pickens himself in his own account of the Battle of Kettle Creek made no mention of meeting Boyd at all after the battle.

John Moore

There is also mystery surrounding John Moore, the second-in-command of the Loyalists at Kettle Creek, who also may have been confused with other Loyalists with the same name. Boyd supposedly held meetings at the house of a John Moore in Richmond County,

Georgia, in January 1779, and this perhaps may have been the same John Moore who was with him at Kettle Creek, though it is not entirely clear.

Lyman C. Draper, in his *King's Mountain and Its Heroes*, said of John Moore:

Moses Moore, the father of Colonel John Moore, was a native of Carlisle, England, whence he migrated to Virginia in 1745, marrying a Miss Winston, near Jamestown, in that Province; and in 1753, settling in what is now Gaston County, North Carolina, eight miles west of Lincolnton. Here John Moore was born; and being a frontier country, when old enough was sent to Granville County, in that Province, for his education. When the Revolution broke out, he became a zealous Loyalist; and led a party of Tories from Tryon County, in February 1779, to Georgia, and united with Colonel Boyd on the way, they were defeated by Colonel Pickens at Kettle Creek... Moore escaped to the British army in that quarter; and is said to have participated in the defence of Savannah. In December following, he was in the service near Moseley's Ferry, on the Ogeechee [a river in Georgia].

He subsequently returned to North Carolina, a Lieutenant-Colonel in Hamilton's corps of Loyalists, and prematurely embodied a Tory force, near Camp Branch, about half a mile west of his father's residence; thence marched about six miles north to Tory Branch, an thence to Ramsour's Mill, on the South Fork, where he was disastrously defeated, June 20th, 1780, escaping with thirty others to Camden, SC. His regiment, the Royal North Carolinians, participated in Gates' defeat, losing three killed and fourteen wounded – among the latter, Colonel Hamilton. It is doubtful if Moore participated in the action, as he was about that time under suspension, threatened with a court martial for disobedience of orders in raising the Loyalists at Ramsour's before the time appointed by Lord Cornwallis; but it was at length deemed impolitic to bring him to trial. Escaping from [the Battle of] King's Mountain, we next find him with Captain [often reported as Col. Thomas] Waters, and a body of Tories, defeated by [Lt.] Colonel [William] Washington at Hammond's Store, South Carolina, December 28th, 1780. Though a family tradition coming down from a sister to her grandson, John H. Roberts of Gaston County [N.C.] represents that Moore went to Carlisle, England and was lost track of; yet the better opinion is founded on a statement by North Carolina Loyalist, published in the "Political Magazine", London, April 1783, that he was taken prisoner by SC Patriot militia Colonel Wade Hampton near the Wateree, and hanged. He left no family.

Robert Knox, in his pension statement, said that he served under Col. McLean in pursuit of some Loyalists commanded by Col. John Moore in 1780. He further said: "They marched to Moses Moore's, father of the Colonel, and started to destroy his oats by turning their horses into it, but the officers came up and prevented it." Revolutionary War pensioners were often confused concerning the years in which actions took place, so this incident could have occurred in 1779, in pursuit of Moore's men enroute to join Boyd.

It is possible that there were two of more Loyalist officers named John Moore and their exploits have been treated as if they were those of one man. There was also a Whig soldier named John Moore living in the same area [Tryon County, N.C.] as Loyalist John Moore.

Carr's Fort, Georgia - Battle Site

by Robert S. Davis

The story of the battle for a small log outpost on the Georgia frontier in the American Revolution has been told many times. It certainly does not lack for drama or questions, starting with its location. More than one Carr's or Kerr's Fort likely existed. In 1777,

Georgia Patriot militia Col. Samuel Elbert wrote of Carr's Fort being on the fork of Beaverdam Creek of Little River. Mr. J. N. Wall of Elbert County told historian Otis Ashmore that this fort was on the Broad River, opposite the mouth of Long Creek. The late Russell Slaton of Washington, Georgia heard that it was on the Rhodes' property, to the east of and near the mouth of Kettle Creek, on the old Quaker Springs Road.

This stockade did likely stand near Beaverdam Creek of the Little River, near the present-day community of Tyrone. (Wall may have confused this Beaverdam Creek with the Beaverdam Creek of Broad River.) British Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell drew a road crossing Kettle Creek (?) that connected "Cerr's" Fort on the east to Philip's Fort on the bend of the Little River on the west, on a map in 1779. The first report of the Battle of Kettle Creek described it as having occurred between Carr's Fort and Philip's Fort. Beaverdam Creek of Little River would fit that information.

Robert Carr's Fort, the site of the battle of February 1779, was one of many outposts on the Wilkes County, Georgia frontier built to protect the settlers from Indian attacks. SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Pickens remembered this outpost as "an old Stockade fort full of little old cabins & very dry." Settlers held out there from Creek Indian raids in 1777, 1778, and the spring of 1779. The latter siege resulted in the death of the fort's owner, the illiterate Captain Robert Carr, formerly of North Carolina. A roster of its garrison has survived from 1778.

The fort's great moment of fame came in early February 1779, however. At that time, British Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell received a delegation of "Anabaptists" from Wilkes County, apparently led by a Mr. Freeman, offering the surrender of their forts in exchange for British protection. Campbell dispatched eighty Loyalist horsemen under provincial captains John Hamilton and Dugald Campbell to accept the surrender of these forts and administer oaths of loyalty to the settlers. Loyalist Charles Stedman wrote in *The History of Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War* (1794), vol. II, p. 119, about what Hamilton said he found in Wilkes County:

that although many of the people came in to take the oath of allegiance, the professions of a considerable number were not to be depended upon; and that some came in only for the purpose of gaining information on his strength and future designs. In various quarters he met with opposition; and all of their places of strength held out until they were reduced. The reduction of most of these was not, however, a work of great difficulty, as they consisted only of stockade forts, calculated for defense against the Indians.

In the Loyalists' wake, some 100 men of the Wilkes County Patriot militia under Col. John Dooly and Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke withdrew to South Carolina. They may have also faced a band of pro-British partisans under Daniel McGirth. Reinforced by Col. Andrew Pickens of South Carolina, who assumed overall command of both regiments, the 200 Patriot militiamen entered Wilkes County and pursued the Loyalist horsemen. A complicated plan by Pickens to trap his enemy between his militiamen and the closed gates of Carr's fort failed. His command reached it on February 10, 1779 and awaited a signal gun to attack. Instead, they saw the horsemen dismount and enter the stockade unopposed. In one account, the hand full of old men who made up the garrison chose not to resist. Pickens believed that the messengers, Captain Andrew Hamilton and his guide, "were so neglectful or stupid" as to not tell the people inside to close the gate until the Loyalists had arrived and tied their horses to the posts of the stockade. Pickens' advance guard fired at the last of the dismounted provincials to enter the fort. A battle ensued in which some of the militiamen were wounded. Pickens' Captain Andrew Hamilton

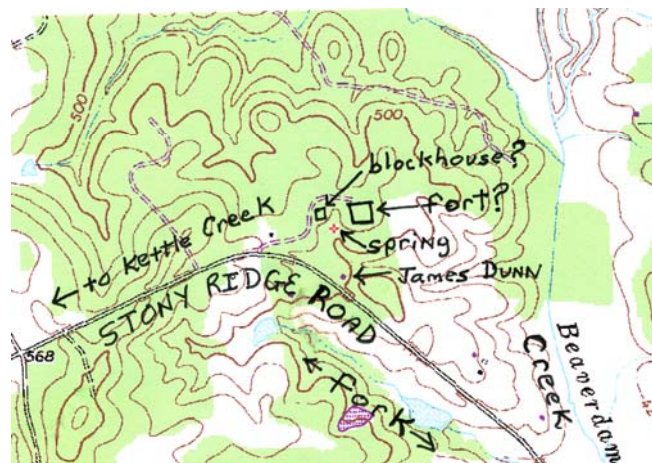
brought Provincial Captains Hamilton and Campbell a demand for surrender and a request that at least the civilians be allowed to leave. The Loyalists refused.

