



Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution

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Dog Days Issue

June-July-August 2006

“A Perfect Circumvallation” - Augusta Falls to Patriots – Finally!



Mural of the 2d Siege of the British stronghold of Augusta, Georgia painted by Dick Westcott and owned by the Augusta Museum of History. The Maham tower shown in the distance is where the Patriots mounted their six pounder to fire into the Loyalists holding Fort Cornwallis. Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Pickens, operating with Continentals under Lt. Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee and Georgia Patriot militia Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke dislodged Loyalist Lt. Col. Thomas Brown and his Kings Rangers from their Augusta posts at Forts Grierson and Cornwallis [besieged from May 23 to June 5, 1781]. Learn the story beginning on page 32.

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Battle of Eutaw Springs Conference & Tour

Saturday -- September 9th, 2006



The Eutaws Campaign of Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

“Giving the enemy a deadly blow.
I have a good mind to put all to the
hazard...”

Southern Campaigns of the Revolutionary War and the historic Church of the Epiphany in Eutawville, South Carolina proudly presents a conference on the Eutaw Springs military campaign of “The Fighting Quaker” - Major General Nathanael Greene and Eutaw Springs battlefield tour.

The conference will be held at the historic Church of the Epiphany in Eutawville, South Carolina and on the Eutaw Springs battlefield from 9:00 am - 7:30 pm on Saturday, September 9th, 2006. Keynote presenter, Dr. Dennis M. Conrad, historian for the United States Navy and editor of the final volumes of the encyclopedic *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, will discuss Lt. Col. “Light Horse Harry” Lee’s role and reactions to Gen. Greene concerning the fight at Eutaw Springs. Dr. Lee F. McGee will discuss Lt. Col. William Washington and this Continental Dragoons at Eutaw Springs. All aspects of the battle, the troops engaged, strategy, and aftermath of the battle will be covered by Eutaw Springs scholars: author Dr. Christine Swager; historical novelist Charles F. Price; author Robert M. Dunkerly; author Dr. Jim Piecuch; and US Army military historian Steven J. Rauch. Gen. George Fields and Eutaw Springs battlefield project archaeologist Scott Butler will be on hand to discuss the modern battlefield research and preservation planning.

Saturday afternoon tour of the Eutaw Springs battlefield on the shores of Lake Marion will put you on the ground where Gen. Nathanael Greene pushed the British from the midlands of South Carolina to their tidewater enclave around Charleston. Guides will be David P. Reuwer (director of first battlefield survey project) and Charles B. Baxley, both renowned battle sites tour guides of the Tarleton, Camden

Campaign, Thomas Sumter, and Nathanael Greene symposia. Assisted by military historians Dr. Lee F. McGee, Steven J. Rauch and Dr. Jim Piecuch, with geologist Dr. Irene Boland and archaeologist Scott Butler, this on-the-ground tour of the huge Eutaws battlefield will point out the battle chronology, tactical deployments and topography. Wrongly thought by many to be submerged under Lake Marion, the major battle fought on this preservation challenge was undoubtedly General Greene’s greatest victory.

Afternoon program includes a commemorative ceremony to honor those who fought at Eutaw Springs at the memorial park conducted by the Battle of Eutaw Springs Chapter of the SAR and the Eutaw Springs and Col. William Thomson Chapters of the DAR at 5:25 pm. Attendees are also invited to a closing reception at Numertia Plantation Saturday evening complete with a “groaning board” of hors d’oeuvres.

To insure your seat and catering, please take advantage of the early registration. Registration fees include the morning scholarly presentations, snacks, included Saturday

luncheon, Eutaw Springs battlefield guided tour, and closing reception. Early Registration deadline: August 5, 2006. Early Registration fees: \$60.00 person or \$100.00 couple. Final Registration deadline: September 6, 2006. Final Registration fees: \$75.00 person or \$130.00 couple. Payment may be made by check made payable to the Church of the Epiphany and mailed to P.O. Box 9, Eutawville, S.C. 29048. All registrations are non-refundable after September 6, 2006.



For more information call Rev. John Scott at The Church of the Epiphany Post Office Box 9 Eutawville, SC 29048 (803) 492-7644 or see the symposium postings on www.southerncampaign.org/eutaw or <http://www.pietty.com/epiphany/index.htm>

www.southerncampaign.org/eutaw

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(Excerpt from a painting of Gen. Nathanael Greene by Werner Willis.)

Sacred Relics Unfurled for Auction: Revolutionary War Flags Fetch More Than \$17,000,000

by Scott A. Miskimon

Smashing all previous sales records for Revolutionary War flags, four captured American flags were sold last month at auction for a total of \$17,392,000. The owner of the flags, Captain Christopher Tarleton Fagan, sold them on June 14, 2006—Flag Day—at Sotheby's auction house in New York City. Captain Fagan is the great-great-great-nephew of Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, commander of the British Legion. The sale of the flags, along with their pre-auction displays, garnered worldwide media coverage and new attention to battles little known beyond students and scholars of the Revolution.



Captain and Mrs. Fagan greet Sheldon's Legion Reenactor with Colonel Sheldon's "Pound Ridge" flag in the background. Photo by Scott A. Miskimon.

Of greatest interest to readers of this publication are the three flags that Banastre Tarleton's dragoons captured at Buford's Defeat near the Waxhaw settlement in South Carolina. Until 2005 when the flags were placed for sale with Sotheby's, very few people outside of Tarleton's circle of friends, family and descendants had seen Buford's regimental colors since they were captured on May 29, 1780. No image of them had ever been circulated prior to the announcement that they were to be auctioned. An anonymous buyer bought the Waxhaw flags for \$5,056,000. This price includes a \$556,000 commission that the buyer paid to Sotheby's. The net price realized by Captain Fagan for the three Waxhaw flags was \$4,500,000. The same anonymous buyer bought the other flag captured by Tarleton.¹

The sale of the Waxhaw flags adds a new dimension to the battle known as Buford's Defeat, the general outline of which is well known to most students of the American Revolution. A detachment of infantry from Virginia commanded by Colonel Abraham Buford marched from Petersburg to Charleston to join

¹ Sotheby's charges a commission called a "buyer's premium" based on 20% on the first \$200,000 bid at auction, and 12% on the remainder of the bid. Therefore, with a hammer price of \$4.5 million, the buyer's premium for the Waxhaw flags amounted to \$556,000, and the total price was \$5,056,000. The hammer price for the Pound Ridge flag was \$11,000,000, the buyer's premium was \$1,336,000, and the total price was \$12,336,000. The same anonymous buyer bought all four flags, and the total price he paid was \$17,392,000. The total paid to Captain Fagan for the four flags came to \$15,500,000.

the garrison commanded by General Benjamin Lincoln. By the time Buford's regiment arrived at the Santee River in early May 1780, they learned that the British siege was successful in surrounding Charleston and cutting off further reinforcements for the American garrison trapped inside the city. Charleston soon surrendered and the British captured all of the Continental troops in South Carolina, except for Buford's regiment, which was then retreating toward Salisbury, North Carolina.

Lord Cornwallis then dispatched Tarleton and the British Legion to run to ground the last remaining Continentals in the province. Buford's regiment had a ten-day head start, but the British Legion gave a spirited chase and caught the Virginians near the Waxhaw settlement. Although Buford's 350-400 man detachment outnumbered the British Legion, Tarleton's combined cavalry and bayonet assault crushed the Americans. By Tarleton's count, his Legion killed 113, wounded 150 so severely they could not be moved, and 53 were taken prisoner and marched off to Camden jail. The remaining Americans, including Buford himself, escaped the carnage. The events of that steamy afternoon remain hotly debated. Was the lopsided outcome merely a rout caused by Buford's tactical miscalculations? Or was it a massacre in which the British Legion killed the Virginians as they tried to surrender and thereafter murdered the wounded?

In Tarleton's after-action report, he mentioned the captured flags by listing them as "Taken, 3 stand of colours . . ."² Tarleton's biographer, Robert D. Bass, also referred to the captured colors, writing in the 1950s that "[t]he flag of Colonel Buford's regiment is in Sir Banastre's effects in the possession of Mrs. Helen M. Fagan."³ Beyond those two references, there appear to be no other reports published prior to 2005 that mention the flags' existence or offer a description. The decision to sell the flags changed that, and now images of all three flags have been nationally televised and have appeared in newspapers around the world.

The colors of Buford's regiment consist of two "Grand Division" flags and a battle flag, all of which are made of French silk. The three Waxhaw flags are in remarkably good shape, considering the circumstances under which they were captured and the fact that



they remained in a private residence for the next two centuries. One Grand Division flag is sky-blue, the other yellow-gold, and in the center of each, on both sides of the flags, is a painted, scrolling white ribbon containing the word "Regiment." The blue divisional flag has an arc of stains across its center, which are possibly blood stains. One flag expert who has seen this flag says that the stain pattern resembles that found on Civil War flags, caused when an attacker cut open a major artery of the flag bearer.

Buford's battle flag is a large banner of gold silk approximately four feet square. A sky-blue canton containing thirteen silver, five-pointed stars adorns the upper left part of the flag. The star field is laid out in a complicated pattern that is not immediately recognizable. Upon close examination, one sees the flag maker created a circle of eight stars, and within the circle pattern placed

² Banastre Tarleton to Charles Cornwallis, May 30, 1780, Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America*, p. 83 (London, 1787).

³ Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson*, p. 458 (1957, Sandlapper Publishing reprint 1973).

three more stars. The remaining two stars are positioned outside the circle, lodged in the upper left and right corners of the canton.



Continental Col. Abraham Buford's Regimental gold colors with blue cantonment, thirteen stars, and beaver gnawing at a palmetto tree. Photo courtesy of Sotheby's.

The battle flag's most interesting feature is the hand-painted figure of a beaver gnawing at the base of a palmetto tree. Beneath this scene is the motto *PERSEVERANDO*, Latin for "by perseverance." Both the figure and motto were fairly common imagery during the Revolution, appearing on coins, paper money, and even tavern signs.⁴ The tree represents the great power that Britain wielded over her colonies. The beaver - "known to be able, by assiduous and steady working, to fell large trees" - symbolized America, which, by perseverance, would overcome the British.⁵ It is only coincidence that the tree being felled is a palmetto, the symbol of the state in which the flag was captured.

Sotheby's catalogue reports that the battle flag was created no later than 1778, and cites to an inventory known as the Gostelowe Return. Major Jonathan Gostelowe, a Commissary of Military Stores for the Continental Army, created this inventory in the summer of 1778. The inventory lists the "New Standards and

⁴ Beginning in 1775, the beaver/tree/perseverando image appeared on the Continental six-dollar bill. After Thomas Jefferson became governor of Virginia in 1779, he was able to have the state's seal changed to *perseverando* in lieu of *otium*, a word meaning both leisure and independence in classical Latin, and which in Virginia was imbued with an aristocrat's understanding of the liberty enjoyed by those of his class. A French traveler in America during the Revolution, the Marquis de Chastellux, described the beaver/tree/perseverando combination that he saw on a tavern sign in Trenton, New Jersey. David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom*, 67 and 147-148 (2005); Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, 2 Vols., Vol. 1, pp. 126 and 291-292 (Howard C. Rice, Jr., ed., 1962).

⁵ Benjamin Franklin, "Account of the Devices on the Continental Bills of Credit, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, September 20, 1775 (reprinted in *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin: London, 1757-1775*).

Divisionary Colors" available at his stores in Philadelphia. Among the inventory of thirteen flags is one that is identical in description to the battle flag flown at Buford's Defeat.⁶ David Redden is the Vice Chairman of Sotheby's, and he has researched the flags' provenance and storied past. Although Mr. Redden cannot prove this, he believes it is possible that Betsy Ross, who was a well-known flag maker in Philadelphia in 1778, and who favored the use of five-pointed stars, made Buford's battle flag. Buford's battle flag is the earliest surviving American flag with five-pointed stars.

The capture of the battle flag is well documented. At the start of the battle, Sergeant Henry Mitchell was in the center of Buford's line, holding the staff flying the regiment's battle flag. As the dragoons charged through the line, a Legionnaire cut Mitchell down and broke the staff. Despite his wounds, Mitchell would not release his grip on the top part of the staff that held the flag, even after he had been dragged fifteen yards by a cavalryman. Enraged dragoons surrounded Mitchell and were about to finish him off when Captain Kinloch of the Legion arrived, dismounted, and came to Mitchell's rescue. Kinloch was impressed by Mitchell's determined protection of his flag and told the dragoons that so gallant a soldier, even if an enemy, should not be killed.⁷ Thanks to Kinloch's intervention, Mitchell survived the battle and the war, but carried the scars of Buford's Defeat with him for the rest of his life. After the war, Mitchell moved to Georgia, where he became a prominent military and political figure. A number of years after his death, the State of Georgia named Mitchell County in his honor.

Fast-forward exactly 226 years after the Waxhaw flags were captured at Buford's Defeat. Although Mitchell and Buford never made it to Charleston, the regiment's three flags finally did. In the weeks leading up to the auction, Sotheby's and Captain Fagan graciously decided to bring Buford's flags to Charleston, where they were displayed over Memorial Day weekend at the Old Exchange Building. The stars aligned perfectly for maximizing the public's exposure to these flags. Not only is David Redden the Vice Chairman of Sotheby's, he is also the brother of Nigel Redden, the general director of Charleston's Spoleto Festival USA. The idea of bringing the flags to Charleston during the first weekend of Spoleto was enthusiastically embraced, and the exhibition at the Old Exchange Building allowed the flags to be displayed on May 29, 2006—the anniversary of Buford's Defeat.

The pre-auction displays not only gave Americans their first personal viewing of the flags, but also an opportunity to meet Captain Fagan. On Saturday, May 28, he and Mrs. Fagan visited Charleston's Old Exchange Building and braved the throng of Revolutionary War aficionados who gathered around them and the flags, taking photos and asking for autographs. In between his chats with the curious (and some potential bidders), I had an opportunity to talk with Captain Fagan about his famous ancestor and about his family's relationship with the flags.

In his English accent, Captain Fagan pronounces Tarleton's first name "Ben-a-ster," with the emphasis on the second syllable. He has an obvious affection for Tarleton, describing him as a "brilliant commander" but conceding that he was not without his faults. "He was quite a character. He liked gambling, I'm afraid." And then,

⁶ *Four Battleflags of the Revolution*, p. 15 (Sotheby's catalogue for the auction conducted on June 14, 2006).

⁷ Alexander Garden, *Anecdotes of the American Revolution, Illustrative of the Talents and Virtues of the Heroes and Patriots Who Acted the Most Conspicuous Parts Therein*, p. 139 (Charleston, 1828).

no doubt aware of Tarleton's reputation as a rake, Captain Fagan added with a chuckle, "and I think he liked other things as well."

As for the flags themselves, Captain Fagan told me that he had been christened in the house where the flags were displayed and that he had known them all his life. The flags meant a great deal to his family. "We were always very, very proud of them and whenever visitors came to the house we always showed them, and of course the portrait of Banastre Tarleton [by Sir Joshua Reynolds] was between two stands with colors in them. Everybody was always fascinated by them."

The flags and the portrait remained in the family's country house for years. Ultimately, the portrait of Tarleton was given to the National Gallery in London. The flags were kept at home, folded and displayed in glass-fronted cases that allowed in some air. In the 1980s, Captain Fagan had the banners preserved by the Textile Conservation Center, which he described as the best conservators in the world. They advised that the flags had to be unfolded, kept flat and stored in airtight frames. Captain Fagan took their advice, had the airtight frames constructed, and the conservators carefully and over the course of a long time took the flags out of their original glass cases, laid them flat, put them into humidifying tents, and ultimately encased them in the airtight frames in which they remain today. One must be very careful about touching them because the flags are made of centuries-old silk. As delicate as the flags are, though, Captain Fagan smiled and said, "I admit I did touch them."

During the four-day exhibition at Charleston's Old Exchange Building, the onlookers wondered what would happen to the flags once they were sold. Would they be bought by a museum for all to see? Or would they be purchased by a wealthy collector from overseas, and shipped out of America, never to be seen in public again? There was talk of South Carolina or Virginia bidding on the flags to ensure that would not happen. South Carolina legislator Catherine Ceips, a Republican from Beaufort, viewed the Waxhaw flags at the Old Exchange Building. In March 2006, she had co-sponsored a resolution in the South Carolina General Assembly that requested the State Budget and Control Board, from its reserve funds, to provide the State Museum with funding to acquire the Waxhaw flags, and to also seek private funding and donations for their acquisition. With estimated values for the three Waxhaw flags ranging from \$2.5 million to \$4.5 million, however, the price would ultimately prove too steep for the State of South Carolina to bid.

Representative Ceips was undeterred by the high estimated values, and during the course of the exhibition at the Old Exchange Building she spoke to David Redden with Sotheby's about taking the flags on the road to Columbia for an additional day of exhibition at the General Assembly. Sotheby's was agreeable in concept, but wanted to make sure the flags were properly protected during transportation. As soon as it was confirmed that afternoon that the South Carolina Highway Patrol would provide an escort for the flags, the deal was sealed. On Tuesday, May 30, 2006 the Waxhaw flags were transported to the State House in Columbia and displayed for members of the South Carolina General Assembly.

After their sojourn to Columbia, the flags were returned to New York and placed on display at Sotheby's. Also on display was the flag that Tarleton captured on July 2, 1779 at Pound Ridge, Westchester County, New York. Tarleton led the British Legion and the 17th Light Dragoons in a midnight assault against Colonel Elisha Sheldon's 2nd Connecticut Continental Dragoons. The Americans retreated and the charge turned into a rout. Tarleton claimed to have killed, wounded or captured more than two dozen

men. Tarleton's report to Sir Henry Clinton described his capture of the Pound Ridge flag as a great disgrace for the Americans.

The Pound Ridge flag has a particular resonance for modern Americans, given its thirteen red and white stripes, a clear forerunner of our national flag. Although other Revolutionary War flags were similarly designed, the Pound Ridge flag is the earliest surviving example of an American flag with thirteen red and white stripes. The Pound Ridge flag is distinctive for other reasons. It is fringed on three sides and in the flag's middle is a canton, at the center of which is a particularly striking design of a roiling, angry, black thundercloud, with wings on each side. Shooting from the thundercloud are gold and orange thunderbolts. Sotheby's pre-auction estimate of the Pound Ridge flag's value was between \$1,500,000 and \$3,500,000.

On the day of the auction, a crowd of about 150 packed the auction room on the fifth floor of Sotheby's offices and galleries on Manhattan's upper East Side. In addition to the bidders and Captain Fagan and his family, the auction was attended by flag experts, local and national journalists, history buffs, curious onlookers, and a group of re-enactors from Connecticut, in the full uniform of Sheldon's 2nd Connecticut Continental Dragoons. Some of the bidders appeared in person, but most of the action would take place at a long table filled with telephones manned by agents communicating offers from anonymous principals.

At 2 p.m., Sotheby's Vice-Chairman David Redden approached the lectern, stood before a hushed crowd, and opened the auction by accepting bids on the Pound Ridge flag. Mr. Redden set the starting price at \$800,000. A bidder immediately offered the floor price, and a bidding war soon erupted between two anonymous telephone bidders, one represented by a female agent and the other by a male agent. They furiously competed against each other, upping the ante far beyond the expected sales price for the Pound Ridge flag. At the front of the auction room, on two large screens behind the auctioneer, the bid amounts flashed, constantly creeping upwards, displayed in dollars, euros and yen.



Photo of auction floor at the sale of the four flags at Sotheby's in New York courtesy of Scott A. Miskimon.

The crowd was stunned when the bidding went past \$7,000,000, which was twice the maximum estimated value for the Pound Ridge flag. The bids continued to rise in increments of \$100,000, and after a few more minutes of bidding, the male agent offered \$10,900,000. The female agent immediately shot back with \$11,000,000, but her competitor held back. After a few tense moments of wondering whether the bidding would continue, the hammer fell and a proud treasure of America's past was sold for \$11,000,000.

David Redden then placed the second lot on the auction block, the three Waxhaw flags, which were being sold as a single unit. Prior to the auction, Sotheby's estimated the combined value of the three flags to be between \$2,500,000 and \$6,500,000 and I had assumed that the three Waxhaw flags would sell for far more than the single flag taken in New York. But after the enormous sum paid to purchase one flag, I began to wonder how much these bidders had in their budgets to purchase the three flags taken from Buford's regiment.

Mr. Redden started the bidding for the Waxhaw flags at \$1,500,000. As with the first lot, the telephone bidders soon eclipsed those in the room, and although the bids for these flags also galloped along in increments of \$100,000, the competition was not as intense. After just four minutes, the auction of the Waxhaw flags ended with a bid of \$4,500,000 from the same anonymous buyer of the Pound Ridge flag. With the \$1,892,000 in commission to be paid to Sotheby's, the anonymous buyer spent a total of \$17,392,000 for the four flags.

Shortly after the bidding was over, I spoke with David Redden, who told me "This is one exhausted auctioneer, emotionally. The auction was very short, so it didn't take a lot of physical energy, it just took a lot of emotional energy. It was very exciting." I also spoke with Captain Fagan about the outcome of the sale. The seventy-year old former British Army grenadier had sat in the crowd with his wife and son David (who had also served in the British Army), and watched nervously as the bidding war unfolded. Captain Fagan told me that he was rather surprised that the Pound Ridge flag fetched so much more than the Waxhaw flags. "I thought, if any thing, it would be the other way around."

David Redden gave me his insight into the dynamics of the auction. The buyer who purchased all four flags "was going to get them no matter what." What drove up the price for the Pound Ridge flag was the fact that there was another well heeled and determined "under bidder" competing for that flag. This gentleman also remains anonymous, but Mr. Redden told me that the under bidder was someone who "had fallen in love" with the Pound Ridge flag, who loved the story of how it was captured, and that the flag with its red and white stripes, said to him "America." Compared to the Waxhaw flags, Mr. Redden added, the Pound Ridge flag "is so instantly recognizable as American, and I think that makes a huge difference. You can see it across the room and say "Good Lord, that's American."

Mr. Redden agreed that the prices obtained for the flags were astounding, but cautioned that those prices could not be measured strictly against what had been paid for other flags. "I don't think of these as 'flags at auction,'" David Redden said. From his perspective as someone who has sold other important items of American history, "I think of these as extraordinary relics of the Eighteenth Century." Therefore, the question in Mr. Redden's mind as to their worth is not how the Waxhaw and Pound Ridge flags compare to other flags, but how do they compare in worth to "Declarations of Independence, or portraits of George Washington, or other sorts of sacred relics of the Eighteenth Century?"

Although Captain Fagan was pleased with the outcome of the auction, the sale was not without a feeling of some personal loss. "It's very sad," he told me. "It's a great wrench[ing feeling] for us to let them go from home, because I've known them all my life. We've had them for two and a quarter centuries, so you understand there would be a tremendous wrench." Although insuring and safeguarding the flags at his home had been a burden that would be lifted by their sale, there were other, less tangible reasons for selling them. "It became obvious that it was so important in terms of American history that I didn't think it was right to keep them at

home any longer and that there ought to be a chance for them to come back to America."

Where the flags will end up remains a mystery for the moment. Before the auction, David Redden told the *New York Times* "I'll eat my hat if they don't remain in the country." After the sale, he quipped, "I won't have to eat my hat."⁸ A month after the auction, I followed up and asked Mr. Redden who bought the flags. At present, the buyer remains anonymous and his plans for the flags are still undisclosed. Regardless of their ultimate destination, Mr. Redden was happy that the same buyer purchased all four flags captured by Tarleton. "I always thought of these as something that would be wonderful to keep together and, in fact, someone was prepared to pay well over \$17 million to keep them together."



Patriot Col. Elisha Sheldon's Pound Ridge, New York flag removed for shipment to its new home in the United States.

The most poignant moments of the auction came shortly after the bidding closed. Five members of Sheldon's 2nd Connecticut Continental Dragoons stood in a line before Buford's battle flag and the Pound Ridge flag (not for the last time, they hoped), came to attention, and smartly saluted the flags that had just been sold. Soon the television crews turned off their camera lights and packed their gear, and then workers from Sotheby's lifted the framed flags off the walls, stowed them on a cart, and wheeled them away for shipment to a very determined buyer. It was a privilege to see these flags in person, and hopefully their new owner will soon give the American people a permanent opportunity to view the flags so that we can understand and appreciate both their intrinsic beauty and the sacrifices made by the men who marched under these colors.



Scott A. Miskimon is an attorney practicing in Raleigh, North Carolina and a partner in the firm of Smith Anderson. He is the co-author of the legal treatise *North Carolina Contract Law* and is currently researching and writing a book about the Battle of the Waxhaws. Scott earned his JD in 1992 from

UNC-Chapel Hill and served on the Board of Editors of the *North Carolina Law Review*. Scott received his Bachelor of Journalism degree in 1982 from the University of Missouri-Columbia School of Journalism and worked as a television photojournalist for seven years prior to law school. ★

⁸ *New York Times*, June 15, 2006. © 2006 Scott A. Miskimon

Editor / Publisher's Notes

"I have left nothing unattempted to give protection and afford security to the Southern States and if our success has not been as great as could be wished I hope it is to be attributed to the want of means and not of zeal in the Army." Gen. Nathanael Greene, November 11, 1781. This could be SCAR's mission statement, attempting anything and affording discoveries for everyone. Research...and preservation. Where do you fit in?

Nothing appears unattempted here for the Revolutionary War in South Carolina. We have new trails, commissions, monuments, archaeology, field preservation, groundbreaking scholarship, private - public partnerships, kids education, and exciting exploration all well underway! This is in addition to "normal" levels of 225th anniversary reenactments, symposia and commemorations. SCAR issues a new call of all true revolutionaries to action!

SCAR Corps of Discovery

This fall and winter the **Corps of Discovery** will take advantage of the upcoming premier Southern battlefielding season with field trips:

- After the fall Southern Campaigns Roundtable meeting in Savannah, Georgia, the Corps of Discovery will tour the sites of the December 29, 1778 Battle for Savannah; the newly recreated Spring Hill redoubt, site of the allied French and Patriots' fall 1779 Siege of Savannah; Ebenezer archaeological site; and retrace British Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell's winter 1779 Augusta campaign from his Savannah base on October 8, 2006.
- Our insiders' tour of the Kings Mountain National Military Park led by author and park ranger Robert M. "Bert" Dunkerly is scheduled for November 19, 2006.
- Northwestern SC to site of Col. Andrew Pickens' Ring Fight and his Tamassee Mountain home site; extant 1791 Oconee Station; Historic Pendleton; visit Gen. Andrew Pickens' and Col. Robert Anderson's graves at the Old Stone Church; tour Gen. Pickens' Hopewell House and the site of the Hopewell Treaty Oak; the sites of Fort Rutledge; and Cherokee Wars battles; all hosted by Barbara Abernathy. This trip is tentatively scheduled for December 3, 2006.

We are still planning Corps of Discovery trips to:

- St. Matthews, SC to visit the Calhoun County Museum; sites of SC Patriot militia Gen. Francis Marion and Continental Legion Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Henry Lee's successful capture of Fort Motte; SC 3d Continental rangers regiment commander, Col. William "Danger" Thomson's home, Belleville, fortified and occupied by the British and unsuccessfully attacked by SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter; and the final resting place of SC Navy Commodore Alexander Gillon at Gillon's Retreat.
- Central North Carolina for more sites with military historian and living history reenactor Patrick J. O'Kelley.
- The Cherokee War sites and the Overmountain Trail in the western North Carolina and Tennessee.
- Tour the Tarleton raid sites in Virginia.

Charles B. Baxley..... [Editor-Publisher](#)
David P. Reuwer..... [grammarian & plenipotentiary](#)
Steven J. Rauch..... [calendar](#)
Jim Piecuch..... [book reviews](#)
Werner Willis..... [artist](#)
Lanny W. Morgan..... [photographer](#)
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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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Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution's letter and email publication policy: the author must sign all letters and emails and include a telephone number and return address for verification. We reserve the right to select those letters and emails that contribute to the cause, and to edit them for clarity and length. Letters and emails published may not reflect the opinion of your editor. Please submit all proposed articles as a MS Word document.

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

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

Corps of Discovery field trips are organized upon invitation of a host and guide. SCAR will publish a meeting date, time, and

Revolutionary War related sites to be visited. We invite all interested to car pool, join the hike and enjoy informal on-the-ground, interpretive presentations of research. Plan to join us as it sounds like fun! SCAR will keep you posted on the details in the Calendar of Upcoming Events.



Augusta Corps of Discovery corpsmen Charles B. Baxley and David P. Reuwer with guide Steven J. Rauch gauge the distance from the Mayhem tower to the site of Fort Cornwallis. SCAR photo by Lanny W. Morgan.

Tell us about your research and trips to discover our Revolutionary War heritage. Share in SCAR. ★

Event Planning

SCAR is sponsoring 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 former Chief Editor of the Papers of Gen. Nathanael Greene, 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 about Greene's use of cavalry at Eutaw Springs and his analysis of the actions at Hobkirk Hill in April 2006 SCAR are also insightful. Military historians Steven J. Rauch, Robert M. "Bert" Dunkerly, Dr. Christine Swager, Dr. Jim Picuch, geologist Dr. Irene Boland and battlefield archaeologist Scott Butler will cover this important Southern Campaign Patriot victory and battlefield in-depth. Mark this date on your calendar for great presentations, a detailed battlefield tour (no you will not need scuba gear) with SCAR editors David P. Reuwer and Charles B. Baxley; and commemorative ceremony, lively debates, fellowship, and grand reception at historic Numertia Plantation. See www.southerncampaign.org/eutaw.

On **October 7-8, 2006** plan to travel to Savannah, Georgia for a public meeting of the **Southern Campaigns Roundtable**. The roundtable meeting on Saturday will be held in the Coastal Georgia Center for Continuing Education, located at 305 Fahm Street (Room 111), Savannah, Georgia. We will be guests of the Coastal Heritage Society's Savannah History Museum. On Sunday we are planning a **Corps of Discovery** tour of the important Savannah area Revolutionary War battlefields and other sites. Plan your weekend trip early as Savannah's historic district hotels book up very early. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org> ★

On-line Historic Library Resource

John Robertson has an exciting on-line library project he has been refining for several years to the point it has become encyclopedic.

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. The site also includes a comprehensive index to SCAR articles. SCAR suggests that you take a tour of this research resource. ★

Placefinders

John Robertson and others have started an on-line catalogue and data exchange of Revolutionary War sites – this exchange is called **placefinders**. If you are interested in actually locating 18th century battlefields, ferrys, roads, taverns, communities, military camps and skirmish sites, and sharing that data for more details, please contact [John Robertson](#). ★

Searchable Pension File Library Now On-Line

As part of our mission of sharing information about the Revolution, SCAR has added a link on our website for the posting of transcriptions of pension applications filed by Revolutionary War veterans, their widows and descendants. Everyone is invited to submit their transcriptions of pension applications for posting on the website. [Will Graves](#) is the librarian. No attempt will be made to edit the submissions. Consequently, please review and edit your submissions as thoroughly as possible: they will only be as useful as they are accurate.

To assure that the transcriptions are as useful as possible, the following guidelines for submissions are suggested:

1. Correct the spelling of proper names of people and places to reflect the modern spelling. This should be done by inserting the modern spelling in parentheses after the name as spelled in the original. For example: "...Col. Thomas Brannon (sic, Brandon) commanded the regiment." It is important, however, to preserve the original spelling in order not to compromise the authenticity of the transcription of the original and as a safeguard against misinterpretation by the transcriber.
2. Indicate whether punctuation, grammar and/or spelling have been modified from the pension application originally filed with the War Department.
3. Begin each submission as follows:
"Pension Application of [insert the name of the soldier using first name, middle name or initial, if any, and last name]: [insert the applicable National Pension Claim number]: transcribed [and annotated, if applicable] by [insert the name of the transcriber]."
4. In the event of submission of more than one transcription of an application, the submission judged to be the most complete and accurate will be posted and substitution of more accurate or complete transcriptions of already posted applications will be made when deemed appropriate.
5. Each transcription should be in Microsoft Word, OpenOffice or Adobe PDF format and submitted to Will Graves by email at revwarapps@bellsouth.net. All submissions will be converted to Adobe PDF format prior to posting.

