



April 2006

[illegible]

“When I say that our commander has behaved himself as heretofore, I only barely do him justice. Look back into our proceedings, with so little means; where have you read of so much being done! Let this man be unfortunate, or let him be successful; in either case he will be a great man. When we get more troops, we will win battles; and when we have better means, we will recover lost countries. If the Southern States should be overrun, blame no one in this quarter. We have done our duty.”

Quoted from the "Pennsylvania Packet" newspaper of May 29, 1780, discussing the role of Gen. Nathanael Greene in the Southern Department; attributed to an "extract of a letter from a gentleman in the Southern Army", published with a report of the action above Camden, SC at Hobkirk's Hill. Materials furnished by Will Graves and Charles F. Price.

Editor / Publisher's Notes

Digging for Information – Archaeology Projects

New and follow-on archaeology projects at several interesting South Carolina Revolutionary War sites are underway. South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology's (SCIAA) military archaeology team of Steve Smith and Jim Legg have finished some "quick and dirty" fieldwork for the Palmetto Conservation Foundation at Gen. Thomas Sumter's November 20, 1780 Blackstock's Plantation battlefield on the Tyger River. Smith and Legg's work at Continental Lt. Col. John Laurens' May 4, 1779 Coosawhatchie battlefield and SC Patriot militia Col. William Harden's April 13, 1781 capture of Fort Balfour will be reported in a future edition of *SCAR*. Smith and Legg are also working on an initial archaeological survey of the July 12, 1780 Battle of Williamson's Plantation – Huck's Defeat battlefield in York County, SC in conjunction with Historic Brattonsville. They are back in the field working at the Battle of Camden site with some highly skilled volunteers doing an extensive metal detection survey in some areas, some ground penetrating radar studies, and again interviewing collectors to catalog old finds on the master GIS system collections gleaned over the years. If you have Battle of Camden artifacts in your collection, please contact *SCAR* about sharing your data. Smith, Legg and Tamara Wilson's detailed report on the first two Battle of Camden archaeological surveys, called *Understanding Camden*, is available for sale for \$20.00 from the Palmetto Conservation Foundation.

(<http://palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view-item&WebSiteID=127&ItemID=3040>) If you have any relics or knowledge about any of these archaeological sites, please contact either Mike Scoggins or Steve Smith.

Scott Butler, military archaeologist with Brockington & Associates of Norcross, Ga. is wrapping up a SC DOT funded survey at Continental Col. Abraham Buford's defeat by Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton on May 29, 1780 at the Battle of the Waxhaws (Buford's Massacre) site in anticipation of highway improvements at the modern intersection of SC Highways 9 and 522. He has located a wide musket ball scatter, possible indicative of the battle. Brockington has also been awarded a contract by the Palmetto Conservation Foundation's Military Heritage Program to do phase two archaeological reconnaissance at Gen. Nathanael Greene's Eutaw Springs battlefield in Orangeburg County, SC. If you have Battle of Eutaw Springs or Buford's Massacre artifacts in your collection, please contact [SCAR](#) about sharing your data.



Larkin Kelly holds bagged iron grape shot that Larkin and her sister Caroline B. Kelly recovered from Hobkirk Hill test lot #1 with project archaeologist Tariq Ghaffar. Photo by John Allison.

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The Hobkirk's Hill battlefield archaeology project is underway using the professional-amateur model described in *SCAR*. *SCAR* will keep you informed on the findings of this boots-on-the-ground research. (see www.hobkirkhill.org) If you have Battle of Hobkirk's Hill artifacts in your collection, please contact *SCAR* about sharing your data.

Other research Projects

John Robertson has an exciting on-line project he has been refining for several years to the point it has become almost encyclopedic. Please spend a few minutes surfing his site, especially the collection of links to online books and articles on the Revolutionary War. The [ONLINE LIBRARY of the SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN of the REVOLUTIONARY WAR](#) is great for anyone wanting to read an old text; this is the place most likely to produce a link to an on-line version. This is only one of the on-line resources compiled by John. *SCAR* suggests you take a tour of this research resource.

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 plats, and archaeological finds to explain the action and put these battles on the ground. If you will share information you have gathered on these battles, either privately or are willing to submit something for publication, it would be greatly appreciated.

SCAR has located historians who are researching SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter's battles at Blackstock's Plantation and Hanging Rock and Gen. Nathanael Greene's Battles of Hobkirk Hill and Eutaw Springs. *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. **A story unshared may become a site unshared.**

Gen. Nathanael Greene Coming to Symposium

The **Nathaniel Greene Symposium and Battlefield Tours** are to be held on **April 21-23, 2006** in Lugoff and Camden, SC. *SCAR* hopes you can join us for our learning, sharing, fellowship, and entertainment. [See page 7 for more details and registration information.] Noted Revolutionary War scholars will speak and answer your questions at the upcoming Gen. Nathanael Greene Symposium. Gen. Greene was recognized by his peers as being one of the great leaders of the Revolutionary War. Perhaps because of his death at a relatively young age and therefore no participation in the post-war leadership that established the Constitutional Government that we have today, his role as a key leader of the Revolution has been minimized.

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 Steven J. Rauch..... [calendar](#)
 Jim Picuch..... [book reviews](#)
 Werner Willis..... [artist](#)
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 B. Caroline Baxley..... [webmistress](#)

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

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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 cbxbaxley@charter.net or (803) 438-1606 (h) or (803) 438-4200 (w). www.southerncampaign.org ★

We are indeed fortunate that the Rhode Island Historical Society and various universities have facilitated the great scholarly work to calendarize and extensively annotate Greene's papers. This

scholarship undertaken by Richard Showman, Dennis Conrad and others will prove a wealth of data for generations to come in understanding the complexities of Greene's contribution to the cause of freedom. It is true that Nathanael Greene was George Washington's most trusted lieutenant and that Nathanael Greene learned at the side of the master old fox. Greene proved to be an extremely capable student and from the content of his letters you can see that he retained a broad strategic view of the war effort and its political objectives. His battlefield command masterfully wore Lord Cornwallis down to his ultimate defeat. Greene restored rebel rule to North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia in 1781 and 1782 while handling the delicate relationships between federal, state and local troops. Carrying on this war on behalf of a bankrupt, weak government mostly through sheer will, determination and force of personality makes him the second only to George Washington in this critical juncture. Greene obviously knew that when the war ended the Patriots needed to have control of the landmass of the Carolina and Georgia and set about with little support to accomplish his task. By the close of the symposium, we will grasp a more detailed picture of this amazing leader who contributed so much to those who had so little with such magnanimity and indomitable spirit.

In these editorial pages, we jump in against the revisions of historians who have declared that Nathanael Greene never won a battle. The exciting scholarship now going on at the present should clearly convince the modern skeptics that Greene, conserving his forces, never concluded a battle of his personal command with the absolute annihilation of the enemy, but always concluded battles with their strategic mission intact, thereby conserving that last ounce of lead, pound of power, and drop of Patriot blood. Greene's strategic view was clear that the log courthouse in Guilford, the sandy knoll known as Hobkirk Hill, the star fort at Ninety-Six, and the spring and tavern at Eutaw Springs in and of themselves had little strategic value. But after every one of those engagements, the enemy clearly beaten retreated with tail tucked between their legs closer and closer to its coastal enclaves, freeing thousands of square miles of territory from Crown rule. To measure victory in any other terms in my view is misleading; we are sure that we will stir up a hornets' nest of debate. We view Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk Hill, the siege of Ninety-Six, and Eutaw Springs as brilliant victories all hard fought with combined national, state and local troops allowing his army to survive to dominate the landscape, pushing the foe away from countryside.

SCAR Corps of Discovery

Now that spring has sprung and the cool nights are still keeping most of the snakes, chiggers and ticks in check, and the poison ivy has not re-foliated, the Southern Campaigns **Corps of Discovery** invites those who enjoy researching, finding and touring the actual Revolutionary War sites to join us in explorations. We had two great Corps of Discovery trips in North Carolina; for a report on these trips, see pages 4 - 6 in this issue of SCAR.

Before we take the summer off for cooler pursuits, our final **Corps of Discovery** trip this spring battlefielding season will be to Augusta, Georgia to visit the second siege of Augusta sites on Saturday June 2, 2006. This informal tour will be lead by military historian and author [Steven J. Rauch](#).

This fall and winter the **Corps of Discovery** is in planning mode to take advantage of the upcoming premier Southern battlefielding season. We are planning a trip to Kings Mountain National Military Park, hosted by Ranger Bert Dunkerly in November 2006. We also are planning a trip to Calhoun County, SC to visit

the sites of SC Patriot militia Gen. Francis Marion and Continental Legion Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Henry Lee's successful capture of Fort Mott; SC Continental rangers regiment commander, Col. William "Danger" Thomson's home, Belleville, fortified by the British; and the final resting place of SC Navy Commodore Alexander Gillon at Gillon's Retreat. We have been invited to return to central North Carolina for more sites with military historian and living history reenactor Patrick O'Kelley. We want to tour the Cherokee War sites and the Overmountain Trail in the North Carolina mountains and tour the Tarleton raid sites in Virginia. Finally, Savannah, Georgia calls with a Corps of Discovery trip to the sites of the December 29, 1778 battle for Savannah; the fall 1779 Siege of Savannah; and to retrace British Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell's winter 1779 Augusta campaign from his Savannah base. Plan to join us as it sounds like fun! SCAR will keep you posted on the details in the Calendar of Upcoming Events.

Upon invitation of a host and guide, SCAR will publish 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. 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. **Tell us about your research and trips to discover our Revolutionary War heritage. Share in SCAR.**

Help Wanted

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

Placefinders

John Robertson and others have started to catalogue and post on a limited access Internet site a data exchange of Revolutionary War site maps and documentation – this exchange is called placefinders. If you are interested in actually locating battlefields, camps and skirmish sites, for more details, please contact [John Robertson](#).



Welsh Fusiliers of the 23d Regiment of Foot charge Gen. Greene's Continentals at the 225th Anniversary Reenactment of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Photo courtesy of John Maass.

Huzzah!

A SCAR's hat's off this month goes to the organizers of the 225th programs at Guilford Courthouse. All reports were of a well-attended and greatly-enjoyed, first class 225th anniversary event.



Mounted British officers at the Guilford Courthouse 225th Anniversary reenactment. Photo by Calvin Keys.

Event Planning

June 2-3, 2006 Augusta, Georgia - Conference and **Corps of Discovery** battlefield tour hosted by military historian, professor and SCAR contributor, [Steven J. Rauch](#).

SCAR will 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 Chief Editor of the Greene Papers, Dr. Dennis M. Conrad is scheduled to keynote this conference, followed by a presentation by SCAR contributing author, Dr. Lee F. McGee, noted Southern cavalry operations scholar. Lee's article in March 2006 SCAR was a great analysis of Greene's uses of cavalry at Eutaw Springs and his analysis of the actions at Hobkirk Hill in this edition on page 13 are also insightful. This important Southern Campaign Patriot victory and battlefield will be covered in depth. 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.

On **October 7-8, 2006** we will travel to Savannah, Georgia for a **Southern Campaigns Roundtable** meeting at the Coastal Heritage Society's Savannah History Museum and a **Corps of Discovery** tour of the two important Savannah Revolutionary War battles. Plan on this trip early as Savannah's historic district hotels book up very early. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org> ★

Reports on Corps of Discovery Trips

The members of the **Core of Discovery** met at the Lincoln County, North Carolina Historic Coordinator's office on **March 11, 2006** to follow Lord Cornwallis' 1781 "Race for the Dan" trail through southern central North Carolina. Our first stop was at the site of the old Tryon County Courthouse. This site is on North Carolina Highway 274, marked by a granite monument and roadside historic marker shown below.



Lincoln County Historical Coordinator and tour guide Darrel Harkey leads the discussions as the Corps of Discovery crew visits the 1768 site of the Tryon County Courthouse and Cornwallis camp. Photo by Malcolm Marion, III, MD.

We traveled next to Bessemer City, North Carolina where, just north of the town, we were fortunate enough to visit the Washington – Ormand furnace ruins. The towering great stone chimney marks this pre-Revolutionary War iron furnace.



Ruins of the main iron smelter chimney of the Washington-Ormond Furnace, just north of Bessemer City, NC. The rear of this chimney is constructed of well laid stone; this face reveals the interior fill rubble after the face fell off the chimney. SCAR photo by CBB.

It would take at least 200 workers to cut and haul wood; make charcoal; mine and haul iron ore; mine and haul limestone; and run the furnace to make pig iron products; and cut the molds and maintain the works. These backcountry iron works were huge and critical industrial complexes of their era, but quickly denuded vast tracts of forest to supply charcoal for the furnaces and forges. Lord Cornwallis stopped at the site, but there is no evidence that he camped there or did anything to destroy the works.

We climbed up to Payseur's Mountain, a monadnock that gives a panoramic view of modern Lincoln County. Tarleton also climbed this mountain with his legion to look for the smoke of the fires of Daniel Morgan's fleeing army and prisoners.

From the iron works, Cornwallis next traveled to Ramsour's Mill the site of the defeat the Loyalists in June of 1780. This site is on top of a hill now in the modern town of Lincolnton, North Carolina, overbuilt with two (2) modern public schools. A small memorial resides on the summit of the hill and the Loyalists graves are marked with granite coping. Through the advocacy of the local Historical Coordinator (our fearless guide), the local school district has moved the children's playground equipment off the memorial area.

Just south of Lincolnton on Howard's Creek at the old Reep Farm (which has recently been subdivided into residential lots), there is the campsite where Lord Cornwallis divided his army between Gen. Charles O'Hara and himself. We also visited Tarleton's campsite on Cobb's Bottoms on the South Fork of the Catawba River.



The beautiful 19th Century Ingleside Plantation big house, site of Lord Cornwallis' camp. Photo by Malcolm Marion, III, MD.

From Lincolnton, Cornwallis turned almost due east and traveled to Cowan's Ford of the Catawba River; however, finding the river swollen his army was unable to cross, he backtracked to beautiful Ingleside Plantation where he camped before the Battle of Cowan's Ford.



18th Century log cabin on Ingleside Plantation, site of Lord Cornwallis' camp just before the Battle of Cowan's Ford. Photo by CBB.

Military historian and living history expert Patrick J. O'Kelley led a **Corps of Discovery** field trip on **April 1, 2006** to Revolutionary War sites in south-central North Carolina. Starting in Cross Creek (modern Fayetteville, NC) the Corps first stopped at Tory Hole Park on the Cape Fear River in Elizabethtown, NC, site of a successful raid by Patriots on Loyalists occupying the town. We next proceeded to the site of the important pre-Declaration of Independence Patriot victory at Moore's Creek Bridge that assured Patriot control of North Carolina for four critical years from 1776 until Lord Cornwallis' invasion in 1780.

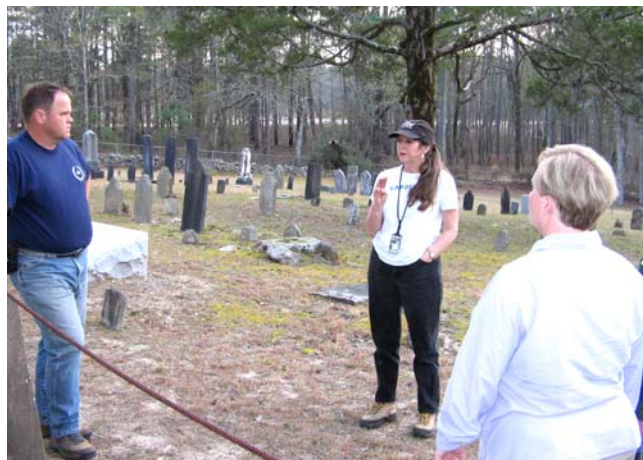
After lunch in Wilmington, NC, we headed to Point Peter to see NC Patriot militia Capt. Thomas Bludworth's position on his sniper mission in Wilmington. Point Peter is located slightly upstream from the birth of the battleship North Carolina and across the Cape Fear River from the main downtown buildings and docks of Wilmington, NC. Capt. Bludworth chose a hollowed out tree in which he constructed a sniper's platform and supplied it for his week-long mission. Instead of a rifle, he made a large caliber rampart gun to shoot the 250 – 300 yards across the Cape Fear River where he terrorized British soldiers on the docks. For a hands-on demonstration of the weapon made by Capt. Bludworth, Patrick brought along his amuzette, (think musket on steroids) 1.00 caliber, 34-pound flintlock, often called a rampart, wall or swivel gun. With its great range Bludworth fired accurate shots at the British across the Cape Fear River.



David Reuwer and Bill Sloop watch as Miriam Sloop aims the amuzette across the Cape Fear River at the Wilmington docks as Patrick O'Kelley acts as the swivel. SCAR photo by CBB.

We ended the daylight on Fort Bragg after passing through very thorough security. The pre-WWII brick buildings of the command center are beautiful classic structures in stark contrast with the clay and sand, drop and artillery impact zones found on the west side of the reservation. Touring Fort Bragg's huge, climax, longleaf pine forest with Dr. Linda F. Carnes-McNaughton, Fort Bragg's archaeologist, was great sport while tracing the old track of Long Street - 10 miles long. (Named for its length; pre-Civil War.) Fort Bragg, established in WWI, includes thousands of cultural sites all of which are catalogued, being surveyed and

managed by its cultural resources staff. The area's sandy soils support the great longleaf pine forests prized for their mast trees, pitch, tar, rosin, and gum - naval stores – all critical to maintaining a wooden-ship navy. The colonial inhabitants made money harvesting these stores to support the King's Navy and were generally Loyalists during the revolution.



Dr. Linda Carnes-McNaughton, archaeologist and curator in Fort Bragg's Cultural Resources Program, center, explains the pre-Revolutionary War cemetery at the Long Street Presbyterian Church. Tour leader Patrick O'Kelley, left and Miriam Sloop right. SCAR photo by CBB.

We paused to see the location of the pre-Revolutionary War Scot-Irish Loyalists community of Argyle where Lord Cornwallis camped in March 1781 on his retreat from his pyrrhic victory at Guilford Courthouse to Wilmington, NC. This community of highland Presbyterians established the extant pre-Revolutionary War cemetery with dry-lain stonewalls. There is also extant the third (1840s) wood frame sanctuary of Long Street Presbyterian Church. Both are now in the custody of the US Army.



The Long Street Presbyterian Church's third sanctuary on this site. Note the dry-lain stone walls. SCAR photo by CBB.

We drove around an artillery impact zone (called by Patrick, "the valley of death"), past a Potemkin village (used to train special forces in urban warfare) tracking down the site of Piney Bottom Massacre. This massacre of a young boy ignited a month-long civil war between the Patriots and Loyalists in this area of North Carolina.


The expanse of military training grounds has stopped much normal, modern development in many areas so that the ground is almost unchanged from what it was then, dirt roads and all.



Corps of Discovery crew at the Moore's Creek Bridge monument: Patrick and Cailin O'Kelley, Charles Baxley, Miriam and Bill Sloop, and SCAR photographer Lanny Morgan, kneeling. SCAR photo by DPR. ★

Congressman Joe Wilson (R-SC) Introduces Federal Legislation to Memorialize General Francis Marion

With the support of the South Carolina delegation, Congressman Joe Wilson (SC-02) introduced the Brigadier General Francis Marion Memorial Act (H.R. 5057). The legislation authorizes the Marion Park Project and Committee of the Palmetto Conservation Foundation to establish a commemorative work on Federal land in the District of Columbia to honor Brigadier General Francis Marion. "Brigadier General Francis Marion was one of our nation's most renowned and respected patriots. The South Carolinian's bold bravery and shrewd tactics during the American Revolutionary War enabled Continental troops to repeatedly evade and defeat the British," said Wilson. "Marion gained quite the reputation for his elusiveness, but I am surprised his statue is still missing from Marion Park. By allowing a private organization to raise funds to establish a memorial in honor of the 'Swamp Fox,' this bill helps commemorate his legacy and famous fight for freedom." Senator Lindsey Graham (R-SC) will lead the effort to pass the legislation in the Senate. "Francis Marion is an American Patriot. He embodies the spirit and dedication to freedom that is shared by all South Carolinians...This is the perfect example of public-private cooperation to honor a great American." Marion Park is located at the intersection of E Street and South Carolina Avenue in Washington, DC. ★



The Georgia Navy


During the American Revolution four heavily-armed row galleys were constructed in Savannah for the Georgia Navy, all underwritten by the Continental Congress. In nearby Frederica River, beginning at dawn on April 19, 1778, Georgia galleys Lee, Washington, and Mullock, commanded by Colonel Samuel Elbert, attacked HM brigantine *Mitchellbrook*, the armed sloop *Rebecca*, and an armed waterwing brig. The British attempted to evade, but were outgunned and out-maneuvered. As they tried to gain an advantage by rowing down river their ships grounded, were shrouded, and captured. This remarkable victory boosted patriot morale and delayed by more than eight months the British conquest of Georgia.

Erected by the Georgia Branch of Sons of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Coastal Georgia Branch of Sons of the American Revolution, and Fort Frederica National Monument. 2007 4-19

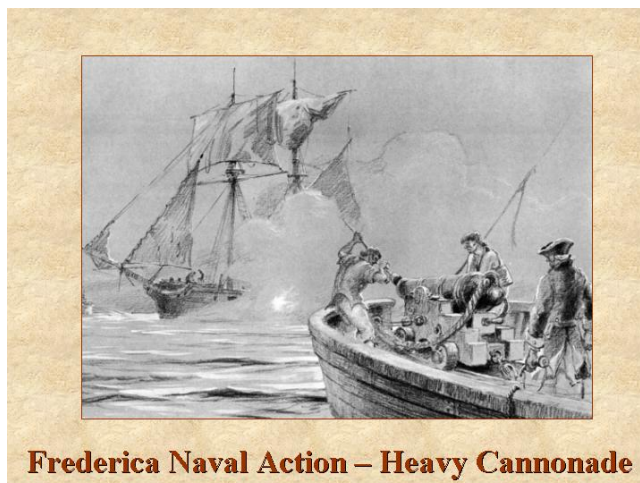
You're Invited!

Coastal Georgia Historical Society
 Daughters of the American Revolution
 Fort Frederica National Monument and
 Sons of the American Revolution
 invite you to attend the celebration of
Georgia Patriots Day
Wednesday, April 19, 2006, at 10:00 a.m.
 Fort Frederica National Monument
 St. Simons Island, Georgia

The Celebration will focus on the Anniversary of the capture of three British ships on the Frederica River on April 19, 1778 and will include Sons of the American Revolution Color Guard and descendants. Wreaths, Bagpipe and Musket Salutes will be presented to honor the Georgia seamen and soldiers. No admission charged to participants.



**Georgia Society Sons
of the American Revolution**
 1-912-634-1293
Designed by Edward Fluker - Ocmulgee Chapter, GASSAR



Frederica Naval Action – Heavy Cannonade

Major General Nathanael Greene Symposium and Battlefield Tours

April 21-23, 2006



**“General
Nathanael
Greene: The
Fighting
Quaker” by
Werner Willis.**

Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site hosts the Major General Nathanael Greene Symposium and Battlefield Tours on April 21-23, 2006 in celebration of the 225th anniversaries of the American

Revolution in South Carolina and the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill.