Col. Pickens now prepared a siege. A party of forty militiamen under Captain William Freeman dodged Loyalist bullets to seize a new building that cut off the spring that served as the fort's only supply of water. That blockhouse, from its upper floor, also overlooked the cabins in the fort. Pickens made plans to roll a burning wagon down onto the stockade gate that night and even sent out orders for cannons to end the siege.

Before Hamilton's and Campbell's men could be compelled to surrender, however, news reached Pickens that a large band of Loyalists under a Col. Boyd were marching through South Carolina en route to the British army at Augusta. Pickens' men gathered their wounded and seized the mounts and baggage of their enemy, even the horses still tied to the stockade. The militiamen left a string of fires on a ridge some 150 yards from the fort to hide their departure. They then abandoned their siege to find and pursue Boyd's band, leaving the men in the fort free to walk back to the British army. (John Hamilton implied years later, however, that he did participate in the Battle of Kettle Creek.)

Ironically, after three days of hard marching in pursuit of Boyd's Loyalists, Pickens and Dooly finally caught up with and defeated them at the Battle of Kettle Creek, only a mile from where the pursuit had begun at Carr's Fort.

Other questions remain about the history of this stockade. The Pickens County Museum of Art and History in Pickens, South Carolina has a brace of dueling pistols that Andrew Pickens carried at the battles of Kettle Creek and Cowpens. The guns are engraved with the letters "JI" (in Eighteenth Century cartography: "JH"). Did Pickens capture them in the baggage of John Hamilton at Carr's Fort? A Glasgow merchant of colonial America, John Hamilton went on to command the Royal North Carolina Regiment, serve as trusted advisor to Lord Cornwallis in the Carolina campaigns, and was, starting in 1794, British Consul at Norfolk, Virginia. He may have even counted Andrew Pickens among his many prominent American guests and friends. Hamilton died in London in 1817, the same year that Pickens passed away in South Carolina.



Excerpt of USGS 7.5 minute topographic map, Washington West quad, showing possible area of Carr's Fort, Georgia. Map by Robert S. Davis.

The final enigma of Carr's Fort concerns the site of it today, what would be a dream come true for an archaeologist of early America. James Dunn calls Stony Ridge Road, in one of the forks of Beaverdam Creek, home. He has lived in the area for decades but only knows of one spring in the area, a substantial pool of water just north of his house and just below a ridge and fire road. It well fits the description of the February 1779 battle. The fort could easily have stood atop high ground of the ridge and beside the road that ran along

the top of that ridge as it passed on to Kettle Creek and Philip's Fort. Carr's Fort would have overlooked the spring but the building seized by William Freeman and his men could have further guaranteed safe access to the spring.



Possible spring at Carr's Fort. Photograph courtesy of author.

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Corps of Discovery York County, SC Exploration



Road trippers with the Corps of Discovers looking into the nooks and crannies of Mike Scoggins' office at the McKelvey Center in York, SC. Photo by Malcolm Marion, III, MD.



West Jenkins discussed the abandoned Turkey Creek bridgehead with Mike Scoggins in the woods on the old Quinn Road, thought to be the area of Lacey's Fort and the site of Lord Cornwallis' January 1781 camp at Hillhouse Plantation. Tarleton will arrive at this camp to explain his loss at Cowpens. Photo by Malcolm Marion, III, MD.



Dr. Bobby Walker discusses the new Revolutionary War monument at the Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church. Fishing Creek Church's parsonage was burned by Loyalist Capt. Christian Huck's men on June 11, 1780. Photo by Malcolm Marion, III, MD.



Historian Mike Scoggins leads the discussions at the Southern Campaigns Roundtable at the Museum of York County, SC. Photo by Malcolm Marion, III, MD. ★

Loyalist Colonel Robert Gray's Observations on the War in Carolina

Annotated by William Thomas Sherman

[Set forth below is a reprint of an article that originally appeared in *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, Vol. XI, No.3, July 1910. The article appears as originally printed except that (1) the Roman numeral endnote annotations have been added and (2) SCAR has changed some spellings, capitalization, and punctuations to their modern conventions to improve the readability without losing the voice of the author. Old abbreviations are also written out and words added to simplify readability are in brackets. The Arabic numbered footnotes appear as given in the original article except that the numbering thereof has been changed to correct errors in the numbering of the footnotes in the original article.]

The manuscript now printed, was presented to the South Carolina Historical Society in January 1899, by Professor William James Rivers, through Gen. Edward McCrady. There is nothing to show where the original is to be found, and the only notes upon it are as follows:

"Col. Robt Gray's observations on the War in Carolina— He was Col. of the Provincials, & after the War settled in Nova Scotia." Gray resided in the Cheraws District, and was a Justice of the Peace for that district in 1766;¹⁷ a Robert Gray was on the roll of a volunteer company of Rangers, Sept. 2, 1775,¹⁸ from Camden District, if the same he probably went over to the British after 1776. Robert Gray's property was confiscated by the Jacksonborough Assembly, and he is listed in Class V. in the Statutes at Large, [vol. 6] with "Those who have borne Commissions, Civil, or Military, under the British Government, since the conquest of this Province." Sabine (*American Loyalists*, p. 335) mentions him as holding a royal commission after the fall of Charleston; and we find in the narrative of Col. David Fanning (*N.C. State Records*, Vol. XXII, p. 2291, a further mention of him in connection with the Loyalists in Charleston. Gray's "Observations" were evidently written in Charlestown, sometime in the Spring of 1782, certainly after February 25th, and probably prior to the first of April.

Gray's Observations

The conquest of Charlestown was attended with the conquest of the backcountry because all the continental troops in the Southern department were taken in that place except the party under Col. Beaufort¹⁹ which was soon after cut to pieces at Waxhaws by Col. Tarlton.¹ The people at that time not much accustomed to arms and finding no troops to support them submitted when they saw the King's troops in possession of the backcountry. Posts were established at Augusta, Ninety-Six, Camden, Cheraw Hill²⁰ and Georgetown. The conquest of the Province was complete. The loyal part of the inhabitants being in number about one third of the whole and these by no means the wealthiest, readily took up arms to maintain the British government, the others also enrolled themselves in the militia party because they believed the war to be at an end in the

Southern provinces and partly to ingratiate themselves with the conquerors, they also fondly hoped that they would enjoy a respite from the calamities of war – and that the restoration of the King's government would restore to them the happiness they enjoyed before the war began. With these views on both sides, the Whigs and Tories seemed to vie with each other in giving proof of the sincerity of their submission and a most profound calm succeeded. This was not confined only to the Country within the new established posts. The panic of the Whigs and exultation of the Tories produced the same consequences in the backcountry beyond the reach of the posts, the people in many places coming in from the distance of fifty miles to take the Oath of Allegiance or to surrender themselves prisoners on parole. All the inhabitants seemed intent upon cultivating their farms and making money [while] great quantities of produce were sent to Charlestown and great numbers of wagons, even from the mountains, crowded the roads traveling in every direction.

This tranquility was of short duration, the abuses of the Army in taking the people's horses, cattle and provisions in many cases without paying for them, abuses almost inseparable from a military government disgusted the inhabitants. But this was by no means the principal cause of the disorders which followed: they flowed from another source, the disaffection of the Whigs. The establishment of the King's government naturally and unavoidably occasioned an entire change of civil and military officers throughout the province. A new set of men were elevated into power and place whilst their predecessors in office were stripped of their consequence and sent to cultivate their plantations. The pangs of disappointed ambition soon made these men view all our transactions with jaundiced eyes, and as Gen. Gates'²¹ approach put an end to hopes of tranquility they had at first expected to enjoy, they were in general, especially the militia officers, determined to avail themselves of that opportunity to reestablish themselves in power, never doubting of Gen. Gates being able to effect it, as like other men they eagerly wished for. Lord Cornwallisⁱⁱⁱ with great sagacity foresaw what followed. He instantly ordered all the leading Whigs who had been paroled to their plantations to Johns and James Island.

A great number obeyed while others went off and met Gen. Gates. The approach of the army seemed to be a signal for a general revolt in the disaffected parts of the backcountry, but the speedy and successful issue of the action at Camden²² put an end to it immediately, and restored tranquility to the country.