All pension application transcriptions are welcomed regardless of whether or not the pensioner claimed service in the Southern Campaigns. Annotated transcriptions are particularly welcomed.

Help make these valuable sources of eyewitness accounts more freely available on the Web - Submit your transcriptions today!



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](#).



Research Wanted

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, 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. 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 unspared.



Huzzah!

SCAR's hat's off this edition goes to **Tom Sutherland** and the planners of the 225th celebrations of the liberation of Augusta; 226th anniversary of the Patriots' victory at Ramsour's Mill in Lincolnton, NC and **Darrell Harkey's** well deserved recognition by the NSSAR; **Glinda Coleman** and her Great Falls/Beckhamville programs; **Steve Pittard** of the NCSSAR and volunteers who organized Gen. William R. Davie's 250th birthday celebrations; Director **Leo Redmond** and his team at Granby/Cayce; and the York County (SC) Council, and its administration, and the leadership of the York County Cultural and Heritage Commission for their vision and commitment to the new Southern Revolutionary War Institute (SRWI).

SCAR gives special recognition to **Ken Scarlett** and the generous donors who financed the subscriptions of the new statue of Gen. Nathanael Greene in Greenville, SC.



New Statue of General Francis Marion Unveiled

The new Berkeley County office building in Moncks Corner, SC is the site of the new, larger-than-life statue of South Carolina's larger-than-life Revolutionary War hero, Gen. Francis Marion. Architect Dennis Ashley of Moncks Corner, SC donated this new work by sculptor Garland A. Weeks of Texas. Unveiled on May 7, 2006 it stands 11' 2" tall on its pedestal in the new Berkeley County office-building lobby. [1003 Highway 52 in Moncks Corner, SC.] This is the second statue to Gen. Marion; the first is found in Marion County, SC. [John McCabe and *The Post and Courier*.]

Sculptor Weeks' credentials are regional and national – he is a Fellow, National Sculpture Society and Kenan Master Sculptor in Residence at Brookgreen Gardens, Murrells Inlet, SC.



Berkeley County Council unveiled this Garland A. Weeks statue of General Francis Marion, "The Swamp Fox", inside the entrance of the county's office complex, on May 7, 2006.

From The Berkeley Herald



Close-up of the statue's base; note the legendary sweet potatoes.

From The Berkeley Herald

The afternoon dedication ceremony included a presentation of the colors by the 4th South Carolina Regiment and a reception afterwards. A likeness of General Marion from life is reportedly not known. Marion's opposition of British occupation in the South is an integral part of our understanding of the Revolution.



Fairfield Museum to Republish Logan's *History of Upper Country of South Carolina*

Long out of print, John H. Logan's *A History of the Upper Country of South Carolina from the Earliest Periods to the Close of the War of Independence* (1859) will be reprinted by the Fairfield Museum in Winnsboro, SC. The original work was designed to be published in two volumes; however, the second volume was never published. It is believed that Historian Lyman Draper took the manuscript for the second volume from Mr. Logan's widow, which is largely about the Revolution; however, project coordinator Val Green reports, "we have not been able to locate the original manuscript. We do not think it still exists. We used Draper's notes that

contained the material Dr. Logan collected, as our source. They are however, very bad in that there are many, many mistakes, particularly in spelling. We are dealing with that problem right now, and will have some kind of solution shortly. It may not be the best one for scholarship purposes, but will correct the misspellings.”

Last reprinted in 1980, the book is in demand by scholars of the backcountry Southern Campaigns. This new publication will for the first time combine both volumes. Prepublication copies of the book, scheduled to be published fall of 2006, may be ordered for \$25.00 (sales taxes, s & h included) from The Fairfield County Museum, P.O. Box 6, Winnsboro, S.C. 29180. ★

Update on the Washington, DC Gen. Francis Marion Park Project

The US House of Representatives approved H.R. 5057, the “Brigadier General Francis Marion Memorial Act” on July 24, 2006. The bill passed by a voice vote. Congressman Joe Wilson (R – SC) made the following statement:

“Brigadier General Francis Marion represented the state of South Carolina and our fledgling nation well with his brave service in the Revolutionary War. As a South Carolinian, I am proud his legacy has been honored with a memorial park in Washington, D.C. Yet, I feel strongly that a statue of the ‘Swamp Fox’ should be erected on its premises. Passage of this bill is a crucial first step in making this dream a reality.

“I would specifically like to thank Ken Driggers and Nancy Stone-Collum of the Palmetto Conservation Foundation, which serves as a conduit for the fundraising part of this process. Additionally, I would like to thank the South Carolina Humanities Council for supporting John McCabe, the man who originally had the vision to honor the ‘Swamp Fox.’ John created the Francis Marion Park Project to assist in the fundraising and planning efforts, and I cannot be more pleased with the progress that has taken place. Also, the National Park Service deserves recognition for their guidance through this important process.

“The entire South Carolina delegation, as well as Chairman Richard Pombo, have lent their support to this project. As such, I am confident our efforts will be successful.”

The “Brigadier General Francis Marion Memorial Act” authorizes the Marion Park Project a 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.

The National Parks Subcommittee of the House of Representatives Resources Committee had received John McCabe’s testimony supporting the Gen. Francis Marion project. John’s testimony lasted 5 minutes. Congressman Henry Brown (Charleston and the Northern Coast of SC) attended the meeting and John’s old Congressman from Tennessee, John J. Duncan, was also there for support. The National Parks Subcommittee approved the request, and has sent it back to the Resources Committee that likewise approved the *Brigadier General Francis Marion Memorial Act*. South Carolina’s Senators Graham and DeMint have introduced the Senate version of the bill.

Site Selection: After Congress passes H.R. 5057, the National Park Service and National Capitol Memorial Advisory Committee will conduct a study to determine the best location for the statue. After their study is complete, they will announce a primary and secondary site. Congressman Wilson is working to ensure that

Marion Park (located at the intersection of E Street and South Carolina Avenue) is the primary site. The National Park Service will submit a final report to the National Capitol Planning Commission and the State Historic Preservation Office for approval.

Monument Design: The Marion Park Project will select a designer for the statue and choose a design concept. The National Park Service will approve the design and submit it to the National Capitol Planning Commission and Commission of Fine Arts to make necessary modifications and approve the final design.

Fundraising: No federal money may be used for this project. After the Marion Park Project completes its fundraising efforts, it will submit the approved drawings and specifications with cost estimates for project creation and construction and evidence of funds existing to the National Park Service. The Secretary of Interior will grant the final approval of the statue.

Installation: The National Park Service will issue a construction permit on behalf of the Secretary of the Interior. The Marion Park Project will begin construction and maintenance of the Memorial. After the Memorial is dedicated, it will be transferred to the National Park Service for management with maintenance and preservation plans. ★

The US House also Passes the SC Revolutionary War Heritage Corridor Study Act

The U.S. House of Representatives passed legislation authored by U.S. Rep. John Spratt (D-SC) to identify and preserve historic Revolutionary War sites in South Carolina on July 24, 2006.

Spratt’s bill, H.R. 1289, the Southern Campaign of the Revolution Heritage Act, was included in the National Heritage Areas Act, S.203, which passed the Senate last year and the House yesterday. The bill bounces back to the Senate for swift approval of a technical change before going to the White House for the President’s signature.

Spratt’s bill directs the Interior Department to conduct a study, in consultation with state historic societies, to determine the feasibility of designating various sites across South Carolina as the “Southern Campaign of the Revolution Heritage Area.”

In a House floor statement, Spratt said his bill is focused on “the most important part of the campaign for the Revolution, the Revolution in the South, where the Revolution was largely won after the fall of Charleston in the back country. The whole matter has been popularized by Mel Gibson and others in a movie called ‘The Patriot.’ We need this national corridor to tell the story right.”

Spratt said South Carolina has an abundance of American Revolutionary War sites scattered across the state, including a mix of national parks, state parks, and public and private sites. Several of these sites require federal resources to reach their development potential, while some are in danger of being developed commercially and lost entirely. Although other sites exist, there is not a single heritage area in place to demarcate the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War or to promote and protect the resources as a whole.

The Interior Department study will:

- determine if the sites have historic and cultural resources that represent aspects of American heritage worthy of

recognition and conservation, and identify the most effective management of each site;

- consider whether the sites offer opportunities to conserve historic and cultural features, and if they provide recreational and educational opportunities;
- determine if any residents, businesses, or state and local governments already have plans for their respective areas, and if any have developed a financial plan that outlines the roles of each of the participants; and
- authorize the study to include sites in North Carolina as necessary.

"This study encompasses battles like Kings Mountain, Cowpens, and Camden, and heroes like Thomas Sumter, Francis Marion, Daniel Morgan, and Nathaniel Greene. After the fall of Charleston in May 1780, when the South seemed lost, they turned the tide of battle in the backcountry and sent a battered Cornwallis to Virginia, where he was beaten at Yorktown. This is a story that needs to be told well, and a heritage corridor will help us do that. I am pleased to see this bill finally pass and pave the way for establishment of a Revolutionary corridor," said Spratt. ★

Ramsour's Mill - 226th Anniversary Programs

Lincolnton, NC again hosted its annual parade, commemorative ceremonies and speeches to remember the June 20, 1780 Battle of Ramsour's Mill. Held on the actual battlefield, folks gathered to see where forces of the NC Patriot militia under Col. Francis Locke routed NC Loyalist militia untimely massed by Col. John Moore despite Lord Cornwallis' directions. Crowds gathered in spite of sultry heat to hear Mike Scoggins describe the Patriots' victory on top of the battleground hill in modern Lincolnton, NC and to hear actor Howard Burnham explain this action as Lord Charles Cornwallis.



Historian and Author Mike Scoggins speaks about various elements involved in the Revolutionary War in the South, emphasizing the high level of combat competence of the local Patriot militia who defeated a numerically superior force of Loyalists at Ramsour's Mill 226th Anniversary celebrations. Photo by Bob Bowen.



Georgia Society SAR President George Thurmond (left) presented an SAR Meritorious Service Medal to Darrell Harkey (center) in recognition of his work in coordinating the annual Battle of Ramsour's Mill commemorative program. John Echerd (right) was instrumental in getting the SAR to recognize the program. Photo by Bob Bowen. ★

Georgia Patriots Day Celebration - April 2006

George Thurmond, President, Georgia Society Sons of the American Revolution stated, "The surprising victory of the little known Frederica Naval Action at St. Simons Island on April 19, 1778 – three years after the famous "shot heard 'round the world" at Lexington, Massachusetts, was largely unknown until resurrected by the Marshes of Glynn SAR Chapter last year. This was an incredible victory by an army colonel capturing three British ships without loss of life for the Patriots!" Georgia would remain under Patriot rule for the remainder of 1778.

The Georgia Society and Marshes of Glynn Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution sponsored the celebration of the 228th Anniversary of the Frederica naval action attended by 225 people on April 19, 2006 on St. Simons Island, Georgia. The SAR Color Guard led the assembled group to the King's Magazine on the bank of the Frederica River where the memorial ceremony was conducted under the shade of a Spanish moss draped live oak. Musical selections by bagpiper John Mortison and the US Navy Brass Quintet, musket salutes, and colorful wreaths were presented to honor Colonel Samuel Elbert and the Georgia sailors and soldiers who captured three British ships on the Frederica River. "The Frederica Naval Action was important because it delayed the eventual British occupation of Georgia for seven months, giving time for Patriot support to emerge," remarked Bob Galer, Chairman, Georgia Society SAR Historic Sites & Celebration Committee.

Historians Lewis M. Davis and Gordon B. Smith spoke on the bold Patriot actions on the Frederica River.

Bill Ramsaur, President of the Marshes of Glynn Chapter was pleased with the sizeable turnout and success of the Patriots Day Celebration. "Massachusetts and Maine are the only states to have an official Patriots Day state holiday to commemorate the first Revolutionary War Battles at Lexington and Concord on April 19, 1775. Since this victory of the Georgia Navy occurred on April 19th three years later, we feel that Georgia has a good reason to join Massachusetts and Maine in observing Patriots Day.

For more information and pictures, see the Marshes of Glynn website at <http://www.marshesofglynnnsar.org>. ★

Battle of Beckhamville Programs a Success

by Glinda Coleman

The crowds once again gathered at the Old Fields but this time it was to watch a re-creation of history rather than participate in history itself.



Emerging from the woods to disperse lower Catawba River Valley citizens gathered to take loyalty oaths, Patriot militia reenacts the attack on the British and Loyalists on the actual site of Alexander's Old Field. Photo by Glinda Coleman.

The fifth annual Battle of Beckhamville event was held on June 3 & 4 at the original battle site near Great Falls, S.C. Also known as the Battle of Alexander's Old Fields, the battle took place on June 6, 1780, the first Patriot victory after the fall of Charleston in May of 1780. Sponsored by the Great Falls Home Town Association, the event drew hundreds of people over the two days. About 60 re-enactors participated in the event, coming from all over South and North Carolina. Visitors came from as far away as Michigan, Illinois, Florida and other points along the eastern seaboard.

The event was marked by two battle re-enactments – the Battle of Alexander's Old Fields (Beckhamville) and the Battle of Rocky Mount. Rocky Mount took place less than 3 miles from the Old Fields Battle site.

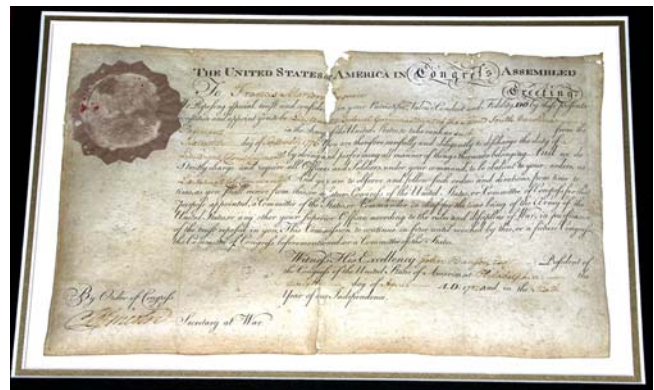


On Sunday morning, a period Covenanter Church service was held at the site as well as a number of vignettes of historical events in the area. Photo by Glinda Coleman.

There were many demonstrations of colonial crafts, from cooking and sewing to woodcraft and blacksmithing. There was colonial

music on hammered dulcimer and mandolin as well as music from the Loch Norman Pipe Band. Historical events were recreated including the hanging of William Stroud and the flogging of Joseph Wade. Stroud and Wade participated in the Battle at Alexander's Old Field. There was also a mock duel, a tomahawk and knife throwing competition and music in the period tavern throughout the day. ★

Francis Marion's Continental Army Commission



Francis Marion University of Florence, SC has obtained the congressional military commission of Revolutionary War hero and university namesake SC Patriot militia General Francis Marion. The document commissioned Francis Marion as lieutenant colonel in the Second South Carolina Regiment of the U.S. Army, effective September 16, 1776. The document was purchased from Charleston attorney C. Allen Gibson Jr., a descendant of Francis Marion's sister, Rebecca Marion. Gibson and two of his aunts owned the document. The commission, which has been appraised at \$11,500, was passed down through the family for generations. The commission was purchased below market value, with the remaining value given as a gift by the family to the university. The document measures 30.5 by 18.5 cm, and its condition is "very good," according to the appraisal. The text is:

"The United States of America in Congress Assembled To *Francis Marion Esquire* Greeting. We Reposing especial trust and confide[nce] in your Patriotism, Valour, Conduct and Fidelity, Do by these presents constitute and appoint you, to be *Lieutenant Colonel Commandant of the Second South Carolina Regiment* in the Army of the United States, to take rank as *such* from the *Sixteenth* day of *September* 1776....

Witness His Excellency *John Hanson Esq* President of the Congress of the United States of America, at *Philadelphia* the *twelfth* day of *April* A.D. 1782 and in the *Sixth* Year of our Independence.

By Order of Congress
B. Lincoln Secretary at War"

The document was evaluated at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History. The commission has been re-framed and will be displayed in Francis Marion University's James A. Rogers Library. "With so few artifacts relating to General Marion in existence, we are thrilled to have obtained this rare historical document," said FMU president Fred Carter. "The university is pleased to be able to share this important piece of Pee Dee history with the community." [John Maass and FMU website.] ★

225th Anniversary of the Liberation of Augusta

by Tom Sutherland

The Augusta Richmond County Historical Society commemorated the 225th anniversary of the Battle of Augusta on Friday and Saturday, June 2 and 3, 2006. Three major events, a seminar, dinner and a battle re-enactment, were held to commemorate the siege of Fort Cornwallis, which took place 22 May through 5 June 1781, during the American Revolution. In May 1781, Patriot forces under General Andrew Pickens, Colonel Elijah Clark and Lieutenant Colonel "Light Horse Harry" Lee, undertook the siege of two British forts at Augusta and recaptured the town from its occupiers on June 5, 1781. Augusta became the capital of Georgia for much of the next fifteen years.

On June 2, 2006, a symposium entitled "**Fighting for Augusta**," relating the events of the American Revolution in Augusta and environs, was held at the Augusta Museum of History. Prominent local historians Dr. Edward J. Cashin, Dr. Russell K. Brown and Steven J. Rauch spoke on topics included a general overview of the Battle for Fort Cornwallis, Tory leader Thomas Brown, and Patriots Elijah Clarke and Andrew Pickens. Posters of the 225th anniversary featuring Dick Wescott's painting of the siege and copies of the Society's books were sold. *The King's Ranger* by Edward Cashin was featured as the book most pertinent to the event. Acclaimed author Christine Swager acted as mistress of ceremonies for the gathering.

On Friday evening a colonial dinner was held at Saint Paul's Parish Hall. Interpreters in colonial dress participated in the meal. This event drew 100 dinners and required 50 colonial interpreters and servers. The Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps made a brief appearance, marching into the dining room, forming up and playing several songs before exiting.

The Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps is part of the 3d Infantry Regiment that supplies the guards for the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington. The musicians of this unit recall the days of the American Revolution as they parade in uniforms patterned after those worn by the musicians of General George Washington's Continental Army. Military musicians of the period wore the reverse colors of the regiments to which they were assigned. The uniforms worn by the members of the Corps are dated circa 1781, and consist of black tricorne hats, white wigs, waistcoats, colonial coveralls, and red regimental coats.



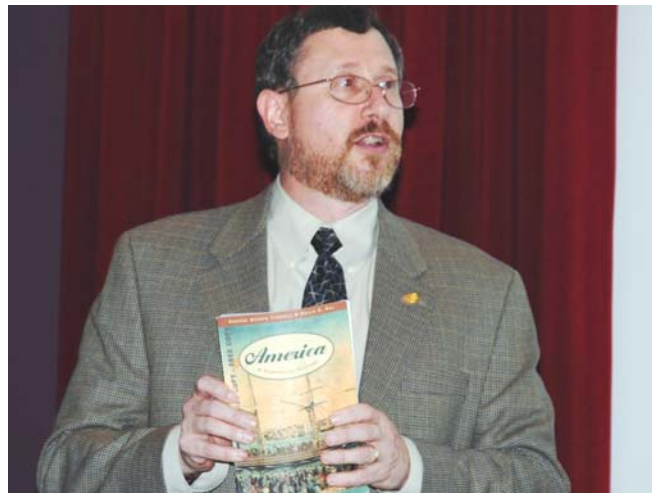
U. S. Army Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps perform at an early American dinner at St. Paul's Church Parish Hall. This historic group also performed a musical tribute to the new United States at the 225th anniversary memorial services and at the Living History Park in North Augusta, SC. SCAR photo by Lanny W. Morgan.



Prof. Edward J. Cashin, dean of Georgia historians and author of the popular book on Augusta Loyalist leader Thomas Brown, *The Kings Ranger*, presented the details of the 2d siege of Augusta at Fort Cornwallis. SCAR photo by Lanny Morgan.



Dr. Russell K. Brown details the biographies of the principal protagonists in the struggle for control of Augusta. SCAR photo by Lanny W. Morgan.



Military historian Steven J. Rauch presented the background on the Patriots' second attempt to recapture Augusta beginning with the fall of Charles Town in May 1780. SCAR photo by Lanny W. Morgan.

The Old Guard Fife and Drum Corps performed on June 2d mid-day at Fort Gordon, in the evening at the Augusta Common and at the colonial dinner. Saturday they performed at the Living History Park in North Augusta for the "Under the Crown," weekend and then at the pension property for the re-enactment. Later Saturday evening they played at the Augusta Green Jackets baseball game.



Period Musician Ken Bloom of North Carolina performs on many period instruments that he also builds. SCAR photo by Lanny W. Morgan.

On June 3, 2006 the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) held a wreath laying ceremony behind Saint Paul's Church, the actual site of the siege, at the Celtic cross, and received a proclamation from the City of Augusta recognizing the 100th anniversary of the granting of a national charter to the SAR by President Theodore Roosevelt. The granite cross was placed there in 1901 by the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames to mark the site of Forts Augusta and Cornwallis. SAR chapters from across Georgia and South Carolina and local DAR chapters participated.

The Old Guard Fife & Drum Corps performed on the field of the pension property. Then a battle reenactment took place on the City's pension property behind the old railroad depot on Reynolds Street, directly across from the Augusta Museum of History and immediately adjacent to historic Saint Paul's Episcopal Church. Geographically, this was almost on the actual site of Fort Cornwallis. A Maham tower and Fort Cornwallis were built for the re-enactment.

Re-enactors from 11 states involved in the battle also were participating in the living history weekend styled "Under the Crown" (<http://www.colonialtimes.us>) in North Augusta, South Carolina. The Living History Park was open for visitors Saturday and Sunday. This joint effort of historians and re-enactors from two states should help stimulate interest, publicity and attendance at these commemorative events. Following the re-enactment, members of the audience were invited to visit the participating re-enactors for their interpretation of colonial and revolutionary life and to see the various items of clothing, equipment and weapons used.

On June 4th there was an 18th century Anglican Church service at Willow Creek Meeting House, Living History Park, North Augusta, South Carolina.

We estimate between 5,000 and 6,000 people saw the various events of the 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Augusta. This commemorative event had the official sanction of the City of Augusta and was sponsored by the Augusta Richmond County Historical Society and the Center for the Study of Georgia History, Augusta State University. Additional historical organizations

associated with the planning and conducting of this event include the Augusta Museum of History, Historic Augusta, Saint Paul's Episcopal Church, Colonial Times (of North Augusta, SC) and the US Army Signal Center Command Historian's Office. This effort was supported, in part, by grants from the Georgia and South Carolina Humanities Councils. Special recognition must be given to Lynn Thompson of the Living History Park, North Augusta for recruiting the re-enactors and coordinating their efforts. Eugene Hough of Heritage Guild Works also deserves special recognition for his efforts in building the Maham tower, and providing the display of Revolutionary maps, posters and equipment for the seminar.



Grant Hardin portrays British Indian Agent, Col. John Stuart. SCAR photo by Lanny W. Morgan.

John Stuart was a middle-aged Scotsman residing in SC, who served as the Crown's agent to the Southern Indian tribes. His duties included controlling the Indian trade, land policies, tributes, negotiating mutual rituals and respect and war time alliances. Stuart understood the necessity of gunpowder to these people without which they would starve or take to the warpath. His three-story house is extant at 106 Tradd Street in Charleston, SC. DPR



Dana Cheney Dance Master. SCAR photo by Lanny W. Morgan.



David Brown portrays backcountry settler Cornelius Doghearty. SCAR photo by Lanny W. Morgan.



Barry Myers, blacksmith demonstrates 18th Century iron working at the Living History Park, North Augusta, SC. Photo courtesy Lynn Thompson.



Eugene Hough. SCAR photo by Lanny W. Morgan. ★

225th Anniversary of the Siege of Fort Granby

In spite of the typical summer weather, many came out to enjoy the chicken bog, corn and watermelons at the Cayce Historic Museum.



Period musicians Sid Jackson and Dan Culpepper played fife and drum tunes and demonstrated the military uses of drummers for communications at Granby. SCAR photo by CBB.

Dramatic interpretation of Gen. George Washington by James Manship, Sr. and Lord Charles Cornwallis by Howard Burnham held all in attendance spell-bound. David P. Reuwer and Charles B. Baxley discussed the Southern Campaigns, the two attacks on Fort Granby and a call for personal action in education and preservation of our wonderful Revolutionary War heritage. ★

SC Museum Changes Its Name



The South Carolina Confederate Relic Room and Museum is pleased to announce that as of July 1, 2006, its title will change to the South Carolina Confederate Relic Room and Military Museum. The addition

of "military" to the title better reflects the museum's overall mission to preserve South Carolina's military history from the colonial period to the present. Founded in 1896 by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, the South Carolina Confederate Relic Room and Military Museum is the oldest museum in the Columbia area and is accredited by the American Association of Museums. ★

Digging for Information – Southern Campaigns Archaeology Projects

SCAR needs sources to report on Revolutionary War archaeology projects in other Southern Campaigns states; more militia is needed for intelligence. New and follow-on archaeology projects at several interesting South Carolina Revolutionary War sites are underway.

The 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 and the State of South Carolina – Parks, Recreation and Tourism at SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter's November 20, 1780 **Blackstock's Plantation** victory over British Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton on the Tyger River. The initial survey recovered a wide scatter of 18th century military artifacts and 18th century nails from the plantation's buildings described in the battle accounts.

Smith and Legg's archaeological survey of Continental Lt. Col. John Laurens' May 4, 1779 **Coosawhatchie** battlefield and SC Patriot militia Col. William Harden's capture of **Fort Balfour** from its Loyalists garrison at Pocatigo, SC on April 13, 1781 is available on-line at

<http://www.lowcountryrevtrail.org/downloads/BalfourandCoosawhatchieRep.pdf>.

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. Their research thus far confirms the presence of Revolutionary War period military artifacts north and east of the Brattonsville visitors' center, but many finds have been artifacts from modern reenactments. If you have any relics from or knowledge about the Huck's Defeat site, please contact either York County historian [Mike Scoggins](#) or archaeologist [Steve Smith](#).

Smith and Legg will also conduct some fieldwork to delineate the Musgrove Mill battlefield. The State of South Carolina owns property on the east side of the Enoree River thought by many to be the actual battlefield. The state historic site clearly owns the old Edward Musgrove home, mill and ford sites, and purchased an elaborate battlefield model showing the battlefield just to the east, across the Enoree River. The location of the actual Musgrove Mill battlefield is subject to some debate until the archaeology can confirm the site. SCAR is excited to add archeological evidence to aid in the preservation and accurate interpretation of this important Patriot victory during the lowest ebb of the Southern Campaigns. Preliminary results have failed to find the level of 18th century military artifacts on the state's battlefield property; this is a preliminary indication that the location of the battle is not as believed. The archaeologists plan to return to expand their search areas. If you have any relics from or knowledge about the Musgrove Mill battlefield site, please contact either historic site manager Frank Stovall or archaeologist [Steve Smith](#).

Smith and Legg are back in the field working on their third "dig" at the Battle of Camden site with some highly skilled volunteers doing an extensive metal detection survey in specific areas, some ground penetrating radar studies, and again interviewing collectors to catalog old finds on the master GIS system of collections gleaned over the years. The initial analysis of ground penetrating radar (GPR) returns indicates that the battlefield's sandy soils are not particularly conductive to GPR studies. A project goal of locating the mass graves on the battlefield has eluded the researchers. If you have Battle of Camden artifacts in your collection, please contact archaeologist [Steve Smith](#) or [SCAR](#) about sharing your data. Smith, Legg and Tamara Wilson's detailed report on the first two Battle of Camden archaeological surveys, called *Understanding Camden*, is available for sale for \$20.00 from the Palmetto Conservation Foundation.

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

Scott Butler, military archaeologist with Brockington & Associates of Norcross, Ga. has completed a "cultural resources" survey of the **Battle of the Waxhaws (Buford's Massacre)** site near the intersection of SC Highways 9 and 522 in Lancaster County, SC.

His metal detection survey located a wide Revolutionary War era musket ball scatter to the north and east of the monument site, indicative of the battle. This initial survey shows the period military artifact scatter over a wide area and that the National Register of Historic Properties boundaries need to be redefined. Hopefully, someone will obtain funding and landowner permission to organize a complete archaeological investigation of this important battlefield.

Butler has submitted his initial archaeological survey plan to the National Parks Services (ABPP) to do phase two reconnaissance at Gen. Nathanael Greene's **Eutaw Springs** battlefield in Orangeburg County, SC. This work will further delineate the boundaries of the battle building on the initial battlefield survey work by David P. Reuwer and Butler. The Palmetto Conservation Foundation's Military Heritage Program (Gen. George Fields and Nancy Stone-Collum) is planning for preservation of this important national heritage site. If you have Battle of Eutaw Springs or Buford's Massacre artifacts in your collection, please contact [SCAR](#) about sharing your data.

The **Hobkirk's Hill** battlefield archaeology project (ARCHH, Inc.) has completed its metal detection survey of the third property located on the top of Hobkirk Hill. We believe this property to be in the approximate 150-yard gap between the two Maryland Regiments as initially deployed by Gen. Nathanael Greene east of the Great Waxhaw Trail (North Broad Street, US 521/601). This property includes a beautiful antebellum home and extensively landscaped yard about one-half way between modern Broad and Lytleton Streets and on the north side of Greene Street in Camden. As may be expected no relevant 18th century military artifacts were found behind (north of) the crest of the hill (in the back yard), but several relevant finds were collected in front yard near Greene Street. ARCHH did find 10 modern coins in the back yard, two spent .22 cal. Slugs, a SC militia button (Civil War era), plus many various other "yardifacts". In the front yard, at top of the hill in front of the house, ARCHH found one shot musket ball, less than .63 cal.; one shot rifle ball; one shot buckshot; two pieces of mangled lead, perhaps melted; one yet unidentified piece of silver washed brass with rivets; and five modern coins. ARCHH Field Director John Allison is confident that with the coins, slugs and button recovered, they would have found anything else relevant if it were there. A volunteers meeting and workday is planned on August 19th. If you are interested in volunteering to work with the Hobkirk Hill archaeology research project, please contact [SCAR](#). If you have Battle of Hobkirk's Hill artifacts in your collection, please contact [SCAR](#) about sharing your data. (see www.hobkirkhill.org)

The University of Georgia Lamar Institute, lead by archaeologist Daniel T. Elliott, has published their impressive archaeological survey of Ebenezer, Georgia, site of numerous British camps on the Savannah River is posted on-line at <http://shapiro.anthro.uga.edu/Lamar/PDFfiles/Publication%2073.pdf>. ★

Gen. Francis Marion Trail Commission

The SC Legislature commissioned the Francis Marion Trail Commission (FMTC) to research, design and implement an on-the-ground interpreted automotive trail to significant Gen. Francis Marion sites.

The FMTC hired as its Executive Director Robert C. "Bob" Barrett. Barrett is a retired hospital administrator with 30 years of health-care experience, including hospital finance, in Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina. Commission Chair Ben Zeigler said Barrett's responsibilities include coordination with government

entities, garnering local support for access to relevant historical sites and capital planning, such as grant writing.