The symposium will be held at the Camden Inn (until recently known as the Best Western Motel) in Lugoff, SC. Friday’s session opens at 1:00 pm with lead presenter, Dennis M. Conrad, early American historian for the US Navy and editor of the final volumes of the encyclopedic *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. He will discuss Gen. Greene’s fight in Camden at Hobkirk’s Hill. A paper by Robert M. Calhoon, professor of history at UNC-Greensboro, author of numerous books on the Loyalists and the impact of religion in the Revolution, will review Greene, the politician and his moderate statesmanship. Next - “General Nathanael Greene as Man and as Cultural Icon” - using the General’s letters, Greene descendant, poet and literary critic Seabrook Wilkinson and novelist Charles F. Price will portray Greene as self-taught intellectual, a master of the written word equally adroit at revealing and concealing his true feelings, as diplomat and statesman, and as devoted father, husband and friend. Jim McIntyre, a Camden Symposia regular and history instructor at Moraine Valley Community College, will present the final lecture of the afternoon in his focus on Greene as a soldier-statesman. Friday evening the Historic Camden Foundation Trustees will host a candlelight reception at the reconstructed Col. Joseph Kershaw House, located at the 107-acre outdoor museum complex. Now known as the Kershaw-Cornwallis House, the colonial Georgian style mansion was commandeered by Charles, Lord Cornwallis to serve as British headquarters during the British occupation of Camden in 1780-81.

Saturday’s session at the Camden Inn will start at 8:30 am. Greg Massey, professor of history at Freed-Hardeman University, will discuss Greene’s actions in North Carolina after the Guilford Courthouse battle. Another Camden symposia regular, Larry Babits, professor of archaeology at East Carolina University and author of the acclaimed analysis of the Battle of Cowpens, *A Devil of a Whipping*, will present a discussion on battlefield archaeology: “Rifle Shot and Buck n’ Ball.” Jim Piecuch, newly appointed early American history professor at Kennesaw State University, Ga., will address “Greene and the Question of the Arming of Black Soldiers.” The Saturday academic session will close with a panel discussion about Nathanael Greene and his Southern Department command moderated by John Maass, symposium program coordinator.

Saturday afternoon’s 225th Hobkirk Hill Anniversary Celebration will be held at Kirkwood Common in Camden. At 2:30 pm there will be a battle skirmish depicting tactics from the Hobkirk Hill action near the actual battle site. The April 25, 1781 engagement, waged between Greene and Francis, Lord Rawdon, British commandant of South Carolina and the Camden post, caused Greene to reflect: **“We fight, get beat, and fight again...”** A brief, wreath-laying memorial service to the fallen heroes who fought at Hobkirk Hill follows at 3:00 pm. Throughout the weekend Revolutionary War re-enactors will be encamped at Historic Camden.

After the commemorative ceremony, attendees will enjoy a guided walking tour of the Hobkirk Hill battlefield, which is located in one of three national registered districts in Camden. An elegant dinner and premier performance of a dramatic monologue on the “Fighting Quaker,” written and presented by noted British thespian and playwright, Howard Burnham, of Columbia, SC, will be the memorable finale to the symposium.

Registration fees, due April 19th, are \$115.00 per person and \$220.00 per couple. Historic Camden and Kershaw County Historical Society members are offered a special rate of \$100.00 per person and \$180.00 per couple, also due by April 19th. Registration fees include the scholarly presentations, candlelight reception, Saturday lunch, battle skirmish, Hobkirk’s Hill battle site guided tour, and Saturday evening dinner theater. Other registration options, due April 19th, include: Friday or Saturday session only \$60.00 per person, Saturday session and dinner theater \$80.00 per person, and dinner theater only \$35.00 per person.

A post-symposium battlefield bus tour on Sunday for \$35.00 per person (includes lunch) will depart from Historic Camden, and travel to the Eutaw Springs battlefield on the shores of Lake Marion, by Fort Motte and SC Patriot Col. William “Danger” Thomson’s Plantation, Belleville. We will return from Eutaw Springs by Fort Watson and Greene’s camp in the High Hills of the Santee. Guides will be Charles B. Baxley and David P. Reuwer, acclaimed battle sites tour guides of Historic Camden’s Tarleton, Camden Campaign, and Thomas Sumter symposia. An attorney, Baxley is past president of the Kershaw County Historical Society and editor-publisher of the in-depth magazine, *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. Formerly an adjunct professor of historic preservation at the College of Charleston, attorney Reuwer was the historian and lead investigator of the 2002 ABPP funded survey of the Eutaw Springs battlefield. Sunday’s tour will encompass Greene’s Eutaw Springs fall 1781 campaign that pushed the British from the midlands of South Carolina to their tidewater enclave around Charleston.

As a finale to the 225th Celebration, Historic Camden is sponsoring the Hobkirk Hill Front Rooms House Tour featuring seven ante-bellum homes and three gardens located on Hobkirk Hill. The tour will be held Sunday afternoon, 2 pm to 5:30 pm. Tickets are \$20.00 at available at Historic Camden or the symposium registration desk. House tour participants are invited to a reception at the Kershaw-Cornwallis House from 5:30-7:30 pm.

Registrations may be made by cash, MasterCard/Visa, or check payable to Historic Camden. For information, a brochure or to register, please contact: Joanna Craig, Director - Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site, 222 Broad Street, P.O. Box 710, Camden, SC 29021; (803) 432-9841; fax (803) 432-3815; e-mail: hiscamden@camden.net or see website postings on www.historic-camden.net and www.southerncampaign.org.

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Calendar of Upcoming Events

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

April 15, 2006 – Lancaster, SC – Andrew Jackson State Park program Powderhorns & Gunsmiths. From 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. Discover the role that weapons played in the Carolina Backcountry in the 1700s. This program is free with park admission. In addition to learning 18th century weapons and their accoutrements, see these items demonstrated by Revolutionary War re-enactors. Afternoon, meet Kitty Wilson-Evans, an African-American storyteller. Sutlers will be on hand selling their wares and items will be for sale in the park's gift shop. The Little Schoolhouse and the Andrew Jackson Museum will be open for tours as well. Contact: Laura Ledford, Park Interpreter, Telephone: (803) 285-3344 or email: andrewjackson_sp@scprt.com

April 19, 2006 – St. Simons Island, GA – Georgia Patriots Day. Celebration of the capture of three British ships on the Frederica River on April 19, 1778. This year the Memorial Ceremony will be conducted at 10:00 am near the Fort Frederica Magazine ruins on the bank of the Frederica River. The focus will be on Colonel Samuel Elbert and the sailors & soldiers rather than a description of the battle. Descendants will be given special recognition - badges & seating. The ceremony will include musical selections, bagpipe and musket salutes, and wreath presentations. Free admission. For more info contact Bill Ramsaur, Marshes of Glynn Chapter, Georgia Society Sons of the American Revolution at 912-634-1293 or wframsaur@aol.com.



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; Professor Robert M. Calhoon; novelist Charles F. Price and literary critic Seabrook Wilkinson; Professors Jim McIntyre, Greg Massey, Jim Piecuch, and Larry Babits, all Nathanael Greene scholars, who will speak on their latest research and publications. Saturday afternoon features a commemorative ceremony, living history demonstrations and a walking tour of the April 25, 1781 Hobkirk's Hill battlefield between Greene and British commandant of South Carolina, Col. Francis Lord Rawdon. Saturday evening entertainment will feature acclaimed thespian Howard Burnham's portrait of Gen. Greene. On Sunday, attendees may 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 explanations by on-site guides. For more information or registration 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. This event is a commemorative recognition of the 225th anniversary of the 25 April 1781 Battle of Petersburg; it will also observe 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 or visit www.petersburg-va.org/revwar.

April 23, 2006 – Yorktown, Va. – Yorktown Victory Center 225th Anniversary Lecture Series. Free public lectures at 3 pm on Sunday afternoons explore aspects of American's momentous victory at Yorktown in October 1781. Presentation "October 20th, 1781: The Day after the Surrender" by Dr. Robert Selig, historian and author. For more information call (888) 593-4682 or (757) 253 – 4838 or <http://www.historyvisfun.org/news/calendar.cfm>.

April 29, 2006 – Gaffney, SC – Veterans Appreciation and History Day. Activities begin at 9 am and will end at 4 pm. A hotdog lunch will be served at noon. John Robertson will speak on Cowpens and Will Graves will discuss Col. James Williams. Reenactors from the Revolution and the Civil War and the American Legion museum will be open during the day. For more information contact Robert Ivey at rivey2@bellsouth.net.

April 29 – 30 – Clinton SC - 2006 Living History Festival at Musgrove Mill State Historic Site. Experience the lives of men and women during the Revolutionary War through weapons demonstrations, camp life, cooking, and much more, including: Mounted Militia Demonstrations, Colonial Surveying, and Patriot Militia Drills. A talk on the Battle of Musgrove's Mill will be held Saturday at 11:00, and the legendary tale of Mary Musgrove and Horseshoe Robinson will be discussed Sunday at scenic Horseshoe Falls. Admission is \$5.00 for ages 16 and over, \$3.00 for children 6-15, and children 5 and under admitted free. Musgrove Mill State Historic Site is located at 398 State Park Rd. in Clinton, SC on Hwy 56 between Clinton and Cross Anchor. For more information contact the park at (864) 938-0100.

May 6-7, 2006 - Summerton, SC - Victory at Fort Watson Living History Encampment, Re-enactment and Wildlife Expo. 225th anniversary of the 1781 Southern Campaign. Re-enactments of First Battle of Fort Watson (Feb 27, 1781) and Siege of and Victory at Fort Watson (April 16-23, 1781) and to honor the 225th of Marion and Lee at Fort Motte (May 6, 1781). 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 Muriel K. Hanna at 803-478-4179 or www.singletonchapter.org. Admission and parking are free and food is available. Sponsored by Friends of Santee NW Refuge and Swamp Fox Murals Trail Society. The Santee National Wildlife Refuge less than one mile from I-95, Exit 102, US 15/301, south of Summerton, SC. Encampment, re-enactment or wildlife expo info/contact: George Summers at 803-478-2645 or email gcsommers@ftc-i.net, www.francismariontrail.com or www.santeerefugefriends.org

May 6-7, 2006 – Kings Mountain National Park, SC - 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 7, 2006 – Camden, SC – Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site Lyceum program on the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill Archaeology project (ARCHH). 3 pm at the Kershaw – Cornwallis house at Historic Camden. For more information call Joanna Craig, Historic Camden's director or call (803) 432-9841. hiscamden@camden.net

May 13 – 14, 2006 – Endview Plantation, Newport News, Va. – Colonial Craftsman's Faire. Endview is just outside Williamsburg, Va. in the City of Newport News. Over 40 nationally known craftsmen will be working at their trade and selling the goods they create. They will also be holding mini-workshops and seminars. Children will be encouraged to participate in some of the demonstrations. For an overview of the Colonial Craftsman's Faire at Endview Plantation, please visit: <http://www.colonialfaire.com>

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 reenact 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 & music. Contact [Ninety Six National Historic Site](http://www.ninety-six.org) 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. June 2nd lectures at the Augusta Museum of History, 560 Reynolds Street - 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 militia Col. Elijah Clarke, SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Pickens, and Continental Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee who recaptured Augusta from its British/Loyalist occupiers. These lectures are

free. 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 including sewing, woodworking, blacksmithing, and trades of the period. **Saturday** at 2 pm - Georgia Sons of the American Revolution will hold a wreath laying ceremony at Saint Paul's Church on Reynolds Street, Augusta, Ga., site of the original Fort Cornwallis. 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 - an 18th century Anglican worship service at the Living History Park North Augusta. For more information see <http://www.colonialtimes.us/undercrown.html>.

June 3, 2006 – Augusta, Georgia – Corps of Discovery field trip. Visit Revolutionary War sites in the Augusta area related to the events of 1780 and 1781. Meet at the Augusta Museum of History, 560 Reynolds Street parking lot at 9:00 am. This will be a car-pool event and will end no later than noon. Event is free and open to anyone interested. For more information contact event coordinator Steve Rauch at sjrauch@aol.com or steven.rauch@us.army.mil.

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 3-4, 2006 – Beckhamville, SC – Battle of Alexander's Old Field. Special memorial service and Loch Norman bagpipe band. For more information contact Mickey Beckham at MCBAuctus@aol.com.

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, 2006 – Kings Mountain National Park - Militia Encampment & Guest Speaker Keith Brown of the Catawba Nation will give a presentation on the Catawba in the Revolution at 2 pm. 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 – Kings 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. 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.org or see <http://www.battleofgreenspring.org>.

August 12-13, 2006 – Kings Mountain National Park - Grand Militia Muster. 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 - 3, 2006 – Jacksonborough, SC – 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Parker's Ferry Reenactment at Tuten Farm. Events on Saturday September 2nd include a 3 pm battle reenactment followed by a special ceremony commemorating the battle. On Sunday September 3rd a special church service will be held and in the afternoon another commemoration of the battle. Sponsored by the Colleton County Historical and Preservation Society, 205 Church Street. Walterboro, SC 29488. For further information contact: Gale Doggette, Events Coordinator 843-542-9633, or cchaps@lowcountry.com or Dana Cheney, Re-enactment Coordinator 843-542-6222, or dancer1776@msn.com.

September 2-4, 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 – Kings Mountain National Park - Labor Day Weekend Militia Encampment. The park's Backcountry Militia will be camped at the battlefield this weekend offering living history demonstrations. Event is free, Saturday 9-6, Sunday 9-3. For more information contact Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

September 9, 2006 – Eutawville, SC – 225th Anniversary - 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. Dr. Dennis M. Conrad will keynote the presentations. Mark this date for great presentations, a battlefield tour, 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 will feature their Battle of Savannah Revolutionary War speakers on September 12, 19, 26, and October 3, 2006. Info/contact: www.chsgeorgia.org.

September 16, 2006 – Greenwood, SC – Bridge Dedication/Constitution Day. Convoy tour of Greenwood and Newberry County Revolutionary War sites, including Liberty Springs, Coronaca Plantation House, Battle of White Hall Plantation, Williamson's Fort and Ninety Six. For more information contact Joe Goldsmith at joeg5950@yahoo.com.

September 23, 2006 – Kings Mountain National Park - National Constitution Event and Colonial Craft & Trade Fair. Park volunteer David Sherrill will portray Dr. Benjamin Franklin and discuss the signing of the Constitution. Craftspeople will demonstrate woodworking, blacksmithing, weaving, and more.

Musician R.G. Absher will perform period music. Event is free, Saturday 9-5. Info/contact Kings Mountain National Military Park at 864-936-7921 or visit www.nps.gov/kimo.

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, 2006 – Savannah, Ga. – Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable. The fall 2006 meeting of the Round Table will be hosted by the Coastal Heritage Society and held at the Savannah History Museum (<http://www.chsgeorgia.org>), located at 303 MLK, Jr. Boulevard, Savannah, Georgia from 10:00 am until 4:00 pm. The Roundtable consists of professionals and amateurs actively engaged in Revolutionary War research, preservation and interpretation; it is an active exchange of information on the Southern Campaigns' sites, their location, preservation, historic signage, interpretation, artifacts, and archaeology as well as the personalities, military tactics, units, logistics, strategy, and the political leadership of the states. Events will include brief introductions at 10:00 am, a tour of the Revolution in Savannah museum exhibit and free flowing roundtable discussions. Admission is free with a "Dutch Treat" lunch available at the Whistle Stop Cafe. Interested participants should bring a short presentation, pictures, artifacts, maps, their research interests, and/or a request for help to share. Info/contact roundtable host Scott W. Smith at (912) 651-6840 director@chsgeorgia.org or contact SCAR.

October 8, 2006 – Corps of Discovery will tour the site of the successful 1778 invasion of the southern colonies by Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell and the 1779 allied armies' Siege of Savannah. There is no more beautiful historic district in the United States and these important Revolutionary War battles were fought in what is now that district. We plan to visit the Georgia Historical Society; the 1778 invasion and battle sites; the new re-constructed Spring Hill Redoubt which is the site of Gen. Casimir Pulaski's fatal charge, and ill fated Siege of Savannah; and graves of Patriot heroes. This tour may have a small fee to pay for bus transportation and is open to the public.

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

October 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](http://www.colonialnationalhistoricalpark.org), the [Brigade of the American Revolution](http://www.brigadeoftheamericanrevolution.org) will collaborate with [Endview Plantation](http://www.endviewplantation.org) as well as the [British Brigade](http://www.britishbrigade.org) and other living history organizations to mark the 225th anniversary of the British surrender, concluding a series of observances along the Washington-Rochambeau Trail stretching from Rhode Island to Virginia. Musket and artillery demonstrations; civilian and medical programs; and military engineering demonstrations at Colonial NHP and Endview Plantation. Recreations of the Allied assaults on Redoubts 9 and 10, defense of the Fusiliers' Redoubt, and Abercrombie's Sortie. Info/contact: info@siegeofyorktown.org and see www.siegeofyorktown.org.

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

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

November 4-5, 2006 - Camden, SC – Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site 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 call (803) 432-9841.

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

November 19, 2006 – Corps of Discovery trip to Kings Mountain National Military Park hosted by ranger, author and SCAR contributor, Robert "Bert" Dunkerly. More information phone: 864-936-7921 or email: bert.dunkerly@nps.gov. ★

Letter to the Editor

Dear Charles,

Thanks for continuing to send to me your excellent *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. I was interested to read Lee F. McGee's account of Lt. Col. William Washington's cavalry at Eutaw Springs and thought your readers may like some further information on one of his opponents, British Maj. John Coffin, who later, due to the seniority system in the British Army, became its oldest general by the time of his death in 1838.

John Coffin was actually an American. Born in Boston in 1756, he was the son of Nathaniel Coffin, the last receiver general and cashier of His Majesties Customs at Boston and a member of the Massachusetts Council. The family was descended from Tristram Coffin, a royalist officer during the English Civil War, who immigrated to Nantucket after the execution of Charles I, 1649. Coffin, like his younger brother Isaac, went to sea and with the outbreak of the American Revolution he commanded a ship which brought a British regiment to Boston. Serving as a volunteer at the Battle of Bunker Hill, General Gage later appointed him an ensign for the gallantry he displayed that day. Joining the Loyalist evacuation from Boston, he fought in Canada and later raised the King's Orange Rangers in New York. As a cavalry captain Coffin fought at the battles of Long Island, 1776, and Germantown, 1777, later transferring to the New York Volunteers (my ancestor's old

unit) in 1778. He commanded the regiment's light infantry company at the capture of Savannah in December 1778 and later raised a company of southern loyalist cavalry and with this unit fought with great distinction at both Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs. Seen as a notorious loyalist by southern patriots, Coffin had a price placed on his head but was brevetted a major by General Cornwallis for his distinguished service. After the Battle of Yorktown, Coffin managed to escape through the American lines and was able to make his way to New York City where he was joined by his South Carolina born wife, Ann Mathews. On September 20, 1782, Coffin was commissioned a major in the King's American Regiment, an American unit later placed on the regular army establishment as the Fourth American Regiment. He and his wife sailed to Nova Scotia with the regiment in December 1782 and when the unit was disbanded in October 1783, Coffin found himself a regular officer reduced to half pay.

Coffin did rather better than most of his fellow exiled Loyalists. Awarded extensive land grants in New Brunswick, he established a large estate in King's County. Serving on both the provincial assembly and later the provincial council, Coffin rose steadily through the British army's seniority system, becoming a lieutenant general by 1809. During the War of 1812 the old soldier raised the New Brunswick Fencibles, but the unit never saw action. His sons continued to serve their king; his eldest son, Guy Coffin, became a general in the Royal Artillery while two other sons, John and Henry Coffin, both became admirals in the Royal Navy. They undoubtedly benefited by their connection to perhaps the most successful of the American Coffins, their father's younger brother Isaac Coffin who became a British Baronet, an admiral and member of the British House of Commons, 1818-1826. Sir Isaac, despite the American Revolution and the loss of the family's possession, continued to maintain the family's links with Nantucket. On a visit to the area in 1826, he endowed a public school there and was actually awarded an honorary degree by Harvard University. The Loyalist Coffin brothers were living proof that there was a life for Loyalists after the British defeat in the American Revolution and their remarkable careers remind us that, after all, the American Revolution was something of a civil war also.

Thanks, **Dr. Rory T. Cornish**
Winthrop University, Rock Hill, SC

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

Cartographer John Robertson in cooperation with SCAR, is offering a fully searchable and complete set of all issues of SCAR on one compact disk for sale quarterly. **Those desiring to receive the next issue and compiled back issues 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. (jrl@jrshelby.com)** ★

“The Object was Worthy of the Cast” The Patriot Cavalry Reexamined at the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill

by Lee F. McGee

“One careless or distorted book will be written about a battle, or a statesman, or a soldier, and its errors and falsehoods and defects will be copied and reiterated by generations, and all sight of the original fact is utterly lost.” (1) Andrew A. Gunby wrote this in 1902, in defense of his ancestor, Col. John Gunby of the Maryland line. Gunby was speaking of the treatment of Col. Gunby after the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill, but his statement could apply equally to the story of Lt. Col. William Washington. In 200 years, Washington has gone from one of the heroes of the battle to one of the causes of defeat.

Nathanael Greene’s plan for victory at Hobkirk’s Hill included a significant role for the cavalry. The narrow front presented by Lord Rawdon seemed ideally suited for a double envelopment. Crucial to that plan was the presence of William Washington’s cavalry in the British rear to cut off the British retreat back into the fortifications of Camden.

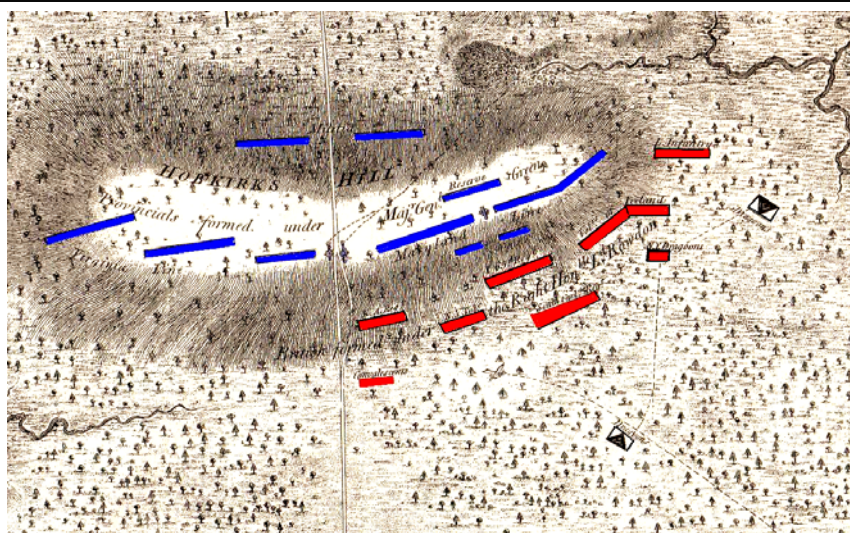
Most 20th century authors have stated that Washington’s maneuver was at least ill-conceived, and at most, ill-executed. (2) Some authors go so far as to say that the actions of Washington were one of the causes of Greene’s “defeat.” (3)

Three participants in the battle, writing within days of April 25th, 1781, praised Washington’s actions. Greene wrote to Samuel Huntington, President of the Continental Congress, on April 27th: “The Colonels behavior and that of his Regiment upon this occasion did them the highest honor.” (4) On April 28th, Greene wrote to Henry Lee that Washington “never shown upon any occasion more than this.” (5) Greene was not alone in his opinion. On the day of the battle, April 25th, Greene’s aid Captain William Pierce wrote to Lee that “Colonel Washington made a timely charge and cut down a number of them besides taking about 40 Prisoners.” (6) Writing to his brother Elie Williams, Col. Otho Holland Williams, who commanded the Maryland Continental Line in the battle, wrote, “The cavalry led on by Washington behaved in a manner truly heroic.” (7)

There is no original, single, secondary source that distorts Washington’s role at Hobkirk’s. Rather, the distortion evolved over a period of time. The failure of Greene’s plan in large part and of Washington’s execution of that plan is predicated on later writers’ misunderstanding of what Washington was expected to do.