Lord Cornwallis made some severe examples of the revolvers,²³ a measure which was become absolutely necessary to deter others from the same conduct, as many of those who had taken up arms again had never had the smallest cause of complaint, but had been treated with every mark of attention and respect by the King's officers. A universal panic seized the rebels after the Battle of Camden and had Lord Cornwallis had a sufficient army to have marched into North Carolina and have established posts in his rear at convenient places to preserve his communication with South Carolina and to prevent the rebels from assembling in arms after he had passed along, North Carolina would have fallen without a struggle, but the smallness of his numbers soon turned the tide against him. He marched from Camden to Charlotte with his army and at the same time directed Major [Patrick] Ferguson,²⁴ who although he knew his

¹⁷ *Journal of the General Assembly; March-April, 1776*, Printed by the South Carolina Historical Commission, 1906.

¹⁸ See Vol. 1 of this *Magazine*, p. 196.

¹⁹ Abraham Buford of Virginia. He was appointed colonel of Morgan's 11th Virginia regiment May 16, 1778. On 29th May, 1780, his command was surprised and cut to pieces by Col. Tarleton at Waxhaw Creek. They had set out for Charleston to relieve Gen. Lincoln, but hearing of his surrender, were on the return march.

²⁰ [The following note is in the Mss. Copy.] This post was withdrawn before the battle of Camden & never afterwards reestablished.

²¹ General Gates arrived on the confines about the end of July, 1780.

²² Battle fought near Camden. August 16 1780.

²³ See Cornwallis's unjust order, McCrady, 1775-1780, pages 709-710.

²⁴ Patrick Ferguson, brevet lieutenant-colonel, major 71st Highlanders, inventor of the first breechloading rifle used in the British army, born 1744; (second son of James Ferguson of Pitfours, Aberdeenshire, Senator of College of Justice, and one of the lords commissioners of justiciary for Scotland, by his wife, Hon. Anne Murray, daughter of Alexander, 4th Lord Elibank.) Patrick Ferguson was ordered to Georgia from Stonypoint, with the troops under Major-General Pattison, royal artillery, which penetrated into South Carolina, where

danger and was ordered to join the army, yet after retreating 60 miles he loitered away two days most unaccountably at Kings Mountain and thereby gave time to the rebel militia under the command of Gen. Williams²⁵ to come up with him, the rebels were greatly superior in number.

He had about 600 militia and 60 regulars, and action ensued²⁶ in which our militia behaved with a degree of steadiness and spirit that would not have disgraced any regular troops. And the rebels were repulsed three times, but having changed their mode of attack and made an attempt on a small party of North Carolinians on our flank who were not so well disciplined as the South Carolinians succeeded in breaking them. They [soon] communicated the disorder to the others and at this critical moment Major Ferguson fell. A total rout ensued.

This unfortunate affair gave a new turn to the war. All the country on Lord Cornwallis' rear was laid open to the incursions of the enemy, who, if they had made a proper use of their victory might have taken both Ninety Six and Augusta, nevertheless the consequences were very important. Lord Cornwallis was obliged to retreat and take a position at Winsburg²⁷ in the fork of Santee between the Wateree and Congaree Rivers, that he might be at hand to succor Camden and Ninety Six and to cover the country within these posts.

This gave new spirits to the rebel militia on the Western & Northern frontiers, who began to turn out in great numbers and with more confidence. They were led by Sumpter^{iv} and Marion^v who had both been field officers in the South Carolina State troops. [Actually, both had also been Continental officers.] The former commanded on the Western frontier between Camden and Ninety Six and the latter on the Northern betwixt Santee and Pee Dee [Rivers].

Both these countries were highly disaffected to us and the people wanted only leaders. It was therefore those people who formed and supported Sumpter and Marion and not any superiority of genius in those officers that formed and called for the militia in those parts. Sumpter was bold and rash, and run many risks, from which his good fortune always extricated him. Marion was timid and cautious and would risk nothing, yet both succeeded in their attempts. During all this time the Continental troops in general kept a cautious distance and chiefly made use of Sumpter and Marion, who began to grow exceedingly troublesome and established a decided superiority in the Militia line – Major Ferguson's loss was now severely felt. The officers of the royal militia being possessed themselves nor were able to inspire their followers with the confidence necessary for soldiers. While almost every British officer regarded with contempt and indifference the establishment of a militia among a people differing so much in customs and manners from themselves. Had Major Ferguson

he was employed under Tarlton (sic, Tarleton) at the Siege of Charleston. On 26th Oct., 1779, Ferguson was appointed major in one of the battalions of the old 71st Highlanders, then serving in America. After the Siege of Charleston he was actively employed in organizing and training the loyal militia of South Carolina. With the army so raised he accompanied Lord Cornwallis in his march through the Carolinas. He was killed at King's Mountain Oct. 7, 1780. *Dictionary of National Biography*.

²⁵ James Williams, born in Hanover Co., Va., in 1740, killed at King's Mountain, Oct. 8, 1780. He settled on Little River, Laurens district, S. C. in 1773; was member of the Provincial Congress of S. C. in Jan. 1775; was appointed lieut.-col. of militia in 1776, commanded a detachment at the battle of Stono June 20, 1779; defeated the British and Tories at Musgrove's Mills, 18th Aug., 1780, and rewarded by Gov. Rutledge with a commission of Brigadier General. McCrady's *History of S. C.*, vols. 1719-'76 & 1775-'80.

²⁶ The Whigs had a combined force of 1100 men, the whole number of mounted men chosen to attack Ferguson were 910, besides a squad of unmounted footmen. —McCrady, *South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780*, p. 784.

²⁷ Cornwallis's army arrived at Winnsboro Oct. 29, 1780. —Ibid., page 810.

lived, the militia would have been completely formed. He possessed all the talents and ambition necessary to accomplish that purpose and set out exactly in that line, he therefore would have achieved with the inhabitants of the country what the other British officers can only effect with important [regular] soldiers. The want of a man of his genius was soon severely felt and if ever another is found to supply his place he will go great lengths towards turning the scale of the war in our favor.

The want of paying sufficient attention to our militia produced daily at this time the most disagreeable consequences. In the first place, when the rebel militia were made prisoners, they were immediately delivered up to the regular officers, who, being entirely ignorant of the dispositions and manners of the people, treated them with the utmost lenity and sent them home to their plantations upon parole and in short they were treated in every respect as foreign enemies. The general consequences of this was that they no sooner got out of our hands than they broke their paroles, took up arms, and made it a point to murder every militia man of ours who had any concern in making them prisoners. On the other hand whenever a militia man of ours was made a prisoner he was delivered not to the Continentals but to the rebel militia, who looked upon him as a State prisoner, as a man who deserved a halter, and therefore treated him with the greatest cruelty.

If he was not assassinated after being made a prisoner, he was instantly hurried into Virginia or North Carolina where he was kept a prisoner without friends, money, credit, or perhaps hopes of exchange. This line being once drawn betwixt their militia and ours, it was no longer safe to be a loyalist in the frontiers. These last being overwhelmed with dismay became dejected and timid while the others increasing in boldness and enterprise made constant inroads in small parties and murdered every Loyalist they found whether in arms or at home. Their irruptions answered the descriptions we have of those made by the Goths and Vandals.

Whilst the inhabitants of Charles Town were amusing themselves with the aspect of the war in the different quarters of the globe, the unfortunate Loyalist on the frontiers found the fury of the whole war let loose upon him. He was no longer safe to sleep in his house. He hid himself in the swamps. It was perfectly in vain to take a prisoner, he was either liberated upon parole to commit fresh murders and depredations, or if his character was very notorious, he was sent in irons to Charles Town, where after some months confinement, the witnesses against him not appearing, being deterred by the distance and uncertain of the time at which he would be brought to trial, he pestered the principal officers here with petitions until he was turned loose again, irritated with his confinement, to murder more Loyalists. The effect of all this was that the Loyalist, if he did not choose to retire within the posts, a ruined Refugee either joined them openly or gave them private intelligences of the movements of our parties for which he enjoyed real protection and was safe to go to sleep without danger of having his throat cut before morning. Had our militia been certain of being treated as prisoners of war by the enemy, many more would have sided with the royal standard.