South Carolina Parks, Recreation and Tourism Director Chad Prosser advised the commission to ensure full product development of the trail before marketing it. He also recommended the commission take advantage of established and verified historical sites that relate to Francis Marion, and try to link the trail with those sites. Ray Sigmon, also of the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism, presented a report and map on archaeological site clusters and the trail's proposed points of entry. Traffic counts and major intersections were taken into account when drawing up the preliminary map. Some of the main entryways are Florence, Georgetown and Moncks Corner, all of which are near clusters of relevant archaeological sites. Smaller, secondary wayside points proposed were Kingstree and Johnsonville. "The more you get a community involved, the more they're probably going to put into it out of their own coffers," Sigmon said.

Archaeologist Steve Smith of the University of South Carolina – Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology presented his initial findings from research he conducted on archaeological sites relevant to Francis Marion on June 13, 2006. Smith's first progress report outlines sites selected for identification of the military operations at the following sites: Black Mingo Creek/Dollard's Tavern, Wadboo Barony (camp and Battle of the Avenue of the Cedars), Fairlawn Barony, Parker's Ferry, Tydiman's Plantation/Wambaw Bridge, Georgetown, Port's Ferry (redoubt), Quinby Bridge/Shubrick's Plantation, Birch's Mill, Snow Island/Tanyard, Blue Savannah, Sumter's Plantation (at Great Savannah), Jacksonboro Assembly, Witherspoon's Ferry, and route of the Col. Watson's chase "battle of the bridges". Smith has good archaeological data on several sites, but initial field and literature surveys did not locate Black Mingo Creek/Dollard's Tavern, Burch's Mill, the Parker's Ferry ambush site, and Marion's camps on Snow's Island, the fort sites in Georgetown, SC, or locating the running battlefield at Blue Savannah. Smith is looking for collectors and historians knowledgeable about these and other Marion camps and sites to document for the tourist and research efforts. Smith said his team will conduct more field research in July and again in the fall.

To aid in the design of an appropriate trail, traffic count data on proposed routes has been collected for the commissioners. SCIAA archaeologist and military historian Steve Smith has been awarded \$74,189 to provide archaeological and historical services to South Carolina's Francis Marion Trails Commission. FMTC received a \$200,000 recurring appropriation from the South Carolina General Assembly for 2006-2007 and were awarded a \$40,000 grant from the SC Budget and Control Board Competitive Grants program. So far, Florence, Williamsburg, Georgetown, and Horry have each contributed \$7,500 to the Trail Commission, for total local support of \$30,000. ★

The Revolution in the South has something for everyone: historical and genealogical research, battlefielding, ballistics, archaeology, monument building, material conservation, commemoration, biography, tours, reenactments, books, preservation, and - best of all - discoveries for the asking. Our little magazine, like the little engine that could, proves it. Your personal interest and financial contributions to support the publication of SCAR is appreciated. We are still adding interested folks to our mailing list....tell a friend and share the enthusiasm! Editor



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

York, SC – The Culture & Heritage Museums (CHM) has announced the creation of the **Southern Revolutionary War Institute (SRWI)** - dedicated to the study of the American Revolution in the South. The SRWI will be based at the McCelvey Center in Historic York, South Carolina. Utilizing the CHM's library, archives, and historical collections, the Institute fills a void in Revolutionary War studies and scholarly resources that traditionally have concentrated on the northern campaigns of the American Revolution. The Institute is the only center exclusively dedicated to the study of the Revolution in the Southern states of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Tennessee. CHM Historian Michael Scoggins will serve as the Institute's research director.



SRWI research director Mike Scoggins describes the present and planned collections at the new Institute in the McCelvey Center in York, SC. Photo by Malcolm Marion, III, MD.

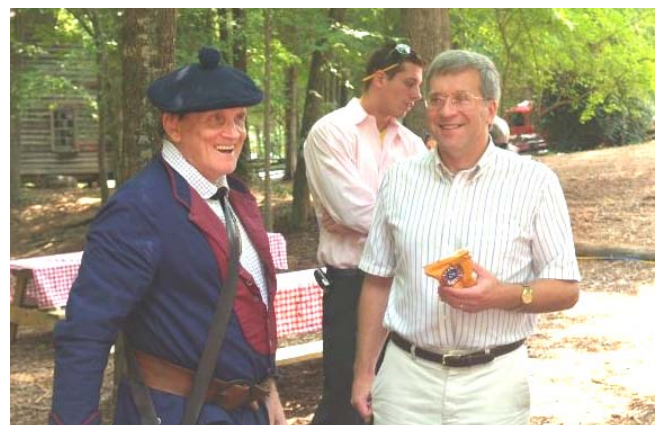
The Southern Revolutionary War Institute is part of the CHM's strong commitment to researching, documenting and interpreting the Revolutionary War. In addition to the Institute, the CHM offers regular interpretation of the Revolutionary War era at Historic Brattonsville, the site of the Battle of Huck's Defeat, and at the Museum of York County, with its award-winning exhibit "Liberty or Death: Rebels and Loyalists in the Southern Piedmont." CHM has been an active participant in the 225th anniversary celebrations of the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution, which are ongoing through 2007. This participation includes the publication of three new books on the Southern Campaign since December 2004 and a highly successful symposium in July 2005.

The material resources of the Institute consist of a growing collection of primary and secondary research materials including books, microfilm, computer databases, and historical artifacts relating to the Southern Campaign. Although the general scope of the Institute is the Southern Campaigns, it has a particular focus on the Revolutionary War in the Carolina backcountry.



Prof. Rory Cornish of Winthrop University speaks at the SRWI announcement. Photo by Malcolm Marion.

In addition to the general historical and genealogical material already available at the McCelvey Center, the Institute includes a number of very important Revolutionary War resources, including the Bobby G. Moss Revolutionary War Collection; microfilm copies of the Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection and the Cornwallis Papers; the published Papers of Henry Laurens and Nathanael Greene; and copies of important books published on the Revolution in the Southern colonies. The Institute has successfully recruited a distinguished advisory council composed of scholars who have made significant contributions to the study of the Southern Campaign.



Historical novelist Mickey Beckham in his Scots-Irish attire and historian Jim Piecuch discuss the SRWI at the official announcement at Brattonsville. Photo by Malcolm Marion.

Members of the general public who have an interest in researching their Revolutionary War ancestors will find a full range of genealogical materials useful in preparing family histories or

applications for membership in the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, or the Society of the Cincinnati. The materials are available for public use in the McCelvey Center Search Room Monday through Saturday from 10:00 am to 4:00 pm.

In addition to serving as a scholarly research center, the Southern Revolutionary War Institute will sponsor academic internships and research fellowships, publish books and articles, and present ongoing public educational programs including lectures, guided tours, and a biennial symposium.

Founding members of the Advisory Council for the Southern Revolutionary War Institute:

Dr. Bobby G. Moss, Professor Emeritus of History, Limestone College, SC, written or co-written more than 10 books on the Revolution in Southern states and Cherokee County, SC.

Dr. Rory Cornish, History Department Chair, Winthrop University, SC, specialist in British and American colonial history and Revolutionary War history.

Dr. James Piecuch, Associate Professor of History, Kennesaw State University, GA, author of "Massacre or Myth: Banastre Tarleton at the Waxhaws" and *The Battle of Camden: A Documentary History*.

Charles B. Baxley, attorney, editor/publisher *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, symposium planner, battlefield preservationist, co-founder of Southern Campaigns Roundtable and Corps of Discovery.

David P. Reuwer, attorney, co-editor *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, preservationist, co-founder Southern Campaigns Roundtable and Corps of Discovery.

Dr. Carole W. Troxler, Professor Emerita of History, Elon University, NC, author of *The Loyalist Experience in North Carolina* and *Pyle's Defeat: Deception at the Racepath*.

Dr. Walter Edgar, Director of the Institute of Southern Studies, University of South Carolina, author of *Partisans and Redcoats* and *South Carolina: A History*.

Dr. Lawrence Babits, Professor of Maritime History, Eastern Carolina University, NC, author of *A Devil of a Whipping: The Battle of Cowpens* and co-author of "Fortitude and Forbearance": *The North Carolina Continental Line in the American Revolution, 1775-1783*.

Dr. Anthony Scotti, Adjunct Professor of History, Midlands Technical College, Columbia, SC, author of *Brutal Virtue: The Myth and Reality of Banastre Tarleton*.

Dr. John Buchanan, former archivist at Cornell University and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, author of *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, *Jackson's Way* and *The Road to Valley Forge*.

Mr. Sam Fore, Revolutionary War scholar and curator of Manuscripts & Rare Books, Harlan Crow Library, Dallas, Texas, former manuscript librarian at the South Caroliniana Library and the John D. Rockefeller Library at Colonial Williamsburg. ★

New Statue of General Nathanael Greene

Greenville, SC enjoys the arrival of a new monumental statue of Gen. Nathanael Greene created by Encinitas, California sculptors T. J. Dixon and James Nelson. Known as the Nathanael Greene Freedom Monument, it was dedicated on July 27th at Peace Plaza, at the corner of Main and Broad Streets in downtown Greenville. Private subscriptions paid for the monument with the efforts lead by Greenville resident Ken Scarlett. [Ned Sloan and John B. McLeod, *The Times Examiner* and *The Greenville News*.]



A new monument to Revolutionary War Gen. Nathanael Greene at South Main and Broad Streets in Greenville, SC. It is a part of Peace Plaza, on which The Greenville News building is located, site of the new memorial. The Nathanael Greene Freedom Monument features a 7-foot tall statue of Greene, along with Revolutionary War-era flags and historical plaques commemorating the heroic service of South Carolina Patriot militia Generals Thomas Sumter, Francis Marion and Andrew Pickens. Photo by John B. McLeod.

This new monument joins the monumental works to General Greene in Greene Square, Savannah, Georgia; equestrian statue at Guilford Courthouse National Battlefield Park in Greensboro, NC; Greensburg, Pennsylvania's St. Clair Park; equestrian statue in Stanton Square and in the National Statuary Hall in the United States Capitol building, Washington, DC; Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.; and on the statehouse stairs in Providence, Rhode Island. ★

Ninety Six 225th Commemoration: The Struggle for the Star Fort

by Robert M. "Bert" Dunkerly

May 20-21, 2006 saw the 225th Anniversary of the commencement of the siege of Ninety Six. This began the longest siege of the entire Revolutionary War, and a bitter and brutal campaign for both sides. While not as famous as many other sieges and engagements, Ninety Six was a hard-fought campaign that tested the resolve of both armies.

For twenty-eight continuous days, in the heat and humidity of the summer, both sides dug, fought, and died in the hard clay soil. Unlike the more famous sieges of Yorktown, Savannah, and Charleston, where there are few remaining original earthworks, the Star Fort still stands at Ninety Six. This unusual and well-designed fort was the focus of General Nathaniel Greene's siege, and it remains one of the best-preserved Revolutionary War earthworks in the country. Unlike most battlefields, where often there are no physical remains from the event, Ninety Six preserves earthworks, reconstructed fortifications, and structures, and the site of an actual town.

The staff of Ninety Six National Historic Site, in conjunction with various re-enactors, authors, community groups, and Volunteers96, organized a tremendously successful event. Activities during the two days included music by well-known performers Jim McGaw, John Golden, and Ken Bloom. Faire Wynds, an eighteenth century entertainment group from Ohio, enthralled the crowds with music, magic, fire-eating, and other historic entertainments. Faire Wynds is a nationally known group that has performed at historic sites across the country. Visitors could also meet people of the past. Janet and D'oyale Moore, Howard Burnham, Scott Hodges, and Durham Hunt portrayed important figures like Caty and Nathaniel Greene, Lord Francis Rawdon, General Andrew Pickens, and Thaddeus Kosciuszko.



Faire Wynds performer Eric Paul Scites demonstrates 18th century magic tricks. Photo courtesy of the National Parks Service.

Historian Kitty Wilson-Evans shared her extensive knowledge of African Americans in the Revolution. Many refugees crowded into the fort during the siege: the group Common Knowledge discussed the skills of these settlers. These ladies explained and demonstrated aspects of daily life like medicine, spinning and weaving, and natural dyeing. Park Rangers also gave battlefield tours for the public during the weekend. Through these programs visitors got a good sense of both the civilian and military side of events.

The public was also treated to presentations and book signings by various noted authors, including Idella Bodie and

Christine Swager. The weekend also saw the release of a new book on Ninety Six by Chief Ranger Eric Williams and Kings Mountain Park Ranger Robert M. "Bert" Dunkerly.

Several features made this particular weekend different from other commemorations at the site. For this special event, re-enactment groups camped on the actual battlefield: Americans near the siege lines, British in the town site. In addition, American troops performed weapons demonstrations from within the reconstructed siege lines and using the reconstructed wooden rifle tower, a first. The soldiers were standing in the same spot from which the bloody assault actually took place 225 years ago. Artillery once again shook the ground in front of the Star Fort as three guns fired for visitors throughout the day.



Reenactors reconstruct fascines at Ninety Six. Photo courtesy of the National Park Service.

Another highlight was the focus on siege warfare and engineering that the park provided. Re-enactors discussed military engineering and constructed various features like fascines, gabions, and fraise (defensive materials constructed from wood, dirt, and vines). Visitors were given a rare treat in seeing how these defenses were constructed, placed, and attacked. There were few formal sieges in the Revolution and this is an aspect of warfare that is seldom seen at historic sites.

On Saturday afternoon park staff and representatives from the Daughters of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, and Children of the American Revolution performed a wreath laying ceremony. Important representatives from these organizations were on hand to present their wreaths and honor those who fell in the month-long struggle. New Superintendent Tim Stone gave a brief address, observing that it was good to see so many families at the park and emphasizing the importance of children learning to appreciate the history of sites like Ninety Six. The ceremony closed with volleys by an honor guard of re-enactors. On Saturday the park recorded its largest single-day visitation in its history.

Activities continued again on Sunday but were cut short by a powerful storm that blew in just before the scheduled conclusion of the program. Despite strong winds, downed tree limbs, and heavy rain, the only casualty was an unoccupied portajohn which was completely smashed by a fallen tree.

The 225th Anniversary of the Siege of Ninety Six offers the chance to reflect on an often-overlooked campaign. While the American forces failed to take the fortified town, the British were so weakened that they were forced to abandon it and pull back towards Charleston.

Ninety Six is hosting a living history on Saturday, August 19, 2006. This also marks the park's 30th Anniversary as a unit of the National Park System. The park's annual Candlelight Tours are scheduled for October 14, 2006. During these special events visitors can meet and talk to re-enactors, and enjoy special tours and programs. For more information on Ninety Six, call 864-543-4068, or visit www.nps.gov/nisi.



Calendar of Upcoming Events

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

August 4, 2006 – Colleton County - 225th Observance of Col. Isaac Hayne's execution. Colleton County historical and Preservation Society. Memorial Service commemorating the execution of Colleton's Col. Isaac Hayne by British. Event conducted by the Daughter's of the American Revolution. For information contact Gale Doggette at 843-549-9633 or email cchaps@lowcountry.com website <http://colletonhistoryandpreservation.com/events.html>

August 5 - 6, 2006 – Sanford, NC - 27th annual Revolutionary War battle reenactment of the 1781 skirmish at the House in the Horseshoe, known as the Alston Plantation. Encampment, artillery demonstrations and mock battle. For information contact 910-947-2051

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.

August 19, 2006 – Camden, SC - Battle of Hobkirk Hill Archaeology Project. (ARCHH, Inc.) Volunteers meeting and workday. If you are interested in volunteering to work with the Hobkirk Hill archaeology research project, please contact SCAR.

September 2 - 3, 2006 – Jacksonboro, 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: www.colletonhistoryandpreservation.com or 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.** The conference will be held at the Church of the Epiphany in historic Eutawville, South Carolina and on the Eutaw Springs battlefield from 9:00 am - 7:30 pm on Saturday, September 9th, 2006. Keynote presenter, Dr.

Dennis M. Conrad, will discuss Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee's role and reactions to Gen. Greene concerning the fight at Eutaw Springs. Dr. Lee F. McGee will discuss Lt. Col. William Washington and this Continental Dragoons at Eutaw Springs. All aspects of the battle, the troops engaged, strategy, and aftermath of the battle will be covered by Eutaw Springs scholars: author Dr. Christine Swager; historical novelist Charles F. Price; author Robert M. Dunkerly; author Dr. Jim Picuch; and US Army military historian Steven J. Rauch. Gen. George Fields and Eutaw Springs battlefield project archaeologist Scott Butler will be on hand to discuss the modern battlefield research and preservation planning. Saturday afternoon tour of the Eutaw Springs battlefield on the shores of Lake Marion will put you on the ground. Guides will be David P. Reuwer and Charles B. Baxley, assisted by military historians Dr. Lee F. McGee, Steven J. Rauch, and Dr. Jim Picuch, with geologist Dr. Irene Boland and archaeologist Scott Butler. This tour of the huge Eutaw battlefield will point out the battle chronology, tactical deployments and topography. Afternoon program includes a commemorative ceremony to honor those who fought at Eutaw Springs at the memorial park conducted by the SAR and DAR at 5:25 pm. Attendees are also invited to a closing reception at Numertia Plantation Saturday afternoon complete with a "groaning board" of h'ors oredeves. Registration fees include the morning scholarly presentations, snacks, included Saturday luncheon, Eutaw Springs battlefield guided tour, and closing reception. Early Registration deadline: August 5, 2006. Early Registration fees: \$60.00 person or \$100.00 couple. Final Registration deadline: September 6, 2006. Final Registration fees: \$75.00 person or \$130.00 couple. Payment may be made by check made payable to the Church of the Epiphany and mailed to P.O. Box 9, Eutawville, S.C. 29048. All registrations are non-refundable after September 6, 2006. For more information call Rev. John Scott at The Church of the Epiphany Post Office Box 9 Eutawville, SC 29048 (803) 492-7644 or see the symposium postings on www.southerncampaign.org/eutaw or <http://www.pietv.com/epiphany/index.htm>

September 12, 2006 – Savannah, GA - The Coastal Heritage Society will feature their Revolutionary War Perspectives series of speakers: "Contested Ground: Liberty and the American Constitution in Comparative Perspective" by Dr. Kermit Hall, University of Albany, State University of New York. A light reception is hosted in the lobby of the Savannah History Museum at 6:30 pm followed by the presentation at 7:00 pm. Info/contact: 912-651-6895 or www.chsgeorgia.org.

September 16, 2006 – Cross Hill, SC – Bridge Dedication and Constitution Day. Dedication of bridge in honor of the Patriot Little River regiment. Includes the 4th annual SAR/DAR 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 19, 2006 – Savannah, GA - The Coastal Heritage Society will feature their Revolutionary War Perspectives: the lecture will be "Culture & Music of the Revolutionary Period" by Dr. Christopher Hendricks of Armstrong Atlantic State University. A light reception is hosted in the lobby of the Savannah History Museum at 6:30 pm followed by the presentation at 7:00 pm. Info/contact: 912-651-6895 or www.chsgeorgia.org.

September 20 – 28, 2006 - Central Virginia – "March to Victory" program commemorating the Washington-Rochambeau march to Yorktown. Reenactors and supporters will march the entire route of the W3R from Rhode Island to Yorktown. They will be passing through Virginia in September of this year and are looking for

campsites along the route and they hope to join other Revolutionary War reenactments that are occurring during the period of their march. They are also inviting Boy Scout/Girl Scout troops or other organizations to join them in hiking/marching segments of the route. The marchers' tentative schedule through Virginia begins on either September 16 or September 17 but they are still seeking to make final plans for their encampments from September 20 until they arrive in Williamsburg on September 29. Tentative camps are planned at or near the following locations (which mostly coincide with the historical encampment sites used by the French wagon train on its way to Yorktown): Colchester, VA September 20, Dumfries, VA September 21, Fredericksburg, VA September 22, Bowling Green, VA September 23, Dawn, VA September 24, Hanover Courthouse, VA September 25, Old Church, VA September 26, New Kent, VA September 27, Toano, VA September 28. For more information visit <http://www.w3r-us.org> or contact Mike Fitzgerald at MajRobtRogers@aol.com or Kevin Vincent, Virginia Coordinator, Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Project. kevin.vincent@bakerbotts.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.

September 23, 2006 – West Point, Virginia. First annual Chelsea Ball celebrating the 225th anniversary of the encampment of MG Lafayette before the Battle of Yorktown. Event held at the Chelsea Plantation, West Point Virginia. Cost is \$25.00 person, deadline for payment is September 15. Tea served 4-6 pm in the garden and dancing on the riverfront 6:30-10:30 pm. Appearance by Lafayette himself is possible. More information contact Bonnie Fairbank at 703-751-8887.

September 26, 2006 – Savannah, GA - The Coastal Heritage Society will feature their Revolutionary War Perspectives: "The Contradictions of Slavery in the Era of the American Revolution." By Dr. Gregory Nobles, Georgia Institute of Technology. A light reception is hosted in the lobby of the Savannah History Museum at 6:30 pm followed by the presentation at 7:00 pm. Info/contact: 912-651-6895 or www.chsgeorgia.org.

October 3, 2006 – Savannah, GA - The Coastal Heritage Society will feature their Revolutionary War Perspectives: "A Revolutionary Debate: The British vs. The American" featuring Dr. Dan Morrill of UNC-Charlotte representing the British and Dr. Rory Cornish of Winthrop University representing the Americans with moderation by Sonny Dixon, WTOC-TV Savannah. A light reception is hosted in the lobby of the Savannah History Museum at 6:30 pm followed by the presentation at 7:00 pm. Info/contact: 912-651-6895 or www.chsgeorgia.org.

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 at the University of Tennessee Conference Center. Info/contact: the Omohundro Institute at (757) 221-1115. <http://www.wm.edu/oieahc/conferences/warfare.htm>

October 7, 2006 – Roebuck, SC – Reenactment of Bloody Bill Cunningham's raid on Walnut Grove Plantation during the Festifall at Walnut Grove, a 2 day colonial living history festival. Demonstrations of colonial skills, house tours and reenactment are

featured. For more information contact 864-576-6546 or walnutgrove@mindspring.com or www.spartanarts.org/history.

October 7, 2006 – Savannah, Ga. – Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable. The fall 2006 meeting of the Southern Campaigns Round Table will be hosted by the Coastal Heritage Society (<http://www.chsgeorgia.org>) and held at the Coastal Georgia Center for Continuing Education, (Room 111), located at 305 Fahm Street, 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, but we will "pass the hat" to pay for the conference room rental. A "Dutch Treat" lunch will be 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. For more information contact [SCAR](http://www.scar.org).

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 7 pm 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 21, 2006 – Clinton, SC – the Frontier Rifleman at Musgrove's Mill State Park. Learn about the lifestyle, arms, equipment and function of the frontier rifleman from 1-4 pm. For more information contact 864-938-0100.

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 gsummers@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 – insiders' tour of the Kings Mountain National Military Park hosted by park ranger, author and SCAR contributor, Robert "Bert" Dunkerly. This tour is free and open to the public. More information phone: 864-936-7921 or email: bert.dunkerly@nps.gov.

December 3, 2006 - Corps of Discovery - Pendleton, SC to site of Col. Andrew Pickens' Ring Fight and his Tamassee Mountain home site, extant Oconee Station, Historic Pendleton, visit Gen. Andrew Pickens' and Col. Robert Anderson's graves at the Old Stone Church, tour Gen. Pickens' Hopewell House and the site of the Hopewell Treaty Oak, the sites of Fort Rutledge and Cherokee Wars battles hosted by Barbara Abernathy. This tour is free and open to the public. For more information contact [SCAR](http://www.scar.org).

Other 225th Anniversaries for which commemorative events are not planned or known. If anyone has information, please contact [SCAR](http://www.scar.org).

Cunningham's Raid, 1 August 1781 near Saluda River
Destruction of Georgetown, SC, 2 August 1781
Rockfish Creek, NC, 2 August 1781
Execution of Col. Isaac Hayne, Charleston, SC, 4 August 1781
Turkey Hill/Salley's Cowpens, SC, 6 August 1781
Parson's Plantation, SC, 7 August 1781
New Bern, NC, 19 August 1781
Battle of Elizabethtown, NC, 29 August 1781
McPhaul's Mill, NC – 1 September 1781
Ridgeway's Fort, SC – 3 September 1781
Steven's Creek, SC – 5 September 1781
Turkey Creek, SC – 6 September 1781
Hillsborough, NC – 12 September 1781
Lindley's Mill/Cane Creek, NC – 13 September 1781
Livingston's Creek, NC – 23 September 1781 ★

Exchange of emails with the Editor

George Beall:

Do you know if anyone has measured the actual muzzle velocity of an 18th century military musket, with undersized lead ball, 18th century black powder and little wadding? I always wondered if it was not very slow....say less than 1,000 fps. Does black powder fouling and residue buildup negatively effect muzzle velocity? I understand rifle balls were cast very tight and musket balls intentionally loose for fast loading.

Charles B. Baxley

Charles---

I can give you approximate speeds. Normally, a large caliber weapons (Revolutionary War and Civil War eras) shoot at about 1,000-1,050 fps when loaded close to max. Most of the damage caused by a large, slow projectile is because of the weight and the fact that it is easily deflected by bone and heads off into a new direction, all the while retaining sufficient energy to cause lots of damage. As you reach 1,400-2,000 fps of rifles in the 1870's, you begin to drill through bone and thus limit damage to the area along the bullet's path.

Fouling did not impede the velocity of the bullet as much as it did speed of loading. One of the reasons you often find Civil War era "Minie Balls" with pronounced ramrod marks on the nose is because of fouling requiring great effort to get the projectile through it and down to the powder. Of course, the "Minie Ball" was cast much closer to bore diameter than was 18th century weaponry. Because Revolutionary War era musket balls were cast about .05-.07" smaller than the bore, they were much easier to ram down. The ball had **some** cleaning action on the fouling ahead of it (both on loading and firing), so the musket was usable for 10-20 shots (usually far more than was fired in a battle) before it became impossible to get a projectile rammed home with any **reasonable** effort.

This problem was addressed in the Civil War where much fighting was done between trenches and many shots were fired by introducing the Williams Cleaner Bullet. Basically, it was a modern appearing, solid (not hollow base) bullet, 3 small lube grooves, and slightly more undersized than the Minie. What made it different was it had a concave-shaped zinc, grooved disk attached to the tail and having its circumference equal to bullet diameter. When fired, the zinc washer flattened out, either from propellant gas pressure or a pedestal-shaped plunger which the gases pushed into the bullet, thereby flattening the disk between it and the base of the bullet. When the hard zinc disk flattened, it expanded into the rifling grooves and raked all the muck right out of the barrel. Normally, from 1863 on, one Williams Cleaner was packed with every ten cartridges and was suitably marked. Some soldiers used it at the beginning of each 10 rounds and some used it last. More often, they got mixed in with all the rest and just got used whenever it's turn came up. There were 3 distinct types of William's Cleaners used, and sometimes you will find all three types together in one "target spot". From mid-1864 on, the most common type was the Type 3, which was a short, stubby bullet with the plunger on the back. The other 2 types were used earlier in the Civil War.

I know this was more than you asked, and I shall get the info you asked for. But your guess of 900-1,000 fps for an 18th century military musket is close to correct.

George Beall, Charlotte, NC

Charles---

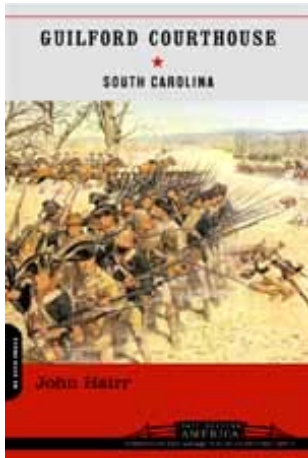
According to an article by Turner Kirkland of Dixie Gunworks in Union City, TN, a French Charleville musket of .69 caliber (representative of the type used in the Revolutionary War), when properly loaded, at the extreme effective range of 100 yards could produce a muzzle velocity of about 1,000 fps (depending largely upon how tight the ball and patch fit the bore and the quality and quantity of the gunpowder). However, these tests were conducted on a 1826 Cadet Musket, properly patched and loaded with 110 grains of FF black powder, which is a pretty hefty charge. I still feel that under battlefield conditions, especially in the humid south and with the "iffy" storage of powder, that most .69 caliber balls would be lucky to exit the muzzle at 1,150 fps or so. So it is a little faster than you thought. Rifles, on the other hand, using a smaller caliber of .36 -.50 can be loaded up to 1,150 fps and maybe a touch more. The "oldtimers" used to say that when the rifle "cracked", you would hit the right load. That crack, of course, is the breaking of the sound barrier that is about 1,075-1,125 fps depending on atmospheric pressure, temp, etc.

The .58 caliber Civil War rifle musket using a charge of about 60+ grains of powder and a 600 grain bullet will leave the muzzle at 950-975 fps. This is a bit slower, but the ball is heavier, and the rifling takes up a bit of energy.

Hope this helps. **George Beall**



Guilford Courthouse: North Carolina by John Hairr



John Hairr has written a short volume on the battle of Guilford Courthouse, 15 March 1781, as part of Da Capo Press's "Battleground America Guides" series. The book, however, covers far more than just the battle. Hairr starts out with short biographical chapters on each commander at the battle, Nathanael Greene and Charles, Lord Cornwallis, though he devotes quite a bit more of his attention to the British general rather than his opponent. Hairr also provides a helpful summary of events leading up to the

struggle at Guilford, including an account of the Battles of Camden, Kings Mountain and Cowpens, and how Cornwallis' attempts to subdue the rebels in South Carolina led him into North Carolina by January 1781. Hairr argues the campaign leading up to the battle on 15 March convinced Cornwallis that his regulars could best the southern forces that consisted of a large number of militia troops by aggressive "bullheaded" tactics in order to win the day. "As far as Cornwallis was concerned," the author writes, "the lesson was clear: when confronted by militia, advance aggressively and seize the field at the point of the bayonet." (p. 48) Given the results at Camden on 16 August 1780, it is not surprising he came to such a conclusion.

Hairr's account of the battle is traditional, contains no references, and includes few if any new revelations. Nevertheless, the format of his work, a "guidebook", is not intended to be path breaking, and should not be so judged. For those wishing to get a good, quick summary of the action that day and the events that led up to the battle, this will certainly fit the bill. Others may also want

to consult Thomas Baker's *Another Such Victory* (1981) for what seems to be a better-researched account of the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. The maps in Hairr's book, by Theodore P. Savas, are very nicely done and easily track the movements of the troops for what is, in some phases, a complicated battle.

Hairr's book strikes this reviewer as an example of what often happens when military history, especially concerning tactics, is written by non-military historians, journalists, etc. Hairr seeks to make the campaign a set piece between commanders, and creates a narrative far too dramatic to be objective. For example, he concludes that "Cornwallis was playing for an overwhelming victory; Greene was trying not to lose," (p. 123) an assessment knowledgeable readers may well dispute. Leading readers dramatically to the days just before the battle, which by implication Hairr regards as a foregone conclusion, he claims that "everyone on both sides of the Atlantic with an interest in the ongoing campaign had been following it [the campaign] as closely as the slow-moving communications of the day would allow. The stakes were high and the last cards were about to be dealt." (p. 71) This kind of overdramatic prose is not only unwarranted, it's silly. Other examples can readily be found in the text. Further, in a military history, one must get the military details correct; Hairr does not always do so. Readers of *SCAR* might be surprised to learn that the Battle of Monmouth was fought in 1777; Cornwallis formed his army at Camden on the banks of Saunders Creek; and that Scottish bagpipes were played by the British army throughout the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. While every author makes mistakes, Hairr's errors are those that come from not checking readily available references, or from trying to be too dramatic in his account.

All that being said, *Guilford Courthouse: North Carolina* is worth picking up as a reference for battlefield visitors and the occasional reader of Revolutionary War military history. The definitive work on this battle, however, has yet to be written.

Book review by John Maass Ohio State University

Author of *Horatio Gates at the Battle of Camden*

John Hairr, *Guilford Courthouse: North Carolina* (Da Capo Press, December 2002) 144 pages, ISBN 0306811715.