The first misunderstanding is where Washington was ordered to act. Greene stated on two separate occasions within days of the battle that Washington was ordered to turn the “Enemies right flank.” (8) Williams confirms that Washington was to go around

the right flank of the British line. (9) Yet, as recent as 2005, authors and researchers show Washington charging around the British *left* flank. (10) Ward and Boatner do not state which way Washington charged (11), but in one of the most widely used sources on the War in the Southern Theater, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*, William Johnson printed a map originally published by H.S. Tanner, Sr. clearly showing Washington coming around the British left or western flank. (12) Johnson’s use of sources was severely criticized by Henry Lee, Jr. in his 1824 book, *The Campaign of 1781 in the Carolinas*, and this will be further explored in the examination of Washington’s actions in the British rear. (13)



Excerpt of British Capt. Charles Vallancey’s map of the Battle of Hobkirks Hill, published in 1794 in Stedman’s *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War*. This map shows the initial deployments of both sides, the cavalry action on the east flanks, and the dashed lines showing the Patriot cannon being removed to the springs. Vallancey, a captain in the Volunteers of Ireland provincial regiment, was a likely participant, published this sketch 13 years after the battle. North is up and the road through the center of the map is the Great Waxhaw Trail, modern North Broad Street (US Highways 521/601) in Camden; the springs are top center. The crossed sabers symbol, lower center, is captioned “Where the Enemys Picquets were Attacked”. The two black cavalry symbols behind the British lines are simply marked “dragoons” whereas the small square in the center is marked as the Loyalists unit, “N. Y. Dragoons”.

Lt. Col. “Light Horse Harry” Henry Lee, writing in 1812, did not state which flank Washington turned. (14) However, seven years earlier, John Marshall, in his *Life of Washington* wrote that Washington was ordered to turn the British left flank. (15) Marshall was known to have communicated with Washington specifically concerning Hobkirk’s Hill. (16) By Washington’s own admission though, he did not trust his memory. (17)

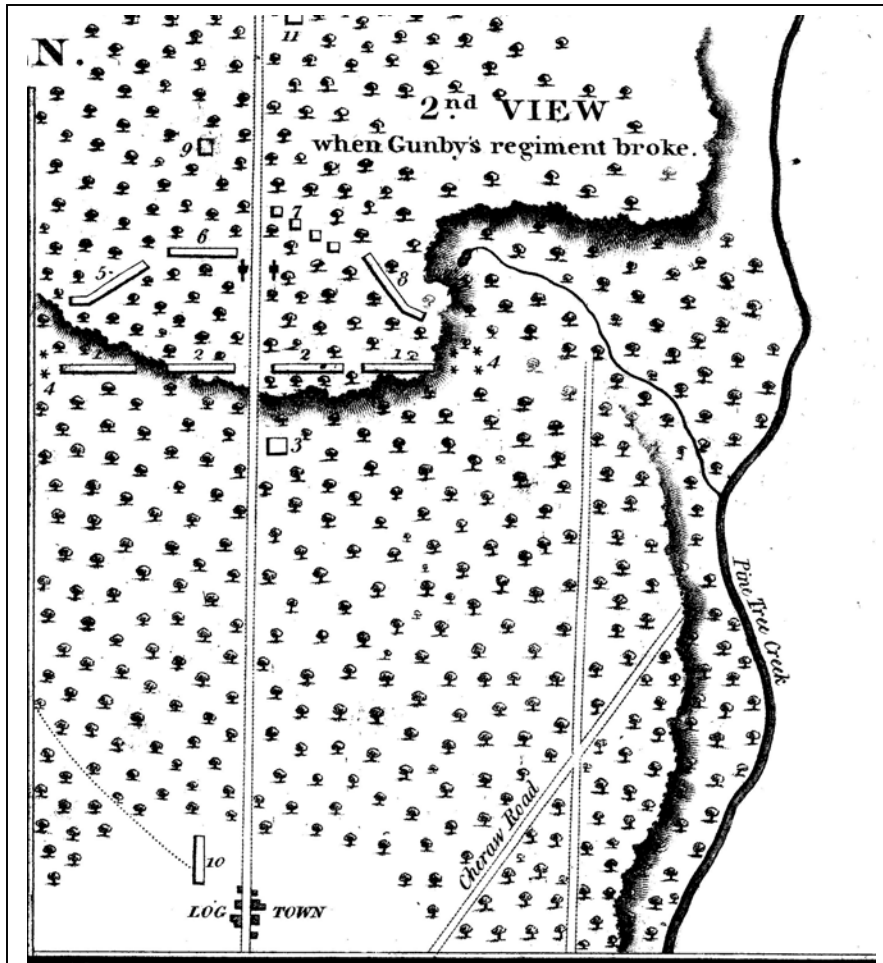
Nonetheless, from among three of the standard early 19th century works on the Revolutionary War, two claim that Washington was ordered to charge the British left (west) flank. Examining the secondary record further back seems to support the primary source documents. In 1802, Gen. William Moultrie (who was not present at the battle, but claims to have discussed it with Gen. Isaac Huger, who was present commanding the Patriot right) wrote that Washington was ordered to pass the British right or east flank. Moultrie also claimed a debt to Dr. David Ramsay. (18) Ramsay’s *The History of the Revolution in South Carolina*, published in

1785, stated that Washington was ordered to turn the British right (east) flank. (19) The earliest known map of the battle drawn by Capt. Charles Vallancey shows no American cavalry action on the western side of the battlefield. (20 and an excerpt on p. 1 of this edition) There is some confusing cavalry activity depicted by Vallancey on the south-eastern slope of Hobkirk's Hill, which does not fit with most accounts of either the American or British cavalry. The direction of the "arrows" in the cavalry map symbols could represent American cavalry on the right but this is speculation.

The most reliable primary sources, Greene and Williams, both writing two days after the battle, state that Washington was ordered to charge around the British right flank or what would have been the eastern flank of both armies. Marshall's statement that Washington was ordered around the British left or western flank should be considered given his known communication with Washington was the earliest report found by this author. But this communication occurred almost 23 years after the battle in the context of Washington's admittedly faulty memory.

The difference between the right and left British flanks is considerable when one considers Washington's objective and how long it would have taken him to reach his intended position. It is the author's belief that the only reliable account of Greene's order for Washington comes from Greene's account penned two days after the battle. However, this and every other account are based on retrospective knowledge of what happened in the battle. Greene provides slightly different statements. In his letter to Samuel Huntington, Greene stated Washington was to "charge them in the rear." (21) Yet on the same day he wrote to Baron Steuben that Washington was to "gain their rear." (22) This is not an insignificant difference, when one considers that some authors have criticized Washington for not charging the British rear. (23) Some authors, however, suggest that Washington was doing exactly what he was supposed to be doing; that is, preventing the British retreat into Camden. (24) The questions are then: did Washington achieve his objective and did he achieve it in a timely manner?

Washington was familiar with the terrain around Hobkirk's Hill and Camden. William Seymour of the Delaware Company under Capt. Robert Kirkwood recorded the following statements in his journal. "On the twenty-first the horse and infantry under Colonel Washington marched to the Wateree, there destroying a house and fortification, marched towards camp and



REFERENCES.

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|---------------------------------------|---|
| <i>Kirkwoods position.</i> | 3. British Reserve. |
| <i>Picket Guard.</i> | 4. 4. Skirmishing Parties on their wings. |
| <i>Camp ... Dr. Cap. Smith.</i> | 5. 6. 7. 8. American Line - 5. Campbell - |
| <i>British Stockade.</i> | 6. Haws - 7. Gunby - 8. Ford |
| <i>E.E.E.E. British Redoubts.</i> | 9. Capt. Smith's 2 nd Position. |
| <i>Lt Rawdons head quarters.</i> | 10. Washingtons Cavalry. |
| 1. Supports to the right & left wings | 11. North Carolina Militia, Co ^l Reed. |
| of the British Army. | • American Videttes. |
| 2. British Line. | + British ... Dr. |

Scale of Yards.
100 200 300 400 500 1000

Insert map of Hobkirk's Hill, published in William Johnson's, *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene, Major General of the Armies of the United States, in the War of the Revolution. Compiled Chiefly from Original Materials.* (Charleston, SC: A. E. Miller 1822). Map originally published by H. S. Tanner, Sr. of Philadelphia, first showing #10 - Lt. Col. William Washington $\frac{3}{4}$ mile south of Hobkirk's Hill at Log Town and a route to the west of the battle lines. North is up.

brought away three hundred and fifty horses and cattle belonging to the enemy. On the twenty-second we moved our encampment quite round Campden, the horse and infantry being sent about three miles down the Wateree there to procure forage, which having done, we returned to camp without anything of consequence happening.” (25)

The earliest criticism of Washington’s course comes from William Johnson. Johnson quotes a letter from Colonel William Davie who was not present at Hobkirk’s Hill. Davie wrote: “In turning the enemy’s left, Washington made a circuit so large, at to bring him into the open commons, between Log Town and Camden...” (26) Davie attributes this large circuit to the terrain. “As to the failure of the charge on the rear of the enemy’s line by Washington, the thickness of the underwood, and the felled trees near the opening about Log Town, on the right of the road, obliged him to take such a circuit as brought him into the commons between Log Town and Camden; this threw him a considerable distance into the rear of the enemy’s line.” (27)

Washington knew the terrain. Lt. Col. John Eager Howard, commander of the Maryland 2d Regiment at Hobkirk Hill, writing to Henry Lee, Jr. in defense of Washington’s movement: “As to Washington’s having made a circuit too extensive, it is evident from the nature of the ground between Hobkirk’s and Logtown, it being covered with a thick underwood, that cavalry could not act in it with effect. Washington was therefore obliged to move round to the commons. The absurdity of cavalry charging infantry in thick underwood, was shown at Eutaw.” (28)

The “common” mentioned by both Davie and Howard is not noted on any of the maps of the period and there is not an area by this description in the historical record according to modern researchers of Camden and Kershaw County. (29) The modern distance between the approximate location of Logtown and the crest of Hobkirk’s Hill is about three-quarters of a mile. The length of the distance east that Washington had to divert around the underbrush would dictate the duration of the movement. The underbrush on the eastern slope of Hobkirk’s Hill was not so thick as to totally prevent the movement of cavalry. John Coffin’s cavalry had moved through the area with Rawdon’s army. (30)

It is worth noting that in his letter to Cornwallis the day after the battle Rawdon stated that the American cavalry in his rear acted “...on the ground from which we had first driven the Enemy.” (31)

Exactly how far south Washington went will probably never be determined with complete accuracy. Given that Washington could not have known the depth of Rawdon’s formation, the nature of the ground, and the spirit of his orders, it would be difficult to fault Washington for where he arrived in the British rear. However, the time of his arrival has been distorted. As Greene perceived Rawdon’s narrow front, Washington was ordered to make his movement into the rear. Greene stated that Washington “found the Enemy both Horse and foot retiring with the utmost precipitation towards the Town...” (32) Johnson wrote that the British were not “broken entirely” (33) and, based on Davie’s account, Washington’s capture of the rear elements of the British force consumed “...precious moments...” (34)

These “precious moments” seem to place Washington exactly where and when he was supposed to be. According to John Eager Howard, Washington himself stated that he found the enemy “flying in confusion” because they were partially broken after the first fire of Greene’s artillery, and the advance of the Maryland and Virginia Continentals. (35)

Greene wrote President Samuel Huntington that Washington “... took upwards of 200 Prisoners and ten or fifteen Officers, before he discovered our People had left the ground, more than fifty of which were brought off.” (36) Writing to Steuben, Greene said, “... and took upwards of 200 Prisoners, and ten or fifteen officers; but as our army left the ground, and he in the enemies rear, he could get off only about fifty, with six or eight officers, and paroled five or six more.” (37) William Pierce placed the number captured by Washington at forty. (38) Rawdon described Washington having “... extracted paroles from several officers who lay wounded on the ground... and carried off several wounded men...” (39)

In the 30 years from these initial primary reports, the nature of what Washington accomplished in the British rear changed dramatically. The most contemporary account comes from David Ramsey writing in 1785:

“While he executed this order, he was so confident of the success of the main army, that he divided his men into small parties, and made them take such positions as he thought most eligible for intercepting the fugitives on their retreat to Camden. At one time he had in his possession upwards of two hundred; but he relinquished the greatest part of them on seeing the American army retreat. On this unexpected reverse of fortune he paroled the officers on the field of battle- collected his men- wheeled round- and made his retreat good, with the loss of three men, and at the same time brought off near fifty prisoners.” (40)

Henry Lee, writing in 1812, remained uncritical of Washington’s actions. Describing the initial success of Washington he wrote: “... Washington was carrying everything before him in the rear...” (41) and “Washington with his cavalry retiring from the rear the moment he discovered that our infantry had been forced, came in time to contribute greatly to the safety of the army, having necessarily relinquished most of the fruits of his success.” (42)

William Johnson published his work on Greene in 1822. He appears to have relied heavily on his communication with William Davie in describing the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill. (43) Davie was not present with Greene on April 25th but would have had opportunity to discuss the battle with the participants. (44) Describing the composition of the area where Washington arrived, Davie wrote: “...this space was filled with doctors, surgeons, quarter masters, commissaries, wagon masters, waiters, and all the loose trumpery of the army... They were, in fact, so encumbered with prisoners, they could do nothing.” (45) He also wrote “The were so numerous that he could neither act incumbered with them, nor retreat with them; he was obliged to dispose of them some way, and he adopted the humane mode of parolling them verbally, and when compelled to retreat was obliged to abandon the greatest part of them.” (46) In short, Davie claims that capturing these prisoners distracted Washington from what he perceives as Washington’s goal, charging the British flanks or rear. (47)

As with most early 19th century writers, Johnson communicated with many of the participants in the war. Colonel William Davie, was one such correspondent. Davie corresponded before the publication of Johnson book with Samuel Mathis who wrote to Davie in 1819. Mathis was on parole in Camden during the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill. Mathis claimed to have communicated with many American and British officers just after the battle. (48) Two stories related by Mathis deserve attention. One appears to have been engrained into the popular story of Hobkirk’s Hill, one does not.

The initial fire of the American artillery did momentarily stop the British advance. At the same time, Hawes' Virginia Continentals and Gunby's Maryland Continentals were attacking the British center. William Seymour wrote in describing the effect of the artillery: "...they put the enemy in great confusion, having killed and dangerously wounded great numbers of them as they crossed the main road..." (49) Greene described "...the Artillery under Colo Harrison playing on their front. The Enemy were staggered in all quarters, and upon the left where retiring while our Troops continued to advance..." (50)

This very point that the British were initially repulsed is important to understanding the timing of Washington's arrival in the British rear. Johnson's criticism that "There is no sufficient cause to conclude, that any one of the British corps' was ever broken entirely, and the enemy's accounts admit, only of the capture of the medical staff, a few soldiers left behind, to attend the wounded." (51) This is based in part on Davie's account that Washington charged only the "trumpery" and never contacted the British line. He goes so far as to say that none of Washington's prisoners were "... connected with the acting line of the enemy..." (52) Johnson is correct in that Rawdon does not describe any retrograde of the British left. Rawdon said in describing this action that the American cavalry "...exactd paroles from several Officers who lay wounded on the ground from which we had first Driven the Enemy; and carried off several Wounded men..." (53)

There is no other primary account to suggest that any non-combatants had come out from Camden to watch the battle as Davie describes. In fact, Rawdon specifically describes a "Detachment of Convalescents" (54) composed of "... our musicians, our drummers, and in short everything that could carry a firelock." (55) In other words, the "trumpery" was composed of combatants. Even still, Washington's initial prisoners of 200 probably contained a greater proportion of line soldiers than convalescents. Lord Rawdon's return of the killed, wounded and missing from the battle lists a total of 39 missing. The largest proportion of 14 comes from the New York Volunteers. The detachment of convalescents was missing only four. (56)

Samuel Mathis' account in this respect is helpful but, as noted above, appears to contain elements not found in any other primary source. Mathis stated that the New York Volunteers, which he assumed to be all cavalry were sent off to attack the American right. Mathis wrote:

"Their Cavalry had reached the great Road & advanced in close Order & slow step up the Hill directly in front of Cannon which had just arrived & opened up on them in the broad Road a well directed fire with Canister & Grape did great execution & soon cleared the Road so that all their Doctors were sent to take care of the wounded. Washington's Cavalry coming up at this moment completed the rout of the York Volunteers, took all the British Doctrs or Surgeons and a great many other (alas too many) Prisoners..." (57) The exact identity of those prisoners captured or paroled by Washington cannot at this time be determined with certainty. Most sources suggest, however, that it is entirely possible that Washington was dealing with armed combatants.

Mathis goes on to describe Rawdon being surrounded by Washington's Dragoons. Mathis claimed that after the disorder among the New York Volunteers, Rawdon rode to this area of the battlefield. If Washington had gotten among some retreating New York Volunteers near the road, he could have encountered Rawdon in this spot. Rawdon was surrounded and was trying to delay his surrender. Both British cavalry and infantry arrived and attacked Washington's men. Mathis also says "... and the very

prisoners that they had mounted behind them seized the Arms of their Captors and over came them." (58) Johnson wrote of Washington: "This officer had hastened back on the first discovery of confusion in the American line, and now made his appearance with a prisoner mounted behind each of his men." (59) Davie did not specifically say this. It is not known if Johnson knew of the Mathis account. By the 20th century, the mounting of prisoners had become the reason Washington did not attack the British rear. Christopher Ward wrote, "Encumbered by reluctant passengers, his men could not fight; and so the intended attack on the enemy's rear was abandoned..." (60)

There is no primary evidence that describes the near capture of Rawdon or the attack of Washington's men by their own prisoners. The account even changes from the prisoners overcoming the dragoons to Washington arriving in the American rear with a prisoner behind every dragoon. There may have been a role played by the dismounted dragoons in Washington's force. Due to a lack of horses, only 56 men were mounted. Thirty-one were dismounted, led by two cornets and two sergeants. (61) Of the three casualties in Washington's corps, two wounded and one missing, one of the wounded was among the dismounted men. However, no primary account exists which describes the role of the dismounted dragoons. They could have been kept in reserve, or even brought with Washington into the British rear, where they could have taken charge of the prisoners. Williams wrote that Washington "...sent many of them off with small detachments..." (62)

Most secondary accounts agree that once Washington realized that the main American line was returning, he repositioned to the American rear. The path that he took is less clear. Modern authors just describe Washington returning to the rear, (63) but Ward did write that Washington "... swung around the circuit again on their way back to the hill." (64) Writing in 1902, Thomas Kirkland and Robert Kennedy said that "... Colonel Washington's cavalry came dashing down the road..." (65) Because of the Johnson insert map [on p. 14], repeated in Kirkland and Kennedy, Washington charging [to the north] up the Waxhaw road has become accepted as the local account of Washington's return to the battlelines. (66) The primary source material suggests that Washington did return back around the way he came. According to Otho Williams, Washington arrived back in the American rear "...by a circuitous maneuver..." (67) The secondary record again provides the answer to the subsequent confusion. In Johnson, Davie is quoted as writing: "If the charge had been made after this movement it would have brought our cavalry directly in the rear of the troops engaged by Gunby's regiment, supposing the charge to have been made up the road, which was the only proper and practicable direction." (68) Davie does not say that Washington did charge up the road.

After arriving back in the American rear, Washington disposed of his prisoners if they were not already under the care of dismounted troops. There are many stories surrounding the drawing off of the American artillery during the retreat. (69) It was at the artillery that Washington made one of the charges for which he was praised. The artillery was being protected by Captain John Smith's company of light infantry, whom had repeatedly placed themselves in the path of Coffin's dragoons, attempting to reach the guns. (70) According to Johnson, Greene himself was attempting to help draw off the guns. (71) Williams wrote that "...he threw his dragoons into our rear, passed the liens, and charged the York Volunteers (a fine corps of cavalry), killed a number, and drove the rest out of the field." (72) This action is unfortunately not well described in the primary sources and usually only receives passing mention in secondary sources. (73)

Neither Greene nor Williams mention Washington drawing off the American artillery. Johnson states that Washington drew off only the limbers which had been concealed by the American artilleryists. (74) The source usually credited for Washington drawing off the artillery pieces is Tarleton, writing in 1787. "The enemy's cannon escaped by great fortune: Being run down a hill, among some thick brush wood, they were easily passed without notice, in the warmth of the pursuit, by the British troops, and before their return they were carried clean off by Washington's cavalry." (75) Johnson seems to be referring to Tarleton's statement in his account. Mathis does mention that the guns were unhooked from the limbers, (76) and the earliest map of the battle, by Vallancey, appears to show the guns being placed in a ravine in the American rear. (77) The first account of Washington's role appears five years before Tarleton's account and one year before Vallancey's map was published. The Annual Register for 1781 (published in 1782) states: "The enemy's cannon escaped by great fortune. Being run down a steep hill, among some thick brush wood, they were easily passed without notice, in the warmth of the pursuit, by the British troops; and before their return they were carried clean off by Washington's cavalry." (78) The source for this account could have been Vallancey, or Vallancey could have drawn the map in part from the Annual Register account. Vallancey was present on the field that day. Rawdon did mention that the artillery were concealed in the "brush wood" but did not state how the Americans carried it off. (79) Writing on May 1, Colonel Nisbet Balfour, the commander at Charleston, told Lord Germain that the American cavalry carried off the artillery. (80)

Rawdon succinctly describes in his letter to Lord Cornwallis the role played by Washington in the American rear. "We pursued them about three miles. But the Enemy's Cavalry greatly surpassing our as to number, horses & appointments, our Dragoons could not risque much..." (81) Greene and Williams describe retiring to Saunder's Creek, about two miles in the rear. By Rawdon's own account, Washington's cavalry had already done enough to merit the praise they would receive. However, the day was not yet done for the horse.