It may be said that bad treatment will make them desperate. It has at length had that effect, but for a long time it produced a very contrary one as they did not care to expose themselves in situations pregnant with every danger -- and where they fought under peculiar disadvantages. The case of the regulars was very different. When made prisoners they met with the mildest treatment and were always sent to Charles Town upon parole and exchanged.

This mismanagement of the King's officers proceeded from their want of knowledge of the manners of the people. They sometimes interposed in behalf of the militia, and hanged notorious murderers, but these efforts were not sufficiently frequent to produce any effect. Nothing will ever be able to put our militia here on a proper footing, but giving up to them all the rebel militia when prisoners to be dealt with according to the laws of retaliation, subject however to the control of the commander in chief in the Southern department. The regulars although they take perfect care of their own

interests in war, will never take the same care of the militia. It is against all experience. No class of men will consider the interests of another class so attentively as they do their own.

About this time [January 1781] Lord Cornwallis being reinforced by Gen. Leslie^{vi} marched into North Carolina [the “race to the Dan River”], but before the subsequent transactions are mentioned it will be proper to take notice of the situation of our affairs in South Carolina at this period.

[Col. Francis] Lord Rawdon²⁸ was left commanding officer on the frontiers. His Head Quarters was Camden where he had about 800 men, a body sufficient to afford a detachment superior to the united forces of Sumpter and Marion, especially when to that were added about five hundred men under command of Colonel Watson²⁹ who lay at Wright’s Bluff.^{vii} Besides the other posts at Ninety Six and Augusta, a new one was added at Friday’s Ferry on the Congaree River betwixt the frontier of these places and Camden. These covered the western frontier. A chain of small posts were erected from Camden along the Santee to Monks [Monck’s] Corner, to preserve the communications to Charlestown. The first from Camden was the Fort at Motte’s house upon the South side of the Congaree River about three miles from the fork of Santee and about a mile from McCord’s Ferry. The second was Fort Watson at Wright’s Bluff on the north side of Santee about 30 miles down the river. The third was at Nelson’s Ferry^{viii} on the South side of Santee about 40 miles below McCord’s ferry, and 20 [miles] from Monk’s Corner, which last was on Cooper River and 30 [miles] from Charles Town.

The stores for the army at Camden were sent by water from Charles Town to Monks Corner, from thence waggoned [sic] to a landing on [the] Santee [River] near Nelson’s Ferry where they were embarked in boats for Camden. There was no post port? R]³⁰ to the Northward of Charles Town except Georgetown. The rebel militia under Sumpter and Marion were now highly elated, and made no doubt of Lord Cornwallis and his army being *burgoyned* if he should attempt to follow Gen. Greene into North Carolina, while they reckoned themselves able to cope with Lord Rawdon. This will not appear surprising when it is known that they were so grossly ignorant that at the distance of forty miles from Camden they were continuously made to believe that Gen. Wayne^{ix} or some other officer had invested Camden, that Lord Rawdon had not much more than 800 and Gen. Leslie had been driven out of Virginia with great loss, by a vast army there which was the cause of his coming to South Carolina. Full of these ideas and confident of being on the strongest side, they were ready for any enterprise; accordingly they were daily joined by many men of influence who had been a few months before admitted to become British subjects, after they had earnestly petitioned for that purpose, which however they only did to prevent their estates from being sequestered whilst their political sentiments remained unaltered, in the same manner as many of our friends go into the country at

present and submit to the rebels to save their estates from confiscation.

Daily inroads were now made across the Santee [River] and scarce a public wagons [sic] escaped to Nelson’s Ferry.^x Almost all the public boats on the Santee [River] were destroyed and the communication with Camden was almost at an end.

All the loyal inhabitants at Ninety Six district being about one half and living partly betwixt Broad and Saluda rivers, commonly called the Dutch [a corruption of Deutsch or German] Fork, and in other places of that district, all the inhabitants of Orangeburg District from a few miles to the Southward of Santee [River] to the Saltkethers [River], being almost unanimous in favor of government were the friendly parts of this province on the South side of [the] Santee [River], the rest were enemies while Sumpter and Marion gave great uneasiness to our posts in their reach, one McKay³¹ another partisan about Savannah River, and Col. Clark³² of the ceded lands in Georgia harassed the country near Augusta. The rebel militia were now bold elated, their Partisans had hitherto escaped every attempt made to crush them and they were all become familiar with danger.

A few months before this when any party of troops marched into their country they were so alarmed that they retired back for 50 or 60 miles or hid themselves in the swamps, but now when in a similar situation, if unable to oppose the troops in the field they kept hovering round them in small parties, picked up stragglers and fired upon them from every swamp. The troops were obliged to act with caution and to keep their pickets. The loyal inhabitants were still dejected and not sufficiently used to arms. On the frontiers they were continually harassed with small murdering parties of rebels, but in Orangeburg they were in profound peace; upon the whole however they could not in general be trusted upon any expedition themselves. While the rebel militia were every day growing more troublesome, the loyal inhabitants of Little Pee Dee [River] had become in their turn extremely troublesome to Marion and his brigade. They inhabit the country betwixt the North side of Pee Dee [River] and North Carolina in one direction and from the Cheraw Hill to Waccamaw Lake in the other. Their numbers are about 500 men fit for war. They had arms put into their hands when the post was established at Cheraw Hill before Gen. Gates arrival.^{xi} When that post was withdrawn to Camden at his approach they were the only people on the North side of Santee [River] who did not join in the general revolt. The inhabitants of Williamsburg “Township” not yet headed by Marion made an unsuccessful attempt to crush them and they have ever since stood their ground.

They carried on a continual predatory war against the rebels and sometimes surprised them at their musters. In short, they carried on the war against the rebels precisely as they had set the example and as the post at George Town supplied them with arms and ammunition they overawed and harassed Marion’s brigade so much that he was obliged to leave the inhabitants of the Cheraw District at home to protect their properties while he could only call out the people of Williamsburgh Township and the neighborhood of George Town; when a small party of rebels ventured among them they were cut to pieces — when a large body invaded them, which they found they could not withstand, they hung in small parties on their skirts, harassed them with false alarms, killed their sentries, drove in their pickets, and soon compelled them to leave the country. It may not be improper to observe that the rebel militia did not at all times turn out voluntarily under their leaders, for when they were averse to an expedition they compelled them on pain of death and there have been often severe examples made of them. On the other hand the Little Pee Dee men only defended their own country and never went upon a more distant expedition than to Georgetown. The rebel militia from Bladen County in North Carolina at times also harassed the loyal inhabitants of Little Pee Dee [River], but with little effect.

²⁸ Francis Rawdon, (1754-1826,) first Marquis of Hastings and second Earl of Moira; was appointed Oct. 20, 1773, to a lieutenancy in the 5th foot, embarking for America. After service in the north and the Siege of Charlestown, he was employed in keeping the Americans in check until the arrival of Lord Cornwallis, and on 16th Aug., 1780, commanded the left division of the British forces at the battle of Camden. On April 25, 1781, he defeated the Americans under the command of General Greene at Hobkirk’s Hill. Rawdon was a stern martinet, and was guilty of several acts of unpolitic severity during the American war. He went so far as to set a price on the head of every rebel. He showed remarkable military ability, and Cornwallis, in his *Correspondence*, vi. p. 97, describes his victory at Hobkirk’s Hill “as by far the most splendid of this war.” — *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 25, p. 117.

²⁹ Col. John Watson; see McCrady, *Revolution 1780-1785*, pages 18, 107, et seq.

³⁰ This insertion is in the copy, and was probably made by Professor Rivers.

³¹ Lieutenant James McKay—McCrady, *1780-1783* [Capt. Rannal McKay, also McCoy – Hugh McCall’s *History of Georgia*, p. 515.]

³² Col. Elijah Clark, of Georgia.—Idid. [Often spelled Clarke, ed.]

Lord Cornwallis had now marched into North Carolina,³³ and Major [James Henry] Craig took post at Wilmington. If I have time I shall mention in general terms the subsequent transactions of the militia in that province where about one half of the inhabitants are our friends.