No doubt the cover will become a collectors' item. Ed.



Dr. Bobby G. Moss [background] and his wife, Dr. Catherine Moss, enjoy a talk with Dr. Christine Swager and Dr. Robert Swager [foreground] at the Southern Revolutionary War Institute announcement at Historic Brattonsville.



Hopsewee: Fit for an Earl, Close to the Land

by Seabrook Wilkinson

Many of us suspect that our lives' great events are behind us. Old houses begin to think and feel like the humans who have for so long collectively, but so transiently individually, inhabited them. Hopsesee knows that her glory day was more than a quarter of a millennium ago, on August 5, 1749. It must have seemed propitious indeed when Elizabeth Allston presented the second Thomas Lynch (1727-1776) with a namesake and heir, for the lowcountry Lynches had a dismal record of producing sons. No one then could have imagined that within a generation the American colonies would break with the mother country, or that this day's new arrival would grow up to be the second youngest signer of the Declaration of Independence.



Hopsewee Plantation – birthplace of Thomas Lynch, Jr. signer of the Declaration of Independence on the North Santee River.

The exact age of the house is uncertain; stylistically, it might date anywhere between 1720 and 1760. The first Thomas Lynch, who began acquiring through purchase and Royal grant the parcels eventually combined to make Hopsesee Plantation, may have built it, or perhaps the Signer's father (who would also have signed, had not a stroke paralyzed his hand) constructed a new house for his bride in 1745. What is certain is that house and land were intimately connected from the first, for the former grew literally out of the surrounding acres. All materials for its construction came from and were processed on the plantation itself—bricks from riverbank clay, heart-pine from the forests, black cypress from bottomlands being cleared for rice cultivation. First mention of the name "Hopsesee" comes in a 1704 warrant for land. The name derives from still earlier inhabitants, who lived in an intimacy with the land no white settler could, or would care to, match. Evidence of prolonged Indian settlement on this high bluff turns up regularly. The Sewee Indians knew this was a special place, the highest ground for miles around, which not even the most catastrophic flood might inundate.

Most of what boyhood the destined signer was allowed to enjoy must have been spent exploring the woods, marshes and creeks of Hopsesee. He had not been followed by further sons, so all the hopes of the family replanted in Carolina about 1677 by the Irish immigrant Jonah Lynch were concentrated on young Thomas. By the time his father sold Hopsesee in 1762 Thomas Lynch, Jr. was already boarding at the Winyah Indigo Society's school in Georgetown. Two years later he was sent to England for the top-tier educational sequence of Eton, Cambridge and the Middle Temple. It was to the larger and more imposing brick house at Peachtree on the South Santee that Thomas Lynch, Jr. returned in 1772.

Hopsesee was sold to Robert Hume, a Goose Creek rice planter, for £5,000. His descendants continued to own the house and much of the surrounding land until 1945. Robert Hume died in 1766, but his son John lived until 1841, becoming a rice planter on a scale his prosperous father could scarcely have imagined. When the 3rd Earl of Marchmont died in 1794, family solicitors in Edinburgh wrote to John Hume of Hopsesee informing him that he was heir to the earldom; if he would kindly come and make formal proofs of parentage he might assume his coronet. Hume was not dazzled; legend has it that he looked across at his rice-fields and remarked, "I'd rather be earl of marsh mud." Indeed he was far richer than mere Scottish peers dreamt of being. That he felt so secure he spurned a status-confirming title may explain why Hopsesee is the unique survival it is. He did not need a grand Adam villa either, being quite content to take—and leave—the unpretentious Early Georgian house as he found it, so that Hopsesee is now the least altered Georgian plantation house remaining in the Lowcountry.

The plan is that of a typical double house on a full brick basement, with central hallways giving access to four rooms on each floor. As at the later William Seabrook house on Edisto, the stair is placed in an extension of the cube behind the central halls. The amount of surviving Georgian woodwork is most impressive—not even *one* Adam mantel was substituted for a sparingly decorated original. The candle-drip dentil molding in the parlor on the river side of the main floor is particularly fine. Here windowsills and the top of the wainscot are continuous—one enormous black cypress board spans the whole of the east wall.

The only substantial change has been on the exterior. Inheriting this plantation on his grandfather's death in 1841, John Hume Lucas married another grandchild of John Hume, Eleanor Ball Simons, and they set about making improvements. In 1845 the Lucases replaced the original river-fronting piazza, which had fallen into disrepair, with the present two-tiered piazza with square columns. A new exterior door surround doubtless dates from the same time. In 1846 they planted a wide circle of camellias, many of which have now grown as large as trees; after 160 springs their zest for floral display is undiminished. Between the camellia circle and the house are twin dependencies almost as old as the dwelling. Wavy bargeboards, deep overhangs and the roof pitches suggest Barbadian influence. A recent survey found that the alignment of these three structures with the old entrance on the King's Highway to the north is amazingly precise: One of the dependencies is all of 1/16th inch off true.

When Mr. Frank Beattie showed me around on a glorious March morn, the present owner of Hopsesee stressed that the house was never segregated from the working plantation—slave street, work-yards and outbuildings nestled close to the Big House. No ha-ha or formal gardens isolated the house that sits only a small lawn away from the bluff and the North Santee River. Across the river, nature has now reclaimed what was during the heyday of rice, an area of intense cultivation - the Santee delta.

Between 1850 and 1852 John Hume Lucas built a palatial town residence at 178 Ashley Avenue, familiar nowadays to serious lunch goers as the Wickliffe house. The astonishing elaborateness of its late Greek Revival detail was perhaps a deliberate reaction to the by then very old-fashioned understatement of that at Hopsesee. When John Hume Lucas died young in 1853, his widow and three children elected to live in town. Hopsesee was not to be a permanent residence again for half a century, but the family evidently felt great affection for the house, and would come up from town to spend such holidays as Easter week here. It became, like Drayton Hall to the urban Draytons, a glorified picnic pavilion. Only in 1900 did William Lucas II decide to bring his family to live here full-time. One of his daughters tested her new diamond on her wedding day in 1906 by etching her initials in a pane of a dining-room window. After William Lucas's death in 1914 the big house went back to sleep,

but descendants of the house-servants continued to live in the east dependency until about 1949.

Finally the Lucas heirs sold the plantation to International Paper, which was interested in the timber, not the empty historic house Colonel and Mrs. Reading Wilkinson persuaded them to sell in 1947. After introducing plumbing and insinuating a kitchen into the main house, they took up residence in September 1949. Two decades later Mr. and Mrs. James T. Maynard, who also bought back some of the surrounding acreage, purchased the property. Both couples lovingly maintained Hopsewee, and the Maynards opened house and grounds to the public on a regular basis. In 1999 Georgetown County considered acquiring this historic site for a county park, but nothing came of this, and the old house's singular good luck in attracting worthy stewards continued when Frank Beattie bought the house and the remaining 80-odd acres in 2000. At first it was to be a weekend home, but weekends grew longer as the new residents succumbed to the magic of the place; they now live here year-round, and Mrs. Raejean Beattie supervises the accomplished docents.

Anxious to secure the future of this national treasure, in February, Mr. Beattie gave an easement to the Lowcountry Open Land Trust that will protect its historic landscape from development. The day I visited the painters were in the final stages of a complete exterior renewal. Mr. Beattie is in the process of removing the unsightly if mosquito discouraging screens and partitions that disfigured the piazzas for many years. He has built a new barn to his own design, and is at present excavating the slave street that once consisted of about 30 cabins. He hopes eventually to be able to interpret the lives of the African residents of Hopsewee whose story has been all but forgotten.



Spanish moss frames Mr. Frank Beattie, rector, senior trial lawyer, plantation owner, preservationist, and historian shown on his pier at Hopsewee Plantation with the North Santee River flowing in the background. Photo courtesy of Hopsewee Plantation.

Some marriages between house and owner, like some between consenting adults, seem to be made in Heaven. Even if one did not believe in providence, the story of how Frank Beattie came to be master of Hopsewee might prove persuasive. When he was a lad spending summers in Georgetown with an aunt, she would often drop him off at Hampton, across the delta on the South Santee, to stay with her good friend Archibald Rutledge. What a marvelous introduction to the history, flora and fauna of the Santee our great poet must have given this receptive boy! In their travels in the neighborhood they often passed Hopsewee, then empty and forlorn. Cousin Archibald told young Frank that it had always been known as the great house of the area, for it alone had been kept painted continually (and this spring it positively gleams in its

newest coat). When, more than half a century later, Frank Beattie was winding down a distinguished legal career, he heard that the house he had so admired as a child was for sale. It seemed fated; he did not hesitate. Let us hope that his experience here is happier than that of Charles Dickens, who as a boy admired Gad's Hill house on walks with his father and vowed to buy it one day. He did, but he could not purchase the domestic tranquility for which he longed in vain.

One effect of Hopsewee's wonderful wide light-filled halls is that exterior and interior seem to flow seamlessly into one another. A startling reminder of just how close nature is here came when host and scribe were enjoying a modest restorative on the upper piazza. The dogs, he explained, live outside, but the cats keep indoors, forbidden on even the piazzas lest they become eagle appetizers. As I glanced across the river, behold, an eagle hovered over the far bank seeking whom to devour! I also heard about a less graceful visitor. Not long ago Mr. Beattie went out to the present front gate (the approaches were reoriented when the bridge came in the 1920s) to find that an enormous creature had recently lost an argument with an 18-wheeler. This turned out to be a boar of legendary size, at 750 pounds so massive that it defeated the first tow truck the county dispatched. Such gargantuan visitors apart, nature and man are usually in perfect harmony at Hopsewee. Thanks to the generosity of Frank and Raejean Beattie in effecting legal protection, this immemorial accord looks to be secure for generations to come.

You are invited to tour the 1740s house and grounds of Hopsewee Plantation that are located on US Highway 17 South of Georgetown, SC at the North Santee River. They are open Monday-Friday, March 1 - October 31, and Thursday and Friday, November 1 - February 28. A small fee collected to support the interpretive programs at this National Historic Landmark.

494 Hopsewee Road Georgetown, SC 29440
(843) 546-7891 mail@hopswee.com
<http://www.hopswee.com>

Article courtesy of *The Charleston Mercury*.



Seabrook Wilkinson, writer, literary critic, great speaker, teacher, and poet, who calls Charleston, SC home.

SCAR reported in the June 2005 issue that the South Carolina Department of Transportation (SC DOT) was planning to replace a US Highway 17 bridge over the North Santee River, moving this major highway and its intrusive noise even closer to Hopsewee. SCAR understands that this project is now "on hold". SCAR advocated relocating the replacement bridge downstream of the existing bridges, further away from the National Historic Site to mitigate the adverse impact of the modern roads on this unique home and gardens. Ed. ★

NATIVE AMERICANS and the SOUTHERN REVOLUTION – PART I

by Jeff W. Dennis of Morehead State University

Introduction

The Crown had shown suspicious forbearance towards the colony's Indian enemies since the early 1760s, at least from the Patriot perspective. First, there was the generosity shown the Cherokees at the conclusion of the 1760-61 Anglo-Cherokee conflict. Then there was the great Indian congress at Augusta and the Imperial boundary lines and Indian trade regulations that followed. Carolinians, great and common, chafed under the restrictions upon land and commerce, which combined with taxation, appeared to thwart their economic liberty. By 1775, England seemingly had placed the demands of Indian "savages" above the natural rights of American Englishmen. No doubt, Whigs assumed, Britain soon would direct its Indian friends to bring terror down upon the frontier. Within a year, their worst fears appeared to be confirmed.

This essay is the first in a series concerning an often underemphasized but crucial component in the southern Revolution. From nearly beginning to end, the War for Independence in the Lower South was also a war against Indians. Unmistakably chauvinistic and cruel by the light of today, the southern war against Indians nonetheless help facilitate American independence. Inveterate patriot invasions of the Cherokee homelands between 1776 and 1782 proved especially effective for securing backcountry support, for enlisting and seasoning militia, for pre-empting well-coordinated Indian attacks, and for wresting away many millions of acres of native lands.

This article discusses Indian relations leading up to the 1776 Cherokee War. Subsequent essays shall: (1) chronicle and comment upon the campaigns of 1776; (2) investigate two years of relative frontier quiescence, 1777-78; (3) examine the reinvigoration of conflict during 1779-80; and (4) narrate and analyze three invasions led by SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Pickens in 1781-82.

A Personal Vendetta

The opening of the Revolution gave the radical Whig spokesman William Henry Drayton opportunity to even a personal score with Southern British Indian superintendent John Stuart. During 1773, Stuart had prevented Drayton from misleading the Catawbas into leasing their fifteen-mile-square land reserve. Enemies ever thereafter, Stuart later helped vote Drayton out of the South Carolina Council in March 1775.¹

Drayton retaliated through his subsequent role as chair of the rebels' secret Committee of Intelligence. Following the news of Lexington and Concord, reports were spread that the superintendent was preparing his Indian allies for a massacre upon the American frontier. Supposedly, this account continued, it was Stuart who had sold out the doomed Fort Loudoun garrison back in 1760. These rumors were unfounded and unfair. The superintendent, in fact, was doing his all to encourage the Indians' neutrality during the spring and summer of 1775. He informed his good friend, the Cherokee Great Warrior Oconostota: "There is a difference between the people in England and the white people in America. This is a matter that does not concern you; they will decide it between themselves." Similarly, to the Creeks, Stuart cautioned that the "unhappy dispute . . . cannot affect you . . . it is not the intention of either party to hurt or molest you."²

Drayton had so damaged Stuart's reputation by the end of May 1775, that the superintendent fled Charleston for Savannah. Now Stuart tried to convince Georgia officials of his true, pacific

intentions. As evidence, he handed over his personal correspondence with Alexander Cameron, the British deputy to the Cherokee nation. That action turned out to be a mistake. To Stuart's chagrin, provincials located one rather braggadocio statement made by Cameron, which they believed confirmed their worst fears. It stated "That Mr. Stuart's interest with the Indians was much greater . . . than any other man, and that he . . . could head any number he thought proper, whenever called upon in support of his Majesty and Government." Even conservative Patriots such as Henry Laurens were shocked: "Good God," he exclaimed, "what horrible Scenes are exhibited in Civil broils!" "Charity induces me to suspend my opinion yet a little while although I am sorry to say much Charity is required." For the second time in barely a month, Stuart had to flee. This time, he relocated to St. Augustine. Charleston officials took his wife and daughter hostage in response, claiming this would help encourage Stuart's good behavior. As the superintendent told London, "The persecution I met with is not for anything I have done but for what I may do."³

Native Frustrations

From the Indians' point of view, if anyone seemed to be acting suspiciously, it was the Americans. Alarmed by provincial military preparations, the Catawbas sent two runners down to Charleston to investigate. Drayton's committee informed them: "Our brothers on the other side of the water, wanted to take our property from us without our consent." Whatever irony or hypocrisy the Catawbas sensed in this statement, they tactfully kept it to themselves. Their lands bounded on all sides by white settlement, the Catawbas soon pledged their support. They would serve the American cause throughout the war. Before the end of 1775, the nation's several dozen warriors were employed hunting down runaway slaves.⁴

Cherokees, the traditional enemies of the Catawbas, were "in very bad humor" by the summer of 1775. Young warriors were angry from a recent sell-out of tribal lands at Sycamore Shoals, and even the nation's more cautious elders were disquieted by the treatment given to Stuart and Cameron. According to Cameron, Oconostota had sent him "a hell of a talk": "They are resolved to stand for the great King and his warriors . . . They would die, all hands, in my defence." The deputy superintendent overstated British influence. Nevertheless, South Carolina was in real trouble with the Cherokees. In particular, Stuart's exile threw the southern Indian trade into disarray, deeply angering native hunters and warriors dependent upon British goods.⁵

There already existed plenty of reasons for southeastern natives to side against Americans in 1775, and few for alliance. Since the end of the 1760-61 Anglo-Cherokee War, colonists had made a virtual art out of swindling, squatting and bullying their way onto Cherokee and Creek lands. Shooting game and destroying deer habitat, frontier whites destroyed the Indians' traditional means of livelihood. Even in faraway Choctaw and Chickasaw villages, itinerant traders worked to swamp natives in alcohol and debt. John Stuart and his deputies had formerly worked closely with southern headmen to help blunt these aggressions and avoid frontier conflict. With their exile from South Carolina went any real hope for peace.⁶

At the opening of the Revolution, southeastern peoples were well situated to oppose the southern colonies. Cherokees and Creeks were within striking distance of white piedmont and trans-Appalachian settlements. Choctaws and Chickasaws controlled the Mississippi basin and key Gulf ports. To enumerate the major southern tribes in 1775: the Creeks could field 3,500 warriors, with a total population of perhaps 14,000; the Choctaws, 3,100 warriors, about 12,400 total; the Cherokees, 3,000 warriors, about 12,000 total; and the Chickasaw nation, 475 warriors, perhaps 1900 total.⁷

Drayton's Diplomacy

Indians were not the only frontier-dwellers that worried Charleston Patriots as the Revolution began. They also feared that upcountry settlers, especially former opponents of the late Regulation movement, might lend support to the British. Consequently, on July 23, 1775, the South Carolina Council of Safety sent lawyer William Henry Drayton, Presbyterian minister William Tennent, Baptist minister Oliver Hart, backcountry merchant Joseph Kershaw, and senior military leader Gen. Richard Richardson on a fact-finding, propagandizing mission into the piedmont. The bulk of their efforts were to rally settler support for the Whig Association. Drayton also would attempt to engage in Indian diplomacy; he would not perform particularly well with novice negotiating skills and scanty goods.⁸

For more than a month, Drayton and his companions preached at, cajoled, and sometimes threatened backcountry listeners to accept the Whig cause. Their tour came none too soon. At the Congarees, about 130 miles from Charleston, Drayton managed to quell a mutiny among the ranger militia. Still stronger resistance was encountered further inland, particularly in the area bounded by the Broad and Saluda rivers. Here, Colonel Thomas Fletchall exercised great influence, and he was sympathetic to Robert Cunningham and Thomas Brown, the region's Loyalist ringleaders. Accordingly, none of Fletchall's militia accepted the Association. While at Ninety Six, Drayton heard about Captain Moses Kirkland's intention of taking Augusta and control of the Savannah River away from the Patriots. Acting quickly, Drayton assumed command of 1,100 recruits that were independent of Fletchall and Kirkland. He intimidated the first Loyalist leader into flight without firing a round, and the latter into neutrality.⁹

Besides persuading back settlers, Drayton and his companions were commissioned to gather news concerning the Cherokees. The Reverend Tennent was the group's busiest correspondent. He relayed to Charleston hearsay that Cameron was hard at work among the Overhill warriors, "preparing a great dish of blood" for the Carolina frontier. Drayton sent a message to the British deputy insisting that he remove immediately to East Florida: "a request, too, sir, that . . . carries all the force of a command, and that you cannot disobey, with safety to your person." Cameron was unimpressed. So were the Cherokees who heard trader Richard Pearis convey Drayton's libel that Cameron spoke "to the Indians with two tongues."¹⁰

The Council of Safety directed Drayton to attend a meeting early in September at the Congarees with several Cherokee headmen. Drayton, however, was slow in meeting this request. He was weary, his militia command had expired, and he was no great fan of Native Americans anyway. Repeatedly, Henry Laurens pleaded for him to hurry because the Cherokee emissaries had "in utmost anxiety and impatience been many days waiting for you . . . We shall be glad to hear that you have established peace and quietness at our backs."¹¹

On September 25, 1775, Drayton belatedly arrived in the Congarees. He then treated the Cherokee headmen to a lecture about "the causes of the unhappy quarrel between a part of the people in Great Britain, and your brothers the white people living in America." Confused and "extremely patronizing," his talk performed "no lasting good." Perhaps the speech's most remarkable feature was its lack of artistry. With Richard Pearis interpreting for him, the Charlestonian meandered through the reasons why Americans had "put on our shot pouches." Awkwardly he struggled to mimic the natives' keen sense of metaphor. For example:

Is it not now as plain as the sight at the end of your rifles, that these laws and proceedings are like so many hatchets, chopping our agreement to pieces?¹²

Drayton said that he hoped that the Cherokees would "suffer" the scarcity of Imperial trade goods "as patiently as we

do." Supposedly, white Americans were fighting for Native American rights too. For, if the colonists consented to the tax on tea, which "I must tell you . . . is somewhat like your Black-Drink," the British then would charge extravagant duties on other items as well. Consequently, "you and your people must pay two and three deer skins for those goods, which you used to purchase of the traders for one deer skin."

"Think of these things . . . and reflect upon them, day and night," Drayton admonished his "Brother Warriors." And, when peace among the Anglos finally was restored, the Indians would be "plentifully supplied again." In the meantime, Drayton promised, his people would do all they could to be generous. To demonstrate this, he concluded his speech by literally giving his listeners the coat off his back.¹³

Theft and Counter-Theft

Besides a second-hand waistcoat and an odd lot of other items, Drayton gave the Indians assurances that they would receive munitions in time for the winter hunt. Nine days later, the Council of Safety agreed to requisition one thousand pounds of powder and two thousand pounds of lead for the Cherokees. Forces led by Robert Cunningham's brother, Patrick, however, intercepted these supplies before they could reach the Indians. The Loyalists employed the stolen cache as propaganda. Why were lowcountry rebels trying to equip the Indians, they argued, if not to bring the warriors down upon the piedmont's non-Associated white settlers? The Loyalists publicized with colorful imagination that backcountry Whigs had been informed in secret how to protect themselves from massacre. Supposedly, Indians would know to bypass them by "a Piece of Bear's Skin, a Deer's Tail, or a Piece of white Paper wore in their Hats."¹⁴

The Council of Safety responded defensively through a circular drafted by Drayton. Appealing to "common sense and common honesty," the Council contended that without the delivery of their "small" gift of ammunition, "a general Indian war was inevitable." It was "absurd" to think that the Whigs would wish any sort of frontier massacre. No, the piedmont's real danger was from the non-Associated rumor-mongers, those "weak men" whose behavior served only "the most diabolical purposes."¹⁵

Something Drayton failed to mention is that four months earlier the patriots themselves had seized 250 barrels of British powder near Savannah. It was a huge shipment that included the King's annual gift to the Indians, as well as substantial supplies for the Imperial trading houses. That robbery certainly deprived native hunters more than Cunningham's heist; in fact, the Creeks would have gone to war, had not the rebels immediately surrendered to them a portion of the stolen munitions. To complete the irony, the consignment captured by Cunningham came out of the same gunpowder taken in the Patriots' earlier theft.¹⁶

Opening the Southern Revolution

By the end of 1775, Patriot and Royalist forces in South Carolina were doing more than stealing one another's ammunition. On November 12, a brief naval cannonade outside Charleston harbor marked the Revolution's first open exchange in the lower South. One week later, fighting erupted in the backcountry, when Patrick Cunningham's 1,800 loyalists forced Maj. Andrew Williamson's SC Whig militia to take refuge at Ninety-Six. In response, SC Patriot militia Gen. Richard Richardson gathered 3,000 men, mainly from the lowcountry and North Carolina, and marched to Williamson's relief. Outnumbered, the Loyalists fought several brief stands while retreating ever deeper into the Carolina frontier. They finally were cornered at the Great Cane Brake, four miles beyond the Indian line. Beaten and discouraged, the Loyalist force dispersed. Patrick Cunningham managed to escape on horseback. Thomas Fletchall and recent Loyalist recruit

Richard Pearis were not so lucky; they were packed off to Charleston under arrest.¹⁷

Richardson's maneuvers became known as the "Snow Campaign" because of the difficult weather conditions that attended the last week of operations. The Whig victory militated at least temporarily against some of the backcountry's strong Loyalist sentiment. It did not play well that the Loyalists' line of retreat took them into Indian territory, or that some non-Associators joined Cameron among the Cherokees. Further, established backcountry settlers could not have missed the fact that many of the vanquished were the same itinerant traders, hunters, and even bandits who formerly had opposed the Regulation.¹⁸

The victors delivered six of the seven recaptured kegs of gunpowder to the Cherokees without opposition or dissent. Whigs now appeared to many as the region's best source of protection against both Indians and white banditti. Tom Hatley has neatly characterized the Snow Campaign as an instance of "shadowboxing with the Cherokees." The main intercultural contest was yet to come.¹⁹

Stuart's Orders

Early in the war, the Imperial government directed southern Indian superintendent John Stuart to pursue an aggressive strategy. Thomas Gage, the Crown's general-in-chief for North America, was instrumental in prompting London's decision. In June 1775, he wrote Lord Dartmouth, arguing that "we need not be tender of calling upon the Savages." The ministry agreed, responding that the Indians should be made to "take up the hatchet" and punish "his Majesty's rebellious subjects." Stuart received directions from Gage in early October to ready the southern natives for action, so as "to distress them [the rebels] all in their power."²⁰

Receiving these instructions, Stuart held vigorously against any indiscriminate attack. Such a policy, the superintendent knew, would be inhumane and foolish, resulting in the deaths of innocent women and children, and killing Whigs and Loyalists alike. He had been an eyewitness to the suffering endured on both sides of the frontier during the Anglo-Cherokee War; painfully, he remembered the fate of his comrades at Fort Loudoun. Stuart obeyed his orders during the winter of 1775-76. Yet, as he worked to prepare the southern nations, he did so assuming they would be employed only as auxiliaries under imperial command. Among other efforts, he negotiated an end to the Choctaw-Creek war.²¹

Indian Autonomy

Native Americans hardly took orders from Stuart or the "Great King" anyway. True, Indians had good reason to prefer the Crown to the colonies. They appreciated British gifts and trade goods, as well as the superintendent's efforts to protect them from white settlers and corrupt traders. Of course, even the most favored "medal chiefs" could act contrary to Stuart's wishes. More than once during the last decade, southern headmen had negotiated land deals west of the superintendent's cherished boundary lines. As recently as March 1775, Stuart's trusted friends Attakullakulla and Oconostota led the Cherokees in ceding a huge chunk of territory to North Carolina speculator Richard Henderson. The superintendent chastised the Chota elders from his exile at St. Augustine: "If you go on at this rate, where will your young people, who are growing up, look for deer to pay for clothes and ammunition?"²²

Stuart's choice of words was appropriate. Led by Tsi.yu Gansi.ni (Dragging Canoe) many young Overhills warriors had, in fact, opposed the negotiations at Sycamore Shoals. They felt incensed by their elders' willingness to accommodate Henderson. This walk-out would ultimately grow into full-fledged tribal secession. In the meantime, Stuart's plan for a unified, manageable Cherokee ally became ever more unlikely. Older headmen did not

want war, while younger warriors, who were eager for it, would follow an agenda of their own design.²³

Neither did the superintendent find mobilizing the Creeks an easy task. During 1773 and 1774, that nation had frustrated Stuart by attempting to grant long-time Georgia trader Jonathan Bryan a lease to an enormous tract of land in East Florida. Most observers, Stuart included, assumed that Bryan merely had duped the Muskogee headmen. But, as explained by Allan Galloway, the Creeks in fact were trying to establish an alternate source of trade to limit their dependence on Imperial goods.²⁴

Stuart's zeal for regulation helped alienate Bryan from the imperial cause, as well as other leading Georgia traders such as George Galphin, and John and Robert Rae. Lacking their support, the superintendent lost much of his connection with the Creeks after Patriots took hold of Georgia during the summer of 1775. The Savannah River was sealed off, leaving only the Seminoles with an easy access to British goods. Even when the Association's ban on exports shut down the deerskin traffic later that year, Galphin was able to assuage many villages with little more than a diet of "rum and good words." In addition, the South Carolina Council of Safety did what it could to keep the Creeks quiet. The Council shipped them another thousand pounds of gunpowder early in 1776. Neither as auxiliaries nor as independent scalping parties would many Creeks join in campaigns against Americans that year.²⁵

Cherokee Independence

In February 1776, Stuart sailed to Cape Fear, North Carolina, to confer with Gen. Henry Clinton as to how the southern Indians might be used in some sort of "concerted plan." Among other proposals, a Gulf Coast landing was considered which would have combined British troops with Loyalists and Indians for a campaign through the piedmont. The idea was dropped in favor of a direct strike against Charleston. Stuart nonetheless was directed to continue preparing his auxiliaries. With two-and-a-half tons of powder and lead, the superintendent dispatched his brother Henry to the Overhills. Landing at Mobile, Henry was met by Tsi.yu Gansi.ni, who escorted the British pack train on to Chota.

Henry Stuart arrived at the Overhills in late April. He listened to Cherokees' angry complaints about whites from Nolichucky and Watauga who regularly trespassed upon their lands. Hoping to prevent bloodshed, Henry Stuart combined with Alexander Cameron and village headmen to inform the Tennessee squatters that they must remove within twenty days. The frontiersmen replied evasively - they had no intention of leaving.²⁶

In May 1776, a delegation of Shawnees, Mohawks and Ottawas came into Chota. Painted all over in black, these nativists had come to encourage the southern Indians to war. Cherokee elders sat quiet and dejected as Tsi.yu Gansi.ni accepted the northern nations' nine-foot belt of purple wampum. The two British deputies hurriedly dispatched another ultimatum to the frontiersmen. Their messenger was seized by the Wataugans and held for fifteen days. Ultimately, Cameron wrote, "all of our Rhetorick could no longer diswade [*sic*] them from taking up the Hatchet." Warriors from the Middle and Lower towns began raiding the Carolina and Georgia frontiers at the end of June. Then, as July began, Oconostota and Tsi.yu Gansi.ni led Overhill war parties against the white settlers in Tennessee and southwestern Virginia. Henry Laurens claimed that at least sixty whites were killed in South Carolina alone, while hundreds more hastily abandoned their homes for makeshift forts. Settlements all along the frontier were emptied. Ninety-Six, located thirty miles from the Indian line, now seemed an exposed outpost.²⁷

NOTES:

1. J. Russell Snapp, *John Stuart and the Struggle for Empire on the Southern Frontier* (Baton Rouge, 1996), pp. 149-151 and p. 160; William M. Dabney and Marion Dargan, *William Henry Drayton & the American Revolution* (Albuquerque, 1962), pp. 40-43 and 63. Drayton feigned "surprize that you [Stuart] should think me actuated against you by revenge . . . The suspension placed me in a favourable point of view with the public, and brought an addition to my little reputation." William Henry Drayton to John Stuart, 29 June 1775, in Randolph Boehm, ed. [hereafter abbreviated as "BPRO/1"], Records of the British Colonial Office, Class 5 files, Part 1: Westward Expansion, 1700-1783, microfilm at Thomas Cooper Library, University of South Carolina, Columbia, reel 7/Vol. 76/267-68.

2. Dabney and Dargan, *William Henry Drayton*, p. 72 and 76-80; James H. O'Donnell, III, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution* (Knoxville, 1973), p. 18; Philip M. Hamer, "John Stuart's Indian Policy During the Early Months of the American Revolution," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 17 (1930): p. 354 and p. 366; John Stuart to Cherokees, 30 August 1775, BPRO/1, 7/76/288; John Stuart to Creek Nation, 15 August 1775, *ibid*, p. 291.

3. JS to Earl of Dartmouth, 21 July 1775, BPRO/1, 7/76/253-56; Snapp, *John Stuart*, pp. 160-163; Hamer, "John Stuart's Indian Policy," pp. 354-355; John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution as Relating to the State of South Carolina*, 2 Vols. (New York, 1969 [1821]), 1:266-267; Henry Laurens to John Laurens, 18 June 1775 in Philip M. Hamer, George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chesnutt, eds., *The Papers of Henry Laurens*, Vols. 1-13, 15 (Columbia, 1968-2000), 10:189; Henry Laurens to James Laurens, 24 June 1775, *ibid*, p. 197. Understandably, Stuart took great umbrage at the rebels' "injurious & False Report." "I will venture to say that every one and all of you do in your Consciences believe the Charge to be false," he told the South Carolina rebels. "Illiberal as the [term] Villain may appear to be, the Malicious Author of such a Calumny certainly Merits the Appellation." John Stuart to Committee at Charleston, 18 July 1775, BPRO/1, 7/76/260; John Stuart to William Henry Drayton, 21 July 1775, *ibid*, pp. 269-270.

4. Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 2 Vols. (New York, 1968 [1802]), 1:81; James H. Merrell, *The Indians' New World: Catawbas and Their Neighbors from European Contact through the Era of Removal* (Chapel Hill, 1989), pp. 215-216; Colin G. Calloway, *The American Revolution in Indian Country: Crisis and Diversity in Native American Communities* (New York, 1995), p. 43; John Richard Alden, *The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge, 1957), p. 272. Whereas John Stuart tried to keep the southern nations neutral, the South Carolina Council of Safety actively recruited "fifty men of the Catawba Indians." Learning this, Stuart vowed, "I shall not fail to let them [the Catawbas] hear from the Creeks and Cherokees." William E. Hemphill and Wylma A. Wates, eds., *Extracts from the Journals of the Provincial Congresses of South Carolina, 1775-1776* (17 June 1775), (Columbia, 1960), p. 56; John Stuart to General Gage, 15 September 1775, The Catawba Nation, 1760-1860, Wesley D. White Papers, South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, 28/801/5.

5. Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 1:96; Henry Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown: The American Revolution in the South* (Columbia, 1981), p. 20; Alexander Cameron to Andrew M'Lean, 16 August 1775 in R. W. Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History of the American Revolution, 1764-1782*, 3 Vols. (New York, 1853-57), 1:143-144. At Sycamore Shoals, in March 1775, Chota's elder statesmen accommodated Richard Henderson's company with 27,000 square miles of land in exchange for £10,000 worth of trade goods. The sale eliminated much of the young warriors' hunting grounds. Calloway, *American*

Revolution in Indian Country, p. 190; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 217-218.

6. James H. O'Donnell, III, "The South on the Eve of the Revolution: The Native Americans," in W. Robert Higgins, *The Revolutionary War in the South: Power, Conflict, and Leadership* (Durham, 1979), pp. 71-77; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill, 1992), pp. 126-29; Tom Hatley, *The Dividing Paths: Cherokees and South Carolinians Through the Era of Revolution* (New York, 1993), p. 206 and 209-215; Alden, *South in the Revolution*, pp. 130-37, 140-141, 192, and 199.

7. James O'Donnell, "The South on the Eve of the Revolution," pp. 68 and 76-77.

8. Drayton, *Memoirs*, 1:324; Rachel Klein, "The Rise of the Planters in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1767-1808" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1979), pp. 90 and 101. Dabney and Dargan note that "the commission was a well-chosen one." Besides Drayton and Tennent, the group included Baptist minister Oliver Hart, former Regulator Joseph Kershaw, and future "Snow Campaign" commander Richard Richardson. With these selections, the Council of Safety made it clear that the Associators would respect the backcountry's non-Anglican faiths, and that they wished to promote piedmont law and order. Dabney and Dargan, *William Henry Drayton*, pp. 93-95.

9. *Ibid*, pp. 95-103. Thomas Brown paid a high price for his conspicuous fidelity to the Crown in 1775. Mobbed at Augusta, he was stabbed and had his skull fractured with a rifle butt. Still not satisfied, his assailants then tarred his feet and tore out his hair. Following Stuart's death in 1779, Browne served as superintendent for the eastern portion of the southern Indian department. Robert Cunningham also would win promotion late in the war; in 1780 Lord Cornwallis commissioned him a brigadier general. Edward J. Cashin, *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* (Athens, 1989), pp. 27-28 and 95-96; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, p. 53.

10. William Tennent to Henry Laurens, 20 August 1775, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 1:146; "Journal of Mission to the Back Country," 2 August - 11 September 1775, *ibid*, pp. 225-238; William Henry Drayton to Cherokees, 21 August 1775, BPRO/1, 7/77/363-64; William Henry Drayton to Alexander Cameron, 26 September 1775, *ibid*, pp. 366-367; Cameron to WHD, 16 October 1775, *ibid*, 369-70; Dabney and Dargan, *William Henry Drayton*, p. 105. Tennent, who had a gift for sarcasm, referred to Fletchall as "the great and mighty nabob. We found him surrounded by his court, viz. Cunningham, Brown, and Robinson." Tennent to Henry Laurens, 20 August 1775, Drayton, *Memoirs*, 410.

11. Henry Laurens to William Henry Drayton, 21 September 1775, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 1:192-193; Council of Safety to William Henry Drayton, 16 September 1775, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 10:387; *ibid*, 20 September 1775, *ibid*, p. 412; Dabney and Dargan, *William Henry Drayton*, p. 104.

12. *Ibid*, pp. 104-105; William Henry Drayton to Cherokees, 25 September 1775, Drayton, *Memoirs*, 1:419 and 421; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 186-188. Like Alexander Cameron, Richard Pearis made his fortune in the Indian trade and took a Cherokee wife. Initially, he supported the Association. In November 1775, Pearis switched sides after being overlooked for appointment as a Whig Indian commissioner. He later claimed that Drayton had tried to enrich himself in Cherokee lands while at the Congarees conference. *Ibid*, pp. 207-208; *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 10:348n9; *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 1:116.

13. William Henry Drayton to Cherokees, 25 September 1775, Drayton, *Memoirs*, 1:422-423 and 425. Several weeks later, Alexander Cameron gave the Cherokees a far more convincingly "talk." "Had it not been for the line run & Marked by order of the

King,” the assistant superintendent said, there “would not have had a Foot of land left them at this day.” Whig sympathizer Edward Wilkinson heard this charge, but did not challenge it. Henry Laurens was not happy with him: “Your silence was a Tacit Confirmation of a Short Charge against us comprehending every thing that could or can be said to render us odious in the sight of the Indians.” Henry Laurens to Wilkinson, 29 October 1775 BPRO/1, 7/77/371; “Intelligence contained in Mr. Cameron’s Letter,” 8 November 1775, *ibid.*, p. 377.

14. *Ibid.*; Dabney and Dargan, *William Henry Drayton*, p. 105; Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, 1:96-101; O’Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, pp. 25-26; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, p. 1; Hamer, “John Stuart’s Indian Policy,” p. 362.

15. “A Declaration,” 19 November 1775, *Journals of the Provincial Congresses*, pp. 137-39.

16. Snapp, *John Stuart*, p. 163; O’Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, pp. 19-20; John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth, 17 September 1775, BPRO/1, 7/77/278. “I am informd that the Amunition is seizd at Savannah,” David Taitt told Stuart. “If so God have mercy on them [the rebels], for I am affraid it will be out of my power to save them.” Taitt to John Stuart, 1 August 1775, *ibid.*, p. 283.

17. *Journals of the Provincial Congresses* (8 Nov 1775), 103-04; Richard Richardson to Henry Laurens, p. 16, 22 December 1775 and 2 January 1776, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 1:239-244 and 246-53; “Intelligence contained in Mr. Cameron’s Letter,” 8 November 1775, BPRO/1, 7/77/375-78; Russell F. Weigley, *The Partisan War: The South Carolina Campaign of 1780-1782* (Columbia, 1970), pp. 11-12; Lumpkin, *From Savannah to Yorktown*, pp. 1-2; Alden, *South in the Revolution*, pp. 200-201; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 188-190. The Cherokee was one of the two British warships involved in the exchange; as Tom Hatley notes, the patriots “could not have failed to find the ship’s name unsettling.” David Ramsay, *History of South Carolina: From Its First Settlement in 1670 to the Year 1808*, 2 vols. (Spartanburg, 1959 [1858]), 1:139-140; *Journals of the Provincial Congresses* (15 February 1776), p. 191; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, p. 191.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 189-190. On January 2, 1776, Richardson wrote to Laurens to inform the Council of Safety about the expedition’s success, as well as its hardships. With freezing rain and two feet of snow, for “eight days we never set foot on the earth or had a place to lie down . . . many are frost bitten, some very badly.” *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 1:247.

19. Ramsay, *History of South Carolina*, 1:146-147; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 188-190. Captain Thomas Sumter was among the many former Regulators who accompanied the expedition. Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* (Columbia, 1931), pp. 41-43; Robert Bass, *Gamecock: The Life and Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter* (New York, 1961) pp. 30-31.

20. Snapp, *John Stuart*, pp. 55-56 and 166; Gage to John Stuart, 12 September 1775, BPRO/1, 7/76/297-98; O’Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, p. 30; Alden, *South in the Revolution*, pp. 124 and 270-271; Hamer, “John Stuart’s Indian Policy,” pp. 360-362.

21. Snapp, *John Stuart*, p. 172-173; O’Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, p. 30-33; John Stuart to Henry Stuart, 24 October 1775, BPRO/1, 7/76/299-302; John Stuart to Cameron, 16 December 1775, *ibid.*, 7/77/312; John Stuart to Earl of Dartmouth, 19 January 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 321-322.

22. Snapp, *John Stuart*, pp. 55-59, 63-65 and 78-89; Alden, *South in the Revolution*, pp. 125-126, 130-137 and 140-141; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, 206-207, 210-212 and 217-218; R. S. Cotterill, *The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal* (Norman, 1954), p. 35; John Stuart to Cherokee Nation, 30 August 1775, BPRO/1, 7/76/287-88. Attakullakulla

adopted Stuart as an “elder brother.” The superintendent made Oconostota an honorary Scotsman in Charleston’s St. Andrew’s Society. Also good friends with Emistisiguo, Stuart was known as the “Alabama King” among the Creeks. Snapp, *John Stuart*, pp. 86-89; O’Donnell, “The South on the Eve of the Revolution,” p. 67.

23. Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, pp. 217-218; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, pp. 189-191.

24. Snapp, *John Stuart*, pp. 151-152; Alden, *South in the Revolution*, 140-41; Alan Gally, *The Formation of a Planter Elite: Jonathan Bryan and the Southern Colonial Frontier* (Athens, 1989), pp. 129-134 and 139. The so-called New Purchase of 1773 angered the Creeks. British merchants and administrators extorted sixty square miles in exchange for cancellation of trade debts. Stuart warned against the sale, but could not prevent it. Sure enough, Creek warriors soon raided the Georgia frontier, while Creek headmen quietly embraced Bryan as a way to fracture the imperial monopoly. *Ibid.*, pp. 130-131.

25. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35, and 137; Snapp, *John Stuart*, pp. 105-106, 127, 143-44, 163, and 183; Council of Safety to Georgia, 1 January 1776, Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:224, 226; George Galphin to Council of Safety, 7 February 1776, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 11:94-95; Council of Safety to Galphin, 14 February 1776, *ibid.*, 11:102; James H. O’Donnell, III, “The Southern Indians in the War for American Independence, 1775-1783,” in Charles M. Hudson, ed., *Four Centuries of Southern Indians* (Athens, 1975), p. 50; O’Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, pp. 15-16, 19 and 24-25. John Rutledge clearly recognized the importance of George Galphin’s diplomacy. During 1777, he dispatched a South Carolina bodyguard for the Georgian, explaining that “his Death w[oul]d be an irreparable Loss.” John Rutledge to South Carolina Delegates, 30 August 1777, Rutledge Papers, South Caroliniana Library MSS, University of South Carolina, Columbia, folder 1.

26. O’Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, pp. 35-39; Hamer, “John Stuart’s Indian Policy,” pp. 363-364; Hatley, *Dividing Paths*, p. 223-224; Henry Stuart and Alexander Cameron to Inhabitants of Watauga, etc., 7 May 1776, BPRO/1, 7/77/430-32; Henry Stuart to John Stuart, *ibid.*, pp. 435-448.

27. Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745-1815* (Baltimore, 1992), pp. 47-49 and 52-53; O’Donnell, “Indians in the War for American Independence,” p. 48; Calloway, *American Revolution in Indian Country*, pp. 195-196; O’Donnell, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution*, pp. 40-43; Drayton, *Memoirs*, 2:339 and 341; Henry Laurens to John Laurens, 14 August 1776, *Papers of Henry Laurens*, 11:229; Henry Laurens to Hope & Co., 17 August 1776, *ibid.*, p. 248; Louis De Vorse, Jr., *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775* (Chapel Hill, 1966), p. 114; Alden, *South in the Revolution*, 271; Cameron to John Stuart, 9 July 1776, BPRO/1, 7/77/455-57.

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“A Judicious and Gallant Defense” The Second Siege at Augusta, Georgia (The Battles of Forts Grierson and Cornwallis) 22 May – 5 June 1781.

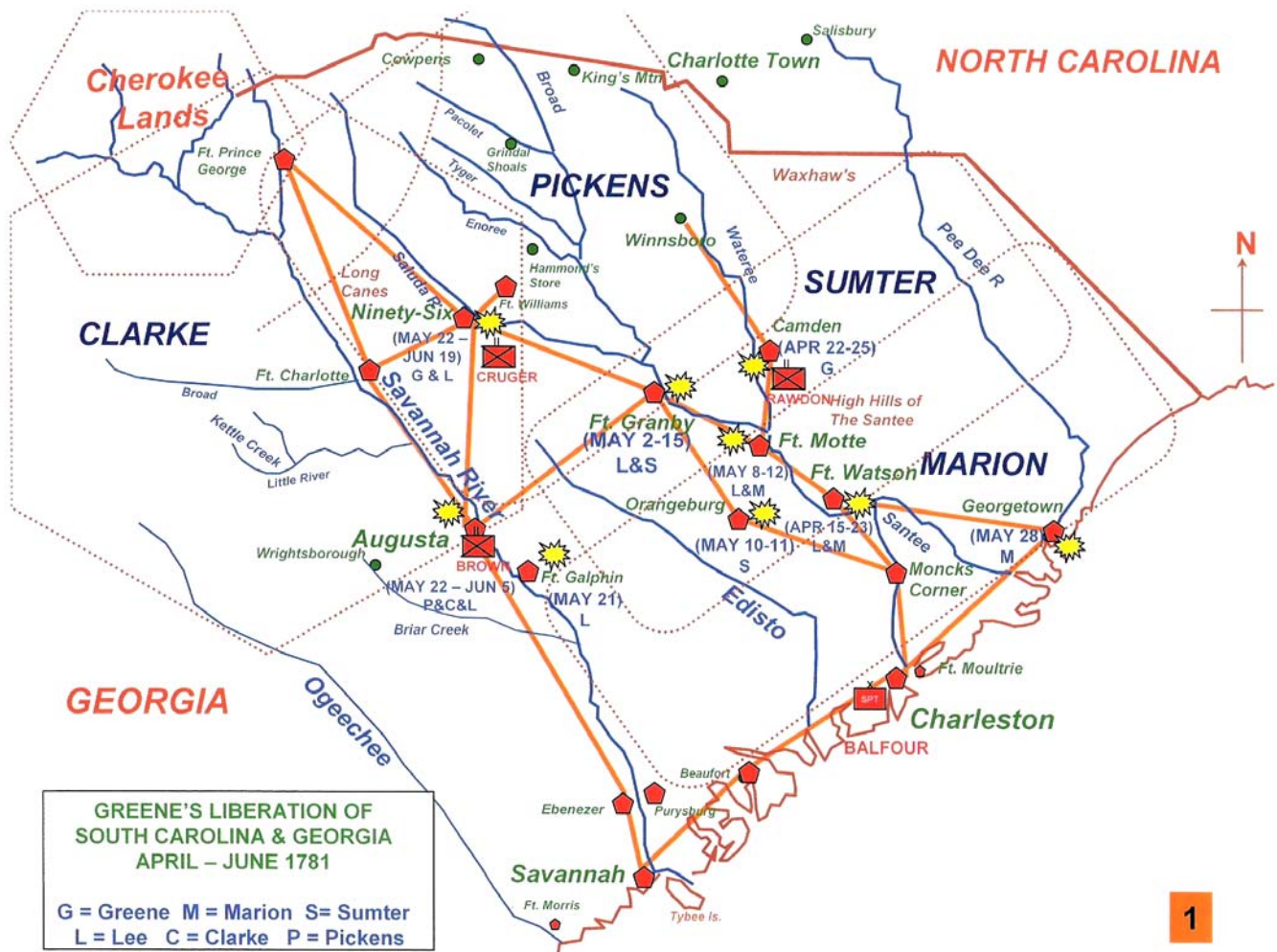
by Steven J. Rauch

American Major General Nathanael Greene, commander of the Southern theater of operations, embarked upon a campaign during the spring of 1781 to reduce the British and Loyalist military garrisons occupying key positions throughout South Carolina and Georgia. These British forward operating bases formed a regional network for logistics, communication and control. Generally, each base held a garrison that could send out patrols and demonstrate the presence of Royal authority. These bases were usually only one or two days march from each other in order to provide to one another emergency support. British operating bases were places where the wounded could convalesce, food and supplies could be stored, and rebels could be jailed until tried for their crimes. Finally, they served as centers for communication of Royal policy and as a refuge for those Loyalists who were harassed in areas where British

power was absent. The British had much presence in these South Carolina and Georgia bases but they did not have control.

During April and May 1781, British fortified bases such as Fort Watson, Fort Granby and Fort Motte fell to attacks by Patriot Continental and militia forces that cooperated together in an unusually close manner. Greene had successfully managed to synchronize the activities of several regional partisan leaders, principally Andrew Pickens, Francis Marion, Elijah Clarke, and Thomas Sumter, to work with elements of his own Continental command. By the middle of May, only two major British backcountry posts remained to be conquered, Ninety Six, South Carolina and Augusta, Georgia.

Loyalist forces commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown held the post at Augusta. During the early days of the Revolution, Brown had suffered severe physical abuse at the hands of the Patriots, who had beaten, tarred and feathered him, and dragged him through the streets of Augusta to persuade him to give up his “wrong-headed” beliefs. Instead Brown raised an elite regiment of rangers in Florida and eventually made his way returning to Georgia and establishing a British garrison at Augusta in June 1780. In September 1780, Brown and his rangers were attacked by militia forces commanded by Georgia Patriot militia leader Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke. During the four-day siege



Map #1 illustrating the network of British operating bases linked for communication and supply to control the region. Dates refer to when the bases fell to Patriot forces and indicate which leaders were involved in the action. Map by author.

of Mackey's trading post, Clarke failed to dislodge the Loyalist defenders and was forced to abandon his effort upon arrival of British reinforcements from Ninety Six. Prior to the September attack, Brown and Georgia Royal Governor Sir James Wright had urged Lord Earl Cornwallis to fund construction of fortifications at Augusta. Cornwallis denied these requests, viewing the war in Georgia as over and focused on the goal of invading North Carolina. As a result, the Loyalist forces had weak defenses to meet Clarke's attack.⁹

BRITISH FORWARD OPERATING BASE AUGUSTA AND CONSTRUCTION OF FORT CORNWALLIS

Augusta was located south of the Savannah River on a narrow plain that had been cleared for settlement with about 80 buildings and a few hundred people. South of the town were thick woods which afforded cover and an abundant supply of materials for armies to use. The plain was cut by marshes and gullies that divided the settled area into several little islands of high ground. To the west of town was a lagoon known as Alligator Pond which drained into the Savannah River through a deep cut known as Campbell's Gully.¹⁰ West of the gully and about three quarters of a mile west of St. Paul's church was Fort Grierson, a fortified house owned by Colonel James Grierson, head of the Richmond County Loyalist militia, that served as a rudimentary defensive structure.¹¹

After Clarke's failed attack in September 1780, Cornwallis reluctantly authorized Brown to prepare more thorough defenses at Augusta. Brown organized the construction of a fortification on the site of Saint Paul's Church, which he named Fort Cornwallis in honor of his commander.¹² The Reverend Mr. James Seymour of St. Paul's wrote about the construction of this fort on the site of his parish:

The Officers and Engineers thought it advisable to make a Fortress at Augusta to guard against a similar attack; where the Church stands was deemed the most proper ground for that purpose, and the Burying Ground is now made a strong fortification.¹³

⁹For a detailed description of the first siege at Augusta in September 1780, see Steven J. Rauch, "An Ill-timed and Premature Insurrection" The First Siege at Augusta, Georgia, September 14-18, 1780. *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, p. 2 (September 2005): pp. 1-16. Available online at www.southerncampaign.org.

¹⁰This gully was located in the area where 9th street is today. Alligator Pond was incorporated into the Augusta Canal in the 1840s.

¹¹Fort Grierson was located near 11th and Reynolds Streets, where the fire station and WJBF broadcast station are today.

¹²This had also been the site of the old Fort Augusta from the early colonial days. That fort no longer existed and had long succumbed to termites and humid climate. It had last been rebuilt in 1767 and when the country near Augusta became more populated and the danger from Indians receded, the fort was abandoned as it had served its purpose as a component of frontier defense. Fort Cornwallis therefore, was not a reconstruction or improvement, but an entirely new structure. Edward J. Cashin, *Colonial Augusta: "Key of the Indian Country,"* Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1986, p. 63.

¹³Cited in Cashin and Robertson, *Augusta & The American Revolution*, (Darien, Georgia: Ashantilly Press, 1975): p. 49.



Modern St. Paul's Church located on the site of Fort Cornwallis at the corner of 6th and Reynolds Streets in Augusta, Ga.

John Douglass, an engineer who Brown knew and respected, supervised construction.¹⁴ Fort Cornwallis was located northwest of

town about 100 yards from the Savannah River. From the ramparts, defenders had a commanding view of the cleared area for about 800 yards in all directions. There was, however, a portion of terrain along the river that was masked by the bank and could not be observed from the fort. Throughout the fall and winter, slaves and Brown's rangers built a fort later described by Henry Lee as "judiciously constructed, well finished, and secure from storm."¹⁵ The next time the rebel Whigs attacked Augusta Brown would ensure he had a proper defense in place.

With a geographical strong point at Augusta, Brown focused on his role as Superintendent of Indian Affairs to coordinate and ensure cooperation with the Indians of the backcountry. Augusta served as a hub in a vast inter-continental communications network that reached from the Gulf of Mexico, to the Mississippi valley and to the St. Lawrence River. Brown hoped to use the Indians to distract backcountry Whigs from harassing the Loyalists and to permit Royal institutions to again take root.¹⁶ Because of Brown's efforts, Greene and other Whig leaders viewed Augusta as a prime target that needed to be neutralized as quickly as possible. Until sufficient force could be brought to bear, the burden of this mission fell upon the militia of Georgia and South Carolina.

WHIG HARASSMENT AND THREATS TO AUGUSTA

During late winter and early spring, Brown suffered increasing harassment of his supply lines, particularly along the Savannah River. The rebels were emboldened by their victory at Cowpens in January 1781 and because Cornwallis had moved into North Carolina. The enemy now appeared vulnerable to attacks and there was less fear of the Loyalist forces remaining in the backcountry. However, two of the most dedicated Patriots were out of action as Georgia Patriot militia Col. Elijah Clarke and South Carolina Patriot militia cavalry commander Lt. Col. James McCall had contracted smallpox. McCall, who had fought alongside Clarke in a dozen actions, died of small pox in April 1781.

Clarke directed his deputy, Lieutenant Colonel Micajah Williamson, along with Major Samuel Hammond and Major James Jackson, to assemble on 16 April and "chastise a few Obnoxious Tories" in Wilkes and Richmond Counties (Ga.), including a raid on Wrightsborough.¹⁷ Williamson encamped within several

¹⁴Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 125.

¹⁵Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, (New York: University Publishing Company, 1869; Reprint New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1969): p. 356.

¹⁶Edward J. Cashin, "Nathanael Greene's Campaign for Georgia in 1781," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 61 (Spring 1977): pp. 44-45.

¹⁷Samuel Beckaem, *Pension Statement*, 1 June 1812, in Peter Force, ed., *American Archives*. 4th Series, 6 Vols. (Washington DC: 1837-46): II: p. 1010.

hundred yards of Augusta and conducted a very loose siege as he did not have enough troops for a complete investment. Brown, however, thought the enemy numbers to be stronger and requested reinforcements from Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich von Porbeck, who commanded at Savannah. Brown was concerned about the rebel cavalry that made a daily appearance on the outskirts of Augusta. He did have a good supply of corn and ammunition and under the circumstances felt his position well secured.

Brown's concerns were supported by Royal Gov. James Wright of Georgia who appealed to Lieutenant Colonel Nisbet Balfour at Charleston and Lieutenant Colonel Alured Clarke at St. Augustine for help, as he thought the situation at Augusta was growing more alarming. In fact, by mid-month, Clarke rejoined his command with an additional 100 men. Several clashes between Loyalist and Patriot patrols, such as at Walker's Bridge near Briar Creek, Bugg's Plantation and Beech Island all indicated a growing threat to Loyalist Augusta and the backcountry. This fact seemed to be confirmed when Lord Rawdon decided to abandon Camden after his fight with Greene at Hobkirk Hill about a week earlier. By 10 May, Rawdon sent orders to the commander of Ninety Six, Lieutenant Colonel John Harris Cruger to abandon that post and join Brown at Augusta. This communication however failed to reach Cruger, but it did reach Greene, who decided to take swift action to seize the two most important Loyalist backcountry bases.

GREENE ORDERS THE LIBERATION OF AUGUSTA



Greene was determined to orchestrate a simultaneous campaign to continue to reduce the British forward operating bases. On 16 May he ordered Lee to move at once for Augusta before Cruger could unite with Brown's forces; while Greene moved to invest Ninety Six with the remaining forces under his command.

Gen. Andrew Pickens

Greene told Lee, "Perform the march as soon as you can without injury to your troops, and make vigorous exertions for the reduction of those posts after your arrival. Should the posts surrender you will take special care that none of the stores are plunder'd."¹⁸ That same day Greene wrote to Pickens, "Lt. Col Lee is on his march as our advance for Augusta and the Army for Ninty Six. . . . Lee will be with you in about five days and will bring with him a field piece."¹⁹

Lee's command was a combined task force consisting of his own Partisan Corps, an artillery detachment and a recently organized regiment of North Carolina Continentals commanded by Major Pinketham Eaton. This unit consisted of North Carolina militiamen who had been accused of deserting during the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Governor Nash directed those men who had "shamelessly deserted their colours" to serve a 12 month term as Continental soldiers. About 180 men entered into this service, but there was a shortage of officers and by mid April, 41 men had deserted leaving the unit with about 140 men. This unit proved to be very capable and effective, probably due to the leadership of

Eaton and his second in command, Captain Robert Smith.²⁰ The Partisan Corps consisted of a small headquarters element, including the deputy commander or executive officer, Captain John Rudolph; three mounted troops of cavalry commanded by Captains James Armstrong, Joseph Eggleston, and Ferdinand O'Neal; and three dismounted troops of infantry commanded by Captains Michael Rudolph, George Handy, and Patrick Carnes with a total strength of about 300 men.²¹ Lee also attached 25 of the North Carolinians to his infantry units under control of Lieutenant Andrew Manning of the Legion. Captain Ebenezer Finley, a Marylander from the 1st Continental Artillery Regiment, commanded a 6-pound cannon and manned with about fifteen men to complete the combined arms task force.²²

Lee pushed his men hard and reached the Augusta area in just three days, covering a remarkable 75 miles, a feat that astounded Greene.²³ Upon hearing of Lee's determined movement Greene wrote to Lee on 22 May, "Your early arrival at Augusta astonishes me. For rapid marches you exceed Lord Cornwallis and everybody else....We performed the march [to Ninety-Six] in as fast a time as we could; but our exertions when compared with yours have no merit. I beg you to accomplish your business at Augusta and the fort below as soon as possible."²⁴ Lee had sent an advance party forward during the march under O'Neal to gain intelligence and collect provisions. O'Neal reported to Lee on 20 May that two companies of Brown's troops were guarding the annual Royal presents for the Indians at Fort Galphin, (also known as Fort Dreadnought) located 12 miles below Augusta on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River at Silver Bluff. Lee determined to capture those supplies that were badly needed by both militia and Continental forces.

Lee decided to split his forces, sending most of the slower marching infantry and the artillery under Eaton to continue on toward Augusta. At some point, Lee and Pickens met, probably in the vicinity of North Augusta or Beech Island today, where they arrived at a joint decision to have Lee attack the enemy post at Fort

²⁰Eaton had seen service with the old 3rd and 8th NC regiments. Hugh F. Rankin, *North Carolina Continentals*, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1971), p. 329; Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua B. Howard, "Fortitude and Forbearance" *The North Carolina Continental Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783*. (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2004), pp. 9 and 154. See addendum on Maj. Eaton, p. 52 below.

²¹ The authorized strength of a Continental Partisan Corps was 392 men. Robert K. Wright, *Continental Army*, (Washington DC: Center of Military History, 1989), p. 161. According to Lee, he had only 110 Legion infantry fit for service at this time. Lee to Greene, Camp Before Augusta, GA, 24 May 1781, *PNG*, Vol. VIII, p. 309. The final strength is derived from the authorized headquarters and mounted strength plus the known infantry strength stated by Lee.

²² This unit was composed of Continental artillery units from Virginia and Maryland, but applied to the Virginia quota. The regimental commander was Colonel Charles Harrison. Finley apparently was part of Captain Richard Dorsey's company of Maryland artillery. The number would be the required strength for the crew, but in all probability was less, though no specific figures are available. Fred Anderson Berg, *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units*. (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1972): pp. 23-25; Wright, *Continental Army*, pp. 335-336. Muster Roll at http://eorr.home.netcom.com/EMO/documents/pattont_re02.htm.

²³ Lee sent a message to Greene asking for 100 more Continentals. Where he was exactly is not known, but he evidently linked up with Pickens. Lee to Greene, Augusta, GA, "Sunday night [20 May 1781], *PNG*, VIII, p. 287.

²⁴ Greene to Lee, Ninty Six [SC] May 22, 1781 in *PNG* VIII: pp. 291-292.

¹⁸ Greene to Lee, Camp at Ancroms Plantation [SC] May 16th, 1781 in Dennis M. Conrad, ed. *The Papers of Nathanael Greene*. Volume VIII 30 March – 10 July 1781. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995): p. 272. (Hereafter PNG, VIII).

¹⁹ Greene to Pickens, Camp at Ancroms Plantation on the Congaree [in modern Columbia, SC] May 16th, 1781, *PNG*, VIII, p. 272.

Galphin while Pickens continued to move his force to join Clarke at Augusta.²⁵ Lee gave the mission to capture Fort Galphin to his deputy, Captain John Rudolph, who took a detachment of infantry mounted with the legion cavalry and some of Pickens' mounted troops from Hammond and Hardin's SC Patriot militia regiments. On the morning of 21 May, Rudolph accomplished his mission by using a ruse to draw out the Loyalist garrison and induce them to surrender. The captured stores included powder, ball, small-arms, blankets, liquor and other items which the rebels were in short supply.²⁶ Where Lee was during all of this is unknown as Rudolph clearly made the report of the capture of Fort Galphin.²⁷ Meanwhile, Eaton had reached Cherokee Ponds, six miles from Augusta and joined Pickens who then moved forward to join Clarke who had been keeping close watch on the Loyalists.²⁸

After resting his weary men at Galphin, Lee ordered Eggleston and his troop across the Savannah River three miles below Augusta at Wallicon's Ferry, later called the Sand Bar Ferry, near Beech Island. Eggleston was to join Clarke and Pickens to begin to assess the disposition of the Loyalist defenses. Eggleston, who was now the senior Continental officer south of the Savannah River, attempted to contact Brown by message to inform him that Continental forces had arrived in Augusta and Ninety Six was under siege by Greene, hoping these facts would induce him to surrender. Brown, believing he was being summoned by his nemesis Clarke, refused to even acknowledge the request.