Washington was sent back to Hobkirk's Hill on the evening after the battle. Greene originally noted that some of the infantry were sent along. (82) He halted about one mile before the position of the British and sent forward a small party, which discovered Coffin with some of his horse on the battlefield. Ramsey states that Coffin had about 40 of the Irish Volunteers with him. They pursued Washington's advance party to where Washington had concealed the remainder of his force along side the road. When Coffin's cavalry passed beyond their position, Washington charged them in the rear. Coffin sustained about 20 casualties (83), but had difficulty wheeling his corps around to face Washington. Some apparently headed immediately back to Camden. (84) Washington's pursuit of the British Cavalry also drove the Infantry behind Coffin into Camden. (85) William Moultrie in his *Memoirs* wrote that this attack occurred the next day. (86)

General Greene was clearly pleased with the actions of his cavalry at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill. Pleasure is also reflected in the letters of Col. Otho Holland Williams and Capt. William Pierce. A careful examination of the primary sources reveals the reasons. Washington did in fact make at least two timely charges. He appears to have followed his orders as he understood them and was able to improvise successfully when the situation on the ground changed. While some criticism has been leveled at him (87) other contemporary authors of Washington have been more critical of Greene's use of the cavalry. Both Henry Lee and

William Davies thought that the cavalry might have been better used that day. (88)

It is regrettable that so few primary sources exist on the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill. Only two pensioners from Washington's cavalry that day made any more than a passing comment on the battle. George Parsons was wounded in the left arm and was probably the mounted dragoon taken prisoner. (89) Richard Porterfield also claimed to be wounded at Hobkirk's Hill. (90)

Additional research including archaeological research currently being conducted may help to shed light on the positions of both the American and British units. This may help with understanding the ground over which Washington operated including what the actual spacing and distances were.

The most important lesson to be learned, however, is that secondary sources must be used with great caution. Small errors can be magnified over the years. Some of the most useful secondary (or even tertiary) sources can be easily identified by the known communication of the author with actual participants, such as John Marshall's communication with William Washington and John Howard. (91) Henry Lee, Jr. communicated with John Eager Howard as well and Howard provided valuable insight. It is regrettable that the source of some of William Johnson's work cannot be documented. The provenance of the Otho Holland Williams accounts of Camden and Eutaw Springs is unknown and must be used with caution. John Eager Howard did communicate to Henry Lee, Jr. that he thought that the Davie to Johnson communication was authentic even though Henry Lee, Jr. himself did not. (92)

Finally, there is a bit of irony in the use of the Davie communication in William Johnson's book. Davie's account, particularly the use of the word "trumpery" to describe Washington's prisoners, is typical of the criticism leveled at the cavalry during the Battle of Hobkirk Hill. Johnson himself even disputes that Washington found the British army retreating. (93) Yet, in the last chapter of his second volume, while reviewing Greene's life and accomplishments, he says:

"It has been said, that sending Washington into the enemy's rear, was hazardous and unmilitary; and, perhaps it must be acknowledged, that it savoured more of boldness than of prudence. Yet, it much be admitted to have been well calculated to cut off the retreat to the forts, which he had no means of battering down, and in which a very inferior force might expose him to much loss and fatal delay- the object was worthy of the cast. But what end could the presence of Washington's cavalry have answered that was not finally attained? The artillery was saved, and the troops rallied; and these, also, could have been the benefits expected from the presence of the cavalry. It is true, the saving of the artillery occasioned the loss of some brave men, and was, with some difficulty, effected; but this is the total of the injury sustained by a measure, which held out great benefits when it was adopted, and threatened fatal consequences, only from events that could not then have been anticipated. The British writers, more liberal than his own countrymen, gave General Greene the highest credit for the ability with which he retrieved the misfortune of the day." (94)

Johnson was correct in regard to his final assessment of Washington's role. Henry Clinton, the British commander in chief for the longest part of the American war, wrote: "But this was perhaps the most important victory of the whole war, for defeat would have occasioned the loss of Charleston (in the then open

state of the works of that capital), the Carolinas, and Georgia.” (95)

“The Object was worthy of the cast.” (96) Indeed.

Endnotes

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- (12) Johnson, *Life of Greene*, 2: 76.
- (13) Lee, Jr., *Campaign of 1781*, 280-284.
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- (25) William Seymour journal, www.battleofcamden.org accessed March 29, 2006.
- (26) Johnson, *Life of Greene*, 2: 83.
- (27) Johnson, *Life of Greene*, 2: 93.
- (28) John Eager Howard to Henry Lee, quoted in Henry Lee, Jr., *Campaign of 1781*, 281.
- (29) Charles B. Baxley, personal communication with author.
- (30) Francis Lord Rawdon to Charles Lord Cornwallis, April 26, 1781, PRO 4/26/81, f 262-265.
- (31) Rawdon to Cornwallis, April 26, 1781, PRO 4/26/81, f 262-265.
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- (33) Johnson, *Life of Greene*, 2: 82.
- (34) Johnson, *Life of Greene*, 2: 83.
- (35) Lee, Jr. *Campaign of 1781*, 281.
- (36) Greene to Huntington, April 27, 1781, in Conrad, *Greene Papers*, 8: 157.
- (37) Greene to Steuben, April 17, 1781, Steuben Papers, Reel 4.
- (38) Pierce to Lee, April 25, 1781, in Conrad, *Greene Papers*, 8: 146.
- (39) Rawdon to Cornwallis, April 26, 1781, PRO 4/26/81, f 262-265.
- (40) Ramsey, *History*, 2: 230-231.
- (41) Lee, *Memoirs*, 60.
- (42) Lee, *Memoirs*, 63.
- (43) Johnson, *Life of Greene*, 2: 83, 93-95.
- (44) William Davie to Nathanael Greene, April 23, 1781, and Davie to Greene, April 26, 1781, both in Conrad, *Greene Papers*, 8: 137, 154.
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- (63) Haller, *William Washington*, 131-132, O’Kelley, *Nothing but Blood*, 3: 208.
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- (67) O. Williams to E. Williams, April 27, 1781, www.hobkirkhill.org accessed March 29, 2006.
- (68) Johnson, *Life of Greene*, 2: 94-95.
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- (95) Willcox, *The American Rebellion*, 295.
- (96) Johnson, *Life of Greene*, 2: 427.

Editor: Capt. Robert Kirkwood in his *Journal* tells of capturing 40 British horses at the Wateree Ferry on April 20, 1781 perhaps somewhat explaining Rawdon's [Maj. John Coffin's] cavalry action at the Battle of Hobkirk Hill.

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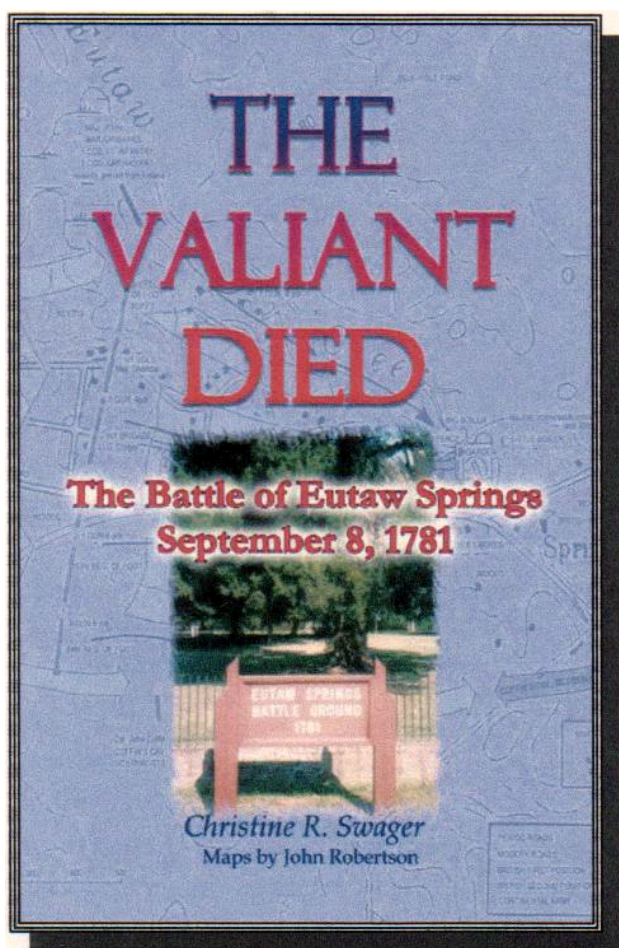
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SCAR cartographer and Battle of Cowpens interpreter John Robertson, left, visit with SCAR contributors Dr. Lee McGee and novelist Charles F. Price, shown on the right on the Cowpens battlefield.



SCAR field research by Steve Rauch, David Reuwer, Chris Swager and Charles Price work on the Battle of Eutaw Springs.



THE VALIANT DIED

The Battle of Eutaw Springs
September 8, 1781

Christine R. Swager

Maps by John Robertson

2006, 5½x8½, paper, index, maps, 192 pp.
ISBN 0-7884-4102-7

The Valiant Died is a study of the Battle of Eutaw Springs. It examines the events of the British Southern Campaign in the American Revolution that led up to the battle, as well as the battle's aftermath and its impact on the British surrender at Yorktown. More than thirty maps by John Robertson

illustrate the major battles in the south and the complicated movements of Lord Cornwallis and Major General Nathanael Greene in their cat-and-mouse quest for control of the southern colonies. Greene's strategy and leadership is highlighted in this book.

Other special features include military histories of the American and British units that were present at this battle, and an appendix with biographical sketches of the American commanders at Eutaw Springs: Nathanael Greene, Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee, William Washington, John Eager Howard, Otho Williams, Robert Kirkwood, Richard Campbell, Francis Marion and Andrew Pickens.

The Valiant Died is Christine Swager's fourth book about the Revolutionary War. In *Black Crows and White Cockades* and *If Ever Your Country Needs You*, she chronicled the campaigns of Francis "the Swamp Fox" Marion. She told the story of another historic battle in *Come to the Cow Pens!*

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— Charles B. Baxley, Editor/Publisher, *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*

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William Washington Cavalryman in the Southern Campaigns

by Scott Withrow



Lt. Col. William Washington depicted by artist Werner Willis.

William Washington, Virginia-born cousin of George Washington, distinguished himself in the American Revolution almost from the start. He exhibited boldness, coolness, cleverness under pressure, and physical stamina over and over. His courage was especially evident at the Battle of Cowpens. It is noteworthy that he retired to Charleston at the end of the war, thus becoming a South Carolinian. Unlike his famous cousin, he rebuffed efforts to get too highly involved in politics, serving in the South Carolina legislature but turning down a nomination for governor. William Washington was a cavalryman, a self-taught tactician, and a leader of men at heart,¹ but he disdained speaking in public. His service aside, his story is also one of geography -- fighting in battles the width and breadth of the colonies, and retiring to Charleston to live the life of a southern planter.

Born in Stafford County, Virginia, on 28 February 1752, William Washington was the son of Bailey and Catherine Storke Washington. Family genealogy placed him as a second cousin, once removed,² of George Washington -- one generation younger

¹ Washington was action-oriented, preferring physical activity rather than intellectual pursuits. See Mark M. Boatner III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Mechanicsburg, Pennsylvania: Stackpole Books, 1994), 1170.

² Once removed denotes one-generation removed. Bailey Washington's (William's father) and George Washington's great-grandfathers were brothers, making their famous descendants second cousins. William Washington, one generation removed,

than the future president. The two were related through William's great grandfather, John Washington,³ and George's grandfather, Lawrence Washington,⁴ who were brothers. William Washington's genealogy is confusing because there were at least three William Washingtons⁵ in the early Washington family, including George Washington's younger brother.

Washington in the Northern Theater of War

Little is known of William Washington's life before 1775. He first studied for the ministry but this study ended with the beginning of the Revolution. Perhaps a soldier was more to his character anyway. He was often described as a large, broad-shouldered, imposing man, six feet tall, a man of action rather than contemplation, cherub-faced, good-humored, and amiable. In 1775 he was commissioned captain in the 3rd Virginia Infantry. Severely wounded at Brooklyn Heights on Long Island,⁶ he retreated with General Washington through New Jersey.⁷ At Trenton,⁸ where future President James Monroe served as his lieutenant, he again distinguished himself in a heroic charge to prevent Hessian⁹ placement of a battery into position. Again, he was wounded, this time by a musket ball to a hand -- actually a nick to his hand. The Battle of Trenton helped establish Washington as a brave and capable officer. His superiors took even more notice of his abilities.

Washington Moves South

would, therefore, have been George Washington's second cousin once removed. Had George and Martha Washington had children those children would have been third cousins to William and Jane Washington's son and daughter.

³ Capt. John Washington (b. ca. 1663, m. Ann (Wycliffe?)) was the great grandfather of William Washington and brother to Gen. George Washington's grandfather, Maj. Lawrence Washington (b. Sept. 1659?, m. Mildred Warner)

⁴ George Washington had an older brother named Lawrence, from whom he inherited his home, Mt. Vernon.

⁵ Col. William Washington, the subject of this paper, should not be confused with William Augustine Washington, George Washington's nephew, also an officer in the Revolutionary War. Heretofore, the historical marker for the grave of Lt. Col. William Washington, located at Rantowles Bridge, South Carolina, has incorrectly read "Grave of Colonel William A. Washington." See "Historical Marker on Grave of Wrong Man," *Spartanburg Herald-Journal*, Monday, September 4, 2000, A10-11.

⁶ On 27 August 1776 British General Sir William Howe moved against George Washington who had positioned himself at Brooklyn Heights on Long Island. In the ensuing battle, Washington's army was almost captured and the Revolutionary cause lost. Only retreat through New Jersey saved him.

⁷ The battles of Trenton (26 December 1776) and Princeton (3 January 1777) were important battles in the New Jersey Campaigns.

⁸ General George Washington dealt a severe blow to Hessian soldiers at the battle of Trenton.

⁹ Hessians was an incorrect title for German mercenaries. The term was used generically. Many but not all German mercenaries were from the state of Hesse in Germany. Likewise, the term "mercenary" is misleading. Hessian mercenaries were not mercenaries in the traditional sense. Their rulers were paid for their service, but the soldiers themselves were essentially serf-draftees who had no choice in their being sent to the American colonies.

Washington came into his element as commander of a unit of Continental cavalry. In 1777 he was promoted to the rank of major and appointed to the 4th Continental Dragoons commanded by Col. Stephen Moylan.¹⁰ He advanced in 1778 to Lieutenant Colonel in command of his own regiment, the 3rd Dragoons. In 1779, Washington was sent to the South to reinforce remnants of other regiments. Gen. George Washington ordered him to proceed by the most direct route to Charles Town, South Carolina, and report to Gen. Benjamin Lincoln.¹¹ William Washington was delayed, however, having trouble getting enough horses for his 125 men.¹² This finally accomplished, he indeed moved south to report to Lincoln. In February 1780, at the age of twenty-seven, he arrived in South Carolina soon to face the forces of British Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton. Washington, assigned to Gen. Isaac Huger's forces, and operating west of Charles Town to keep a northern supply route open to Lincoln's army, was not present at the fall of the city. Given the task of countering Huger, Cornwallis sent Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton to do battle outside Charles Town.

William Washington engaged forces under Tarleton¹³ many times on numerous battlefields. Washington met Tarleton on 27 March 1780 for the first time at Rantowles¹⁴ on a tributary of the Stono River¹⁵ southwest of Charleston. Washington had been scouting British movements in the area when first he came across and routed North Carolina Tory infantry under Col. John Hamilton.¹⁶ When Tarleton arrived to assist Hamilton, Washington's cavalry drove back the British Legion. Washington lacked infantry support to pursue the retreating Tarleton and subsequently withdrew. Otherwise, he could possibly have captured Henry

Clinton,¹⁷ then commander of British forces in America - indeed a valuable prize.

It was a close call for the British; nevertheless, Tarleton sought his revenge. He surprised Washington at Middleton's Plantation¹⁸ on 5 April 1780. But Washington slipped away only to return the next morning to attack Tarleton's rear detachment. Washington was well schooled in hit-and-run warfare.

The next engagement was a defeat for Washington in a situation not of his own making. Gen. Huger,¹⁹ on orders from Benjamin Lincoln, concentrated 500 cavalry northwest of Charleston at Moncks Corner. Clinton, learning of the gathering force, sent Tarleton against Huger in a surprise night attack on 14 April. Lincoln's last line of escape from Charleston was destroyed in the devastating defeat for Huger and Tarleton took over 200 cavalry horses. Washington was briefly taken prisoner but managed to escape during the night.

On 6 May, Tarleton attacked the remnants of the cavalry as they waited to cross the Santee²⁰ at Lenud's Ferry.²¹ There is some question as to whether Washington was present at this engagement; however, British documentation indicated he was. He might have been among those who swam across the Santee to escape Tarleton. In any event, this defeat and the fall of Charleston to the British on 10 May effectively ended Patriot cavalry operations in the South for two months. Washington was among those who retreated to Hillsborough, North Carolina.²² He would subsequently offer his services to Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates prior to the Battle of Camden, but Gates spurned Washington's offer believing cavalry could not be used effectively in the Southern field of battle.²³ The British took Camden on

¹⁰ Dragoons were, technically, mounted infantrymen who rode their horses into battle and dismounted to fight. Boatner, 336-337, traces the name to an old European firearm called a "dragon" because of its conspicuous flame when fired.

¹¹ Continental Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, appointed by Congress as commander of the Southern Department, surrendered Charleston to the British on 12 May 1780.

¹² Washington apparently knew a good horse when he saw one. The horses of Washington and other Whig cavalry were often superior to those of the British. See footnote 58.

¹³ British Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the British Legion in late 1778. Tarleton gained fame as a leader after his arrival in the South in 1780. His supposed brutality at the Waxhaws (region in S. C. extending into NC) earned him the name "Bloody" Tarleton. It is believed by some that twentieth century historians first applied the term "Bloody" to Tarleton. See Anthony J. Scotti, *Brutal Virtue* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2002), 123, in discussing Rankin, Hugh F. *Cowpens, Prelude to Yorktown* and Bass, Robert D. *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson*. A unit of Lt. Col. William Washington's Third Continental Dragoons fought against Tarleton at the Waxhaws, but Washington was not present himself.

¹⁴ Rantowles (pronounced RAN-TOLEZ) was a community southwest of Charleston and south of the Ashley River near Rantowles Bridge and Rantowles Creek, a tributary of the Stono River. Claude and Irene Neuffer, *Correct Mispronunciations of Some South Carolina Names*. (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1991), 145, trace the name to a ferry operator who "ran tolls" or to a combination of Ravenel and Towles, surnames of large landholding families in the area.

¹⁵ A river in Charleston County named for the Stono Indians.

¹⁶ Col. John Hamilton, a veteran of the battle of Culloden Moor (Scotland), commanded a North Carolina regiment of Loyalist infantry.

¹⁷ In May 1778, Sir Henry Clinton succeeded Howe as commander of British forces in America. He had joined for a time with part of Tarleton's forces.

¹⁸ Built in 1705, Middleton Plantation was located on the Ashley River west of Charleston. Much of the house was burned during the Civil War, but a surviving portion was restored and enlarged.

¹⁹ Isaac Huger was a Revolutionary War Continental general from South Carolina. Neuffer (86) placed his plantation alongside the Congaree River below Columbia, South Carolina. Huger is a French Huguenot family name pronounced YOO-JEE.

²⁰ An important lowcountry river in South Carolina formed from the confluence of the Congaree and the Wateree Rivers. See Charles F. Kovacic and John J. Winberry, *South Carolina: The Making of a Landscape* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987) 26-27. Likely, Santee is an Indian word meaning "safety," "protection," or "haven of rest." (*Palmetto Place Names*, 97)

²¹ Lenud's (pronounced lu NOOD's in America; the French pronunciation, luh NOO), an important lowcountry ferry on the Santee, was the site of a Revolutionary War battle on 6 May 1780. The site is located near Jamestown in present-day Berkeley County, SC. See Neuffer, *Correct Mispronunciations of Some South Carolina Names*, 107. It was located near where Highway 17-A crosses the Santee today. See Elias B. Bull, "Community and Neighborhood Names in Berkeley County" in *Names in South Carolina*, edited by Claude Henry Neuffer, Vol. XI: 16, 17, Winter, 1964 (Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company Publishers, 1983), 152-153.

²² Hillsborough was at one time Gates' headquarters and was the temporary meeting place of North Carolina's state legislature.

²³ John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1997), 155, referencing Paul David Nelson, *General Horatio Gates: A Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana

August 16, 1780 and left the southern Continental Army in shambles. The Patriot cause seemed hopeless. Only Partisan²⁴ leaders Marion²⁵ and Sumter²⁶ in the field and Patriot victories at Musgrove's Mill²⁷ and Kings Mountain²⁸ kept the British from consolidating their victories at Charleston and Camden.

After the Patriot militia's victory at Kings Mountain, General Cornwallis,²⁹ British commander in the South, retreated south from Charlotte (where he had moved earlier, believing South Carolina had been subdued), crossed the Catawba River and established his winter headquarters at Winnsboro, South Carolina.³⁰ Although his immediate situation was not good (his army low on food and he, sick with fever), he now had a chain of posts from Georgetown, South Carolina, to Savannah in the East, forming an arc including Ninety-Six, Winnsboro and Camden, South Carolina, to the West. This was the extent of British control

State Press, 1976), 229-30. See also <http://battleofcamden.org/index.htm>. Documents by Participants and Contemporaries – Original Documents of the Southern Campaign, 1780; Letters of Maj. Gen. Gates From 21st June to 31st August, (Letter no. 11: 20th of July 1780 from Horatio Gates to Sam Huntington Esquire, President of Congress), communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet, M. D., Letter No. 11 (accessed 10 December 2004) where Gates writes “I look up to the Cavalry for many services, in a Campaign, which from our domestic management as well as the supposed energetic operations of the Enemy, must be a Campaign of much hazard and some enterprise on our part. The Practicality however of mounting all your Dragoons, is I fear questionable....” This letter, taken at face value, makes it appear that Gates wanted cavalry assistance at Camden. Perhaps the impracticality of “mounting all your Dragoons” (finding horses for the dragoons) was an intended qualifying statement. [SCAR editor believes that the quoted letter has often been misconstrued to represent Gates’ disdain for cavalry, but cavalry, unmounted, untrained or unequipped were too expensive a resource and could not be supported by Gates’ meager supply chain.]

²⁴ The name “Partisan” has been applied to Marion and to other strong Whig leaders.

²⁵ Francis Marion (c. 1732-1795), who came to be known as the Swamp Fox, operated in lowcountry South Carolina.

²⁶ Thomas Sumter (1734-1832) of South Carolina, not one of the best tacticians and strategists, nevertheless took the field when the cause seemed hopeless. See John Buchanan, *The Road To Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1997), 390-393. Herein, Buchanan offers a short sketch of Sumter.

²⁷ A Patriot militia victory in the South Carolina backcountry on the Enoree River over British provincials on 19 August 1780.