Lord Rawdon had no sooner taken command than he found employment from Gen. Sumpter. That Partisan called a general muster of his people and told them that Lord Cornwallis has gone into North Carolina – to seek a grave for himself and his army, that Lord Rawdon had only 300 men at Camden and could not detach a man, that by making a sudden march to the Congaree they would surprise the Fort^{xiii} where they could get a quantity of stores and clothing – that by proceeding down the South side of Santee River they would be joined by McKay from Augusta,^{xiiii} by Marion from Williamsburgh Township, that a general revolt would ensue that all communications being cut off betwixt Camden and Charles Town, Lord Rawdon would be compelled to evacuate that place and leave the back country, which would put an end to the war, and might be effected in a fortnight's time after which they might return and plant their crops in peace forever after. This seemed so plausible that they set out in highest spirits being about 300 men. They failed in surprising the Congaree Fort,³⁴ but invested it closely, not dreaming that Lord Rawdon could attempt its relief. In the third day they learnt that Col. Doyle^{xiv} with the Volunteers of Ireland was crossing the river at a ford about 8 miles above. They were obliged to raise the siege and marched down the South side of the river expecting to be joined by Marion who was to cross the Santee [River], and not expecting that the troops would follow them any distance from Camden. After they had proceeded about 20 miles they got a fresh alarm, they learned that Major M'Intosh^{xv} with the 64th Regiment, the cavalry of the New York volunteers and a field piece was upon the march, from Camden to McCord's Ferry after them, and that a detachment of troops and militia from Ninety Six was approaching from that quarter, to add to their misfortune a party they had sent down the Congaree River to secure all the flats, canoes and boats there and on Santee for the purpose of crossing the river and making a junction with Marion, this party was surprised by some militia and regulars they had made prisoners, and all the boats etc. carried to our post at Wright's Bluff.^{xvi} Sumpter's ruin seemed inevitable. He was left in an enemy's country with a large deep river before him, which he must cross to effect a retreat. In this dilemma Major M'Intosh advance guard came in sight of his rear about 5 miles below [Rebecca] Motte's house. To the astonishment of the whole province Maj. Mintosh instantly retreated about 4 miles, where he lay looking on, while Sumpter, having got two small canoes, carried his men and swam his horses across [the] Santee [River] unmolested, although it took up two days to effect it. Having crossed [the] Santee, they [Sumter and his men] thought themselves safe, but they now found that Col. Watson^{xvii} and 500 men were just at hand. By a rapid march they got clear of him when they found that Lord Rawdon with his own regiment was hurrying over from Camden after them. Being all mounted they gave his lordship the slip and got above him on their way home to the Waxhaws, certain that all danger was over. In this they again were disappointed. Lord Rawdon finding they had out marched him sent for Major Frazer³⁵ of the South Carolina Regiment^{xviii} to march with it and intercept them at Lynch's Creek.^{36xix} They had just crossed the creek when Maj. Frazer came up with them who attacked them and routed their whole body in a few minutes.^{xx} They were now exceedingly dejected; instead of 300 men under Lord Rawdon's command they had seen so many different detachments of troops superior to their whole force that they despaired

[sic] of success and notwithstanding Sumpter who had carried off a number of Negroes, offered one to every person who would enlist for ten months as a dragoon to form a body of state cavalry, he could hardly procure a single recruit and he began to grow extremely unpopular. They raise so great a clamor against him for deceiving them with regard to Lord Rawdon's strength that he was obliged at a muster to enter into a long vindication of his conduct. All this however was ineffectual, and Marion's followers began also to lose all hopes. In short South Carolina seemed to be on the eve of peace. The transactions that succeeded I shall pass over only observing that Lord Rawdon adopted the plan of giving up all the rebel militia who were not prisoners of war to be tried by our militia. The plan ought to have been extended to all the rebel militia without exception. At this period Gen. Greene^{xxi} invaded this province: what followed is publicly known. The more Lord Rawdon's conduct is investigated the more blameless he will appear. We soon lost great part of the backcountry, the cruelty exercised by the rebels on our militia exceed all belief. Lord Rawdon finding, he could not bring Greene to action embarked for England on account of his health.³⁷

The battle of the Eutaws³⁸ quickly followed^{xxii} and our army lay in the neighborhood of Monck's Corner [at Colleton's Fairlawn Barony] within 37 miles of Charles Town and abandoned the backcountry. The rebels determined that no Tories should live among them, ordered them and their families within the British lines or in other words to Charles Town. At this time, or rather just after Lord Rawdon sailed, the Loyalists seemed to have acquired a new character, their situation and sufferings had made them desperate, they became familiar with danger and acquired the use of arms. According to the usual theory of this war, it might have been expected that all the country above our army must have revolted and turned their arms against us and I make no doubt that almost all the inhabitants of Charles Town who wrote England at this time represented the whole country was in the enemy's hands, as in general they are perfectly ignorant of the backcountry: the mistake may be natural, but this was so far from being the case that from this place to what is now called the Ridge betwixt Saluda and Edisto Rivers on the road to Ninety Six on one hand and from a few miles to the Southward of Santee to the Salkehatchie [River] on the other, the inhabitants refused to submit to the rebels although left by the army and surrounded at almost every hand the enemy who were in possession of Ninety Six district and the disaffected inhabitants of the Forks of Santee [between the Congaree and Wateree Rivers] the country betwixt Salkehatchie and Savannah Rivers and all the rice lands from thence to Ashley River in short, the whole province resembled a piece of patch work, the inhabitants of every settlement, when united in sentiment being in arms for the side they liked best and making continual inroads into one another's settlements. The country betwixt Cooper River and Santee as far as Monck's Corner seemed to be in dispute, the inhabitants at the greatest distance from the garrison taking up arms and the others who were more in reach although friends in their hearts to the rebels, yet not being used to arms refused to turn out when called upon by Marion, and compounded the matter by paying fifty silver dollars in lieu of a year's service. This was in September when Gen. Greene lay at the High Hills of [the] Santee [modern Stateburg, SC]. When our army came to the Quarter House^{xxiii} and Gen. Greene crossed the Santee, the rebels made them turn out to a man, without regard to the contributions they had paid. The district of Ninety Six being all this while much divided in sentiment suffered severely. The Tories in many places would neither submit nor go to Charles Town, they hid themselves in the swamp, from whence they made frequent incursions upon their enemies. When opposed by a superior force they dispersed, when the storm blew over they embodied again and recommenced their operation. A petty partisan [war] started up in every settlement and headed the Whigs or Tories, both parties equally afraid of the other, dared not sleep in their house, but concealed themselves in

³³ He began his march northward on the 19th of January, 1781—McCrary, *So. Ca. in the Rev., 1780-1783*, page 92.

³⁴ Fort Granby, Sumter arrived there Feb. 19, 1781. —McCrary, 1780—83, page. 105.

³⁵ Probably Thomas Frazer of S. C., who was a major of the S. C. Loyalist. —Sabine, *American Loyalists*.

³⁶ “6 March 1781 McCrary 1780-’83, p. 111.”

³⁷ “August 2, 1781. —McCrary 1780-’83, p. 424.”

³⁸ September 9 [sic, 8], 1781. —Ibid. p. 748.

swamps, this is called lying out. Both parties were in this condition in general all over Ninety Six District and every other part of the province wherever it was checkered by the intersection of Whig and Tory settlements.