Lt. Col. Henry Lee

On 22 May Lee joined Pickens and Clark at their encampment in the woods on the hill northwest of Augusta.²⁹ Greene was sensitive to the working relationships between the various military components to ensure they always operated toward the same goal. In a letter to Lee on 21 May, Greene instructed Lee to "cultivate a good understanding with General Pickens and the Militia. Should you succeed, take care to preserve the stores if any are taken."³⁰ Greene appeared to be very concerned about acquiring provisions, but more importantly, to prevent theft and plunder. He was also sensitive to militia versus Continental Army perceptions of each other and did not want the issue of provisions and supplies to fracture his Army and unduly affect morale, much as it had with SC Patriot militia commander, Gen. Thomas Sumter over the capture of Fort Granby a week earlier.

BATTLE FOR FORT GRIERSON – 24 MAY 1781³¹

From the hill the Patriot commanders studied the Loyalist positions and formed a plan. They observed that Campbell's gully could provide protection for units to maneuver between the enemy positions. Lee and Pickens decided to attack Fort Grierson first as the gully separated it from Fort Cornwallis and would permit them to concentrate an overwhelming force against one element of the enemy. The forces they had for the task consisted of approximately 1,500 – 1,700 men. Lee had about 468 Continental troops, including Finley's six – pounder; Pickens had about 550 men from various SC militia regiments; and Clarke had about 500 men from various Georgia and backcountry areas, to include a four-pounder cannon.³²

Pickens and Clarke would control the militia and attack Fort Grierson from the northwest. Major Samuel Hammond would lead the attack with every second man carrying an ax to cut away the surrounding stockade.³³ A detachment of Georgia militia commanded by Major James Jackson fell under control of Major Eaton who along with his North Carolinians, would assault from the southeast.³⁴ Lee split his legion with his infantry moving

³¹Many accounts about this battle indicate it took place on 22 May. Others identify 24 May as the date. Lee does not give a date in his memoirs, but makes a statement where one could believe this battle occurred the day after Fort Galphin. I think that is unlikely as the plan was a bit complicated and depended upon units that had little experience working with the other to execute the plan. It took them about two days to get organized. Also, if the battle occurred on 22 May, either Pickens or Lee or both would have reported this significant event to Greene the next day to show how they were making progress. However, the Greene papers show that Lee wrote to Greene on 24 May that the "connexion of Browne & Griersons forts" make the situation difficult, thus indicating that the Loyalists still held both forts at least early on 24 May. The first mention of the battle for Fort Grierson is Pickens letter to Greene on 25 May. In that report he stated a battery position "opened up against the upper fort yesterday morning" [that would have been 24 May] and then describes the fight that ensued. [The "upper fort" is Fort Grierson. ed.] The histories related to the North Carolina Continentals also indicate that Major Eaton died on 24 May, during the fighting for Fort Grierson. I therefore conclude the battle of Fort Grierson occurred on 24 May, not 22 May. See Lee to Greene, "Camp before Augusta, Ga., 24 May 1781 and Pickens to Greene, Griersons fort [Ga.] 25th May 1781. PNG, VIII, pp. 309-311.

³²See the more detailed Order of Battle included in this article. The only other total number discovered in any of the sources related to this battle is given by Boatner, when he stated, "Lee was detached with his legion and the newly raised NC militia...to support the 1,300 militia of Pickens and Elijah Clarke besieging Augusta." So his number adding Lee and Eaton would probably be about 1,500 – 1,600 men as well. Mark Boatner, III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, (New York: David McKay, 1966): p. 50.

³³Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 132.

³⁴There are two conflicting accounts of the approach of this element for the attack. Lee says Eaton was to "pass down the north side of the lagoon" and approach Grierson from the south. Pickens in his report to Greene stated "Smiths command [not noting Eaton had been killed] marched directly from our battery [the 4 pounder?] towards the post we meant to occupy." McCall states that Eaton's battalion and Jackson's militia "were to pass down the river and attack the work upon the northeast." I conclude that Eaton did not pass along the river for if he did, he would have met Grierson and his men fleeing the fort directly head on. I think he approached from the south using Campbell's gully as Lee reported. Lee,

²⁵Lee to Greene, "Camp on Savannah" 22 May 1781 in PNG VIII, p. 293.

²⁶Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 354.

²⁷For a detailed account of the capture of Fort Galphin see Steven J. Rauch, "Prelude to Augusta: The Capture of Fort Galphin, 21 May 1781." *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, 3 (May 2006): pp. 22-26.

²⁸Hugh McCall, *The History of Georgia, Containing Brief Sketches of the Most Remarkable Events up to the Present Day (1784)*, 2 Vols. (Savannah: 1811-1816; Reprint Atlanta, Cherokee Publishing Company, 1969), p. 517. Charles C. Jones, *Memorial History of Augusta, Georgia*, (Syracuse, New York: D. Mason & Co., 1890), p. 115.

²⁹This was probably the site of Indian Springs, which was in the vicinity of Hickman Road and Heckle Street in modern Augusta.

³⁰Greene to Lee, Camp on East side of Saluda from Frydays Ferry to Ninty Six, SC, 21 May 1781, PNG VIII, p. 290.

Thomas Brown's order to John Douglass to provide slaves to repair Fort Cornwallis

Augusta 12th April 1781

Agreeable to an Act of Assembly lately passed, You are hereby ordered to furnish all your working Slaves in order to put Fort Cornwallis in a State of Defence, the Enemy having invaded this Province in a formidable manner; Of this, fail not at your Peril.

Thos. BROWN Lt. Col. Commt. K[ings] Troops at Augusta

To Mr. John DOUGLASS

Great Britain, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Volume 34, folio 357, located at The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies,

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/black/blkords.htm> accessed 7 July 2006.

Certification of Slave Losses during the Siege of Augusta, 1781

I do hereby Certify that in Consequence of the within Order, John DOUGLASS furnished for the Works at Augusta; Five Negroes as undermentioned, which were Captured on the surrender of Fort Cornwallis 5th June 1781 and that one Young Negroe Man was killed in the Fort.

Ness a man about 38 years of age

Hanibal a Stout Man 35 Years old

Venus a Woman 35 Years old

Charlotte a Woman 35 Years old

Jessee a likely young Man 21 Years old killed by a Cannon ball

Also One Negro Girl child to Charlotte about 5 Years of Age, was taken with her Mother

Thos. BROWN Lt. Col. Commt. K[ings] Troops at Augusta

Great Britain, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Volume 34, folio 356. Located at The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies,

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/black/blkpris1.htm>

parallel to Eaton down Campbell's gully on the southeast and supported by Finley's gun to either reinforce Eaton's attack or intercept Brown should he decide to save Grierson. Lee ordered Eggleston and his mounted troops positioned in the edge of the woods south of Fort Cornwallis to intercept Brown should he try to advance upon Lee. According to Pickens a gun battery, probably belonging to the Georgians, was established the night of 23 May in order to support the attack in the morning.³⁵

Thomas Brown faced this enemy threat tied down in two fortifications that were out of supporting distance (i.e. weapons range) of each other. Brown had about 236 King's Rangers,³⁶ a

Memoirs, p. 356; Pickens to Greene, Grierson's Fort 25th May 1781, PNG, VIII, p. 311; McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 518.

³⁵Pickens to Greene, Griersons fort [Ga.] 25th May 1781. PNG, VIII, pp. 310-311.

³⁶This number is derived from the muster rolls reported on 24 April 1781 at Augusta. Given a month between 24 April and when the siege began, there was probably more attrition but this figure matches fairly closely the final casualty and prisoner reports. Cashin, *King's Ranger*, (Appendix: Muster Rolls King's Rangers,

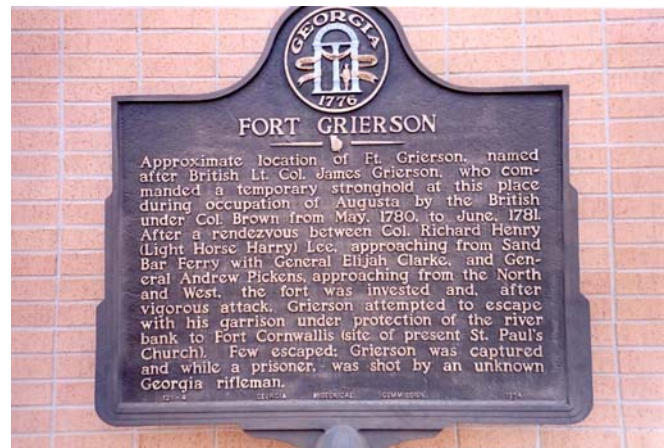
small number of militia, 300 Indians³⁷ and almost 200 slaves³⁸ with him in Fort Cornwallis along with two small artillery pieces. James Grierson had about 80 militia men with him and two field pieces inside Fort Grierson. The total Loyalist force therefore numbered about 800 – 900 men.



Col. Elijah Clarke from the Painting in the Augusta History Museum.

On the morning of 24 May, the militia artillery opened the attack on Fort Grierson. Clarke, Pickens, Jackson, Lee, and Eaton all moved to carry out their respective part of the plan. It did not take long for Grierson and his men to realize they were outmatched. They attempted to escape their position and used the cover of the riverbank to make their way toward Fort Cornwallis. Brown with his rangers sallied from Fort

Cornwallis to cover Grierson's withdrawal and soon began to fire upon Lee's blocking position with his pieces of artillery. Captain Finley returned fire from his 6-pounder and an artillery duel ensued between Lee and Brown, though it had little effect nor inflict any measurable losses. At the same time, Captain Armstrong with part of the legion cavalry rode through Augusta and attacked several small outposts and redoubts.³⁹ See Map #2, next page.



Georgia historical marker for Fort Grierson located by the modern fire station on Reynolds Street. Photo by author.

Augusta, April 24, 1781, 61 days, April 25-June 24, 1781), pp. 249-293.

³⁷This number probably includes all Indians, men, women and children of which various accounts mention. How many were part of the fighting is not clear, but they did participate in counterattacks outside of the fort with the Loyalist forces. Boatner identified these as 300 Creek Indians, but Cashin identified them as a mixture of Creek, Cherokee, and Chickasaw tribes. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 50; Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 133.

³⁸The number for the slaves is from an order published by Greene. General Greene's Orders, Camp Before Ninety Six, SC, 6 June 1781, PNG, VIII, p. 354.

³⁹Pickens to Greene, Griersons Fort, 25th May 1781, PNG, VIII, p. 310.



Map #2 depicts the Patriots' attack and capture of Fort Grierson. Map by author.

At some point during the attack Eaton was wounded in the thigh and by the time the battle ended was dead.⁴⁰ Some witnesses claimed he was taken prisoner and then murdered; however since the Loyalists were in the process of fleeing, that is probably unlikely. Eaton's death was the most significant incident of this battle, though interestingly Pickens makes no mention of this loss to Greene in his report the next day.⁴¹ Lee noted of Eaton in his memoirs, "He had endeared himself to his commandant and fellow-soldiers by the amiability of his manners. He fell gallantly at the head of his battalion in the moment of victory."⁴²

Grierson's flight to Cornwallis was disastrous and resulted in 30 of his men killed, including Major Howard.⁴³ Georgia militiaman Samuel Beckaem described the scene as "the old Field was Strewed from one fort to the other," with dead

Loyalists.⁴⁴ About 45 of Grierson's men were made prisoner and some of them were wounded. Lee stated incorrectly in his memoirs that Grierson was made prisoner during this event and was murdered upon surrendering.⁴⁵ But Grierson, Major Henry Williams and a few others made it to Fort Cornwallis where they joined Brown in continuing the defense.⁴⁶ Patriot losses were negligible with only a few wounded and Eaton the only recorded death.

THE SIEGE OF FORT CORNWALLIS

Both sides understood that Fort Cornwallis was a strong position. Its continued existence or destruction depended upon the "zeal and diligence" of Lee and Pickens against Brown, an officer Lee clearly respected by his description as "vigilant and resolute... the active and sagacious officer" who opposed them.⁴⁷ The leaders of both

⁴⁰Beckaem, *Pension Statement*.

⁴¹All Pickens said was "Captain Smiths command marched from our battery toward the post which we meant to occupy." This is a bit strange as Eaton was in command during that movement and Smith took over during the course of the battle. Pickens to Greene, Griersons Fort, 25th May 1781, PNG, VIII, p. 310.

⁴²Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 357.

⁴³Beckaem, *Pension Statement*.

⁴⁴Beckaem, *Pension Statement*.

⁴⁵Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 357. McCall also makes this error and misplaced Grierson's death with the events of 24 May. McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 519.

⁴⁶Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 133.

⁴⁷Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 360.



Approximate site of Fort Grierson at corner of 11th Street and Reynolds Avenue now occupied by a fire station. Photo by author.

forces were at their peak of military experience and conducted what may be described as graduate level military operations, where they applied critical thinking to their problems to develop inventive solutions.

Lee and Pickens determined to conduct a textbook siege using the techniques of the day. However there was no high ground in the area near the fort where they could position their cannon.⁴⁸ An inventive solution was Lee's suggestion to build a Maham tower, an elevated firing platform he saw used during the siege of Fort Watson in April.⁴⁹ This tower would be built high enough to allow Finley's 6-pounder to fire over the protective walls and into the fort. The Maham tower would be a square pen of notched logs built about 30 feet high and then filled with dirt, stone and other debris to stabilize the structure and to provide support for the cannon and some riflemen.⁵⁰ While materials for the tower were acquired, tools were collected from neighboring farms and the stores captured at Fort Galphin for the men to dig trenches. The Patriots used the riverbank for cover since it could not be targeted by weapons in the fort and began digging two parallel trenches, one on the southeastern flank and another from the northwest side.⁵¹ To supervise the work, Pickens established his headquarters in the woods south of the fort and Lee encamped in and around a large brick house belonging to Edward Campbell located south of Campbell's gully where it joined the Savannah River.⁵²

During this time Pickens and Lee attempted communication with Brown in order to obtain some medical supplies for the wounded loyalist prisoners. Brown, understanding now who he was dealing with, answered them "politely" simply because they were not Clarke.⁵³ Brown spent the time improving

⁴⁸Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 361.

⁴⁹Named for South Carolina Colonel Hezekiah Maham who applied this method at Fort Watson.

⁵⁰Range of 6-pounders varied. An iron weapon could fire about 1,500 yards and a bronze about 1,200 yards. Range and recoil depended upon the weight of the charge. Fort Cornwallis was only about 150 – 200 yards away, therefore required less of a charge and a subsequent reduction in recoil, a major factor with a weapon mounted on a tower.

⁵¹Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 133.

⁵²Jones, *History of Augusta*, p. 118.

⁵³Lee observed that Brown and the Whig militia exhibited "a spirit of hate and revenge had succeeded to those noble feelings of humanity and forgiveness which ought ever to actuate the soldier." Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 361. Perhaps an easy thing for him to say not having been part of the brutal civil war among men who had once been neighbors in the backcountry.

SC Patriot militia Captain Tarleton Brown wrote of the Maham tower in his memoirs:

"We raised a platform fifteen or twenty feet high, and mounted a cannon upon it, and from thence fired at them in the fort. In this way we destroyed a good many of them, but finding we were too hard for them in this way, and to screen themselves from the thunder and lightning of our platform, they dug several caves in the sides of the walls of the fort and crawled into them, We then continued the entrenchment, and as we entrenched, we rolled up cowhides and placed them on the embankment for portholes to shoot through. One morning I was standing next to young Stafford, who was about to shoot through one of our portholes, and there came a ball from the fort and killed him dead."

From the Manuscripts Department, Library of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Southern Historical Collection #5063-z -- Tarleton Brown Memoir.

<http://www.lib.unc.edu/mss/inv/b/Brown,Tarleton.html>

his own position within the fort as much as possible which was "repaired with industry" according to McCall. He also is reported to have ordered several of the Patriot captives, many held since Clarke's raid in September 1780, placed in the bastions and exposed to Patriot fire, in many cases by their own relatives.⁵⁴

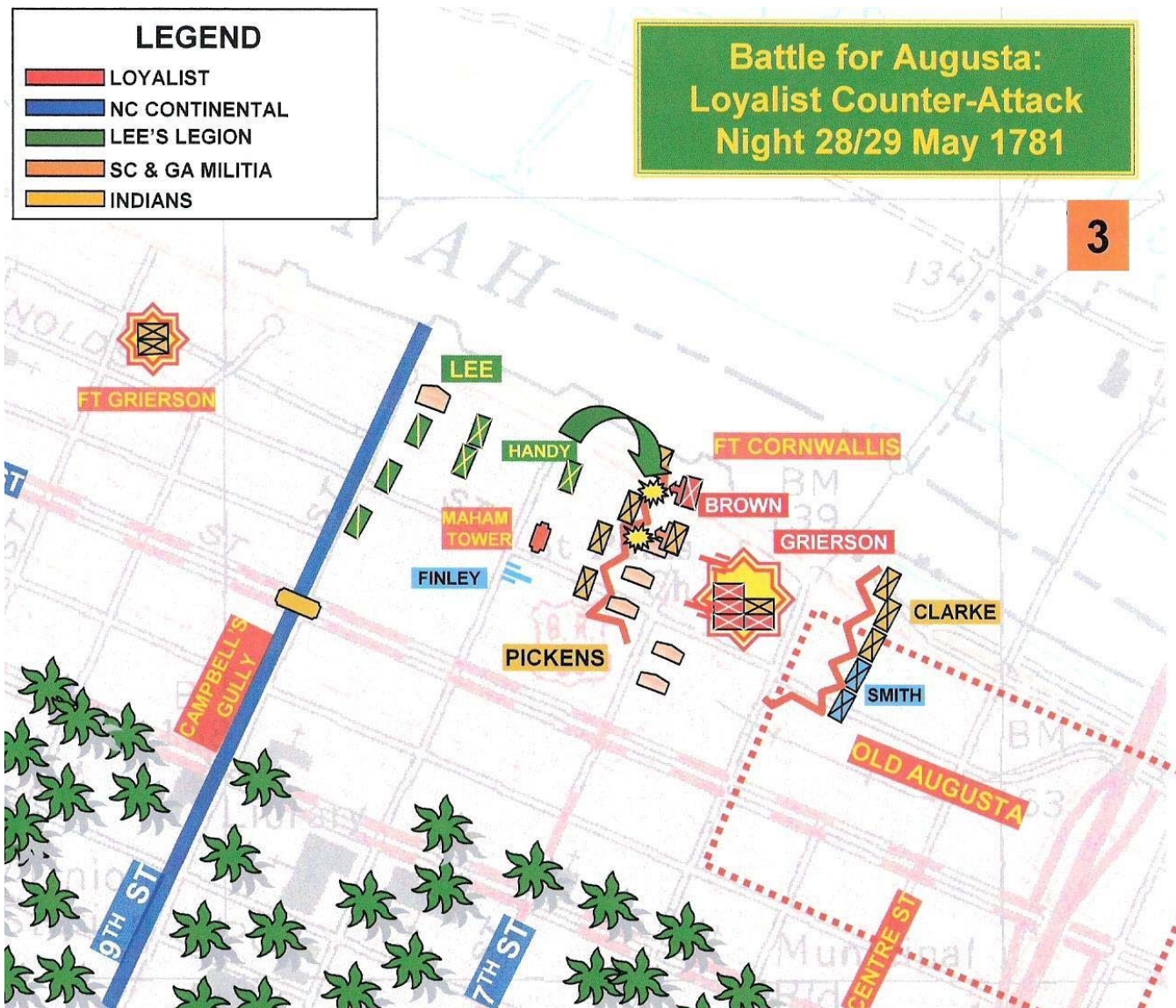
NIGHTMARE FOR THE PATRIOTS: LOYALIST NIGHT ATTACK – 28/29 MAY 1781

Though confined to Fort Cornwallis, Brown did not view his situation as hopeless or without options. Demonstrating the energy and resolve for which he was known, Brown attempted to disrupt the patriot efforts against him. About midnight on 28/29 May, Brown led a company of King's Rangers and Indians silently from the fort and with a "suddenness and vigor" attacked the few guards posted in trenches on the northwest flank near the Savannah River.⁵⁵ However, quick reaction by a troop of Lee's infantry commanded by Captain George Handy repulsed the enemy in hand to hand combat with the bayonet and regained the trench. It is unknown what the losses were, but from this point on, Lee ensured that his legion infantry manned the trenches at night to deal with further incidents of "determined spirit manifested by the foe."⁵⁶
See Map #3 on next page.

⁵⁴One particular case was that of the aged father of Samuel Alexander who particularly suffered depredation by a forced march by foot from Wilkes County, Georgia in September 1780 held in Augusta in poor conditions since that time.

⁵⁵Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 362.

⁵⁶Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 363.



Map #3 shows the Loyalist counter-attack during the night of 28/29 May 1781. Map by author.

LIGHTING STRIKES TWICE: LOYALIST NIGHT ATTACK – 29/30 MAY 1781

Not deterred by the setback, Brown determined to lead another attack into the trenches on the northwest with a stronger force of rangers and Indians during the night of 29/30 May. Once again, fierce hand-to-hand combat occurred with “mutual pertinacity” this time repulsed by troops lead by Captain Michael Rudolph using the bayonet to drive the Rangers back to the fort.⁵⁷ Again, there is no record of losses, but the list of casualties for both sides must have been growing. See Map #4, next page.

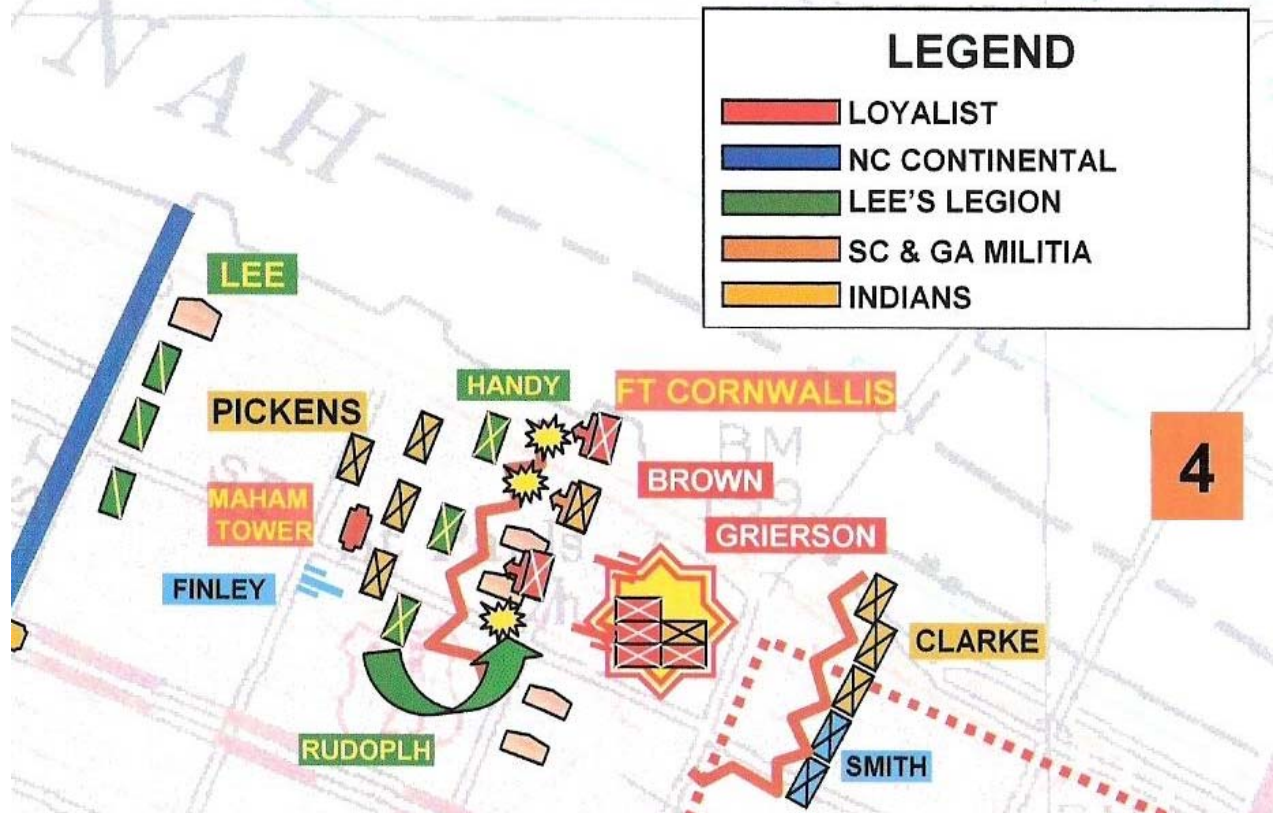
Celtic Cross, placed in 1901 by the Society of Colonial Dames at the site of French and Indian War Fort Augusta and the 1780 Fort Cornwallis. Photo by author.



⁵⁷Lee, *Memoirs*, 362, Jones, *History of Augusta*, p. 118.

Map #4 depicts the Loyalist counter-attack during the night of 29/30 May 1781. Map by author.

Battle for Augusta: Loyalist Counter-Attack Night 29/30 May 1781



STRIKE THREE: LOYALIST NIGHT ATTACK 31 MAY/1 JUNE 1781

On 30 May the timber required to build the Maham Tower was positioned about 150 yards from Fort Cornwallis and that evening the Patriots began its construction.⁵⁸ Several abandoned wooden houses between the tower and the fort provided cover for the workers. By the end of the next day on 31 May, the tower had been raised almost level with the Fort Cornwallis parapet. In addition, the trenches to the southeast of the enemy were being pushed out and around to join the location of the tower.⁵⁹ At this point, Pickens and Lee attempted once again to persuade Brown to surrender and sent Captain Armstrong of the legion under a flag to deliver a message that said in part, "The usage of war renders it necessary that we present you with an opportunity of avoiding the destruction which impends your garrison." Brown's reply reflected an enemy unbowed by circumstances when he stated, "It is my duty and inclination to defend this post to the last extremity."⁶⁰

⁵⁸The location of the tower was in the vicinity of the current Cotton Exchange building on Reynolds Avenue which is presently about 150 – 200 yards away from St. Paul's church.

⁵⁹Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 362.

⁶⁰Robert Wilson Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, Volume 3 (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1853; Reprint Edition, New York: Arno Press, 1971), pp. 82 – 83; Henry Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 367; Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the*

Seeing the progress his enemy was making and determined to foil construction of the tower, Brown decided to attack with all of his able troops. However, Lee and Pickens had diligently prepared for another night attack. Pickens's militia and Smith's Continental battalion that was posted near the river doubly manned the northwest trenches. Captain Handy was positioned near the tower with two companies of legion infantry to react to any emergency. Clarke and his militia, supported by Captain Michael Rudulph and his infantry, manned the southeastern trenches.⁶¹ At about ten o'clock, the Loyalists sallied from Fort Cornwallis and attacked the southeast works with about one-third of their troops.⁶² This attack initially forced Clarke's militia out of the trenches; however Rudulph pushed them back in a sharp bayonet assault. On Pickens' front Brown attacked with the majority of his force to make a breakthrough and reach the tower. Pickens' militia was also forced out of the trench by the rangers' bayonets. Luckily Handy reacted as planned, leaving one company to guard the tower, and the other to join with Pickens' to counterattack the Loyalists, who were once again driven back to their positions. It was during this fight that Lee concluded most of the casualties occurred for both sides.⁶³ See Map #5, next page.

Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America. (London: T. Cadell, 1787; Reprint North Stratford, NH: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc., 2001), pp. 487-488.

⁶¹Lee, *Memoirs*, 363; McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 521.

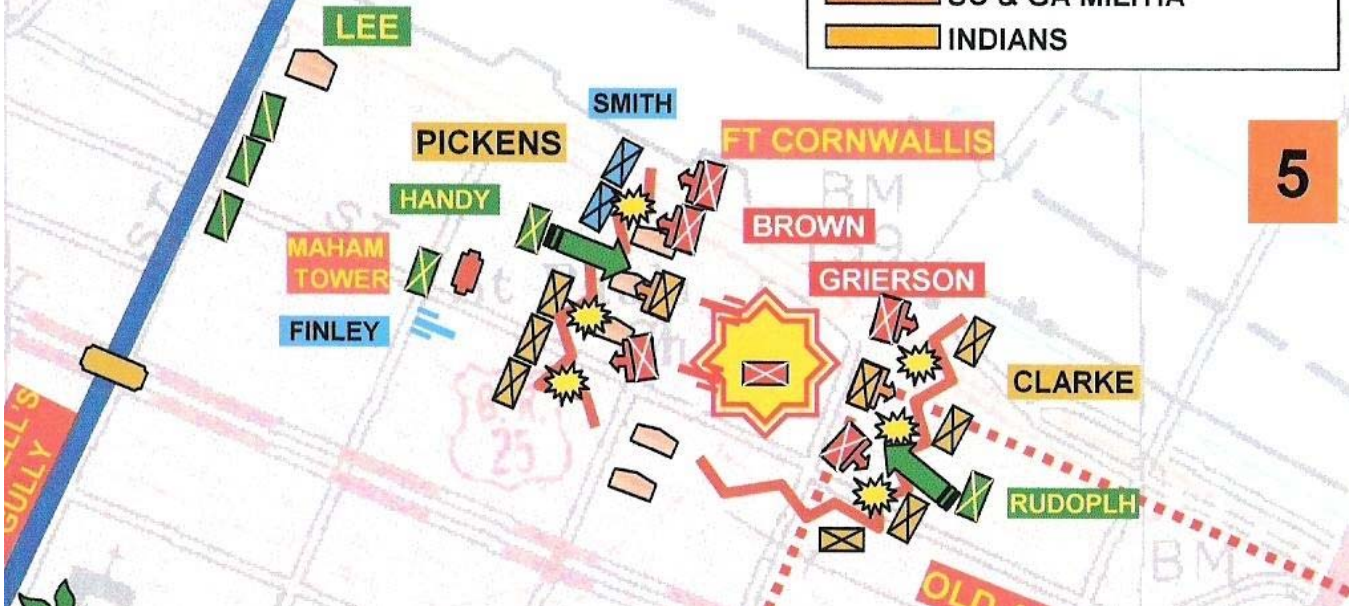
⁶²McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 521.

⁶³Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 363.

Battle for Augusta: Loyalist Counter-Attack Night 31 May / 1 June 1781

LEGEND

	LOYALIST
	NC CONTINENTAL
	LEE'S LEGION
	SC & GA MILITIA
	INDIANS



Map #5 shows the Loyalist counter-attack night of 31 May/1 June 1781. Map by author.

SEARCH FOR SOLUTIONS - 1 JUNE 1781

By this point leaders of both sides were frustrated at the stalemate. Brown built a platform in the southwest angle of Fort Cornwallis where he mounted his two cannon to fire upon the tower and disrupt construction. Slaves in the fort made sandbags to protect the cannoneers and riflemen from the tower. Brown also ordered preparations to mitigate effects of the impending barrage to include construction of traverses that ran perpendicular to the expected line of fire.⁶⁴ Brown also had trenches dug on the west side of the fort to provide cover as well.

Both Pickens and Lee took this time to update Greene on their progress, or lack thereof, and explain why they were having so much difficulty defeating Brown. Henry Lee was under increasing pressure from Greene to complete his "business at Augusta" and join him at Ninety Six where the enemy proved much stronger than Greene expected. Greene had already sent an aide, Major Ichabod Burnet, to inquire personally what was taking Lee and Pickens so long to capture Augusta. In a message to Greene on 1 June, Lee wrote, "the strength of this post, the uncommon inertness & disorder of our assistants, the inferiority of our regulars in point of

number, & the judicious conduct of the enemy will render the issue of these operations later than you can wish or expect."⁶⁵

Pickens also wrote Greene on 1 June 1781, with remarkably similar concerns as Lee. Pickens wrote:

We are carrying on Works against Fort Cornwallis with what expedition we can though I think our progress is very slow....I would be happy if the Service would admit of Sending us two hundred regular troops, which if done immediately would greatly facilitate the reduction of this Post, and enable the Army to act elsewhere.... I find Col. Brown has more provision than was at first expected, and as his works are Strong and the Militia far from being well Arm'd....it will take more time than I could wish to end the siege."⁶⁶

⁶⁴ A traverse is like a reverse trench, the benefit is derived from the piles of dirt designed to absorb the impact of artillery.