²⁸ A Patriot militia victory over British Maj. Patrick Ferguson and his Loyalist army on 7 October 1781.

²⁹ Lt. Gen. (Lord Charles) Cornwallis was commander of all British forces in the South.

³⁰ South Carolina village selected by Gen. Cornwallis for winter quarters in 1780-81. The town, established about 1775, was named for SC Patriot militia Col. Richard Winn, officer in America's War for Independence. Today Winnsboro is the county seat of Fairfield County. (*Palmetto Place Names*, 111)

when Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene³¹ was appointed commander of the Southern Continental Army in October 1780.³²

Even before Greene arrived to take command, Gen. Gates learned that Loyalist soldiers were moving out of Winnsboro and Camden. In response, he dispatched Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan and his light corps toward Camden to protect wagons that were to procure pork and corn in the area of Lynches Creek.³³ Hearing that a body of Tories was quartered at Lt. Col. Henry Rugeley's³⁴ mill and plantation alongside Grannies Quarter Creek,³⁵ only twelve miles north of Camden, Morgan gave Washington an order to reconnoiter the area. Washington was pleased with the assignment, but approached with so little caution that all of Rugeley's militia scrambled to safety to the plantation's fortified barn. Lacking artillery,³⁶ Washington devised an ingenious plan. Fashioning a pine log to resemble a cannon,³⁷ he positioned it at a distance pointed toward Rugeley's fortification, with a demand for Rugeley's surrender before his fortification was reduced to shambles. Taking one look at the American “artillery,” Rugeley surrendered his entire force on the first of December, a surrender that spelled the end of his career.³⁸ Feelings of victory and glee

³¹ Greene was selected to try to salvage the situation in the South. Already, he was known for his administrative abilities and strategy. Although originally from Rhode Island, he obtained information about the South and it was said that he knew the geography of some areas better than its inhabitants.

³² Greene arrived in Charlotte 2 December 1780. The change of command, wherein he replaced Gates, was December 3.

³³ See Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, Volume Two, 1780* (Patrick J. O'Kelley, 2004), 375-76. O'Kelley writes about Morgan's return to service as brigadier general and being assigned to the southern army under Maj. Gen. Gates. Author Hugh F. Rankin and others have Morgan foraging for food. Evidently, Morgan was searching for cattle but found they had been driven off. Morgan's activities are not detailed; however, by 3 December, he was back in Charlotte to report to his new commander, General Nathanael Greene.

³⁴ Col. Henry Rugeley, a wealthy Loyalist, commanded the Loyalist militia in the Camden District. His farm included a millpond and gristmill; its water source was Grannies Quarter Creek. It was located on the Great Waxhaw Trail (modern Flat Rock Road) in what is today Kershaw County, South Carolina. For a good account of Morgan's foraging expedition and Rugeley's defeat see Hugh F. Rankin, *Greene and Cornwallis: The Campaign in the Carolinas* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2003), 9-10 and Dr. Lee McGee's article on the capture of Rugeley's Fort in Vol. 2, No. 6, June 2005 SCAR.

³⁵ A creek said to be named after an aged midwife who “grannied” babies. See *Palmetto Place Names*, 128.

³⁶ Cannons. If mobile, cannons were considered to be field artillery.

³⁷ Fake cannon similar to those used by Washington were termed “Quaker” cannon. Such fake cannons were used later in the Civil War with the purpose of making the enemy believe they were outgunned. See William Seymour, *A Journal of the Southern Expedition, 1780-1783*. Papers of the Historical Society of Delaware, XV. Wilmington, 1896, 22. Seymour described Washington's “cannon” as having “...the same effect as if it was the best piece in Christendom.”

³⁸ Suffice to say, Rugeley was never promoted and never again given command over soldiers. See Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-178* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902), 12. McCrady wrote that, before his defeat, Rugeley was about to be appointed Brigadier General of

prevailed as news of Washington's bloodless victory spread through Greene's camp. Other decisions were in order; decisions, in effect, that would set the stage for the battle of Cowpens.

Conditions in Charlotte were deplorable. Lack of provisions impelled Greene to move to find food for his army. It turned out to be a strategically sound move. On 16 December 1780 Greene divided his army in a bold move, sending Gen. Daniel Morgan and his flying army west of the Catawba to threaten the enemy at Winnsboro and boost the spirits of the Whigs. Greene, with the remainder of the army, moved eastward to the Cheraw Hills pressuring Camden. Washington, already a part of and remaining with Morgan's corps, commanded a regiment of light-horse cavalry of 60 to 100 men.³⁹

Operating in South Carolina below the Broad River in late December, Morgan soon discovered that Loyalists sent from Savannah were attacking upcountry Patriot settlements in the vicinity of Fair Forest Creek 20 or so miles south of his own forces. The assignment to dispatch them again went to Washington. Detached again from the main army, Washington, now bolstered with 200 militia under Lt. Col. James McCall, set out after the Loyalists. They fell back further south about 26 miles to Hammond's Store⁴⁰ upon learning of Washington's advance, as a safe haven between the British post at Ninety Six and Cornwallis' forces at Winnsboro. After a hard 40 mile ride, Washington caught up with the Loyalists there and immediately charged from all sides, cutting them down as they fled.⁴¹ More

Loyalists militia. Also, McCrady termed Washington's victory a "bloodless success" and indicated that Washington, in his use of a "Quaker" cannon, was repeating what Gillespie had done in the capture of Mills' SC Loyalists militia at Hunt's Bluff the previous summer. Also, see Daniel W. Barefoot, *Touring South Carolina's Revolutionary War Sites* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair Publisher, 1999), 254-255. Barefoot writes that it was SC Patriot militia Maj. Tristram Thomas who employed the "Old Quaker Cannon Trick" to trick Loyalist militia Col. Henry Mills' flotilla into submission on the Pee Dee River at Hunt's Bluff. Hunt's Bluff is near the town of Blenheim and nearby Blenheim Springs.

³⁹ According to McCrady (13), some of Washington's cavalry had been sent back to Virginia because they lacked adequate clothing ("too naked to be put upon service").

⁴⁰ Hammond's Store (Battle of Hammond's Store, 30 December 1780) is a lost site, historically located in what is now Laurens County, South Carolina, somewhere near the town of Clinton. (Historians, history buffs, and map enthusiasts differ on what is believed to be the approximate location. For more information, see Vol. 1, No. 3 - November 2004 SCAR. The battle at Hammond's Store was the beginning of operations that led to the battle of Cowpens, 17 January 1781; December 2005 SCAR.

⁴¹ Some historians have suggested that Hammond's Store was a slaughter comparable to Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton's slaughter of Col. Abraham Buford's soldiers at the Waxhaws in May 1780. See, for example, John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War: The British Campaign in the Carolinas, 1780-1782* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), 132. Pancake writes, "Washington's attack was as ruthless as Tarleton's." Historian McCrady (37) termed Washington's attack a "slaughter." Dr. J. B. O. Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina* (Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, Publishers, 1977. Reproduced from an 1897 edition in the Spartanburg County Public Library), 268, states that "men who had been in the habit of giving no quarters expected none..." However termed, it was a fierce engagement. It is important to note that there is no record of William Washington offering an

than 150 Loyalists were killed and 40 captured. Victory at Hammond's store and other Whig successes alarmed Cornwallis. He was especially fearful of an attack on the British post at Ninety-Six.⁴² Acting on his fear, Lord Cornwallis ordered Banastre Tarleton after Morgan's forces⁴³ on 1 January 1781. Cornwallis, himself, was to intercept Morgan north of the Broad.

Tarleton gave chase. Bolstered by militia and again joined with Washington, Morgan made decisions that foiled Cornwallis' plan to entrap him north of the Broad. Morgan's decision to make a stand at the Cowpens led to the prodigious victory and further distinction for Lt. Col. William Washington. It was likely Washington himself who informed Morgan about Tarleton's fighting style.⁴⁴

At Cowpens, Washington's 80 Continental dragoons, together with strong Lt. Col. James McCall's 45 mounted infantry were in the thick of the fighting. Stationed to the rear of Morgan's flying army, his cavalry was apparently well hidden from the British as they approached from the east on the Green River Road.⁴⁵ As the

apologia for his actions. Tarleton, in his *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (North Stratford, New Hampshire: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc., Reprint Edition, 2001), 30-31, tried to sugarcoat and justify his actions against Continental forces at the Waxhaws. The term "massacre" has often been used to describe Tarleton's actions at the Waxhaws, however, if such a word were used, the term "slaughter" appears to be more appropriate.

⁴² Ninety-Six was a British outpost and fort supposedly 96 miles from the Indian village of Keowee and Fort Prince George. Apparently, it was so-named by traders with the Cherokee measuring distances back to Charleston. Author David George disagrees with the reason for the name, suggesting that early measurement methods were inaccurate, making Ninety Six only about 78 miles from Keowee. He also writes that the site was named after 9 creeks flowing in the opposite direction of prevailing streams as traders entered the Ninety Six site from one direction, and 6 creeks flowing in the opposite direction of prevailing streams as traders entered the Ninety Six site from the other direction. They thought this topography so unusual that their description of the 9 and 6 streams became corrupted to Ninety Six. See David P. George, Jr., "Ninety Six Decoded: Origins of a Community's Name," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 92, no. 2 (April 1991): 69-84.

⁴³ See Landrum, 268. Landrum notes that Washington had traveled too far into a British dominated area, and, Morgan, concerned for his safety, had moved his entire force a number of miles from his camp to protect Washington on his return.

⁴⁴ Pancake, 133. Pancake writes, "Morgan must have talked with officers and men who had fought the Legion. "...I knew my adversary, said Morgan, "and was perfectly sure I should have nothing but downright fighting." See also Thomas J. Fleming, *Downright Fighting: The Story of Cowpens* (Washington, D. C. United States Department of the Interior, Division of Publications, National Park Service, 1998), 45. Fleming states that Morgan also learned of Tarleton's fighting style from men such as SC Patriot militia Col. Richard Winn.

⁴⁵ Perhaps more accurately described as the road to the Green River. Some accounts state that Washington and his cavalry could stand in their stirrups and see the approach of the British. See James Graham, *The Life of General Daniel Morgan* (Bloomingburg, New York: Zebrowski Historical Services Publishing Company, 1993, originally published 1856), 299, wherein Graham states "Orders were dispatched to colonel Washington whose corps of cavalry was held in reserve upon the eminence in the rear, to assist in rallying the militia should they

militia line retreated as planned and Tarleton's dragoons bore down on them, Washington and his Continental dragoons came as if out-of-nowhere to chase the British cavalry off the field, allowing the militia to retreat successfully.⁴⁶ Cutting back across the field to the American right flank, Washington scattered Ogilvie's horsemen who were leading the 71st Highlanders into battle. From his vantage point on the right, Washington informed Daniel Morgan that the British were "coming on like a mob."⁴⁷ As hand-to-hand fighting ensued between Tarleton's infantry and Morgan's third line, and the tide of battle turned, Washington's dragoons came around with the regrouped militia to execute a double envelopment⁴⁸ and take British prisoners. Tarleton's panicked cavalry, believing the battle essentially over, refused to reenter the fight. Washington's horsemen scattered British horsemen in covering the retreating militia. Playing a role in the double envelopment, Washington had ensured the victory. Washington, in unorthodox manner, had committed all his horsemen in each foray against the British and taken them by surprise. His superior use of cavalry was the factor that tipped the scale at Cowpens. It was a victory over British regulars, over 100 of whom were killed and nearly 600 taken prisoner.

The battle was essentially over but Washington remained engaged. Racing ahead of his own men, the impetuous cavalry leader pursued the retreating Tarleton and his remaining 50 dragoons. Out in front of his men by about 30 yards and finding himself surrounded by three British officers,⁴⁹ Washington fought to defend himself and broke his saber off at the hilt in the initial clash. As one British officer rose in his stirrups to strike a fatal blow, Washington's young bugler fired his pistol, mortally

fly, and to protect them should they be pursued. He was likewise directed to protect the horses of the militia, and to hold himself in readiness to act as the emergencies of the day might require. The position occupied by the cavalry was admirably chosen. The eminence in their front, and the gradual descent beyond it, secured them from the enemy's fire, without withholding from them a horseback view of the field of battle, for some distance in front of the main line..."

⁴⁶ Washington had instructed his horsemen to put away their pistols and use only their sabers. See Lawrence E. Babits, *A Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 20, wherein Babits writes that "William Washington preferred sabers for combat, describing the sword as the 'most destructive and almost the only necessary weapon a Dragoon carries.'" Babits, in his notes, 167, n. 40, references "William Washington, 'Comment on the Sword,' and Maj. Richard Call to Governor Thomas Jefferson, 29 March 1781, both in Palmer et al., *Virginia State Papers*, I:605." In the same notes Babits adds, "American dragoons, reflecting Washington's preference, had specific orders not to fire pistols, but to rely on sabers at Cowpens." He also refers to correspondence of John Eager Howard to John Marshall, 1804, Bayard Papers.

⁴⁷ Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson*. (Columbia, South Carolina: Sandlapper Press, Inc., 1973), 157.

⁴⁸ The goal of a military commander – to literally surround the enemy. Also, called "pulling the purse string." See William J. Hourihan, *The Cowpens Staff Ride: A Study in Leadership*, http://www.usachcs.army.mil/TACarchive/Acwin98i/Houriha_n.htm. Winter 1998 (accessed 20 February 2004)

⁴⁹ See Babits, 130, quoting John Eager Howard to John Marshall, 1804, Bayard Papers; and, M'Call, *History of Georgia*, 508. John Eager Howard is usually a reliable source.

wounding the officer⁵⁰ and sparing Washington's life. At that point a British dragoon shot at Washington but missed, wounding his horse.⁵¹ As Washington's men joined him, the now outnumbered Tarleton and his horsemen continued their hasty retreat east on the Green River Road from whence they had come. Washington, on a new horse and rejoined by his own horsemen, gave chase but eventually lost the trail.⁵²

The Patriot retreat from Cowpens was a hurried one. Morgan figured correctly that Cornwallis would pursue him in an effort to retake his men held as prisoners. Washington and his horsemen were again detached from the main army this time to escort the British prisoners north beyond the Broad and Catawba Rivers with the intent of putting obstacles between them and Cornwallis. Washington rejoined Morgan on 23 January after Virginia militia took the prisoners north to Salisbury.⁵³ On 31 January, Greene arrived in Morgan's camp,⁵⁴ his army following later. The race to the Dan⁵⁵ was on. Cornwallis and his forces fought their way

⁵⁰ The accounts of what happened on the Green River Road are contradictory. According to one British account, the officer shot by Washington's bugler was Cornet Patterson of the Seventeenth Regiment. British anecdotal evidence had Washington calling out, "Where is now the boasting Tarleton?" upon entering the action on the Green River Road. See *Historical Record of the Seventeenth Regiment of Light Dragoons; Lancers: Containing An Account of the Formation of the Regiment in 1759, And of Its Subsequent Services to 1841* (London: John W. Parker, West Strand, n. d.), found in <http://www.replications.com/17LF/17hist.htm>, 13. Babits, 130, referencing Stewart, *Highlanders of Scotland*, 2:72, writes that Cornet Patterson was cut down by Colonel Washington's "orderly serjeant." This version has Cornet Patterson cut down previous to the shot fired by the bugler.

⁵¹ Some traditions have Tarleton in hand-to-hand combat with Washington and that it was he who shot Washington's horse. The record offers varying accounts. It is possible pensioners and later authors have confused the events with the battle of New Garden, fought in North Carolina previous to the battle of Guilford Courthouse. See Algie I. Newlin, *The Battle of New Garden* (Greensboro, North Carolina: Thomson-Shore, 1995), 41. Newlin, footnoting "Wickwire, *Cornwallis*, 294; and Schenck, *North Carolina, 1780-81*, 382," writes, "'The wound which Banastre Tarleton received (at the battle of New Garden) was not fatal, but it has received more attention than some of the fatalities. His right hand was shattered by a musketball, causing him to lose his middle and index fingers.'" See Babits, 199, n. 44 for notes claiming hand-to-hand combat between Washington and Tarleton at Cowpens and Tarleton's loss of fingers.

⁵² Tradition has it that Tarleton took an area citizen, Adam Goudelock for a guide, and Mrs. Goudelock, afraid her husband would die in an exchange between the two forces, put Washington on the wrong trail.

⁵³ Eventually, the prisoners were taken via Winchester, Virginia, to Camp Security in York County, Pennsylvania. *Camp Security History* <http://members.aol.com/stough1752/History.html>

⁵⁴ Morgan was encamped at Sherrill's Ford (Sherrill's Ford) on the north bank of the Catawba River.

⁵⁵ See William S. Powell, *The North Carolina Gazetteer: A Dictionary of Tar Heel Places* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 134. Powell writes, "Dan River rises in south Patrick County, Virginia and flows SE into Stokes County (NC). It flows SE and NE into Rockingham County and back into Virginia. It dips back into North Carolina on the Caswell-Rockingham County Line and into northern Caswell County after which it flows northeast in Virginia into the Kerr Reservoir on Roanoke River." Also, see the *Virginia Atlas and Gazetteer*.

across the Catawba at Cowan's Ford, slowed by heroic resistance from local militia.⁵⁶ Cornwallis almost caught up with Greene's army at the Yadkin River; Greene with Washington and his men as rear guard had crossed the river by flatboats in the early evening. Arriving at midnight and finding no boats, Cornwallis traveled upstream to find a suitable crossing, but it delayed him.⁵⁷

Masking his real moves by sending soldiers under Continental Col. Otho Holland Williams and Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee in a direction different from his own, Greene beat the British to the Dan River and took already-prepared and waiting boats across. Safely across, Greene and his army found food and hospitality in Halifax, Virginia.⁵⁸ Short on soldiers⁵⁹ but believing he had to confront Cornwallis, Greene recrossed the Dan, moved southward, and chose the familiar landscape at Guilford Courthouse to battle Cornwallis. Using tactics similar to those used by Morgan at Cowpens but on different terrain, he was less successful than Morgan. The British managed to keep the battlefield but with the loss of much-needed officers and soldiers. Washington's role was a heroic one as before. His horsemen's furious charge against Cornwallis' Guards recaptured American artillery and saved Greene's army from being routed. Knifing their way through the Guards a second time, Washington and his cavalry almost captured Lord Cornwallis.⁶⁰ Hand-to-hand fighting ensued between the two armies with great slaughter to Cornwallis' Guards. The British general's order to direct grapeshot volley into the melee, even though it killed some of his own Guards, stopped the American impetus and caused Greene to withdraw. It was a

(Freeport, Maine: DeLorme Mapping, 1989), 24-29. Greene outdistanced Cornwallis on what historians have termed "a race to the Dan." Still well south of the Dan, Cornwallis had come close to catching up with Greene at Torrence's Tavern, north of the Catawba River, and at the Yadkin River, north of Salisbury, NC.

⁵⁶ NC Patriot militia Gen. William L. Davidson and his 800 militia reinforcements made a heroic defense against the British at Cowan's Ford. General Davidson was killed in the battle. The town of Davidson (North Carolina), Davidson County and Davidson College are all named for him.

⁵⁷ Greene's forces crossed at the Trading Ford, seven miles beyond Salisbury. Because of flooding and the rising water level, Cornwallis had to travel upstream over 40 miles of muddy roads and cross at Shallow Ford.

⁵⁸ William Washington was given the task of requisitioning horses from the farms and plantation in the Halifax Court House area. According to Pancake, 174, "When the time came to return to North Carolina, the dragoons of Washington and Lee were superbly mounted. Said Lee of his cavalry, 'Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton was obliged to use such horses as he could get.... The consequence was, the British dragoons were mounted upon small, weak horses: those of the legion on stout, active horses, and kept in the highest condition....'"

⁵⁹ See John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1997), 359-362. During the retreat most of the North Carolina militia - officers and men alike, some eighty in all - left the army. Additional Virginia militia provided reinforcements, but not enough to make up the difference. Cornwallis was also ill equipped to fight. In the race to the Dan River, Greene had led Cornwallis 240 miles away from his nearest base of supplies at Camden, South Carolina. Geography and logistics were all-important in the Carolina backcountry.

⁶⁰ As Washington stopped to pick up his helmet, one of his officers was shot, and his cavalry followed the slain officer's horse in a direction away from Cornwallis.

pyrrhic⁶¹ victory for the British, one that Greene believed he should have won outright. He had great praise for Washington, saying that the militia could not operate effectively without his cavalry.

Cornwallis' battered army made its way to Wilmington on the North Carolina coast, later moving on to Virginia and Yorktown. Greene followed toward Wilmington for one day but decided not to risk his whole army in further confrontation with Cornwallis. Greene moved back into South Carolina, much of it still occupied by the British. Washington was with him for a number of important engagements that pushed the British to the sea at Charleston.

Greene's efforts to dismantle the British posts one by one began near Camden. Too weak to attack the British there, he waited for reinforcements as he camped at nearby Hobkirk's Hill on 19 April, about one-half mile north of British lines. Washington led two foraging⁶² expeditions: one around Camden and the other along the Wateree River.⁶³ Meanwhile, Lt. Col. Francis Lord Rawdon, now the commander of all British forces in South Carolina, in fear for his army at Camden, chose to make a surprise attack against the Americans. His urgency was heightened by the fact that Greene's forces had sent away baggage and artillery in shifting their position. On 25 April, acting on information from a deserter who was unaware the baggage and artillery had been recalled, Rawdon marched out to attack Greene. Perceiving an advantage, Greene attacked first.

At that point, Washington made a wide flanking movement, under Greene's orders, too wide to come up behind the enemy as they broke. Finding only remnants of the British army, he began taking over 200 prisoners.⁶⁴ Greene's army, in an effort to reform their line, lost momentum and some soldiers panicked and broke in the face of the on-coming British.⁶⁵ Having no choice, Greene ordered a retreat. Washington retained some of his prisoners and led his horsemen toward the fighting. His daring advance saved

⁶¹ A pyrrhic victory is one achieved at a great cost. The name comes from a costly victory of Pyrrhus, king of Epirus in ancient Greece.

⁶² Foraging can be defined as searching for food for both horses and soldiers.

⁶³ South Carolina river named after the Wateree Indians. The English often associated various native groups with rivers. The names were often Anglicized and spelled phonetically. See A. S. Salley, "Peedee it is and Not Pee Dee," in *Names in South Carolina*, Volume IV-9, 40 (Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Preprint Company, Publishers, 1983) Originally published Columbia: Department of English, University of South Carolina, Winter, 1957). The Catawba River, flowing south-southeast, becomes the Wateree River northwest of Camden. It becomes the Santee River after its confluence with the Congaree River below present-day Columbia.

⁶⁴ Christopher Hibbert, *Redcoats and Rebels: The American Revolution Through British Eyes* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2002), 309. Washington's cavalymen temporarily surrounded and almost captured Rawdon, himself. Commanded to give up his sword, Rawdon delayed until his own infantry came up to drive off Washington's men. For a more detailed discussion of Washington's actions at Hobkirk's Hill, see Dr. Lee McGee's article in this issue of SCAR.