Ninety Six district also suffered severely by the incursions of the loyal refugees, from the mountains on the one hand and from Charles Town on the other. As it had no great river or other natural boundary to defend it, nothing could prevent these incursions in a country covered with woods and “penetrable in every part.” The cruelties of the Whigs exercised upon the Tories, which seemed to be carried to their utmost excess under the auspices of Gen. Greene when he invaded the province, were now returned upon them with interest, and both parties in this petty, but sanguinary, war displayed prodigies of military skill and address and seemed to breathe the extirpation of their enemies. In a large rebel settlement at a distance from a Tory country, the people were at peace except upon the alarm of a Tory invasion, and the center of Orangeburg District being in the heart of an extensive friendly country, was also at peace, the people sleeping safely in their houses, nay they enjoyed so much tranquility that many of the loyal refugees who came from Ninety Six as late as August and September stopped in that country at the distance of 100 miles from Charles Town and leased plantations. The inhabitants there used to say that if our army kept off Gen. Greene they could defend themselves. In November Gen. Greene crossed the Santee and our army retreated to the Quarter House, giving up the whole country. Greene sent Gen. Sumpter with a detachment of 400 men to take post at Orangeburg [May 1781] and to reduce that country. He published a general pardon to all who would submit except two. Our friends there did not upon this determine to submit. Maj. Giessandanoer,^{xxiv} the commanding officer there sent an express to Gen. Leslie requesting assistance, in the mean time kept Sumpter pretty much within his pickets, but unfortunately no assistance could be given them. After a few weeks the people disheartened by being unsupported gradually made a submission to the enemy, but the war was now too far advanced and both parties too much irritated against each other to coalesce easily. It was no uncommon thing for a party to submit and in a few days to turn their arms against their new master. The swamps were filled with Loyalists, the rebels dare not sleep in their houses, and Sumpter irritated by the hostility of the Country, got the Catawba Indians to track the Loyalists from the swamps, which were at the same time traversed by large parties of armed rebels to kill or take the Tories. Giesandanner was made prisoner and without the least regard to the established cartel, he was thrown into the common jail, stripped to his shirt and breeches and threatened to have his two sons, boys about 10 or 12 years old carried off and made drummers to a continental regiment. He was therefore under the necessity of submitting to them. Our friends from thence and other parts of the country are daily taking refuge in this place and it is certain that such as have submitted are more irritated than ever and eagerly disposed to revolt, while the rebels themselves disgusted with the abuses of Gen. Greene’s army and their own government find in many places that they have not changed masters for the better. The Loyalists on [the] Little Pee Dee [River], alarmed at the evacuation of George Town last June, entered into a truce for three months with Marion who gladly embraced the opportunity of disarming a hardy and intrepid race of men whom he had never been able to crush and which would enable him to call the inhabitants of Big Pee Dee [River area] and the Cheraws District from the defense of their properties to augment his brigade, besides they were so powerfully backed by the extensive loyal country in North Carolina and countenanced by the post at Wilmington that he had nothing to hope from force therefore agreeing to the truce was removing a most troublesome thorn from his own side—at the end of three months the truce was renewed for nine more which expired the 17th of June next. When the truce was first made the inhabitants of the Northern parts of that country furtherest [sic] removed from Marion’s adherents, refused to accede to it – looking upon it as a timid and ignominious measure, and blamed Capt. Ganey^{xxv} the officer who made it with Marion. They accordingly put

themselves under Maj. Craig’s^{xxvi} command at Wilmington and continued in arms; but upon the evacuation of that post they found it their interest to accede to it. That country is the only place in these two provinces, except Charles Town and James Island where British government is at present established. They muster regularly once a month agreeable to our militia law and have a general muster once in three months. At their particular request Lt. Col. Balfour^{xxvii} commandant of this place has lately appointed Justices of [the] Peace among them, a regulation highly necessary to enable them to ascertain disputed property. They often come to this place in boats and the commandant always loads them back with salt gratis and supplies them with ammunition. Marion has behaved with great good faith towards them and ordered his people when they stop any of their boats to suffer them to pass unmolested unless they find ammunition aboard.

The country comprehended in the truce has furnished a safe asylum for the loyal refugees from North Carolina who are suffered to settle among them upon promising to observe conditions of the truce.

This has given great umbrage to the North Carolina rebels. Gen. Rutherford^{xxviii} who commands the militia brigade from Mecklenburg and Salisbury is a perfect savage and bears the most rancorous hatred to Tories. He has lately made a peremptory demand that all North Carolina refugees shall be delivered up. This requisition our officers there with great spirit have refused to comply with, declaring that no peaceable man who applies to them for protection and observes the conditions of the truce shall be delivered up. I expect shortly to hear that hostilities have ensued. In the mean time our friends there are in great spirits, being much elated with the King’s speech and with the check Marion received lately from Col. Thomson.^{39xxix}

Upon hearing of this last affair they had public rejoicing for three days. At present they seem determined to repel force by force, but being totally unsupported they are unequal to the contest. When they fall they will give but a small accession of strength to the enemy as they will never be able to get them to do any duty which is at present an indispensable preliminary with all who join them. Want of room prevents me from saying anything with regard to North Carolina where one behalf of the people are our friends and where with only the countenance of 300 British troops in Wilmington the Loyalists had like to have overturned the rebel government. A sufficient proof of the fallacy of that kind of reasoning which in a war of this nature, where every man is a soldier, estimates the strength of the country from the number of regular troops of which an army is composed, without regarding the dispositions of the inhabitants of the country which is the seat of war. By attending to this we shall be able to account for the success of the royal cause in North Carolina and in some measure the misfortunes that attended it here.

In the above remarks I have only mentioned such circumstances of the ill fortune that attended our exertions, exclusive of Cornwallis’ fall. The want of a sufficient concurrence on the part of the people compelled Lord Rawdon to leave the backcountry after having missed of crushing Greene’s army. To that and to Gen. Greene invading the province when we had not a sufficient force to meet him in the field and at the same [time] to persevere our outposts, we are to attribute the loss of the country. Had Lord Cornwallis followed Greene to the Southward or had the reinforcements from Ireland arrived a month sooner, in either of these cases, we should have had an army in the field superior to Greene and all our posts would have been safe, which would have soon crushed any internal insurrection that took place; and we should have been in the same situation as we were before Lord Cornwallis marched into North Carolina – when he lay at Winnsboro and obliged Greene to keep a respectful distance at Waxhaws. But not having a sufficient army in the field enabled Greene to reduce our outposts especially as Lord Rawdon had not sufficient warning of Lord Cornwallis going into Virginia, which

³⁹ “Sir Benjamin Thompson, Count Rumford; this defeat of Marion’s men took place Feb. 25, 1782 —McCrady, 1780-’83, pp. 603-605.”

prevented him from withdrawing his posts in time to form a sufficient army – but even if he could have effected this issue the measure would have been ruinous because removing the posts would have laid open the whole country to the enemy.

The re-enforcements not having arrived until the posts were broke up rendered their re-establishment impossible without crushing the enemy's army.

Should offensive measures be attempted here with a view to reduce the country the enemy's army must be destroyed or driven away, posts must be established and an army kept on the frontiers to prevent any attempts from the Northward, and the militia must be embodied. I am aware that the general opinion of the merchants in Charles Town is that every person must be disarmed and the protection of the country left to the troops only. If I had time I could demonstrate this to be impossible. Every man must take a side if he submits to our government, if he is adverse to personal service let him find a substitute or pay a stipulated sum in money. This is method the rebels have adopted. Let these men serve six months properly regimented and in the meantime let the militia who stay at home do patrol duty to preserve internal peace. Whenever this Militia is formed, the life of a militiaman when a prisoner must be considered to be as sacred as that of a regular soldier. The rebel militia when prisoners must be at the disposal in the first instance of the royal militia with the approbation of the Commander in Chief. Before the reduction of Charlestown, the loyalists promised I suppose great assistance in which they were sincere—but men cannot be taken from the plough and made veterans in a short time. This is only to be acquired by hard service and long experience. The Loyalist in this Province, as well as the Southern parts of North Carolina—have now reached that point. If every army take the field they will give a powerful assistance. Ninety Six and Orangeburg Districts would be recovered by their own inhabitants and they would not be easily dispossessed again. Indeed whatever the issue of the campaign might be, it would be the most calamitous period that ever this Province saw, for the loyal refugees inflamed with the loss of their properties and relations and Loyalist who have now submitted, irritated with the indignities and abuses if a government they hate, would make severe retaliations. Every man exclusive of his attachment to the Common Cause would have a number of private injuries to revenge. The same appearances would take place in North Carolina, but on a much larger scale as the loyalists there are so much more numerous.

The above observations have fallen far short of the idea I wished to convey but before I conclude I cannot avoid remarking that

all our friends who come in at present from the country are prodigiously irritated against the enemy.