⁶⁵ Lee to Greene, Augusta, Ga. [1 June 1781], *PNG*, VIII, p. 334. This could be translated as a tough enemy, too few competent soldiers and lazy, unorganized militia were the reasons Lee could not finish the job as quickly as Greene had hoped.

⁶⁶ Pickens to Greene, Grierson's Fort, [Augusta, Ga.] 1st June 1781, *PNG* VIII, pp. 334-335.

So more skilled men with better quality weapons was the solution both Pickens and Lee proposed to Greene. Greene however could send no reinforcements as he had his own problems and wrote to Pickens the same day, "We are in immediate want of a few barrels of powder to compleat the reduction of this place...I beg you will send off the powder the moment this reaches you...I hope before this reaches you Augusta will be ours."⁶⁷ One can only imagine the pressure Lee and Pickens felt upon receiving that dispatch.

Fortunately for the Patriots, the Maham tower was completed on 1 June. The front of the tower was covered with animal hides to provide protection to Lee's artillerymen and sharpshooters. An embrasure was cut into the logs so the tube of the 6-pounder could protrude and an angled ramp was constructed so the matrosses could haul the cannon into position.⁶⁸ From the tower a soldier could see clearly into Fort Cornwallis, whose walls may as well have been invisible since they could no longer protect against fire from that direction.



Philadelphia Light Dragoon member Eugene Hough demonstrates carbine fire from the reconstructed Maham tower. Gene and other volunteers built this reconstruction for the 255th Siege of Augusta celebrations. Photo by SCAR photographer Lanny W. Morgan; Photoshop by Caroline Baxley.

⁶⁷Greene to Pickens, Camp before Ninety Six [SC] June 1st 1781, PNG VIII, p. 332.

⁶⁸Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 363-364.

DECEPTION BORN OF DESPERATION: A LOYALIST DESERTS

Though unable to impede the progress of the tower through direct assault or direct fire, Brown continued to persist in finding a solution to his predicament. He decided on a more indirect method by employing a Scotch sergeant of artillery to pose as a deserter, offer his services to identify critical targets in the fort, and gain access to the tower to sabotage or damage the structure in some way. The sergeant made his way into the Patriot lines where he was taken to Lee and questioned. The "crafty sergeant" according to Lee then proceeded to offer to assist the artillery crew to strike the forts powder magazine. This intelligence was "received with delight" and the sergeant provided a hearty meal. The sergeant soon feigned concern about his personal safety and taking part in the siege against his fellow Loyalists. Lee assured him all he had to do was to be present in the tower and assist directing the weapon toward the proper targets. The sergeant appeared calmed by that assurance and consented to being taken to meet Captain Finley. However when Lee retired to rest about midnight, he could not stop thinking about the incident and became "disquieted by the step he had taken." He then sent an order to remove the sergeant away from the tower and put him under constant guard.⁶⁹ Lee was obviously embarrassed by this incident as he later wrote in his memoirs the event, "demonstrates the great caution with which the offer of aid from deserters ought to be received; especially when coming from a besieged fortress on the point of surrender, and in the care of an experienced and sagacious soldier."⁷⁰

IRON VS WOOD: BOMBARDMENT OF FORT CORNWALLIS, 2-3 JUNE 1781

At dawn on 2 June the six-pounder was mounted in the tower and Captain Finley, who had endured the fire from Brown's cannon, was anxious to open fire upon the enemy. Once the six-pounder began throwing projectiles at Fort Cornwallis, it took little time to wreck the interior of the fort and silence both Loyalist cannon, which were knocked out of action by noon.⁷¹ The only safe areas for the forts inhabitants were those protected by the traverses and in the trench along the west wall. While fire from the tower distracted the enemy, the Patriots continued to move their trench lines closer to the fort and soon had a portion only 50 yards away.⁷²

On 3 June the Patriots continued bombarding the fort but concentrated their fire against the section of the fort near the river. This area was designated as the target for an infantry attack planned for the next day. Lee and Pickens ordered their troops to prepare to assault the enemy's works at nine o'clock the next morning. Part of the plan included sending a small element of marksmen from Pickens' militia to occupy an abandoned house that stood near the fort and could provide a supporting fire position. Captain Handy was ordered to begin positioning his legion infantry near the river as he would lead the main assault.⁷³ **See Map # 6, next page.**

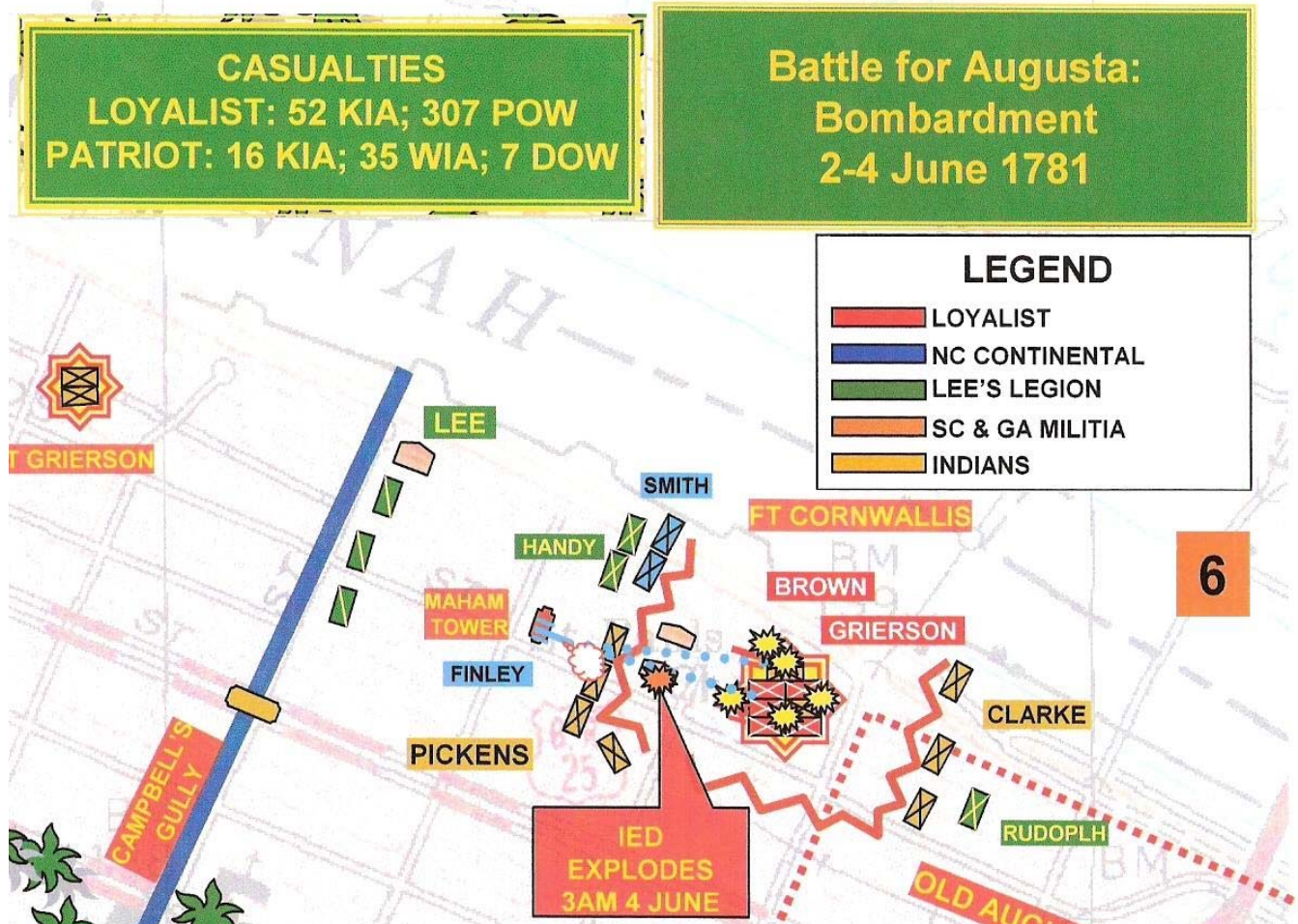
⁶⁹Lee's own account of this incident is very detailed and is remarkable for admitting that he almost bought into the deception due to the sergeant's believable manner. Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 364-365.

⁷⁰Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 370.

⁷¹Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 364.

⁷²Cashin, *King's Ranger*, pp. 134-136.

⁷³Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 365-366.



Map #6 depicts the Patriots' bombardment and assault preparations, 1-4 June 1781. Map by author.

Lee and Pickens decided to appeal to Brown once more and induce him to capitulate. Their message said, "To prevent the effusion of blood which must follow. . . . we are willing. . . . to grant such terms as a comparative view of our respective situations can warrant." Brown replied again with determination stating, "Gentlemen. . . it is likewise my inclination to defend the post to the last extremity."⁷⁴ It appeared that a final assault would be required to dislodge the enemy from their position, which now appeared untenable even to Brown. But he still had one more trick up his sleeve.

THE IMPROVISED EXPLOSIVE DEVICE

During the night of 2 June, Brown sent a few men to burn down all of the abandoned houses between the lines except for two. Pickens and Lee had planned to use the structures to provide supporting fire positions for their attack. Why two were left standing puzzled the Patriot leaders, as Lee said, "various were their conjectures as to the cause of sparing them; some leading to the conclusion that they were left purposely, and consequently with the view to injure the assailant."⁷⁵ Brown did plan to injure his assailants because he decided to place explosives in the house nearest the fort and detonate the "infernal machine" as it has been described, should the Patriots occupy the house.⁷⁶ Exactly what

composed this device is not known, but it did involve some digging of a sap to the house, which was observed by the Patriots but they apparently made no move to impede this effort. Through this scheme, Brown hoped to kill several of his enemy, deny them a key firing position, and hopefully "damp the ardor of the troops charged with storming."⁷⁷

During the evening of 3 June, Brown observed some of Pickens' riflemen move into the house. The militia officer had been ordered to occupy the upper story, determine how best his marksmen could use the windows or other openings, and then withdraw and report to Pickens his assessment of suitability.⁷⁸ The plan was to have the officer and his team return to the house before dawn and establish their position in time before the attack. Brown or his men must not have seen them depart and assumed the riflemen remained in the house. Brown ordered the improvised explosive device detonated at three o'clock in the morning on 4 June. Lee described this event:

We were aroused by a violent explosion, which was soon discovered to have shattered the very house intended to be occupied by the rifle party before daybreak. It was severed and thrown into the air thirty or forty feet high, its fragments falling all over the field. This explained, at once, . . . the object of the constant digging which had until lately employed the besieged.⁷⁹

⁷⁴Gibbes, *Documentary History*, 83-84; Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 367; Tarleton, *Campaigns of 1780 and 1781*, pp. 488-489.

⁷⁵There is probably a bit of hindsight used in this evaluation on part of Lee. Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 365.

⁷⁶McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 521.

⁷⁷Jones, *History of Augusta*, p. 122.

⁷⁸Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 366.

⁷⁹Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 366.

Even though Brown did not kill any enemy troops, he denied the use of the structure to them for the next day. This incident illustrates Brown's remarkable abilities and determination as he never ceased to look for options to achieve a favorable end to the siege. However, by the morning of 4 June, he must have realized he had no other options left other than to try to repulse an assault by a numerically superior enemy. The result would be untold numbers of killed and wounded in the desperate fighting should that event occur.

THE KING'S BIRTHDAY – 4 JUNE 1781

Both Pickens and Lee continued to inform Greene of events and their progress. Lee painted a grim picture of events and continued his complaints about the militia stating, "the judicious exertions of Col. Brown, & the unmaterial aid which we receive from our friends [has] continued to delay the issue."⁸⁰ Lee believed victory may happen by the next day however that would depend on the militia "which may disappoint again." Pickens was a bit more upbeat and indicated the enemy situation was unraveling. He describe the effect the Maham tower had on Fort Cornwallis and that some of the Loyalists were deserting along with "a Number of half starved Negroes."⁸¹

At nine o'clock the Patriot assault columns formed and waited for the signal to advance. Before launching the attack, Lee and Pickens asked Brown once more to surrender or at minimum release the Patriot prisoners so they would not be harmed during the battle. A series of messages then ensued between Pickens, Lee and Brown. The first message from Lee and Pickens stated, "We beg leave to propose, that the prisoners in your possession may be sent out of the fort, and that they may be considered your or ours as the siege may terminate." This is remarkable and one can only think what would have happened if Brown had won the engagement and the Georgia militiamen were told to return their relatives to enemy control. Brown answered, "Though motives of humanity, and a feeling for the distresses of individuals, incline me to accede to what you have proposed concerning the prisoners with us, yet many reasons, to which you cannot be strangers, forbid my complying with this requisition." But later that day, Brown must have decided his position lost and wrote, "From a desire to lessen the distresses of war to individuals, I am inclined to propose to you my acceptance of the enclosed terms, which being pretty similar to those granted to the commanding officers of the American troops and garrison in Charles Town, I imagine will be honorable to both parties."

Through these negotiations, Brown hoped to delay the process because 4 June was the King's birthday and to surrender on that day would only add to the disgrace of the event. Pickens and Lee determined to accept the terms proposed, with conditions given for each article. They replied, "Our sympathy for the unfortunate and gallant of our profession has induced us to grant the honourable terms which we herewith transmit." One of the major points of the document involved granting parole to the provincial officers and allow them passage to Savannah but the rank and file would become prisoners of war.⁸²

SURRENDER OF FORT CORNWALLIS – 5 JUNE 1781

Brown proposed that the garrison march out with appropriate honors and Lee and Pickens agreed. They replied, "The judicious and gallant defence made by the garrison, entitles

them to every mark of military respect. The fort to be delivered up to Captain Rudolph at twelve o'clock, who will take possession with a detachment of the Legion Infantry." The articles of capitulation were signed on 5 June by Pickens, Lee and Brown. Elijah Clarke did not sign the document, probably because Pickens was the senior militia commander. However had Clarke been part of the process Brown might have chosen to fight to the end. At eight o'clock in the morning on 5 June 1781, the Loyalist provincials, militia, Indians, and slaves marched out of Fort Cornwallis for the last time and laid down their arms.

Accurate casualty figures for these battles are difficult to determine. Patriot losses amounted to 16 killed in action and 35 wounded, of which seven later died of their injuries.⁸³ Loyalist casualties are more defined, though not complete. McCall is the only source for the number of Loyalists killed, which he says were 52. It is not known if that number includes those killed during the Fort Grierson engagement or only after that event. Regarding Loyalist wounded and prisoners, McCall identifies 334 in that category. However a more detailed breakdown for this group is in the Greene papers where "Col. Thomas Brown, seven other British officers, seven militia officers, 162 British soldiers, 130 militia and 200 slaves" were identified as prisoners for a total of 307.⁸⁴ Greene's number of prisoners and McCall's killed results in a total of 361 men, which closely matches the 367 Loyalist provincial and militia forces available at the beginning of the battles. It is unlikely that any Indian or slave casualties would have been counted, as only white combatants would have been noted as significant.

Lee and Pickens lost no time informing Greene of the accomplishment of their mission and the liberation of Augusta. They sent a joint dispatch explaining their siege operations and cited the "judicious, vigilant, and gallant conduct" of the enemy as a major reason why it took so long to accomplish their goal. They stated "our loss has not been very considerable, and by no means proportionate to the warmth of the contest" but they did identify the loss of the "amiable and gallant" Pinketham Eaton.⁸⁵

The next day Greene announced the victory to his army locked in a struggle with their own determined enemy at Ninety-Six. He told them the success at Augusta, "must Serve as a stimulus to their fellow soldiers now employed in the Blockade of Ninety Six."⁸⁶ Greene wrote to Pickens acknowledging the tough fight he had been through stating, "I am at a loss which to admire most the bravery of the Garrison or the perseverance of the besiegers. I beg leave to congratulate you upon the occasion and to return to you and the brave Militia under your command my sincere thanks." As always, Greene had been concerned about the relationship between the Continental troops and the militia to accomplish a mission. He was very pleased at how Lee and Pickens worked together for several weeks and evidently Lee passed that information on to Greene. Greene told Pickens, "Your extraordinary exertions which serves but to confirm me in what I was before convinced of that no man acts from better motives and few Men have it so much in their power to promote the interest and happiness of this Country as you."⁸⁷

⁸³The only source with numbers for the patriot force is McCall. All other accounts since then have used these figures. McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 522.

⁸⁴General Greene's Orders, Camp Before Ninety Six, SC, 6 June 1781, *PNG*, VIII, p. 354.

⁸⁵Pickens and Lee to Greene, "Camp in Augusta, Ga. 5 June 1781, *PNG*, VIII, pp. 351-352.

⁸⁶Greene's Orders, Camp before Ninety Six, S.C., 6 June 1781.

⁸⁷Greene to Pickens, Camp [before Ninety Six, S.C.] June the 7th 1781, *PNG*, VIII, pp. 356-357.

⁸⁰Lee to Greene, [Augusta, Ga.] 4 June 1781, *PNG*, VIII, p. 346.

⁸¹Pickens to Greene, "Camp before Augusta," Ga., 4 June 1781, *PNG*, VIII, p. 347.

⁸²Copies of these documents can be found in Gibbes, *Documentary History* pp. 82 – 86; Lee, *Memoirs*, pp. 367-369; and Tarleton, *Campaigns of 1780 and 1781*, pp. 487-495.

LAWS OF WAR AND TREATMENT OF LOYALISTS

The emotionally charged atmosphere between the Georgia and South Carolina Patriots and Loyalists required extreme safety precautions for the officers of the King's Rangers. Brown was allowed to surrender inside the fort prior to the official ceremony and he was then escorted to Lee's quarters by a heavy guard from the legion to protect him from the Patriot militia. Lee wrote about these measures:

This precaution was indispensable...Lieutenant-Colonel Browne's life was, we knew, sought with avidity; consequently it became our duty to secure his person before the garrison marched out....The laurels acquired by the arms of America would have been stained by the murder of a gallant soldier, who had committed himself to his enemy on their plighted faith.⁸⁸

Captain James Armstrong of the legion was given the duty to protect Brown and his officers. He told others after the war it was one of the most dangerous missions he had to conduct as "in every individual who approached, was seen the eager wish to destroy" and his own life was nothing to those who wanted to kill Brown.⁸⁹ Writing after the war, Brown expressed appreciation for the protection, stating:

From Colonel Lee, who commanded the Continental Legion, a gentleman of the most honourable and liberal sentiments, and from his officers, the King's troops experienced every security and attention; from the militia, under a General Pickens, every species of abuse and insult. Colonel Lee and his officers exerted themselves in an uncommon degree and took every possible precaution to protect the prisoners from violence.⁹⁰

Armstrong required a full troop of cavalry to provide security for Brown and his men as they were marched to Savannah. During the journey several Patriots sought to avenge loss of their loved ones for which they blamed Brown and his men. These concerns had also occupied the mind of Greene, who on 5 June had written to Pickens and other militia leaders about the need to exercise restraint against former enemies and extend offers of conciliation to the loyalists. Greene wrote:

Principles of humanity as well as good policy require that proper measures should be immediately taken to restrain these abuses, heal the differences and unite the people as much as possible. ... The idea of exterminating the Tories is not less barbarous than impolitick; and if persisted in, will keep this country in the greatest confusion and distress. The eyes of the people are much upon you, the disaffected cry for mercy and I hope you will exert yourself to bring over the Tories to our interest and check the growing enormities which prevail among the Whigs in punishing or plundering.⁹¹

⁸⁸Lee, *Memoirs*, note p.370.

⁸⁹George White, *Historical Collections of Georgia* (New York: Putney & Russell, 1854), p. 611.

⁹⁰Thomas Brown's reply to David Ramsay, Nassau, Bahamas, Dec. 25, 1786, in White, *Historical Collections*, p. 618.

⁹¹Greene to Pickens, Camp before Ninety Six, June 5th 1781, *PNG*, VIII, pp. 349-350.

BARBAROUS AND IMPOLITICK: THE MURDER OF GRIERSON 6 JUNE 1781

On 6 June, Lee prepared to rejoin his commander at Ninety Six to assist in the capture of that enemy base. The legion's baggage was moved across the Savannah River early in the morning and the legion infantry followed about noon. Lee and his cavalry departed later and joined the earlier column on the road to Ninety Six.⁹² Pickens remained at Augusta to ensure the captured supplies were properly allocated and shipped to the desired locations as discussed with Greene. One can imagine a great deal of confusion, excitement, and relief on part of the Georgia and Carolina militia at their victory. However, those laurels were quickly stained by an act that challenged Greene's policy to forgive the Loyalists. A Patriot soldier murdered James Grierson in his own house.

Pickens Report to Greene about the Murder of James Grierson

AUGUSTA, June 7, 1781.

Dear Sir:

A very disagreeable and melancholy affair which happened yesterday in the afternoon, occasions my writing to you at this time. I had ridden down to Browne's Fort where I had been but a few minutes, when information was brought me that a man had ridden up to the door of a room here, where Col. Grierson was confined, and, without dismounting, shot him so that he expired soon after, and instantly rode off; and though he was instantly pursued by some men on horseback, he effected his escape. Major Williams who was in the same room, immediately ran into a cellar, among the other prisoners; but standing in view, was soon after shot at, and wounded in the shoulder. I have given orders for burying Col. Grierson this afternoon with military honors, but as Col. Browne was also insulted yesterday, (though the man was for sometime confined for it,) and the people are so much exasperated against some individuals, I have found it necessary to give orders to cross the River with the prisoners, under the care of Col. Hammond's Regiment, and Capt. Smith's detachment of North Carolinians, and march them to Ninety-Six, or till I meet your orders respecting them; being fully persuaded that were they to march for Savannah, they would be beset on the road, but think they may go to Charleston by way of Ninety-Six, if you should so order.

With respect, your obedient servant,

A. PICKENS

Source: Robert Wilson Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, Volume 3. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1853; Reprint Edition, New York: Arno Press, 1971, page 91-92.

Apparently the blanket of protection given to Brown and his officers was not applied to the Loyalist militia. Grierson was confined to his house watched by a light guard. He appealed to Lee for protection but evidently his concerns were not given consideration as Lee was trying to get his partisan corps on the road to Ninety Six as soon as possible. There are many different accounts about the incident and many secondary sources accept Lee's version that mistakenly had Grierson's murder on 24 May. It

⁹²Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 371.

is clear however that Grierson was killed on 6 June in retaliation for his actions against backcountry Patriots.

Grierson and Major Henry Williams of Wilkes County were confined to Grierson's house in the upper quarters while many rank and file were held in the cellar. Samuel Beckaem identifies Captain James Alexander as the man who called Grierson to the door under the pretense of speaking to him. Grierson went to meet Alexander who, "saluted him with a rifle ball" which killed him. Another account says that Grierson was in an upstairs balcony, but identified Alexander as the killer. His murder also may have happened in the presence of his three children. Grierson was then apparently stripped of his clothes, his naked body mutilated, and then thrown into a ditch outside the house.⁹³ Major Williams was shot and wounded by a man named Andrew Shulus, but he was given protection and taken to Savannah where he eventually recovered. Thomas Brown later said, "Thus fell the brave, unfortunate Colonel Grierson,...under the eye of General Pickens, by the hand of a bloody, sanctioned, and protected villain, in shameful violation of a solemn capitulation."⁹⁴ Loyalist Dr. Thomas Taylor expressed similar outrage stating, "Patriots at home may exclaim. . . on the Improprity of employing Indians, but their cruelties. . . have been exceeded in number at least four-fold by those of the Rebels. Putting a man to Death in cold blood is very prettily nicknamed giving a Georgia parole."⁹⁵

Pickens had a "situation" and he had to notify Greene. He had just received Greene's letter that implored backcountry leaders like he and Clarke to take action to prevent such incidents. Grierson's murder could have a far-reaching impact on his commander's plans. Pickens told Greene on 7 June, "A very disagreeable and melancholy affair which happened yesterday in the afternoon, occasions my writing to you at this time....I have given orders for burying Col. Grierson this afternoon with military honors."⁹⁶ Lee later said:

The militia of Georgia, under Colonel Clarke, were so exasperated by the cruelties mutually inflicted in the course of the war in this State, that they were disposed to sacrifice every man taken, . . . In no part of the South was the war conducted with such asperity as in this quarter. It often sank into barbarity.⁹⁷

Greene was furious about this episode calling it an "insult to the Arms of the United States, as well as an outrage committed upon the rights of humanity deserves the most exemplary punishment."⁹⁸ He offered a reward of 100 guineas for the arrest of the guilty parties. However the reward was never claimed and no arrests were made even though there apparently were several witnesses. Greene was right to be outraged as Grierson's murder might be used to justify retaliatory acts by the British. Georgia Royal Governor James Wright wrote to Colonel Nisbet Balfour, commander in Charleston, "Poor Grierson was Basely Murdered after the Capitulation & laying Down his arms. It is to be hoped

this worthy Man's Death will not Pass without due Notice."⁹⁹ Balfour would later invoke Grierson's name when Greene protested the hanging of Patriot Colonel Isaac Hayne in Charleston later that summer.¹⁰⁰

POLITICAL AND DIPLOMATIC EFFECTS OF LIBERATION OF AUGUSTA

The Grierson murder emphasized the imperative to restore the civil governments of both South Carolina and Georgia. Greene was determined to end the internecine warfare between the Whigs and Loyalists that threatened any post-war reconciliation. Greene hoped to redeem former Loyalists and even assimilate them into the Whig cause. Henry Lee had urged this action in a letter to Greene on 4 June even as he negotiated the surrender of Fort Cornwallis. Lee had written:

If you do not take on yourself to govern this state, till civil government can be introduced, you will loose all the benefit from it....They exceed the Goths & Vandals in their schemes of plunder, murder & iniquity. All of this under pretense of supporting the virtuous cause of America.¹⁰¹

Greene's other concern related to the global nature of the American revolution, which would eventually be decided through diplomatic measures. He worried that an imposed truce under the provision of *uti possidetis*, whereby territory occupied by belligerents at the cessation of hostilities was retained. Greene therefore sent Joseph Clay, the army's paymaster, to act as temporary civil authority in Georgia. He addressed both of his concerns in a letter to Clay on 9 June 1781 stating:

You are desired to repair to Augusta and collect as many of the Militia and Negroes as you can and employ them in demolishing the works upon the Savannah River. I also wish you to take such measures as may most effectively stop the progress of private murders and plundering.¹⁰²

Greene also wanted Georgia to provide a new contingent of Continental soldiers to symbolize full restoration to the United States and lay a "foundation for a permanent opposition to the enemy in this quarter." Eventually James Jackson would be appointed as a Continental Lieutenant Colonel and raise a Legion of cavalry and infantry to ensure Georgia participated in the final campaigns of the war. These Georgians would serve under Anthony Wayne in the final skirmishes near Savannah and complete the liberation of Georgia from the British once and for all.

⁹³Brown to Ramsey, December 25, 1786, in White, *Historical Collections*, p. 618.

⁹⁴The motive was that Alexander's aged father had been made hostage since September 1780 and abused while in captivity. Beckaem states that "his houses all burnt, his property borne off, an aged Mother Sisters & brothers left to starve" justified the action. Beckaem, *Pension Statement*; Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 137; Brown to Ramsey, December 25, 1786, White, *Historical Collections*, p. 618.

⁹⁵Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 137.

⁹⁶Pickens to Greene, Augusta, GA 7 June 1781, Gibbes, *Documentary History*, pp. 91-92.

⁹⁷Lee, *Memoirs*, p. 357.

⁹⁸A Proclamation. From Camp before Ninety Six, SC, 9 June, 1781. *PNG*, VIII, p. 370.

⁹⁹James Wright to Colonel Balfour, Savannah the 11th of June 1781 in Ronald G. Killion and Charles T. Waller, *Georgia and the Revolution* (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1975), p. 222.

¹⁰⁰Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 138.

¹⁰¹Lee to Greene, [Augusta GA], 4 June 1781, *PNG*, VIII, p. 346.

¹⁰²Greene to Clay, Camp before Ninety-Six, June 9th 1781, *PNG*, VIII, pp. 361-361.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE SECOND SIEGE AT AUGUSTA¹⁰³

As history is concerned, the events just described have merited little mention in popular or scholarly works. At the higher levels of analysis, such as in books dealing with general American history or even a survey of US military history, that might be understandable. But even in specialized works such as those about the Southern campaigns or Georgia state history, the importance of this battle has long been overlooked. I would not argue that the second siege at Augusta was a “turning point” as many historians do of their pet battles. But it certainly was a significant battle, with participation of over 2,500 men led by highly skilled leaders, that deserve more than a line such as, “Pickens had darted south to Augusta, which held out until June 5.”¹⁰⁴

Augusta had been liberated from British control as a result of a hard fought two-week battle. But why did Patriots and Loyalists fight so hard for this “straggling village” as it has been described? What was so important about a settlement that had more in common with the Indians than it did with the towns along the coast? It had to be worth something for all of the effort - and it was. Augusta was recognized to be a significant military, geographic, economic, and political location worthy of the expenditure of lives and fortunes.

Augusta served as a British forward operating base since June 1780 and, with Ninety Six, was a vital link in the communications and logistics network established to control the backcountry. Control of Augusta meant control of the Savannah River and of the trade routes leading to the Indian lands. This was why Thomas Brown was able to exercise influence with Indians half a continent away from Augusta. The British tried to maintain these relations from Savannah, but the distance factor and Patriot control of Augusta prevented effective policy implementation. With Augusta and the backcountry cleared of British troops, both Pickens and Clarke embarked upon campaigns into Indian lands to seek retribution for the support they had provided the British. From this point, Clarke all but ignored Greene’s pleas for further assistance and looked only to the Indian territory.¹⁰⁵

Other geographic locations were dependent upon Augusta, especially Ninety Six. While Lee and Pickens tried to defeat Brown, Greene was attempting the same less than 60 miles away at Ninety Six against an equally capable Loyalist leader, John Harris Cruger. Time was Greene’s worst enemy and he faced the prospect that Lord Rawdon would march from Charleston with

reinforcements to relieve Ninety Six. However, unlike Lee and Pickens, Greene was not able to overcome his foe and with Rawdon closing in, had to abandon his siege. But whatever Greene or Rawdon did with Ninety Six at that point really did not matter. After 5 June Ninety Six became an untenable link in the British network. The proof is that when Rawdon joined Cruger, the British commanders concluded that operating base must be abandoned, burned the military structures and retreated towards Charleston. Though Greene did not immediately recognize it, his army had effectively won both Augusta and Ninety Six on 5 June 1781.¹⁰⁶

The loss of Augusta was traumatic for the British and affected no one more than Sir James Wright. He wrote to Colonel Balfour at Charleston on 11 June:

It gives me the greatest Concern to Acquaint you of the loss of Augusta, by Colonel Brown....I Need say little, but must observe that if this Province is not Recovered from the Rebels without the least Delay, I conceive it may be too late to Prevent the whole from being laid waste & totally destroyed & the People ruined; we are now in a Most wretched situation.¹⁰⁷

Royal Gov. Wright had argued since July 1780 for more attention of the security matters of Georgia. He was unable to convince British military or political leaders that the war in Georgia was not over and required constant allocation of resources. To Wright, Augusta was the key to Georgia and the enclave in Savannah could exercise no influence upon the backcountry. Finally in late 1781, Wright gave up and considered Georgia lost, writing Germain’s secretary William Knox, “I believe I shall trouble none of your generals anymore.”¹⁰⁸

The most interesting aspects of the second siege at Augusta involve those human dimensions of war. Lee’s view of Thomas Brown as a man to be admired and treated with respect for his military abilities stands in stark contrast to that of Clarke and the militia who saw Brown as a murdering thug. As demonstrated, the letters between Lee, Pickens, Greene and Brown contain numerous references to “determined spirit,” “judicious conduct,” “bravery of the garrison,” and “gallant soldier,” illustrating the extent restraint was exercised to avoid demonizing the enemy and sinking to the depths the Georgians had already reached. Greene knew that men who let their emotions take them there were capable of committing acts that violated humanity.