⁶⁵ The break in ranks involved Col. John Gunby's 1st Maryland Regiment. When the highly regarded 1st Maryland became confused, Gunby ordered them to fall back, evidently causing them to lose their momentum. Panic gripped the regiment and the entire American line fell back.

the American artillery and provided cover for Greene's withdrawal. Ordered back onto the field, he entrapped a Loyalists corps of cavalry under Major John Coffin, killing, capturing, or wounding over 20 men. With the field cleared, Washington brought the American wounded to safety.

Although Washington in a sense saved the day, some later historians have blamed him for Greene's defeat by his stopping to take prisoners rather than first attacking the rear of the British still fighting.⁶⁶ Some have written that perhaps his only instructions were to cut off those retreating to Camden. Whatever happened, Greene and his adjutant general, Col. Otho Holland Williams⁶⁷ of Maryland, praised Washington for his heroics.

Greene's presence around Camden and Francis Marion's successful siege of Fort Watson⁶⁸ made it difficult for the British to hold Camden. On May 10, 1781, British forces evacuated Camden to march in relief of Fort Motte. About the same time, British forts fell, one by one, in siege by the Americans. Forts Motte⁶⁹ and Granby⁷⁰ fell to Light Horse Harry Lee.⁷¹ Ninety Six and Augusta⁷² remained the only British outposts in the Carolina and Georgia backcountry. It was during this slow British retreat that Washington was detached numerous times, often battling successfully against British and Tories.

On 22 May, Greene began an almost month-long siege of the British post at Ninety Six, reinforced by "Light Horse Harry" Lee and his legion, fresh from taking Augusta. The siege culminated in a direct and bloody assault on 18 June. The heroic effort was abandoned on 19 June before Lord Rawdon's forces arrived to relieve the besieged fort. There is scant information on Washington's role in the siege, if indeed he was even present for much of the time.⁷³

⁶⁶ Washington took about two hundred prisoners, among them some ten to fifteen officers. Before speeding off to the sound of fighting, he paroled the officers and released all the others except for about fifty he made ride double with his own men.

⁶⁷ Williams, from Maryland, served as an outstanding commander in Greene's Southern campaigns.

⁶⁸ Fort Watson, located 60 miles northwest of Charleston, was perched on an Indian mound alongside Scott's Lake, part of the Santee River (today, alongside Lake Marion south of Manning, South Carolina).

⁶⁹ Fort Motte was located at the confluence of the Wateree and Congaree Rivers, the two rivers forming the Santee River. Rawdon's army arrived too late to prevent the reduction of Fort Motte. See Stephen E. Haller, *William Washington, Cavalryman of the Revolution* (Bowie, Maryland: Heritage Books, Inc., 2001), 135.

⁷⁰ Fort Granby was situated along the Congaree River in the area of present-day Cayce, SC.

⁷¹ Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee (1756-1818) was the father of Robert E. Lee of Civil War fame. Lee's green-coated legion was one of the elite units of the war. He was ordered to join Greene in the Southern Theater on 13 January 1781. See Boatner, 607-608.

⁷² Augusta, Georgia had been occupied by the British since 13 Feb. 1779. Taking Augusta included taking Fort Cornwallis on the northeast side of town.

⁷³ Boatner, 806-807, places Pickens along with Washington and his cavalry beginning 11 June under Sumter who was sent to block reinforcements under Rawdon traveling to Ninety Six from Charleston. Sumter disobeyed Greene's orders and failed to get in front of Rawdon. Before 11 June, some believe Washington was out foraging or even with Marion. Others believe Greene would have kept him close at hand, regardless.

Lee's legion formed the rear guard as Greene and his army retreated in a northeasterly direction away from Rawdon's forces. Rawdon turned back to Ninety Six, perhaps reluctant to face the combined cavalry of Lee and Washington. Soon, Lord Rawdon made a decision to return to England for his health's sake. He left Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart in command of the British army in South Carolina.

As the summer wore on, both Greene's army and British forces rested, Greene in the High Hills of the Santee⁷⁴ and British forces in Orangeburg. Each maneuvered for position sometimes only fifteen miles from each other. Washington was busy as ever – often detached from the main army, patrolling the Wateree-Congaree area, foraging, making raids, and taking prisoners.

On 22 August, Greene broke camp at the High Hills of the Santee and crossed the flooded Wateree and Congaree, moving toward the British. Lt. Col. Stewart countered by taking up a defensive position at Eutaw Springs.⁷⁵ Greene attacked on 8 September in an effort to surprise Stewart.

The fighting began when Greene's army surprised and routed about 100 men that had been sent out to dig potatoes. The men were taken en masse, however, about the same time, Greene's army clashed with a British cavalry patrol, most of whom escaped to alert Stewart of Greene's approach. Stewart made a line of defense across the road but anchored Maj. John Marjoribanks in a dense thicket near Eutaw Creek forming his right flank. Greene advanced, throwing in first his militia, then his reserves -- Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia Continentals. The British had been driven back with the exception of their right flank under Marjoribanks. It appeared the victory belonged to Greene. Marjoribanks remained in the thicket, however, which was to be Greene's undoing. It was Washington's horsemen, likely already in the thick of battle, who were instructed to dislodge Marjoribanks. Trying to penetrate the thicket but failing, Washington maneuvered his men to Marjoribanks' rear but, in doing so, exposed his men to deadly fire from the thicket. Washington fell when his horse shot. Pinned by his horse, he received a bayonet wound to the chest⁷⁶ before he could extricate himself. Taken prisoner almost immediately, his life was spared.

⁷⁴ The High Hills of the Santee was an area of low hills stretching north of the Santee River, including present-day Poinsett State Park and Manchester State Forest, and extending as far as present-day Stateburg. During the Revolution, one traveling from Nelson's Ferry on the Santee north toward Camden would have traversed the King's Highway through the High Hills. The King's Highway followed for part of its route the Catawba Path, beginning, as one traveled inland, at Charleston and continuing through Camden to the Catawba Nation in the backcountry just south of Charlotte.

⁷⁵ Eutaw Springs was located near Nelson's Ferry on the south side of the Santee River. Today the waters of Lake Marion cover the springs and the gorge from the springs to the lake. Since the battle was fought on the high ground above the creek very little of the battlefield is under water. Markers and monuments commemorate the battle on a preserved section of land along the north side of South Carolina Highway 6 just east of present-day Eutawville. The road was the middle of the battle line (Highway 6 apparently follows the original roadbed at that point), however, and, unfortunately, the portion of the battlefield on the south side has not been preserved.

⁷⁶ Evidently it was not a severe wound.

The British had a big prize—a continental officer.⁷⁷ Washington was allowed to communicate with Greene the evening of the battle.⁷⁸

Eutaw, Sept. 8th, 1781

Sir

I have the Misfortune to be a Prisoner of war, I am wounded with a Bayonet in my Breast, which together with the Contusion from the fall off my Horse which was killed makes me extremely sore: But I am in hope not dangerous. I shall be extremely obliged to forward the enclosed to Capt. Watts & permit my Cloathing to be sent in as soon as Possible Being informed by Col. Stuart that I am not to be indulg'd with Parole on any Latitude. I have been treated politely by many of the British officers.

I have the Honor to be yrs.

Very H. Servt.,
W. Washington

Washington's fearlessness and lack of caution had helped win victories but at Eutaw Springs they proved his undoing.



Washington's capture and a subsequent breakdown in troop discipline⁷⁹ made for a less than clear-cut America victory. Byrd wrote that "Eutaw Springs was thus to be both the end and the beginning for Washington. It was the end of his life as an active participant in the Revolution, but marked the beginning of a life for which he appeared to be equally well-suited—that of a Southern planter and

gentleman."⁸⁰

Post-War Career

⁷⁷ Also, see Robert Stansbury Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1987), 205. Lambert notes that a number of events, including the capture of Lt. Col. William Washington, kept Greene from avenging the hanging of Col. Isaac Hayne on 4 August 1781. Hayne's execution had become a cause throughout South Carolina.

⁷⁸ The letter can be found in *The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, XVI (April, 1915), 105.

⁷⁹ Victory seemingly assured, many of Greene's men stopped to loot the British camp that allowed its soldiers to regroup.

⁸⁰ See Francis J. Byrd, *William Washington in the Southern Campaign: Hobkirk's Hill to Eutaw Springs*. (Class Paper, History 331, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 20 January 1971), 31.

Washington spent the rest of the war in the Charleston area with enough freedom granted by the British to marry rice-heiress Jane Elliott. Later he and his wife would move to her plantation west of town, seven miles west of Rantowle's Ferry. The Sandy Hill plantation embraced several thousand acres of land. Washington would become a rice planter and engage in his favorite avocations of breeding, training and racing horses. Like many rice planters whose rice fields were inland swamps, he and his wife owned a Charleston home, a two-story frame dwelling where they would reside during the hot, mosquito-infested, lowcountry summers. Jane Washington, more than her husband, preferred the Charleston home to the more isolated plantation life at Sandy Hill.

It was natural that Washington because of his wealth and position would be looked to for political leadership. It is doubtful he ever promoted himself for office but appears to have been drafted to run. He served in the South Carolina House of Representatives for three terms (1787-1791)⁸¹ and to the State Senate for the Tenth through the Fifteenth General Assemblies (1792-1804). Thus, he served seventeen years total in the General Assembly. A nomination for governor came as a great honor, considering that he had been a resident of South Carolina for a relatively short time. Washington, more of an action-oriented person, declined because "he could not make a speech." He also thought that the governorship should be reserved for native South Carolinians.

Like many lowcountry plantation owners, William Washington was a Federalist⁸² He voted with those lowcountry aristocrats who controlled the state until the turn of the century.

On a personal level, Washington appeared to lack political ambition. He also seemed to prefer the congenial life of a southern planter. He was benevolent and generous to a fault. Two examples stand out: As a member of the General Assembly he donated his salary to the poor of his St. Paul's parish. In addition, Washington was benevolent toward the Loyalists, intervening on behalf of their wives whose property was up for public auction.

Relationship to George Washington

In the post-Revolutionary War period, William Washington corresponded regularly with George Washington mostly about agricultural and family concerns. President Washington planted trees on his Mount Vernon estate, and, on at least one occasion, William Washington provided him nuts, seeds and acorns from the South. They also met on occasion when William Washington traveled north to Virginia.

President Washington toured the South in 1791.⁸³ William Washington and a party advanced northward toward the state line to welcome his cousin, meeting him near Georgetown Ferry. The

⁸¹ The Ninth General Assembly (1791) and succeeding assemblies met in the new capital of Columbia.

⁸² The Federalists, known in the beginning as Nationalists, supported a strong federal government via a strong Constitution and a standing army. William Washington's policies were much the same as other prominent Federalists such as George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Daniel Morgan.

⁸³ George Washington had never visited North Carolina, South Carolina, or Georgia. For the duration of his tour of the South he had no contact with his government for two months. There is an excellent map of Washington's travels issued with *The National Geographic Magazine*, January 1932, Vol. LXI, No. 1 (Thomas Joseph Showalter, "The Travels of George Washington," 1-63.) The map is probably not as easy to find as the magazine.

visit included a week-long celebration in Charleston complete with dinners, balls and banquets. Although President Washington had avoided staying in private homes on his tour, he accepted an invitation to Sandy Hill and visited with Jane and William Washington May 9 and 10, 1791. Perhaps concerned about charges of favoritism, he identified his visit as one deriving from “motives of friendship and relationship.” Likely agriculture was the main topic of discussion between the two Washingtons.⁸⁴

Memorials to Washington

There is evidence that William Washington had met his future wife earlier than his period of imprisonment by the British. Tradition has it that he rested at Charles Elliott’s after the battle of Rantowles Bridge 26 March 1780. When he expressed a need for a flag for his cavalry, Jane Elliott, his future wife, made him a flag out of crimson fabric, possibly from a curtain. This flag led his cavalry at the battles of Cowpens and Eutaw Springs, hence the name Eutaw flag.⁸⁵ On April 29, 1827 Washington’s widow presented the flag to a Charleston militia group, the Washington Light Infantry.⁸⁶ Some sources indicate it is the only Revolutionary War flag from active service still extant, possessed still today by the Washington Light Infantry. Thus, the Eutaw flag has become a memorial to William Washington.

Two monuments serve to memorialize William Washington. In 1856, the Washington Light Infantry of Charleston erected a monument to William Washington on the site of the battle of Cowpens. It is been said that it was placed at the site of the most intense fighting. The Daniel Morgan Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution maintained the monument until the National Park Service acquired it in the twentieth century. A few years later, in 1858, the Washington Light Infantry erected a second monument, a seventeen feet high, white-marble memorial to William and Jane Washington in Magnolia Cemetery, Charleston.

Conclusion

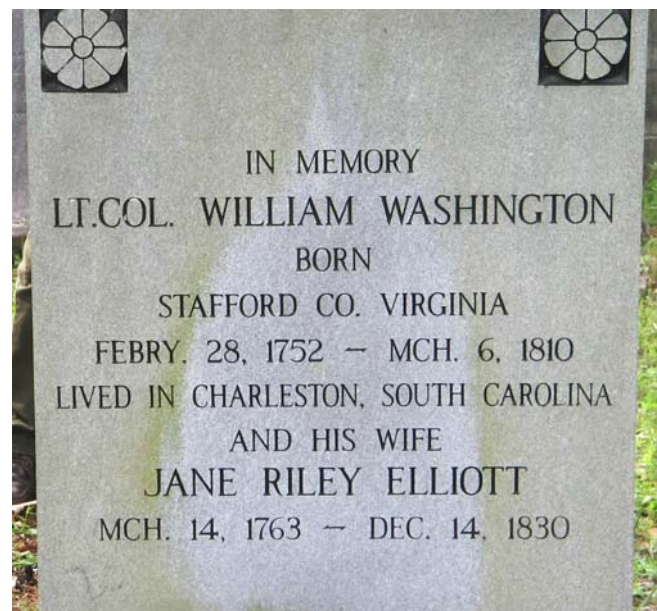
It is our misfortune today that William Washington left no journals and wrote no books, nor was he a prolific letter-writer.⁸⁷ His battle experience is much better documented. This might be expected since earlier writers often wrote only of the public person and not the person in full. Perhaps Washington’s life after the

Revolution will remain cloaked in mystery. We may never know the name of his bugler/servant and his fate after the battle of Cowpens. If Washington had run for governor and had been elected, perhaps he would have made a fine governor. It is certain that we would have letters, papers and more of his thoughts.

Instead, William Washington retired into relative obscurity despite his post-Revolutionary record of public service. To live the quiet life of a planter after such a heroic effort in the Revolution speaks to the greatness of the man. He did his duty and that was that. Papers and articles and a complete biography have been written. Perhaps no one, however, will document substantial information beyond what now exists. We can only hope to understand him better as we gain insights into the Revolutionary struggle and those who fought.

William Washington and his legion deserve a place in history with Casimir Pulaski’s⁸⁸ and Light Horse Harry Lee’s⁸⁹ legions - some of the best of the Revolution. Washington, individually, was one of the most heroic personages of the Revolution.

William Washington died after a long period of illness at his beloved Sandy Hill on March 6, 1810. His wife, Jane, who lived 20 years longer, and his two children, Jane and William, Jr, survived him. In a city (Charleston) so often steeped with Civil War history, it is good to remember its Revolutionary War history and that its adopted son, William Washington, and his wife lie buried in the Elliott family cemetery at the former Live Oak plantation located near Rantowles Bridge. Ironically, Rantowles was the site of Washington’s first successful encounter with Tarleton in 1780.



Modern tombstone in Rantowles Cemetery. CBB

⁸⁴ President Washington sent a jack, Royal Gift (a gift from the King of Spain), to Charleston so that William Washington would breed him with mares for mules. But Royal Gift sired few offspring and President Washington was greatly disappointed. James Thomas Flexner in *Washington, the Indispensable Man* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), 191-192, describes the saga of Royal Gift, but makes no mention of the role of William Washington.

⁸⁵ Some historians believe that he did not meet Jane Elliot until he was a prisoner at Charleston; therefore she could not have given him the “Eutaw” flag before the battles of Cowpens and Eutaw Springs. Whatever the case, a flag said to be the “Eutaw” flag does exist.

⁸⁶ The Washington Light Infantry was organized in 1807.

⁸⁷ Although not numerous, some transcripts of Washington’s letters are available. See for example the Greene Collection, Clements Library; Ella Basset Washington, “William Washington, Lieut-Colonel Third Light Dragoons, Continental Army.” *The Magazine of American History*, IX (February, 1983), Syrett, ed., *Papers of Hamilton*, X, 467-468; Library of Congress sources; there exists a number of letters from George Washington to William Washington.

⁸⁸ Casimir Pulaski (c.1748-1779), a well-educated Polish nobleman, volunteered to serve against the British in America. He first served as a Continental dragoon leader in the north and later was assigned to the southern theater of war. Although Brigadier Gen. Pulaski did not get the rank and respect he wanted, he remained devoted to the American cause. In a brave charge, he was mortally wounded at Savannah, Georgia on 9 October 1779. His gallant death served to minimize his mistakes and give him a place in history. See Boatner, 900-901.

⁸⁹ See note 71.

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Copies of Werner Willis' prints are available from the artist's studio at 3927 Brookwood Road, Charlotte, NC 28215. This print of William Washington is available for \$25.00. ★



The Battle of Eutaw Springs working group spends time with boots-on-the-ground at the site of the first meeting of Gen. Greene's van and Maj. John Coffin's SC Loyalists cavalry at St. Julian's Plantation. Shown are Mike Burgess, Dale Williams, David P. Reuwer, Chris Swager in the straw chapeau, and Steve Rauch's back.



Dr. Lee McGee, Mike Burgess, Dale Williams, Bob Swager, David Reuwer, Chris Swager and Steve Rauch study the primary accounts on the grounds.

“The Enemy are Hounded”

Gen. “Mad” Anthony Wayne’s 1782 Savannah Campaign

by Hugh T. Harrington

The surrender at Yorktown in the fall of 1781 brought the Revolutionary War to a close in the minds of many people. Most historians regrettably have taken the same position.¹ However, the war in the South was not over. The enemy occupied Charleston and Savannah. Physical possession and control of territory would be important in any peace negotiations. Major General Nathanael Greene, Commander of the Southern Department, sent Brigadier General Anthony Wayne to Georgia to oust the British from Savannah.



**Gen. Anthony Wayne
from portrait by 19th
century artist,
unattributed.**

Wayne would not have a force capable of assaulting the defenses of Savannah. Greene warned him not to risk his little army in a major engagement where a defeat would destroy him. Rather, he was to clear the countryside and keep the British bottled up within the city. He was also to win over the hearts and minds of the Tories to encourage desertion and defection. At the same time Wayne was to “soften the malignity [and] deadly resentments” between the Whigs and the Tories.² The Indian allies of the British had to be controlled and encouraged to leave not only the area but to withdraw from the war. The returning government of the State of Georgia had to be propped up as well. These assignments were to be carried out with a small number of troops, many of whom with unreliably few supplies. It was a difficult task with which, in the end, Wayne was remarkably successful.

Wayne crossed the Savannah River into Georgia on January 12, 1782.³ He camped at the Two Sisters Ferry.⁴ He was unaware of what troops would be available for his use in Georgia and sent a messenger to query Governor John Martin in Augusta. Wayne estimated the enemy at 900 regulars at Savannah plus 50 dragoons and 250 infantry at Gibbons’s farm where they were foraging.⁵

Wayne’s command initially consisted of 100 Continental dragoons under Col. Anthony White and a detachment of artillery. It is difficult to reconstruct Wayne’s forces as they are not well documented and many were transitory. On January 17, 1782 he wrote that “the dragoons and artillery” arrived on the 16th. The South Carolina State dragoons arrived on the evening of January 26th but their term of service expired on February 6th. So they were soon gone. Other units of the South Carolina dragoons arrived later, commanded by Capt. James Gunn and Capt. Archibald Gill. On February 6th, Wayne complained that his “whole force are the few Continental dragoons I brought with me, except twenty five of the Georgia State Infantry.” On February 11th, Wayne wrote, “we have at last received a reinforcement of forty horse and sixty foot from this State, they promise us a few

more but that an expedition against the Cherokees intervenes for the present.” The expedition he refers to is Georgia Patriot militia Col. Elijah Clarke’s across the Oconee River. On February 22nd Wayne said that he “can’t attempt to bring the artillery or any part of our baggage across the Savannah until we are reinforced.” On March 4th, Wayne wrote Greene and enclosed a return of the dragoons and infantry under his command. However this writer has not located that return. Plagued by desertions from his Continental units as well as the militia and State units, Wayne utilized whatever manpower was available. Among those under his command were deserters from the enemy, organized militia, and “volunteers” who apparently were less organized than militia. He also had the services of the Georgia State Legion. His mainstay was his Continental dragoons and Continental infantry.⁶

Wayne wrote Greene on January 23rd from his headquarters at Ebenezer describing the situation.⁷ Mulberry Grove and Mrs. Gibbons’ plantations just to the north of Savannah were within enemy lines. The area south of Briar Creek and between the Ogeechee and Savannah Rivers was a “perfect desert.” No supplies or forage could be found so Wayne had to be supplied from the South Carolina side of the river and Augusta. He was pleased that defectors were coming into his lines. A Tory officer and 15 privates came in and enlisted for the duration of the war, or until the enemy surrendered or was forced to abandon South Carolina and Georgia.

On the 26th of January, Wayne wrote Greene from “Hampton Hall Near Abercorn,” a few miles from Savannah, that he had “maneuver’d the enemy out of their posts at Mulberry Grove and Mrs. Gibbons’.” However, in their retreat they burnt all the grain and forage behind them. The enemy was also burning forage on the islands in the Savannah River to keep it from being used by Wayne. Supplies to Wayne continued to flow from South Carolina and from Augusta.⁸

Wayne wrote in disgust to Greene that the South Carolina State dragoons will arrive that evening, but as their term of service is up in thirteen days they will soon be leaving. The only troops he can expect from the State of Georgia are 300 militiamen and they will not arrive until after the South Carolinians have left. He begged Greene for veteran infantry but, as always, Greene had none to spare.