After staying sometime in town they become often dissatisfied and disgusted and many of them go out and submit.

But they have no sooner submitted in a fit of pique than they return to their former principles from the insults and indignities they suffer from the enemy—every man of whom if he has lost any property by any part of the British army in which the other served, compels him in pain of death to make restitution, so that many of them are wholly ruined besides many after receiving pardon are killed by those who have them in bondage.

[END]

William Thomas Sherman, a Seattle-based, independent writer and historian, with a long standing amateur interest in the southern campaigns of General Nathanael Greene, is the author of *Calendar and Record of the Revolutionary War in the South: 1780-1781*, which is currently available as a free download at



<http://battleofcamden.org/sherman.htm>.

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Editor's notes: **William T. Graves** acted as feature editor for this article. SCAR has changed some spellings, capitalization, and punctuations to their modern conventions to improve the readability without loosing the voice of the author. Old abbreviations are also written out and words have been added to simplify readability. The author prefers to use Elijah Clark's name spelled as "Clark" not "Clarke". Sherman admits that he is especial admirer of Clark, and "Clark", despite a long tradition in many modern books, is the more correct spelling. Sherman points out that Clark's biographer uses that spelling and encyclopedia author, Mark Boatner, III as well points out the distinction.

ⁱ Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833) was a British cavalry officer much vilified for his allegedly excessively brutal tactics in fighting the Whigs. Anthony J. Scotti, Jr., *Brutal Virtue: The Myth and Reality of Banastre Tarleton*, Heritage Books, Inc., Bowie, Maryland, 2002. Tarleton left his own record of his activities in America during the Revolution and that record it still available in print. Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America*, Ayer Company Publishers, Inc, North Stratford, New Hampshire, Reprint Edition, 1999.

ⁱⁱ Horatio Gates (1728/9-1806) was born in England and served as an officer in the British Army. He was with Braddock at his defeat in the French and Indian War. He became a friend of George Washington and settled in Virginia. Upon the outbreak of the Revolution, he was commissioned as a Brigadier General in the Continental Line. He was credited with the defeat of British Lt. Gen. John "Gentleman Johnny" Burgoyne at the Battle of Saratoga while commanding the Northern Department of the Continental Army. Promoted to Major General, he was spent to command the Southern Department in the summer of 1780 and suffered a humiliating defeat at the Battle of Camden in August of that year. On December 2, 1780 in Charlotte, he was replaced by Continental Major General Nathanael Greene as commander of the Southern Department. Mark M. Boatner, III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, (Mechanicsburg, Penn.: Stackpole Books, 1994) (hereinafter cited as Boatner, *Encyclopedia*), 412-415.

ⁱⁱⁱ Charles, second Earl and first Marquis, Cornwallis (1738-1805) was a Lt. General, commander of the southern department of the British Army (under the overall command of Sir Henry Clinton) from June 1780 until his surrender at Yorktown in October 1781. Franklin B. Wickwire and Mary Wickwire, *Cornwallis, the Imperial Years* (The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1980).

^{iv} Thomas Sumter (1734-1832) was a lieutenant colonel in the 2nd (later, 6th) Rifle Regiment of South Carolina state troops in the spring and summer of 1776. Sumter and his regiment were later transferred to the Continental Line. He resigned his commission as a Continental officer on September 19, 1778 and remained inactive until after the fall of Charleston in May 1780. He was promoted by Governor John Rutledge to the rank of Brigadier General in October 1780 and thereafter was the ranking officer of the South Carolina militia until the end of the war. Robert D. Bass, *Gamecock: The Life and Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1961); Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* (R. L. Bryan Company, Columbia, South Carolina, 1931).

^v Francis Marion (c 1732-1795) held the rank of captain of the Second Regiment of South Carolina State Troops in June 1775. This unit was taken into the Continental Line. Marion was promoted to major in November 1775; to lieutenant colonel in September 1776; and to colonel in September 1780. In addition, in late 1780, SC rebel Governor Rutledge promoted him to the rank of Brigadier General in the South Carolina militia. He led his men into numerous skirmishes and engagements with the British after the fall of Charleston and earned the nickname of "Swamp Fox." Robert D. Bass, *Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion* (Sandlapper Publishing Co., Inc., Orangeburg, South Carolina, 1974).

^{vi} Alexander Leslie (1740-1794) was a British army major general. He participated in the battles of Harlem Heights, White Plains and Princeton in the Northern Theater of the Revolution. After bringing Lord Cornwallis reinforcements in December 1780, he accompanied Cornwallis on his invasion of North Carolina in 1781 and commanded the British right flank at the Battle of Guilford County Court House. In July 1781, the British commander-in-chief, Henry Clinton, detached Leslie from Cornwallis and ordered him to Charleston. Upon the British surrender at Yorktown, he succeeded Cornwallis as commander of the British army in the South. He supervised the British withdrawals from Savannah in July 1782 and from Charleston in December 1782. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 617-8.

^{vii} Fort Watson built on top of an ancient Indian mound on the north bank of Scott's Lake, an oxbow lake of the Santee River. This site is preserved and publicly accessible in the Santee National Wildlife Refuge, near I-95 crossing of modern Lake Marion, SC.

^{viii} The southern terminus of Nelson's Ferry was located on the south bank of the Santee River at the mouth of the small creek from Eutaw Springs.

[This is the first contemporaneous reference to a British way station fort being built on the south terminus of Nelson's Ferry. Ed.]

^{ix} Anthony Wayne (1745-1796), a Continental Brigadier General, was nicknamed "Mad Anthony." He was one of America's most competent commanders during the Revolution. He served mostly in the northern theater of the war, but he did march south with his troops to reinforce Nathanael Greene in January 1782. He and his troops were almost immediately, however, detached to conduct the Georgia Expedition freeing Georgia from British/Loyalist rule. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 1175-1177.

^x Battle of Nelson's Ferry or Battle of Great Savannah (August 20, 1780) [Directions: I-95 Exit 102, take State Road 400 east approximately 4.5 miles.] The stage for this battle was set when Lord Cornwallis defeated Gen. Gates at the Battle of Camden on August 16, 1780. About 150 Continental soldiers were taken prisoner by the British at Camden. Prior to the battle at Camden, Gates ordered SC militia Col. Francis Marion to assume command of the Williamsburg SC Patriot militia and to roam the Santee River burning boats in order to isolate Camden from Charleston. Marion was successfully engaged in this task when he learned of the defeat at Camden. He learned that a small detachment of the 63rd Regiment of Foot supported by a small number of provincials from the Prince of Wales American Regiment was holding the Continentals prisoner at Thomas Sumter's home near Nelson's Ferry. Marion attacked killing or capturing twenty-three of the escorts and releasing all the prisoners. Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, Volume Two: 1780*, (N.p.: Blue House Tavern Press, Booklocker.com, Inc. 2004) (hereinafter cited as O'Kelley, *Slaughter 2*), 293-296.

^{xi} Lord Cornwallis dispatched Maj. Archibald McArthur and two battalions of the 71st Regiment of Foot to Cheraw Hills in June 1780 to be recalled to Lynch's River and then to Camden in August 1780.

^{xii} Fort Granby at Congaree Stores, modern Cayce, SC.

^{xiii} Evidently Capt. Rannall McKay, also called "McCoy," is meant.

^{xiv} Welbore Ellis Doyle (c. 1752-1797) was a Lieutenant Colonel of the Irish Volunteers provincials and served under Lord Cornwallis at Camden. In March 1781, he participated in the successful attack on Marion's camp at Snow Island.

<http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/friends/doyle.html>.

^{xv} Maj. Robert McLeroth commanded the 64th Regiment of Foot, a British regular army unit. McLeroth and his unit had previously encountered SC Patriot militia Gen. Francis Marion and his forces at Halfway Swamp on December 13, 1780, without significant casualties on either side. O'Kelley, *Slaughter 2*, 384-386.

^{xvi} The reference is to the skirmish at Fort Watson on March 1, 1781, between forces commanded by SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter and British and Provincial forces under the command of Lt. Col. John Watson Tadwell-Watson. Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, Volume Three: 1781*, (N.p.: Booklocker.com, Inc., 2005) (hereinafter cited as O'Kelley, *Slaughter 3*), 103-105.