The Georgia Legislature passed an ordinance confiscating all personal property of any who had joined the British or were killed defending the Royal government. Wayne wrote that the Assembly has “been rather vindictive, at a time when common policy, independent of any other considerations, ought to have opened a wide door for the repenting sinner.”⁹

Greene replied on February 4, 1782 on the situation with the Georgia Assembly. He urged Wayne to “hold out encouragement to the Tories to abandon the enemy’s interest and though you cannot promise positively to pardon them you may promise to do all in your power to procure it which will be nearly to the same amount.”¹⁰

Wayne wasted no time in taking action. The South Carolina dragoons arrived on January 26th and immediately occupied Mrs. Gibbons’ plantation close to the Savannah lines. The following morning Lt. Col. William McCoy commanding the Georgia volunteers was detached to intercept a band of Creek Indians who were marching to Savannah. McCoy presented himself and his men to the Indians as Tories and then led the deceived Indians to Wayne’s command saying that they were British dragoons. Twenty-six Indians were surrounded and disarmed without a fight.¹¹ A week or so later these Indians, while guarded by Lt. Col. James Jackson’s Georgia State Legion, escaped from Ebenezer. Col. Anthony White and his dragoons recaptured some of them. Wayne spoke to the Indians and attempted to impress upon them his peaceable intentions.¹²

Learning of 300 Choctaw Indians on the far side of the Ogeechee River moving toward Savannah, Wayne detached Major John Habersham of the Georgia Continental Line with a large party of dragoons and mounted volunteers to prevent the Indians reaching enemy lines. Habersham was ordered to keep the men as hostages and send the women and children home. The Indians were to be well treated and to be convinced that the enemy was deceiving them and promoting war between the Choctaws and the peaceable Patriots. The Indians would be told they had a choice of either war or peace but that Wayne would much prefer peace. The Indians were to be reminded that the British controlled only Savannah and were no longer able to support them. The same talk would be given to the Creeks if the opportunity presented itself.¹³

Greene was delighted with Wayne's success in gaining so much territory without engaging in risky actions. He applauded the idea of not provoking the Indians by cruelty. However, Greene advised "hostages are the best security."¹⁴

Wayne advanced on February 6th to meet Major Habersham between the Savannah and Ogeechee Rivers as he was concerned that Habersham might have been caught by enemy forces from Savannah on his return. Habersham was successful in convincing the Choctaws that the enemy was not able to support their Indian allies and that the Indians' best interests lay in returning to their "country."¹⁵ Habersham did more than talk. Apparently, he "told Wayne that his dragoons had tied an Indian to a tree in an effort to gain information, shot him, and cut him to pieces."¹⁶

On or about the 27th of February Wayne conducted an operation to destroy forage accumulated within a half mile of the enemy. Forage was collected on Governor Wright's plantation just outside the east defenses of Savannah and on Hutchinson Island opposite Savannah. Col. Barnwell was to cross to the island by boats from the Carolina side. Col. Jackson was to destroy the forage at Wright's plantation. As a diversion, Maj. Moore, with Jackson's infantry, some militia, and dragoons under Col. White, would make a false attack on the northern defenses of Savannah itself. Barnwell was to initiate the operation at 1:40 am and at 2 am land on the island. Instead, he was discovered and fired upon by the enemy. To cover his retreat and distract the enemy, Wayne ordered the other units to immediately commence their part of the plan. Barnwell lost six men missing who may have turned up later. No losses were suffered at all on the Georgia side. Wayne gleefully noted that Savannah "was highly illuminated at the expense of Sir James Wright." The enemy cavalry now would be without forage to a very great extent. Wayne asserted that if Barnwell had been successful destroying the forage on Hutchinson Island the enemy's cavalry would have been "annihilated."¹⁷

Greene must have laughed out loud upon reading Wayne's report, as he concluded a letter to Wayne with, "Your maneuver in the destruction of the enemies forage was capital. How strange to tell that the enemy are hounded with less than one third their numbers."¹⁸

Governor Martin issued proclamations February 21st designed to induce defections from the enemy ranks. One proclamation was written in German and aimed at producing Hessian desertions. A full pardon and protection, plus 200 acres of land, a cow and two breeding swine were offered to anyone who had joined the British or sought protection with them on condition that they surrender to Gen. Wayne and agree to serve under him until the enemy either surrendered or left Georgia. Wayne "found means to diffuse a number" of copies of the proclamations within Savannah.¹⁹ The proclamations produced immediate results. Thirty-eight mounted militia came out and enlisted. The British "filled the swamps around their works with Tories, Indians, and armed Negroes, to prevent desertions." However, men kept coming through the lines, especially Hessians.

The Hessians were so prone to desertion that they were not trusted to stand guard except in the center of Savannah.²⁰

Wayne wrote Greene on February 22nd saying that "the whole of the militia and Col. Jackson's Legion don't amount to one hundred and thirty men, officers included, and as these are a class of soldiery, not always guarded against the attempts of an enemy - the duty falls severe upon the few Continental dragoons unsupported by infantry."²¹ An angry Wayne wrote Greene on March 25, 1782 saying that the British were doing all they could to encourage the Creeks and other Indians to join them in Savannah and wage war against the Whigs. A Whig dragoon was killed and scalped by Choctaws on the 22nd "under the eye and countenance of the British officers and troops, who were out in force, but retreated with precipitation."²² Wayne continued, "we have since taken a Chickasaw chief, ...we shall hold him, who, with the first British officer that falls into our hands will eventually be sacrificed to the manner of that brave unfortunate dragoon."²³

Outraged, Wayne wrote, "Would you believe it possible, that a British Governor attended by British officers, should be so lost to every feeling of humanity as to parade the streets of Savannah with the scalp, giving out to the citizens, that it was taken from the head of Maj. Habersham, and then entertaining the savages with a ball etc. on the occasion."²⁴ Greene's comment on this incident was, "Governor Wright is worse than a savage."²⁵

A chief of one of the lower Creek towns named White Fish escaped from the Whigs during the last week of March. He made his way to an Indian encampment at the forks of the Cawanoche River arriving two hours ahead of a pursuing force commanded by Maj. Moore. White Fish and the Indians immediately set out for the Altamaha River, returning to their own territory. Had Moore come upon them he may have suffered a defeat as the Indians numbered about 300 men. Before leaving their camp, the Indians killed several Tory guides who they believed had betrayed them with false information that the road to Savannah was open.²⁶

Wayne ordered Moore to take up a position where he could strike White Fish's band should they attempt to go by water from Frederica on the west side of the Altamaha River to Savannah. Moore's force, made up of volunteers and "reclaimed citizens", was to intercept a band of Choctaws providing an escort for a shipment of ammunition and presents being sent by the British to the upper Creek country. While Moore was on the Altamaha, Wayne would be "bullying the enemy at their lines" with Jackson's Legion and "a few Crackers and other species of Tories who have lately surrendered themselves and joined our army."²⁷ Maj. Francis Moore was killed on April 12th in an attack upon a body of Indians and Tory Rangers commanded by Capt. Donald Cameron at a crossing on the west side of the Altamaha River. Both sides claimed victory. One private was also killed and two wounded in that action. Captains Patrick Carr and John Lyons of the Georgia State Legion, with a "respectable force" pursued them.²⁸

A report from Wayne to Greene mentioned a minor skirmish as an incident of great valor that took place about the same time. It seems that a force of 30 of the enemy surrounded five of Colonel Jackson's dragoons and their guide, a Mr. Snider. While the rest of their comrades wielded swords, one dragoon and Mr. Snider, firing one rifle and one pistol, killed Tory Major Philip Dill and wounded two others, forcing the enemy to retreat from their sword wielding comrades.²⁹

The reports of close combat at the Savannah defenses made Greene very uneasy. He wrote Wayne saying he did not want him taking up positions near the enemy unless he had a force large enough to lay siege to the city, which he did not. Wayne explained his actions:

"I have long adopted the opinion of those military writers, who lay it down as a maxim, that an officer never ought to hazard a battle, where a defeat would render his situation much worse than a retreat without it, (unless numbers and circumstances rendered success almost certain). A retreat in our situation would have the effect of a defeat, there is nothing but a howling desert in our rear, and the pass of the Savannah is rendered impracticable by an inundation. I have therefore constantly been in readiness to advance to meet the enemy, and leaving no object in my rear, I have always had it in my choice, to give them battle, or to maneuver them into their works, the latter we have more than once effected, but I never had an idea of taking a position within striking, but such a one as would tend to circumscribe the enemy, without committing myself, such a position is about six miles in our front, and if I am joined by a corps of riflemen under Col. Clarke [Elijah Clarke, Georgia Patriot Militia] agreeable to promise, I shall take it."³⁰

On May 1st or 2nd, Capt. Carr engaged in a skirmish with Choctaws near Frederica forcing the Choctaws to return to their boats that they had taken from Savannah. The same Indians attempted on May 3rd to cut through to their own territory by land and were intercepted three miles from Savannah by Lt. Miller of Jackson's Legion leading twelve men. The Whigs waited in ambush until the Indians were within ten yards, then opened fire and followed with a bayonet charge. They routed the force of 70 Indians leaving five dead and many wounded.³¹

A Capt. Bryce received information about the same time that a party of Tories was driving a herd of cattle to Savannah on the South Carolina side of the river. Operating on his own initiative and not waiting for support, Bryce mounted three of his artillerymen and, accompanied by two or three guides, pursued and caught the "caitiffs" [definition: despicable and cowardly] four miles from Savannah. Bryce captured three Tories and 170 head of cattle. Wayne ordered that the area be cleared of cattle as part of his continuing efforts to deny supplies to the Savannah defenders.³²

Wayne received intelligence on the 15th of May that there was a large supply of provisions as well as 300 to 400 head of cattle and horses on the St. Mary's River destined to supply dragoons from Savannah and the infantry of Col. Thomas Brown and Col. Wright. The Choctaws, Creeks and Chickasaws were also to be supplied from this base. Wayne ordered Capt. Carr with 50 or 60 volunteers and "reclaimed citizens" to surprise this post and destroy the supplies.³³ Carr's men may have taken advantage of their opportunity for later it was reported that the Darien neighborhood was plundered.³⁴

Wayne learned on May 21st that the enemy had come out of Savannah in force. He immediately sent White's dragoons and Col. Thomas Posey's Virginia Continental Infantry to Mrs. Gibbons' plantation six miles northwest of Savannah. In the late afternoon, Lt. Col. Jackson reported the enemy was in force at Harris' bridge on the Ogeechee Road seven miles from Savannah. Another party was at the Ogeechee ferry. Jackson intended to attack the enemy at the ferry.³⁵ The force at the ferry was probably Capt. James Ingram and 100 militia of the Volunteers of Augusta sent by Col. Brown to clear the way for the expected arrival of Chief Emistisiguo's band of Indians. Jackson was forced to take defensive positions and Ingram joined Brown who was on his way to the Ogeechee with 80 Rangers and 260 Infantry.³⁶

The only way for Wayne to reach the midpoint of the Ogeechee Road between Savannah and the ferry to intercept Ingram and Brown was through four miles of thick swamp. This march would have to be accomplished in the nighttime. He recognized that such a march would be dangerous and that he

would also be putting his forces "between the whole of the enemy's force in Georgia." Believing, however, that "the success of a nocturnal attack depended more upon prowess, than numbers" and that his officers and men were experienced as well as brave, he ordered the advance.³⁷

The vanguard of Wayne's forces arrived at the Ogeechee Road four miles southwest of Savannah at midnight. At the same time, the enemy appeared coming down the road. The main body of troops had not yet caught up with the vanguard but Wayne ordered a bayonet charge. Wayne claimed a total defeat of the enemy forces as Lt. Col. Posey's light company under Capt. Parker and dragoons under Capt. Hughes and Lt. Bayer routed the forces of Brown. Brown's force contained parts of the 7th Regiment, Hessians, Fanning's and Brown's regulars, Tories, and the Choctaw Indians.³⁸

The road was a causeway through the swamps and the enemy dispersed into the swamps in its effort to get away. The night and the swamp prevented effective pursuit. Brown and at least some of the party made their way to Savannah by the White Bluff Road.³⁹ Large numbers of arms and horses were captured. The Whig troops that were able to engage "introduced the American Sword and bayonet with such effect as to kill many and wound some." Prisoners were also captured. Whig losses amounted to five privates killed and two wounded. The troops returned to Mrs. Gibbons's to rest. The following day they paraded before Savannah in an unsuccessful attempt to entice the enemy out. They then returned to Ebenezer.⁴⁰ Meanwhile Lt. Col. Jackson successfully attacked the enemy on the Ogeechee.

Perhaps feeling confident and flushed with victory Wayne suggested to Greene "Do let us dig the caitiffs out; it will give an éclat to our arms, to effect a business in which the armament of our great and good ally failed." Greene responded, "nothing would give me greater pleasure than to dig out those caitiffs at Savannah, but our force is really too small for the attempt."⁴¹

Col. Elijah Clarke attacked and dispersed a band of Indians attempting to join forces with the British in Savannah. Clarke killed three Indians and two white men. Two guides were taken prisoner "which he hanged after obtaining what intelligence he could draw from them." Three hundred Cowetas were still on the march to Savannah and Wayne was determined to prevent them.⁴² No clear account of the outcome of this confrontation is available, but on June 28 Greene wrote, "I congratulate you on your success in the dispersion of the savages your account of which I received by Capt. Nixon. Nothing requires greater fortitude or more discipline than to stand firm in a night attack."⁴³ However, Greene may have been referring to the action of the night of June 23, 1782. Emistisiguo, Upper Creek chief and faithful friend of the notorious Tory provincial Col. Thomas Brown, attacked Wayne's main force encamped at Mrs. Gibbons' plantation, also known as "Sharon," at about 3 am. Almost instantly the Indians were in the camp driving out the Americans. Wayne's horse was shot from under him. Wayne formed his infantry and led a bayonet charge waving his sword and shouting "death or victory". Emistisiguo along with several of his men was killed. Twelve prisoners were taken who were later executed.⁴⁴ A delegation of Savannah merchants came out under a flag of truce to talk with Wayne on July 1st. The formal surrender took place on July 11th. Lt. Col. James Jackson was given the honor of accepting Gen. Alured Clarke's surrender. The regular troops shipped out to Charleston. The Tory civilian refugees, consisting of about 4,000 blacks and 2,500 whites, waited for transportation to St. Augustine on Tybee Island twelve miles south of Savannah.⁴⁵

Greene feared that the arrival in Charleston of the enemy troops withdrawn from Savannah before the surrender would give the garrison in Charleston a military advantage over his forces. Greene ordered Wayne to return to Charleston as soon as the surrender was final. Wayne was reluctant to leave, as Col. Thomas Brown and his Rangers were on Tybee Island and, within a day, could march to Savannah where the Georgia Legislature was gathered. After the evacuation of the Tories and their Indian allies to St. Augustine was well underway, Wayne left Georgia for Charleston on August 9th.⁴⁶

Wayne summarized the entire campaign when he wrote Greene. "The duty we have performed in Georgia was much more difficult than that of the Children of Israel, they had only to make brick without straw, but we had provision, forage and almost every article of war to provide without money; boats, bridges etc. to

build without materials, except what we took from the stump [by force] and what is yet more difficult than all, to make Whigs of Tories, in opposition to every lot and hindrance thrown in our way by an [illegible] banditto, all which we have effected, and wrested this State (except the town of Savannah) out of the hands of the enemy with the help of a few Regular Dragoons."⁴⁷

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¹ It is with difficulty that one can locate reliable information about the 1782 campaign. One is presented with generalities and broad statements of events in secondary sources. Many of these broad statements conflict regarding dates and some descriptions of skirmishes may be a mix of events. Primary source materials are scarce and do not give us all the details that we would wish concerning actions, units involved, dates of actions or locations. The researcher should take care.

² Greene to Wayne, January 9, 1792, p. 362. The bulk of the Nathanael Greene-Anthony Wayne correspondence is in the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan. Many of these have been published in *Selected Manuscripts from the Collections of the William L. Clements Library*, edited by Howard H. Peckham, University of Chicago Press, 1974. Hereafter, citations will give only the name of the correspondents, the date and the page in Volume II, above.

³ Wayne to Greene June 13, 1782, p. 417. Wayne writes, "On the 19th Jan, we passed the Savannah River in three little canoes, swimming the horses, ..." I believe he looked at the wrong week of his calendar as his January 17th letter implies he is in Georgia.

⁴ Two Sisters Ferry, 10 miles up River from Ebenezer, near the present town of Clyo.

⁵ Mrs. William Gibbons' plantation, known as "Sharon", was just north of Savannah, on the Savannah River.

⁶ Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter*, Vol. 4, this valuable work is apparently inaccurate in its list of Patriot forces in 1782 Georgia. Work needs to be done to determine what units,



with how many men, were available for service at any given time during the campaign.

⁷ Ebenezer, is located on the River 25 north of Savannah. Wayne to Greene, January 23, 1782, p. 374.

⁸ Wayne to Greene, January 26, 1782, written at "Hampton Hall near Abercorn," p. 376.

⁹ Wayne to Greene, January 26, 1782, written at "Hampton Hall near Abercorn," p. 376.

¹⁰ Greene to Wayne, February 4, 1782, p. 378.

¹¹ Wayne to Greene, February 1, 1782, written at "Old Saw Miss near Abercorn," p. 379.

¹² Wayne to Greene, February 11, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 382.

¹³ Wayne to Greene, February 11, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 382.

¹⁴ Greene to Wayne, February 10, 1782, p. 380.

¹⁵ Wayne to Greene, February 11, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 382.

¹⁶ Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 151, cites letter of Habersham to Wayne February 8, 1782.

¹⁷ Wayne to Greene, February 28, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 386.

¹⁸ Greene to Wayne, March 6, 1782, p. 389.

¹⁹ Wayne to Greene, March 11, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 385. Douglass is identified as "Samuel", p. 391. See also p. 364; Edward J. Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 148.

²⁰ Wayne to Greene, March 11, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 391.

²¹ Wayne to Greene, February 22, 1782, p. 384.

²² Wayne to Greene, March 25, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 394.

²³ Wayne to Greene, March 25, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 394.

²⁴ Wayne to Greene, March 25, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 394.

²⁵ Greene to Wayne, April 6, 1782, p. 396.

²⁶ Wayne to Greene, April 1, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 395.

²⁷ Wayne to Greene, April 1, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 395.

²⁸ Wayne to Greene, April 9, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 399.

Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 150

²⁹ Wayne to Greene, April 9, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 400, Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 150

³⁰ Greene to Wayne, April 21, 1782, p. 400; Wayne to Greene, April 28, 1782, p. 401.

³¹ Wayne to Greene, May 7, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 405.

³² Wayne to Greene, May 7, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 405.

³³ Wayne to Greene, May 18, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 408.

³⁴ Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 150. Cashin describes the supplies on the St. Mary's River and Carr being sent to destroy them however Cashin's citation is to a February 8, 1782 letter from Habersham to Wayne. That apparently is incorrect as that letter predates the event mentioned by Wayne.

³⁵ Wayne to Greene, May 24, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 411.

³⁶ Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 151

³⁷ Wayne to Greene, May 24, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 412.

³⁸ Wayne to Greene, May 24, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 412.

³⁹ Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 151.

⁴⁰ Wayne to Greene, May 24, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 412.

⁴¹ Wayne to Greene, May 27, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 411; Greene to Wayne, June 1, 1782, p. 413.

⁴² Wayne to Greene, June 15, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 420.

⁴³ Greene to Wayne, June 28, 1782, p. 422.

⁴⁴ Perhaps more than any other action in the campaign this skirmish is described at various geographic locations and in various levels of detail and conflicting detail. See O'Kelley, *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter*, Vol. IV p. 76-77, Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, p. 338-339, Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, p. 556, Boatner, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, p. 421, Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 152, McCall, *The History of Georgia*, p. 544-545, J.H. O'Donnell, "Alexander McGillivray" in *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 49, 1965, p. 181 cites, "The Virginia Gazette or The American Advertiser," August 31, 1782, p. 2.

⁴⁵ Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 153.

⁴⁶ Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, p. 154.

⁴⁷ Wayne to Greene, February 28, 1782, written at Ebenezer, p. 385.

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He also edited the following books: *Methodist Church Record Books, Milledgeville, Georgia 1811-1876*; *The Dead Book: Burials in the City Cemetery, 1868-1904* (co-edited with Susan J. Harrington); and *Historic Memory Hill Cemetery, Milledgeville, Georgia, 1804-1997* (co-edited with Susan J. Harrington and Floride Moore Gardner).

Hugh also has devoted a great deal of time to the study of Sherlock Holmes and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. He has published over 25 articles on various aspects of the Sherlock Holmes stories as well as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. In 1996, in recognition of his work, he received an investiture in The Baker Street Irregulars. A

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Congressional Medal in Bronze given to General Anthony Wayne for his extraordinary services during the revolution. ★



Memorial to women in the Revolution at Moore's Creek Bridge National Military Park. SCAR staff photo by Lanny Morgan.

“MAKING HAVOC OF THE SHIPPING IN THE INTERIOR WATERWAYS”

THE BATTLE OF OSBORNES ON THE JAMES RIVER

by Stephen F. Darley

British Major General William Phillips arrived in Virginia on March 20, 1781 with 1,860 men⁴⁸ to assume the command of the Virginia expedition launched by newly-designated British Brigadier General Benedict Arnold on January 1, 1781. Arnold successfully raided Richmond with a lightening move up the James River in early January and, since his initial success, he had been operating out of a defensive position at Portsmouth. Earlier in March, Gen. Arnold just missed being trapped between the French navy and a force of Continental troops commanded by Major General Marquis de Lafayette.⁴⁹ The British commander in chief, Sir Henry Clinton, realized that he had placed Arnold in a vulnerable position so he sent Gen. Phillips with some reinforcements to protect Arnold and to help secure the British foothold in Virginia. Phillips had been specifically ordered by Clinton to disrupt the American supply lines that were providing vitally-needed military manpower and materials to Major General Nathaniel Greene, the Southern Army's Commander who then operated in the Carolinas.



Miniature of new British Gen. Benedict Arnold painted on a broach. Photo courtesy of author.

By the middle of April, Phillips and Arnold were on the move to destroy American supply bases along the James River. They were proposing to capture Williamsburg, Yorktown, Petersburg, and if possible, to take Richmond as well. Arnold described the first phase of the raid as follows: "On the 20th Lt. Col. Robert Abercrombie, with the Light Infantry, proceeded up the Chickahominy [River] in Boats; Lt. Col. [John Graves] Simcoe with a detachment to York; Lt. Col. [Thomas] Dundas, with another detachment, landed at the mouth of the Chickahominy,

and Major General Phillips & myself landed with part of the Army at Williamsburg".⁵⁰ The British were able to take Williamsburg, Yorktown and the surrounding area in the early phase of their raid with very little opposition. The British then went on to Petersburg where on April 25th they battled with the Virginia militia under Major General Frederick von Steuben and Brigadier General Peter Muhlenberg.⁵¹

On April 27th, two days after the Battle of Petersburg, Phillips divided his force in order to pursue two concurrent operations. Gen. Phillips' detachment conducted a raid on Chesterfield Court House in order to destroy or capture the retreating American forces under Gen. von Steuben. For the other operation, Benedict Arnold took the balance of the British forces including the Seventy-Sixth and Eightieth Regiments, part of the Jaegers, the Queen's Rangers, and his own American Legion provincials, to attack what turned out to be the remainder of the Virginia state navy. This fleet was believed to be anchored at Osbornes based on intelligence received by the British. Although the British army had made its way to take Petersburg in boats, neither Arnold nor Phillips utilized boats in their respective operations.⁵² It is particularly surprising that Arnold did not use his boats in the attack on Osborne's given his previous success using boats to keep the Americans off guard.

Osbornes was an important objective for the British because of the Virginia navy's presence in the James River. The British successfully used boats built by Arnold in Portsmouth during the winter and spring of 1781 to engage in both offensive and defensive operations in the waterways of Virginia against the Americans. The Virginia navy posed a potential threat to the ability of the British to continue those effective amphibious maneuvers and its neutralization or destruction would allow the British free reign to continue. It was vitally important to the British to disrupt the Virginia navy and thereby preserve its ability to keep the Americans off guard.

The Virginia navy was established in December of 1775 when the Virginia Committee of Safety, at the urging of Rebel Governor Patrick Henry, authorized the creation of a state navy and provided for the assignment of "so many Armed Vessels as they may judge necessary for the protection of the several rivers in this Colony".⁵³ After the navy was formed, it had a difficult time recruiting men and obtaining necessary supplies. Therefore, it took a limited role in defending Virginia in its early years. In an effort to respond to the problem, in 1780 the Virginia legislature appointed James Maxwell to be Commissioner of the state navy and appointed James Barron to be "Commodore of the armed vessels of the Commonwealth". Additionally, it created a five-member board to oversee all state naval activities.⁵⁴

The Virginia state navy of 1781 consisted of at least 16 large vessels and a number of smaller vessels.⁵⁵ Although this seems like a formidable fleet, in fact it was too undermanned and undersupplied to be much of a threat. The Commonwealth of Virginia owned some of the navy's ships and some were privately owned that had been recruited or impressed on a temporary basis to assist the Virginia navy in its mission. Stewart identifies the impressed vessels as: the ship *Renown* with "16 six-pounders and 20 men"; the ship *Willing Lass* with "12 four-pounders and 20 men"; the brig *Mars* with "eight four-pounders and 13 men"; the sloop *Eminence* with "1 howitzer and 8 men"; and the brig *Wilkes*.⁵⁶

The navy had been assigned early in March 1781 to assist the Lafayette campaign in its attempt to trap Arnold in Portsmouth. When that campaign failed, the Virginia navy split its force

between the state naval docks on the Chickahominy River and Osborne's on the James River. The ships at the naval docks on the Chickahominy River consisted of "several armed ships, stocks, warehouses, and numerous stores".⁵⁷ That shipyard, two vessels and naval stores were destroyed by a detachment of light infantry under British Lt. Col. Abercrombie on April 21, 1781, while Gen. Phillips's army was on its way to attack Petersburg.⁵⁸ Chickahominy was the initial blow to the Virginia navy. Benedict Arnold was about to deliver the final, fatal blow.

The Virginia navy was continuing to operate with minimal crews that could not mount an effective response if they were attacked. This was true even though Virginia had been invaded three times. The most recent British invasion force under Benedict Arnold had demonstrated the ability to mount effective amphibious operations against Virginia targets.

On March 20th, Gov. Thomas Jefferson acknowledged the vulnerability of the navy when he directed Commissioner of the Virginia state navy, James Maxwell, to "immediately withdraw the *Thetis* and other public vessels" from the state naval dock at Chickahominy and move them up the James River to "some safe and proper place".⁵⁹ Maxwell reported back to Jefferson on April 4th from the Chickahominy shipyard that he hoped to have the stores removed to another location by the end of the week; that four of the state's vessels had been removed; and that three boats, including the *Thetis*, were still there.⁶⁰

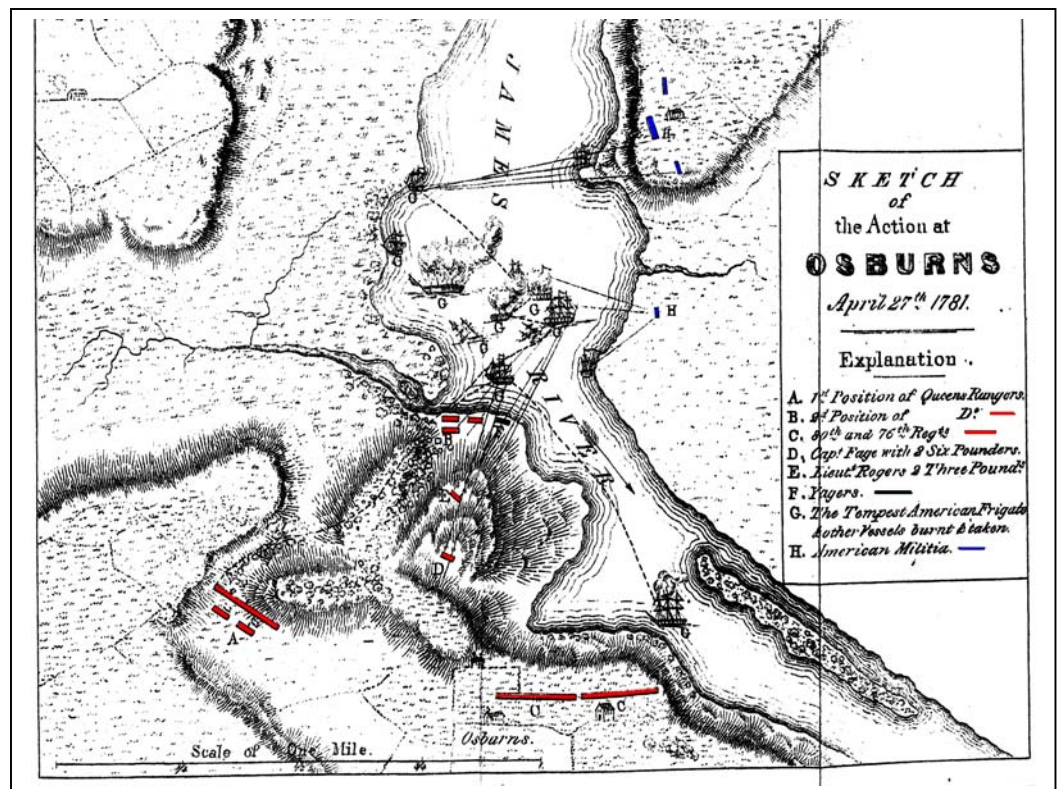
April 27th found most of the Virginia navy - numbering nine larger vessels and an unknown number of smaller vessels - anchored near Osbornes. Lutz states that the Osbornes fleet of 20 craft mounted 126 guns and that "the vessels had only skeleton crews, having on April 6 needed 692 men". He further concludes that the Virginia naval commander would not have realistically been able to replenish his manpower in the intervening days.⁶¹ That Lutz is correct is evidenced by a "List of the Arm'd Vessels at Coxes dale" sent from Maxwell to Gov. Jefferson and dated April 26, 1781, one day before the battle. This list identifies nine vessels carrying 96 guns and states that there are 78 men present. Maxwell's report states that the full complement would be 590 men, leaving the fleet 512 men short.⁶²

Osbornes (also called Cox and Dales⁶³) was then a small port village on the south side of the James River at the mouth of Proctors Creek approximately fifteen miles below Richmond. The town was the site of a ferry that crossed the James River as a "link in the then most direct overland route between Richmond and Petersburg".⁶⁴ By the end of the nineteenth century, Osbornes had ceased to be a viable town and faded into oblivion.

Arnold reported that he arrived at Osbornes "about Noon", although he could have been referring to his arrival at the actual location of the ships a few miles southeast of Osbornes. One commentator has reported that Arnold immediately proceeded to destroy the tobacco warehouses, the wharf, and some supplies that were located in the village of Osbornes.⁶⁵ This seems somewhat unlikely since all accounts of the subsequent battle indicate that Arnold achieved a surprise attack on the Virginia navy. The burning of the town might have compromised Arnold's surprise attack, so it is unlikely that he would take such a risk. Moreover, no contemporary account including Arnold's mentions the destruction of warehouses and wharves. Finally, both Arnold and Simcoe report that the British army was at Osbornes a couple of days after the battle waiting to move to another location by boat. It is unlikely that the British would use the village as a staging area if there were no wharves or docks left.

If Arnold arrived at the village of Osbornes first, he would have learned that the American vessels he was supposed to destroy were anchored southeast of the town. Arnold's report to Clinton says that the Americans "had a very considerable force of ships four miles above Osbornes".⁶⁶

Arnold's troops were able to move up the river to the ships undetected by the Americans. Arnold then sent a flag of truce to the American commander requesting surrender and "offering one half the contents of their cargoes in case they did not destroy any part".⁶⁷ Arnold says the American commander replied that he was



Map of action at Osbornes on the James River drawn by Lt. George Spencer of the Queens Rangers.

"determined to defend it to the last Extremity".⁶⁸ The commander's response turned out to be fatal for the Virginia navy. Some have speculated that the American fleet's sole focus had been to defend against an attack from ships coming up the James River and therefore it was not prepared for a land assault. The primary source for this conclusion is Simcoe, who describes the

Tempest as having its guns loaded “only with round shot” because her captain was “expecting that the principal attack would have been made by water”. Simcoe further says that if their guns had been loaded with grapeshot, they “must inevitably have killed or driven the artillery from their guns”.⁶⁹ This is the only reasonable explanation for anchoring the American ships so that they were nestled under an area with very high ground on the west side of the river making it vulnerable to the type of land attack that they were facing on April 27th.

Upon receiving the American reply, Arnold opened fire on the ships with his artillery consisting of two three-pounders and two six-pounders. It appears from the Spencer map of the field of battle⁷⁰ that Arnold’s six-pounders, which were under the command of Captain Fage, were in a high position on the shore overlooking the American ships. This position offered a clear target for Fage’s gunners. It also appears that the three-pounders under Lieutenant Rogers were initially up on the high ground but were subsequently moved closer to the water at an elevation where they had unrestricted direct fire on the ships.⁷¹ When Arnold says that his “Brass Field Pieces” were on the riverbank “nearly level with the Water”, he must have been referring to Rogers’ guns and not the six-pounders.⁷²

Arnold ordered some of his Jaegers to move into a position close to the shore from which they could bring more effective musket fire to bear on both the enemy ships and the covering of American militia that were on the northeast side of the river. The Virginia Patriot militia were returning the British fire along with the guns from the ships.⁷³ However, the militia was never a serious factor in the battle because they were too far away across the river and too small to mount any effective opposition.

One historian has suggested that “Maxwell’s guns could not be worked to advantage” because the British cannons were elevated high off the water and, therefore, they enjoyed “natural protection from the guns on the ships”.⁷⁴ Looking at the site as it is today, the accuracy of that statement is obvious. It is easy to see how significant the advantage of the terrain was for the British because it would be impossible for the naval vessels to raise their guns to fire high enough to reach the British artillery located on the high ground.



Excerpt of French map of the James River showing Gen. Lafayette’s 1781 Virginia Campaigns from the Library of Congress collections.

The tide of the fighting turned when a lucky shot by the British artillery sheared the cable of the *Tempest*, which was the ship anchored closest to the British forces. The shearing of the cable caused the ship to swing into the tide thereby exposing her to a broadside from the British three-pounders, as well as musket fire from the Jaegers who had made their way to a position about thirty yards away. The British firepower was so effective, Arnold reported, that it resulted in the ships striking their colors and “the Militia drove from the opposite shore”. The unrelenting British fire finally caused the crew of the *Tempest* to take to their small boat in an effort to escape. Lieutenant Rogers was close enough to parlay with the crew of the *Tempest* and convinced them to surrender. As soon as the crew reached shore, Simcoe’s rangers used their boat to row out and board the *Tempest*. At the same time other British soldiers began boarding the other American ships.⁷⁵

The boarding action by the British and the devastating fire from their artillery may have created panic in the undermanned crews of the rest of the American ships. A combination of the spreading panic and a possible order by the American commander caused the Americans to attempt to scuttle and burn their vessels. Some of them did get away safely in their small boats, but many were captured.

Arnold summed up the battle in his report to Clinton on May 12, 1781: “Two ships, three Brigantines, five sloops, & two Schooners, loaded with Tobacco, Cordage, Flour fell into our hands. Four ships, five Brigantines and a number of small vessels were sunk and burnt. On board the whole fleet, none of which escaped, were taken & destroyed about two thousand hogsheads of tobacco and very fortunately we had not a man killed or wounded this day; but have reason to believe the enemy suffered considerably”.⁷⁶

British historian George Otto Trevelyan describes this action as being “too much for the equanimity of Virginia” and that the state “was in a frenzy of rage and consternation” as a result of Arnold’s actions at Osbornes. He describes Benedict Arnold as being “skilled beyond any other living man in all the arts and practices of amphibious warfare”. Trevelyan says that once Arnold landed in Virginia, he “remained amongst them for the space of several months, harrying them and despoiling them on land, and making havoc of the shipping in the interior waterways of their state”.⁷⁷

The end result is that all of the Virginia naval vessels at Osbornes were either sunk or captured by the British. Davis and Lutz identify the nine larger vessels that were either sunk or captured as the *Tempest* (20 guns), *Jefferson* (14 guns), *Renown* (26 guns), *Apollo* (18 guns), *Willing Lass* (12 guns), *Wilkes* (12 guns), *Mars* (8 guns), *American Fabious* (18 guns) and *Morning Star* (12 guns). Commissioner James Maxwell’s letter of April 26 confirms this list. Not only were the nine large vessels put out of action, but there were smaller vessels that were also either sunk or captured during the engagement.⁷⁸

The loss of the bulk of the Virginia state navy was a potentially devastating blow to Virginia and the fledgling American cause. In the short space of six days, Virginia had seen her entire navy wiped out except for two remaining vessels.⁷⁹ If Arnold’s report is accurate, the British were able to destroy the Virginia state navy at Osbornes without the loss of a single man while inflicting substantial losses on the Americans.⁸⁰ Any future role that the Virginia navy hoped to play in support of the American cause, including defending the state’s waterways, was eliminated by the action at Osbornes. Although the events described here were a major blow to the Americans, the devastation of the Virginia fleet

had minimal effect on the outcome of the war in Virginia, which ended with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in the following October.



Photo of Osborns site by author.



Excerpt of oxbow lake showing location of the Virginia fleet by author.

There is no clear record of what happened to the ships of the Virginia navy, some of which according to Arnold were captured and not destroyed.⁸¹ An attempt to find any remaining evidence of the old wrecks, which would also establish the exact location of the battle and verify which boats were destroyed, was undertaken in 1985 by the National Underwater & Marine Agency. NUMA conducted a sonar and magnetometer search in 1985 of a location that they are unwilling to identify.⁸² The search team used the map from Simcoe's journal that was drawn by Lt. George Spencer [p. 38] overlaid with a topographic map of the current course of

the river to determine the correct location in which to search. The team's search produced no conclusive results and their report states that "[w]e found no trace of the Virginia Navy shipwrecks. No targets of any consequence turned up on the side scan sonar or magnetometer." The report speculates "the river has moved west in the past 200 years and if the colonials did not raise the wrecks after the war, their remains lie buried in the marsh northeast and under the land of Farrar Island".⁸³

An examination of a 1865 map prepared by the U.S. Coast Survey,⁸⁴ a 1888 Nautical Chart of the area prepared by the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, and a 1988 Nautical Chart prepared by the National Oceanic and Atmosphere Administration revealed that the east bank of the James River, (in the area that I believe was searched by the Underwater & Marine Agency), has indeed moved some distance to the west between 1865 and 1988.⁸⁵ It is therefore possible that the wrecks are under the marshy land of what is now Farrars Island. It is also possible that all of the ships sunk in the battle have long since been removed, since the battle took place two hundred and twenty-five years ago. Finally, it is possible that they did not find the wrecks because they searched in the wrong place.

The 225th anniversary of the battle at Osborns will be remembered in 2006. Though the area remains relatively undisturbed and pretty much as it was in 1781, it unfortunately is not easily accessible and not widely known or identified on any maps. Moreover, it can only be reached by walking through land owned by a utility company that does not have a cleared trail. There are currently no markers on the paved road that leads to the only access, and apparently no one is willing to allocate money to erect a marker or to memorialize the site for future generations. Unless this anniversary motivates someone or some agency to act, it is likely that the Osborns battle site will become another forgotten site of a significant event in the early history of our country.

Stephen F. Darley has a law degree from George Washington University and has owned his own real estate development and construction firm for the past twenty-one years. Steve has a thirty-year interest in Benedict Arnold and the history of the Revolutionary War. He has done extensive research on General Arnold and is moderator of the Benedict Arnold egroup that has been operating since March of 2000. He has an extensive collection of Arnold books, prints, ephemera, and other items including some Arnold rarities. He wrote an article that appeared in the Winter/Spring 2001 issue of *Early America Review*, an on-line magazine focusing on 18th and early 19th century American history, entitled "Benedict Arnold Portraits". This article presents original research on a topic not previously addressed, which is an examination of the various Arnold portraits to determine authenticity. He also has an article in the Winter/Spring 2006 issue of *Early America Review* on "How Benedict Arnold Got the Name of Dark Eagle". Steve has had a joint article on Rafael Sabatini published by *Firsts Magazine* for its March 2001 edition and an article on Leslie Turner White in November 2004. He has also had two articles published in *Cry Havoc*, including one on the Battle of Ridgefield, and is currently working on an article on Lafayette and Cornwallis in Virginia and the events leading up to Yorktown.

⁴⁸ There have been many opinions as to the number of men that were sent to Virginia with Phillips. Most speculation centers on a number of 2,000 or more troops. After much analysis I support the following troop strength for Phillips's forces: 76th Regiment of Foot - 384 men; English Light Infantry - 882 men; Erb Prinz Regiment - 425 men; Royal Artillery - 171 men.

⁴⁹ John Austin Stevens, "The Expedition of Lafayette Against Arnold" (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society Publication No. 13) 1878.

⁵⁰ Arnold to Clinton, May 12, 1781, Clinton Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan.

⁵¹ Robert P. Davis, *Where a Man Can Go: Major General William Phillips, British Royal Artillery, 1731- 1781* (Westport: Greenwood Press) 1999. Pages 137-147 contain an excellent description of the battle.

⁵² See James Innes to Thomas Jefferson, April 21, 1781, Jefferson Papers, for a description of the British boats used by Phillips and Arnold to move from Portsmouth to City Point, Va. in present day Hopewell, on their way to Petersburg. Other on the scene observers also reported on the British boats and provided a description.

⁵³ Hening's *Statutes at Large*, Vol. IX, 83. Also see Proceedings of the Convention, December 1775.

⁵⁴ Robert Armistead Stewart, *The History of Virginia's Navy of the Revolution* (Richmond: Mitchell & Hotchkiss) 1933, 87.

⁵⁵ The sixteen vessels were *Tempest, Jefferson, Liberty, Patriot, Thetis, Renown, Willing Lass, Wilkes, Mars, Apollo, Tartar, Dragon, Eminence, American Fabious, Marquis Lafayette* and *Morning Star*. I have compiled this list from information in Stewart and Davis, as well as various letters in the Jefferson Papers. It should be noted that various documents refer to some of the galleys of the Virginia navy by name and even by the name of the captain of the vessel. British contemporary observers, including Arnold and Simcoe mention that "smaller vessels" were involved in the actions at Osbornes and the Chickahominy shipyard.

⁵⁶ Stewart, p. 99.

⁵⁷ Davis, p. 140.

⁵⁸ Davis, p. 140. A letter from James Innes to Thomas Jefferson, April 22, 1781, Jefferson Papers, 532, provides a first person account of the British raid on the Chickahominy shipyard. Innes was close enough to observe the burning shipyard.

⁵⁹ Thomas Jefferson to James Maxwell, March 20, 1781, Jefferson Papers, pp. 189-190.

⁶⁰ James Maxwell to Thomas Jefferson, April 14, 1781, Jefferson Papers, p. 344.

⁶¹ Lutz, p. 121.

⁶² James Maxwell to Thomas Jefferson, May 26, 1781, Jefferson Papers, p. 557.

⁶³ See footnote in the Jefferson Papers that says that Osborne's was also called Coxes Dale, Coxendale, Coxesdale, and Cox and Dale. *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, edited by Julian P. Boyd (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 1952, Vol. 5, 25 February 1781 to 20 May 1781, p. 558n. Capt. Thomas Osborne, who was a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses and a substantial landowner, settled Osborne's in 1616. George Washington visited Osborne's in 1791 while he was President of the United States.

⁶⁴ Francis Earle Lutz, *Chesterfield, An Old Virginia County* (Richmond: William Byrd Press) 1954, p. 94.

⁶⁵ Lutz, p. 120. I can find no other source for this statement.

⁶⁶ Arnold to Clinton, May 12, 1781.

⁶⁷ Lieut. Col. John G. Simcoe, *A Journal of the Operations of the Queens Rangers* (North Stratford: Ayer Company Publishers) 2000, p. 199.

⁶⁸ Arnold to Clinton, May 12, 1781.

⁶⁹ Simcoe, pp. 199-200.

⁷⁰ This map was drawn by Lieutenant George Spencer, a British participant in the battle, and was published in Simcoe's journal. It is a crucial source of information about the battle that is not really available from the written descriptions of other participants including Simcoe. The original is at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.

⁷¹ See Simcoe, between pp. 202 and 203 for Spencer's map of the battle.

⁷² Arnold to Clinton, May 12, 1781.

⁷³ A boat owner who had a vessel anchored at Osborne's was at the site the day before the battle and mentions the militia in his letter. Rueben Mitchell to Thomas Jefferson, May 16, 1781, Jefferson Papers, p. 658.

⁷⁴ Lutz, pp. 120-121.

⁷⁵ Simcoe, pp. 199-200.

⁷⁶ Arnold to Clinton, May 12, 1781.

⁷⁷ Trevelyan, pp. 333-334.

⁷⁸ Arnold to Clinton, May 12, 1781. Davis, p. 172n; Lutz, p. 121; and Stewart, p. 102. Maxwell to Jefferson, April 26, 1781.

Jefferson to Washington, May 9, 1781, says that both publicly and privately owned ships were sunk or destroyed.

⁷⁹ See Stewart, pp. 108-111, which recounts the Patriot's final engagement from a narrative written by James Barron, the son of Commodore James Barron, and taken from the *Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advisor*, July 1849.

⁸⁰ Arnold to Clinton, May 12, 1781.

⁸¹ Arnold to Clinton, May 12, 1781.

⁸² Email from National Underwater & Marine Agency, dated July 11, 2002, which says: "NUMA's mission is to preserve maritime history. In that vein, we do not reveal the location of the projects we have found". This is somewhat beside the point because they did not actually find anything in their search.

⁸³ Project 16, James River search for Virginia Navy sunk by Benedict Arnold during Revolutionary war, 1781, and the Civil War ships *Drewry, Commodore Jones* and *Greyhound*. June 1985. National Underwater & Marine Agency.

⁸⁴ I could not find an accurate detailed map of the James River from 1781. The 1865 map is the earliest accurate map that is available. The only map of the area from 1781 is the battle map by Spencer.

⁸⁵ The location of the battle on the James River of today is generally accepted to be in a bypassed section of the old James River channel south of the Dutch Gap Cutoff. The Dutch Gap Cutoff was constructed by Union General Benjamin Butler during the Civil War and changed the course of navigation on the river by making a short cut to avoid the area around Farrars Island. The old channel in that area surrounds Farrars Island on three sides. The battle location is on the west side of the island near the northern end of the channel, which is less than four miles from the junction of Proctors Creek, following the old course of the James River. The four miles was scaled on a topographical map of the old channel. ★