^{xvii} John Watson Tidwell-Watson (1748-1826) Lt. Col. commanded the "Provincial Light Infantry," a unit consisting of six detached Provincial Light Infantry Companies taken from The Loyal American Regiment, The Kings American Regiment, DeLancey's Brigade (3rd Battalion), and the New Jersey Volunteers (1st, 2nd and 4th Battalions). There is an excellent short biographical note on him posted at **<http://home.golden.net/~marg/bansite/friends/watson.html>**.

^{xviii} South Carolina Royalists provincial troops.

^{xix} This reference is to modern Lynch's River, at Radcliff's Bridge, east of modern Bishopville, SC.

^{xx} The skirmish at Ratcliff's Bridge occurred on March 6, 1781. O'Kelley, *Slaughter 3*, 112-114.

^{xxi} Nathanael Greene (1742-1786), Major General, was the commanding officer of the Southern Department of the Continental Army from December 2, 1780 when he assumed command from Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates in Charlotte, North Carolina, until the end of the War. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 453.

^{xxii} The battle of Eutaw Springs occurred on September 8, 1781. O'Kelley, *Slaughter 3*, 335-356.

^{xxiii} It is located about 5 miles up the peninsular from the historic area of Charleston, SC near I-26 and Dorchester Road.

^{xxiv} Captain Henry Giesendanner was the commanding officer of a troop of mounted Loyalist militia and provincials at Orangeburg. Clark, Murtie June. *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War, 1781*, Vol. 1, 201.

^{xxv} Major Micajah Ganey. A copy of Ganey's truce proposal to Marion is set forth in R. W. Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History of the American Revolution: Consisting of Letters and Papers Relating to the Contest for Liberty, Chiefly in South Carolina, From Originals in the Possession of the Editor, and Other Sources*, 2 vols. (1857; reprint, Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1972).

^{xxvi} James Henry Craig (1749-1812) Lt. Col. in the 82nd Regiment of Foot and the commanding officer of the British garrison occupying Wilmington, North Carolina. In November 1781 following Lord Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, he withdrew his garrison from Wilmington to Charleston.

^{xxvii} Nisbet Balfour (1744 - 1823) Lt. Col. of the 23^d Regiment of Foot was the commander of the British forces in Charleston, South Carolina from the summer of 1780 until his return to England in October 1782. Prior to assuming command at Charleston, Balfour commanded the garrison at Ninety Six.

xxviii Griffith Rutherford (1731-c1800) Brigadier General of the NC Patriot militia commander from North Carolina. He played a significant role in the Cherokee War of 1776; he commanded the troops (but not himself present) that defeated the Tories at Ramseur's Mill in June 1780; and he commanded a brigade at the Battle of Camden on August 16, 1780. He was captured at Camden and held as a prisoner of war until he was exchanged in June 1781. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 953.

xxix The skirmish at Tydiman's Plantation occurred on February 25, 1782, between forces commanded by Marion and Col. Benjamin Thompson [later known as Count Rumford] commanding the British forces. Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, Volume Four: 1782*, (N. p.: Blue House Tavern Press, Booklocker.com, Inc., 2005), 35.

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Gen. Nathanael Greene Symposium, April 21-23, 2006 - Schedule and Registration Information.

SYMPOSIUM SCHEDULE		REGISTRATION
FRIDAY, APRIL 21, 2006 BEST WESTERN, Lugoff, SC 12:00-1:00 pm Registration 1:00 - 1:15 pm Welcoming Remarks: Charles Baxley and Joanna Craig 1:15 - 1:45 pm Dennis Conrad, "'We Have a Bloody Field but Little Glory': Nathanael Greene and the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill" 1:45 - 1:55 pm Q & A 1:55 - 2:15 pm Break & Refreshments 2:15 - 2:45 pm Robert M. Calhoun, "Nathanael Greene and Political Moderation" 2:45 - 2:55 pm Q & A 2:55 - 3:15 pm Break & Refreshments 3:15 - 3:45 pm Charles F. Price, "Eutaw Springs: Battle as Fact and as Experience - A Novelist's View" 3:45 - 3:55 pm Q & A 3:55 - 4:15 pm Break & Refreshments 4:15 - 4:45 pm Jim McIntyre, "Nathanael Greene - Soldier and Statesman" 4:45 - 4:55 pm Q & A 4:55 - 5:00 pm Closing Remarks, Directions 5:15 - 6:00 pm Tour Historic Camden Rev. War Site 7:00 - 9:00 pm Welcome Reception & Groaning Board at Col. Joseph Kershaw's House at Historic Camden	SATURDAY, APRIL 22, 2006 BEST WESTERN, Lugoff, SC 8:00 - 8:30 am Registration 8:30 - 8:40 am Welcoming Remarks/Charles Baxley and Joanna Craig 8:40 - 9:10 am Greg Massey, "Beyond Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in North Carolina 1781-1782" 9:10 - 9:20 am Q & A 9:20 - 9:40 am Break & Refreshments 9:40 - 10:10 am Larry Babits, "Rifle Shot and Buck 'n' Ball in the 1781 Southern Campaign" 10:10 - 10:20 am Q & A 10:20 - 10:40 am Break & Refreshments 10:40 - 11:10 am Jim Picouh, "Greene and the Question of Arming Black Soldiers" 11:10 - 11:20 am Q & A: Break 11:20 - 12:10 pm Lunch - Best Western Dining Room 12:10 - 12:40 pm John Buchanan "'We must endeavor to keep up a partisan war': Nathanael Greene and the Partisans" 12:40 - 12:50 pm Q & A 12:50 - 1:10 pm Break & Refreshments 1:10 - 1:55 pm Panel Discussion & Q & A (Babits, McIntyre, Buchanan, Conrad, moderated by John Maass) 1:55 - 2:15 pm Carpool to Battle of Hobkirk's Hill 2:30 - 3:30 pm Battlefield Commemorations & Battle Demonstration 3:30 - 5:00 pm Hobkirk's Hill Battlefield Walking Tour with Charles Baxley 7:00 - 8:00 pm Symposium Finale Dinner 8:15 - 9:00 pm Premier performance of "Rise and Fight Again! Nathanael Greene memorializes" by British thespian/playwright, Howard Burnham 9:00 pm Symposium Ends	Full Fees include: all lectures, opening reception, Saturday lunch, and dinner theater. Registration Deadline: April 12, 2006. Transportation/Accommodations: responsibility of attendee. Host Motel: Best Western Motel, Hwy 1 South, Lugoff, SC 29078. Rate: \$59 plus tax per night w/Continental Breakfast. Reservations: (803) 438-9441 (request Historic Camden rate). Other area motels and B&Bs: see www.historic-camden.net or call: (803) 432-9841. Payment: MasterCard/Visa (mail/phone) or by check made payable to Historic Camden (non-refundable after 4/12/06). REGISTRATION FEES Due April 12, 2006 unless noted Early Bird (by 4/5/06) (\$220 couple) \$115 Full (\$260 couple) \$135 *Member Fee (\$180/couple) \$100 **Spouse Dinner Theater \$35 Friday or Saturday Session (circle one) \$60 Saturday Session w/dinner theater \$80 Sunday Bus Tour w/lunch \$35 *Historic Camden/KC Historical Society Members **Seating Capacity 110, so reserve early! Name _____ Address _____ City/State _____ Zip _____ Phone _____ e-mail _____ <input type="checkbox"/> Check <input type="checkbox"/> MasterCard <input type="checkbox"/> Visa Card # _____ Expiration _____ Signature _____ (Required for all credit card orders) Please tear off and mail registration form with payment to: Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site P.O. Box 710, Camden, SC 29020 (803) 432-9841; fax (803) 432-3815

Gen. Greene's SC Command 1781-82 Field Trip
Sunday, April 23, 2006 - 8:00 am-3:30 pm
\$35 per person - Departs from Historic Camden
 Includes Revolutionary War Chapel Service & stops at High Hills of Santee Camp, Fort Watson, Eutaw Springs Battlefield and ride by of Fort Motte. Lunch is included.
RESERVE YOUR SPACE NOW!