Each of the leaders clearly admired the military skills of the other and recognized that, regardless of ideology, whoever won Augusta deserved the victory. The battle provides examples of critical thinking and problem solving on the part of both sides demonstrated by the Maham tower, the use of deception and the improvised explosive device, all ideas conceived under intense physical and psychological strain. Since war is a test of human will, Lee, Pickens and Brown clearly demonstrated the length men will go to fulfill their military responsibilities and is part of the reason the contest lasted so long. Weaker men simply would have given up and jeopardized their cause.

Finally, this battle provides a superb study of the application and violation of the laws of war as they relate to prisoner of war treatment. The savage fighting in the backcountry appalled men like Greene and Lee, who understood that the pattern

¹⁰³I refer to the military events in May-June 1781 as the second siege at Augusta, to identify them distinctly from the fight in September 1780. Both were battles for Augusta and sometimes confusion has resulted through use of that term. This confusion has been compounded by Fort Cornwallis, Fort Augusta, Mackey House and the White House that are often mentioned together in relationships that did not exist at the time.

¹⁰⁴Robert Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 491.

¹⁰⁵In Louisa Hayes historical novel which has served as the standard biography of Clarke through the years, she describes this in a wonderful passage with dialog Margaret Mitchell would be proud of, “With his greatest ambition realized in the capture of Augusta and the dethronement of Thomas Brown...he and John went...to find Hannah [Clarke’s wife]. Her joy knew no bounds when she saw her battle-toughened husband and son coming. She ran to meet them and as she embraced them she exclaimed, ‘Now, Elijah, it’s all over. We can go home and live like real people.’ The gleam in Elijah’s flaming eyes faded as he replied: ‘Not yet, Hannah. We cannot be safe as long as these barbarous Indians murder our people.’ Hayes, Louis Frederick Hayes, *Hero of the Horner’s Nest: A Biography of Elijah Clarke*, (New York, 1946), p. 138.

¹⁰⁶Rawdon had ordered Cruger to abandon Ninety-Six and join Brown at Augusta, not the other way around, which may perhaps indicate the relative importance of the two posts. Ninety-Six of course has been better known as a battle since it was the longest siege of the war, but also because Greene himself was there.

¹⁰⁷Governor James Wright to Col. Balfour, Savannah the 11th of June 1781 in Killion and Waller, *Georgia and the Revolution*, p. 222.

¹⁰⁸Cited in Cashin, *King’s Ranger*, p. 140.

of vengeance had to be broken. Acts such as Grierson's murder had to be prevented for many reasons, if only to deny the enemy a reason to retaliate in kind. Greene was able to see beyond the battles and campaigns to the challenges of reconstructing the broken society once the contest was over. With such an outlook, he demonstrated a rare strategic genius and political savvy.

The second siege at Augusta in 1781 was more than a local battle. It was a significant link in the larger chain of events that brought success to Nathanael Greene in the South and victory to the United States during the struggle for independence.

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**Second Siege at Augusta, Georgia
(Battles of Forts Grierson and Cornwallis)
22 May – 5 June 1781**

ORDER OF BATTLEⁱ

**AMERICAN WHIG FORCES
Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, Commandingⁱⁱ**

Continental Army Forces - Lt. Col. Henry “Lighthorse Harry” Lee	
2nd Continental Partisan Corps (Lee’s Legion)ⁱⁱⁱ	313 men^{iv}
Headquarters & Staff	(11 men)
Lt. Col. Henry Lee	
Captain John Rudolph	
Dr. Matthew Irvine - surgeon	
Lt. Stephen Lewis - QM	
Mounted Troops	(192 men)
1 st Mounted Troop (Captain James Armstrong)	
2 nd Mounted Troop (Captain Joseph Eggleston)	
3 rd Mounted Troop (Captain Ferdinand O’Neal)	
Dismounted Troops	(110 men)^v
4 th Dismounted Troop (Captain Michael Rudolph)	
5 th Dismounted Troop (Captain George Handy)	
6 th Dismounted Troop (Captain Patrick Carnes)	
Attached Infantry^{vi}	
North Carolina Continentals (Lt. Andrew Manning)	25 men
1st North Carolina Regiment^{vii}	115 men^{viii}
Major Pinketham Eaton (KIA) ^{ix}	
Captain Robert Smith ^x	
Detachment, 1st Continental Artillery Regiment^{xi}	
Captain Ebenezer Finley ^{xii}	15 men ^{xiii}
1 - 6-pound cannon	
TOTAL CONTINENTAL TROOPS	468 men
South Carolina Militia – Brig. Gen Andrew Pickens	550 men^{xiv}
Fair Forest Regiment	
Lt. Col. William Farr	
Harden’s Regiment	
Lt. Col. William Harden	
Captain Tarleton Brown	
LeRoy Hammond’s Regiment	
Major Samuel Hammond	
Georgia Militia – Colonel Elijah Clarke	500 men
Wilkes County Militia	
Colonel Elijah Clarke	
Lt. Col. Micajah Williamson	
Major James Jackson	
Captain Paddy Carr	
South Georgia Militia ^{xv}	
Col. John Baker	
Burke County Militia ^{xvi}	
Captain Dunn (WIA)	
Captain Irwin	
“Mountaineers”	(250 men) ^{xvii}

Captain Isaac Shelby^{xviii}

Artillery^{xix}

1 - 4 pounder

TOTAL MILITIA FORCES^{xx}

1050 men

TOTAL WHIG FORCES 2nd SIEGE AT AUGUSTA

1518 men^{xxi}

WHIG CASUALTIES^{xxii}

Killed in action = 16

Wounded in action = 35 (died of wounds = 7)

LOYALIST FORCES

Lt. Col. Thomas Brown, Commanding

Provincial (Regular) Forces - Lt. Col. Thomas Brown

King's Rangers^{xxiii}

236 men^{xxiv}

Lt. Col. Thomas Brown's Company

(50 men)

Captain Joseph Smith

(49 men)

Captain Joseph Marshall

(29 men)

Captain Donald Cameron

(47 men)

Captain Robert Law

(22 men)

Captain Alexander Wyllly

(39 men)

Artillery

2 pieces mounted in Fort Cornwallis

TOTAL PROVINCIAL TROOPS

236 men

Loyalist Militia

131 men

South Carolina Volunteers

(19 men)

Lieutenant David Black

Georgia Loyalist Militia

(112 men)

Colonel James Grierson

Major Howard (KIA)

Captain Perkins

Captain Phillips

Captain John Crawford

Wilkes County Loyalist Militia

unk

Major Henry Williams^{xxv}

Artillery

2 field pieces in Fort Grierson

TOTAL MILITIA TROOPS

131 men

Indians

300 men^{xxvi}

Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws

African-American Slaves

200 men^{xxvii}

John Douglass' slaves^{xxviii}

(5)

TOTAL LOYALIST FORCES 2nd SIEGE AT AUGUSTA

867 men

LOYALIST CASUALTIES

Killed in action = 52^{xxix}

Wounded and Prisoners of War = 307^{xxx}

Captured Slaves = 200

**Gen. Nathanael Greene's Warning to Col. Elijah
Clarke Concerning Violence Towards the
Loyalists¹⁰⁹**

Camp before Ninety Six [S.C.] June 7th 1781

Dear Sir

The high reputation you have very deservedly acqurd by your bravery since the enemy penetrated this Country induces me to address my self to you to use your influence to restrain two very capital evils which rage in the Country and which if not prevented must soon depopulate it. I mean private murders and plundering, they both originate from such a base principle, and are so unworthy the soldier of honor or merit that I can have no charity for those who are guilty of either; and as I am informed both those practices prevail with parties living over the mountains who are carrying away Negroes and committing other enormities which want checking. Let me entreat you to exert your self as much as possible to stop the progress of this business, and which if not put an end to very soon, I shall be obliged to exercise great severity and inflict capital punishment on such offenders which I will most assuredly do if they do not desist.

[comments on clothing supply omitted]

I am Sir Your Most Obedt humble Ser

N GREENE

**Extracts from Thomas Brown's Reply to Dr.
David Ramsey, 25 December 1786
Concerning Events in Augusta, Georgia, May –
June 1781**

Sir – The publication of an extract from your History of the Revolution of South Carolina, highly injurious to my reputation as an officer and a man of humanity, induces me to address this letter to you.

...A civil war being one of the greatest evils incident to human society, the history of every contest presents us with instances of wanton cruelty and barbarity. Men whose passions are inflamed by mutual injuries, exasperated with personal animosity against each other, and eager to gratify revenge, often violate the laws of war and principles of humanity.

The American war exhibits many dreadful examples of wanton outrages, committed by both parties, disgraceful to human nature. From the commencement of the war, in the limited sphere in which I acted, it was my duty, and the first wish of my heart, to carry it on agreeably to the rules which humanity formed to alleviate its attendant calamities.

The account you have obtained of the events at Augusta is, I must confess, as well adapted to the prejudices of the weak, as the credulity of the ignorant. Your very honourable and genuine informer, with a truly patriotic spirit, disdains to charge his

memory with transaction that might stain the reputation of your arms; or it was not convenient to his purpose to remember the shameful violation of the capitulation of Augusta, the horrid cruelties exercised on the prisoners, the barbarous murder of Colonel Grierson, and others...

...The port of Augusta being invested and besieged near three months, was surrendered by capitulation. From Colonel Lee, who commanded the Continental Legion, a gentleman of the most honourable and liberal sentiments, and from his officers, the King's troops experienced every security and attention; from the militia, under a General Pickens, every species of abuse and insult. Colonel Lee and his officers exerted themselves in an uncommon degree, and took every possible precaution to protect the prisoners from violence. The King's Rangers were paroled, and quartered at a gentlemen's house, with a guard of Continental dragoons, under the command of Captain Armstrong. The militia prisoners were confined to a stockade fort, where General Pickens and his militia were quartered. After Colonel Lee marched from Augusta, Colonel Grierson, who had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious to the enemy by his spirited and unwearied exertions in the cause of his country, was under the custody of the main guard, about ten paces from General Pickens' quarters. His spirit and unshaken loyalty in every change of fortune, marked him out as a proper victim to sacrifice to their savage resentment. One of General Pickens' men, named James Alexander, entered the room where he was confined with his three children, shot him through the body, and returned unmolested by the sentinel posted at the door, or the main guard. He was afterwards stripped, and his clothes divided among the soldiers, who, having exercised upon his dead body all the rage of the most horrid brutality, threw it into a ditch without the fort. Thus fell the brave, unfortunate Colonel Grierson, a man high in the estimation of his country, valued by his acquaintances, beloved by his friends – not by the shot of an *unseen marksman*, but under the eye of General Pickens, by the hand of a bloody, sanctioned, and protected villain, in shameful violation of a solemn capitulation.

After the murder of Colonel Grierson, another execrable villain named Shields, (an unseen marksman,) the same day, in the same fort, under the eye of General Pickens, in the presence of his officers, without interruption from the sentries or guards, called Major Williams of the Georgia Militia, to the door of the prison, and shot him through the body. These outrages served only as a prelude to a concerted plan for murdering all the prisoners. To execute this diabolical design, a hundred of General Pickens' *unseen marksmen*, accompanied by three colonels, marched with drawn swords to the quarters of the King's Rangers. Captain Armstrong being informed of their intention, threatened, and ordered his guards to oppose them if they advanced. Then, addressing himself to the King's Rangers, he told them, that if attacked, to consider themselves released from their paroles, and defend themselves. The determined spirit of Captain Armstrong and Major Washington, who were present, struck such a terror into these ruffians, that, apprehending an obstinate resistance, they instantly retired.

Enraged at the repetition of such abominable outrages by this band of assassins, not yet satiated with blood, I wrote to General Pickens, reproaching him with a violation of the articles of capitulation, in defiance of every principle of honour and *good faith*, and informed him, that the officers and men, having acted by my orders, ought to be exempted *from* violence; and if it was his determination that I should share the fate of Colonel Grierson, he would at least find that a man, conscious of having faithfully discharged his duty to his king and country, would meet his fate with indifference.

¹⁰⁹Greene to Clarke, Camp before Ninty Six [S.C.] June 7th, 1781 in Dennis M. Conrad, ed. *The Papers of Nathanael Greene*. Volume VIII 30 March – 10 July 1781. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995): p. 356. (Hereafter PNG, VIII).

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble servant,
Thomas Browne.

Nassau, Bahamas, Dec. 25, 1786.

Thomas Brown's reply to Dr. David Ramsay's *History of the Revolution in South Carolina*, written in Nassau, Bahamas on December 25, 1786 and found published in George White, *Historical Collections of Georgia*..... (New York: Pudney & Russell, 1854) pp. 614-619.

MAJOR PINKETHAM EATON

First North Carolina Regiment of 1781

Pinketham Eaton began his service in the American Revolution as a captain in the Third North Carolina Continental regiment on April 16, 1776. He was promoted to major and transferred to the Eighth North Carolina on November 22, 1777. During that time he was noted for his ability to recruit men for service. Eaton was forced to retire on June 1, 1778 when the North Carolina line was consolidated and excess officers had to be discharged. He continued military service in the North Carolina militia and was part of General Ashe's command sent to repel the British invasion of Georgia in early 1779. On March 3, 1779 during the battle of Brier Creek Eaton was wounded leading a small contingent of men who fought rather than ran away. He was called back into service as a Continental in January 1781 to replace Colonel John Gunby of Maryland for the task of gathering supplies and recruits at Hillsborough. During the operations related to Guilford Courthouse, he served with Butler's Brigade until April 1781.

Because some North Carolina militiamen deserted during the Guilford operation, Governor Nash ordered those men drafted for 12 months service as Continentals in the new levies for that state. In early April, Eaton happened to be at Chatham Courthouse when Colonel William Linton brought in a group of about 180 men from Halifax who suffered the governor's punishment to serve as Continentals. Since he was the only Continental officer present, Eaton became commander of this unit designated as the First North Carolina regiment. They had little in arms or equipment and without any other officers to help him control the reluctant soldiers, about 40 of the men deserted. However the 140 remaining men would prove their mettle in combat. Eventually Lieutenant John Campbell and Captain Robert Smith joined the regiment to assist Eaton.

Eaton was ordered to march his regiment to join Greene's army then in South Carolina. He began the march on April 17 and crossed the Pee Dee the next day. During correspondence related to the regiment, Greene was pleased to have new reinforcements, "notwithstanding the defect in his Arms." By April 24, Eaton had arrived at Upton's Mill, and under Colonel Edward Carrington's direction, added some artillery to his column. Eaton was to escort the artillery to join SC Patriot militia Gen. Francis Marion then engaged at Fort Watson. But when Eaton heard that Fort Watson was captured, he halted and wrote to Greene inquiring whether he should proceed or return to the main army. Greene at first ordered him to return, but then later countermanded that order, leading to some confusion about where Eaton was to go.

As Greene intended the Continentals and artillery to join Marion, he sent Captain James Conyers to take the message to Eaton. On April 27, Eaton wrote to Greene asking for orders and told him where he is located to receive them. Conyers finally linked up with Eaton near Rugeley's Mill after getting lost the previous night.

Eaton wrote back to Greene on April 29 confirming the order to join Marion, but also asked for food as his men were almost out of meal. Eaton continued on his march until he met up with Henry Lee near Benbow Ferry on the Black River on the evening of May 2. Lee attached Eaton's regiment to his own 2nd Continental Partisan Corps, in order to provide badly needed infantry power to that command. Lee further detached 25 of the North Carolinians directly to his infantry under the command of Lieut. Andrew Manning, leaving Eaton with about 115 men which he commanded during the siege of Fort Motte. The next mention of Eaton in the record is from Greene who notified Samuel Huntington, President of the Continental Congress of the victory at Fort Motte and Eaton as one of many who were "indefatigable" in conducting a successful siege.

When Greene ordered Lee to Augusta, Eaton and his regiment continued their attachment. During this short period Lee's command, Eaton's regiment, and Captain Finley's Continental artillery became a very effective combined arms strike force that worked well together during operations. When Lee diverted his cavalry to capture Fort Galphin on May 21, Eaton then lead the slower infantry and artillery with "soldierlike exertions" according to Lee, to rendezvous with SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Pickens near Augusta, Ga. As part of the plan to reduce the Loyalist defenses at Augusta, Eaton's regiment was to play an important role during the attack on Fort Grierson on May 24. Eaton's regiment was ordered to attack Fort Grierson from the southeast along with Major James Jackson's Georgia Patriot militia. During the short but intense battle that ensued, Eaton was wounded in the thigh while he led his men during the attack.

The record is contradictory as to what happened next and it is unclear if Eaton was captured by the Loyalists and executed or died from his wounds on the battlefield. One account by Colonel John Armstrong, who was not at Augusta, to General Sumner on June 13 stated, "He was wounded at Augusta, taken prisoner and surrendered up his sword, and was afterward put to death with his own sword. This I have by a letter from Captain Yarborough." Samuel Beckaem, who was at the battle, mentions in his pension statement that Eaton was, "wounded in the thigh, his men ran and Tories inhumanely murdered him." However since the 80 or so Loyalists commanded by Col. James Grierson were fleeing for their lives from an attack by ten times their number, it is questionable if they would even try to take prisoners let alone stop to execute them. Never the less, Eaton died on May 24, 1781 and command of the regiment passed to Smith. The First North Carolina would continue to serve with Greene's army until February 6, 1782.

Though he was with Lee's command only a short time, Eaton must have left an impression of his skill and ability as a soldier. In his memoirs Lee said, "In the late contest our loss was trivial – a few wounded and fewer killed. But, unhappily, among the latter was Major Eaton, of North Carolina, who had served only a few weeks with the light corps and in that short period, had endeared himself to his commandant and fellow soldiers by the amiability of his manners. He fell gallantly, at the head of his battalion, in the moment of victory." Pickens and Lee made a joint report to Greene on June 5 about the Augusta operation and mentioned the death of the "amiable and gallant" Major Eaton who they "suspected" had been killed upon surrender. They also told of very "pointed correspondence" they issued to the Loyalists' commander, Lt. Col. Thomas Brown about the circumstances of Eaton's death and promised a further inquiry into the matter. However, nothing more was ever said about an investigation or if it even took place. Lee never made mention of it in his memoirs and does not even bring up the questionable circumstances in the narrative. Eaton's death will continue to be haunted by questions until further evidence is discovered.

Sources: Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua B. Howard, *"Fortitude and Forbearance" The North Carolina Continental Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783* (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2004); Dennis M. Conrad, ed. *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene, Volume VIII, 30 March – 10 July 1781* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Peter Force, ed. *American Archives*, 4th Ser. 6 Vols. (Washington DC: M. St. Clair and Peter Force, 1837-46); Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*. (New York: University Publishing Company, 1869; Reprint New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1969); Hugh M'Call, *The History of Georgia, Containing Brief Sketches of the Most Remarkable Events up to the Present Day (1784)*. 2 Vols. (Savannah: 1811-1816. Reprint Atlanta, Cherokee Publishing Company, 1969); Hugh F. Rankin, *North Carolina Continentals*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971); David Schenk, *North Carolina 1780-81: Being a History of the Invasion of the Carolinas, etc...* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton Publishers, 1889).

ⁱThe basic information for this order of battle is found in Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter, Vol III*. (Blue House Tavern Press, 2005): pp. 258-264. Also William Thomas Sherman, *Calendar and Record of the Revolutionary War in the South: 1780-1781* (Third Edition) (2003, 2006) proved a valuable source as well and can be found at:

<http://www.americanrevolution.org/south.pdf>.

ⁱⁱThough Pickens held the rank of brigadier general, the military conventions of the day recognized that officers of the regular establishment held seniority over any militia officer. Therefore Lee could have made a case that he was in command. However, both Pickens and Lee sought to avoid such issues and shared in planning and directing the battle. It was truly a cooperative effort on part of both officers.

ⁱⁱⁱThis was the formal name of the organization as authorized during the reorganization of the Continental Army by Congress on 1 January 1781. Robert K. Wright, Jr., *The Continental Army*, (Washington DC: Center of Military History, 1989): pp. 160-165 and p. 348. The names of the troop commanders are identified in Hugh McCall, *History of Georgia*. (Savannah: 1811, 1816; Reprinted Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1909, 1969): p. 516.

^{iv}The authorized strength of a Continental Partisan Corps was 392 men. Each mounted troop was authorized 64 officers and men and each dismounted troop was authorized 63 officers and men. Wright, *Continental Army*, p. 161. This number is derived from the authorized headquarters and mounted strength plus the known infantry strength stated below.

^vAccording to Lee, he had only 110 Legion infantry fit for service at this time. He was authorized 189 dismounted troops. Lee to Greene, Camp Before Augusta, GA 24 May 1781, in Dennis M. Conrad, ed. *The Papers of Nathanael Greene*. Volume VIII 30 March – 10 July 1781. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995): p. 309. (Hereafter PNG, VIII).

^{vi}These men were placed under command of one of Lee's officers, Lt. Andrew Manning. Hugh F. Rankin, *North Carolina Continentals*, (Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1971): p. 329.

^{vii}This unit consisted of North Carolina militiamen who were accused of deserting during the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Governor Nash directed those men who had "shamelessly deserted their colours" to serve a 12 month term as Continental soldiers. About 180 men entered into this service, but there was a shortage of officers. By mid April, 41 men had deserted leaving the unit with about 140 men. This unit however proved to be very capable, probably due to the leadership of Eaton. Greene told Nash "I am

very glad the runaways at Guildford are to be made to serve in the Continental Regiments during the war. The penal laws you enclosed me were the first of the kind I ever saw; and in my opinion are the best calculated to render the Militia useful." Nash to Greene, New Bern, NC, 3 April 1781, PNG, VIII: p. 42; and Greene to Nash, Headquarters on the Pedee at the mouth of the Rocky River, NC, April 13th, 1781, PNG, VIII: p. 89; Rankin, *North Carolina Continentals*, pp. 328-329. Lawrence E. Babits and Joshua B. Howard, *"Fortitude and Forbearance" The North Carolina Continental Line in the Revolutionary War, 1775-1783*. (Raleigh: North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2004): 9, p. 154.

^{viii}After Eaton was directed to attach 25 men to Lee's corps, this left approximately 115 men of the original 140 under his control for operations. Eaton to Greene, Little River, NC, 17 April 1781, PNG, VIII: p. 106.

^{ix}Eaton had seen service with the old 3rd and 8th NC regiments. He would be killed during the assault on Fort Grierson on 22 May 1781. Rankin, *North Carolina Continentals*, 328. Babits and Howard, *North Carolina Continental Line*, pp. 154-155.

^xThere is some question of Smith's first name. Rankin identifies him as Robert Smith of the old 4th NC regiment. Rankin, *NC Continentals*, 329. Conrad identifies him as John Smith in the Greene Papers. PNG, VIII, index, p. 569.

^{xi}This was composed of artillery units from Virginia and Maryland, but applied to the Virginia quota. The regimental commander was Colonel Charles Harrison. Fred Anderson Berg, *Encyclopedia of Continental Army Units*. (Harrisburg: Stackpole Books, 1972): pp. 24-25; Wright, *Continental Army*, pp. 335-336.

^{xii}Finley apparently was part of Captain Richard Dorsey's company of Maryland artillery. See Muster Roll at

<http://eorr.home.netcom.com/EMO/documents/pattont re02.htm>.

^{xiii}This would be the required strength for the crew, but in all probability was less, though no specific figures are available. See Berg, *Continental Army Units*, p. 23.

^{xiv}This estimate is based on reports of Pickens operating with 400 men in the area between Ninety-Six and Augusta. It also includes the elements of Samuel Hammond who with the Georgians under Williamson had about the same number of troops as Brown, which was about 370 provincial and militia troops. McCall, *History of Georgia*, pp. 514-515.

^{xv}Samuel Beckaem, Pension Statement, 1 June 1812, in Peter Force, ed. *American Archives: Fourth Series, Containing A Documentary History....6 Vols.* (Washington DC: 1837-46), vii-E, p. 3.

^{xvi}McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 514. He also identifies a "Colonel Baker, with the southern militia" as joining with Williamson, but it is unclear who he is nor his troops.

^{xvii}The only place this number is stated is in the biography of Elijah Clarke by Louisa Hays, *Hero of the Hornet's Nest*, p. 130 and the accuracy is probably suspect as is most of the book, which is more of a novel than sound history.

^{xviii}Identified by McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 515.

^{xix}Identified by McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 515. This is also identified indirectly by Andrew Pickens on 25 May 1781 in a letter to Greene where he stated, "A battery erected during the night of the 23d opened against the upper fort yesterday morning Colonel Lee at the Same instant moved with the Infantry of the Legion, and one Six Pounder under Captain Finley..." So in addition to Finley's gun, there was another, probably the one belonging to the Georgians. See PNG, VIII, Pickens to Greene, Griersons Fort, 25th May 1781, pp. 310-311.

^{xx}McCall states that by late April, the Patriot militia forces facing Brown at Augusta was "but little superior in numbers to their adversary, and vastly inferior in discipline and military equipment."

So that indicates at that time the patriots had at least, and slightly more than the loyalists. McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 514.

^{xxi}The only other total number discovered in any of the sources related to this battle is given by Boatner, when he stated, "Lee was detached with his legion and the newly raised NC militia...to support the 1,300 militia of Pickens and Elijah Clarke besieging Augusta." So his number adding Lee and Eaton would probably be about 1,500 – 1,600 men as well. Mark Boatner, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, (New York: David McKay, 1966): p. 50.

^{xxii}See McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 522. So until other sources can prove otherwise, I estimate the total Whig force to be about 1,500 men especially given the myriad of tasks units were assigned during the course of the battle.

^{xxiii}The Rangers began their service on 24 June 1776 with Brown as their commander who held a commission from Florida Governor Patrick Tonyn, hence they were designated the *East Florida Rangers*, an irregular unit uniformed and equipped in militia fashion with hunting shirts and rifles. In June 1779 they were dismissed as a militia unit and redesignated a regular provincial battalion called the *King's Carolina Rangers*, because so many of the men had been recruited from loyalist refugees from North and South Carolina. During the summer of 1780, several Georgia loyalist units were merged with the Rangers and led to the dropping of Carolina from the designation and the unit became known as the *King's Rangers*. Heard Robertson, "Notes on the Muster Rolls of Lt. Col. Thomas Brown's Battalion of Loyalist Provincial RangersSubsequently Designated as the King's Rangers." *Richmond County History*, (Winter 1972): pp. 4-15.

^{xxiv}These numbers are derived from the muster rolls reported on 24 April 1781 at Augusta. The only company not listed here is that of Samuel Rowarth's company which was captured at Fort Galphin on 22 May of which he had reported 47 men. Given a month between 24 April and when the siege began, there was probably more attrition but this figure matches fairly closely the final casualty and prisoner reports. Edward J. Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, Appendix: Muster Rolls King's Rangers, Augusta, April 24, 1781, 61 days, April 25-June 24, 1781, pp. 249-293.

^{xxv}Samuel Beckaem, Pension Statement

^{xxvi}This number probably includes all Indians, men, women and children of which various accounts mention. How many were part of the fighting it is not clear, but they did participate in the counterattacks outside of the fort with the loyalist forces. Boatner identified these as 300 Creek Indians, but Cashin identified them as a mixture of tribes. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 50.; Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 133.

^{xxvii}The number for the slaves is from an order published by Greene at Ninety Six on 6 June 1781. *PNG*, VIII, General Greene's Orders, Camp Before Ninety Six, SC, 6 June 1781, p. 354.

^{xxviii}Brown requisitioned slaves from local inhabitants, such as John Douglass. Upon completion of the siege, Brown provided a verification of losses for these slaves, one of which was killed by a Whig cannon ball, probably the six pounder in the Maham tower. Great Britain, Public Record Office, Audit Office, Class 13, Volume 34, folio 356. Located at The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies,

<http://www.royalprovincial.com/military/black/blkpris1.htm> accessed 7 July 2006.

^{xxix}This number has only been seen in McCall and has been adopted by almost all subsequent accounts. McCall, *History of Georgia*, p. 522.

^{xxx}This number is stated clearly in *PNG*, VIII, General Greene's Orders, Camp Before Ninety Six, SC, 6 June 1781, p. 354. Greene announced the fall of Augusta including the commander, Col. Thomas Brown, seven other British officers, seven militia officers, 162 British soldiers, 130 militia and 200 slaves. McCall states there were 334 POWs. Going with Greene's number of POWs and

McCall's KIA results in a total of 361 men. If one adds the Provincial and loyalist militia forces at the beginning of the battle, the number is 367 men, matching very closely the casualty count. It is unlikely that any Indian casualties would have been counted as only white combatants would have been noted as significant.

Exchange of letters, messages, and the Articles of Capitulation related to the surrender of the British garrison during the siege of 22 May- 5 June 1781 at Augusta, Georgia.

Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens and Lieut. Col. Lee, jr. to Lieut. Col. Brown

AUGUSTA, May 31, 1781.

Sir:

The usage of war renders it necessary that we present you with an opportunity of avoiding the destruction which impends your garrison.

We have deferred our summons to this late date, to preclude the necessity of much correspondence on the occasion. You see the strength of the investing forces; the progress of our works; and you may inform yourself of the situation of the two armies, by inquiries from Captain Armstrong, of the Legion, who has the honor to bear this. We have the honor to be, &c.

ANDREW PICKENS, B.G. militia.

HENRY LEE, jr., Lieut. Col. com'dg. cont'l. troops.

Lieut. Col. Thomas Brown to Brig. Gen. Pickens and Lieut. Col. Lee

Gentlemen:

What progress you have made in your works I am no stranger to. It is my duty and inclination to defend this post to the last extremity. I have the honor to be, &c.

THOS. BROWN,

Commanding the King's troops at Augusta.

Gen. Pickens and Lieut. Col. Lee, jr. to Lieut. Col. Brown

Sir:

It is not our disposition to press the unfortunate.

To prevent the effusion of blood which must follow perseverance in your fruitless resistance, we inform you, that we are willing though in the grasp of victory, to grant such terms as a comparative view of our respective situations can warrant.

Your determination will be considered as conclusive, and will regulate our conduct.

We have the honor to be, &c.,

ANDREW PICKENS, B.G. militia.

HENRY LEE, Jr., Lieut. Col. Com'dg. Cont'l. troops.

Lieut. Col. Brown to Brig. Gen. Pickens and H. Lee, jr.

FORT CORNWALLIS, June 3.

Gentlemen:

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your summons of this day, and to assure you, that as it is my duty, it is likewise my inclination to defend the post to the last extremity.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

THOMAS BROWN,

Lieut. Col. Commanding the King's troops at Augusta.

Brig. Gen'l. Pickens and Henry Lee, jr. to Lieut. Col. Brown.

Sir:

We beg leave to propose, that the prisoners in your possession may be sent out of the fort, and that they may be considered your or ours as the siege may terminate.

Confident that you cannot oppose the dictate of humanity and custom of war, we have only to say, that any request from you of a similar nature will meet our assent.

We have the honor to be, &c.,

ANDREW PICKENS, B.G. Militia.

HENRY LEE, Jr., Lieut. Col. Com'dg Cont'l. troops.

Lieut. Col. Brown to Brig. Gen. Pickens and Lieut. Col. Lee

Gentlemen:

Though motives of humanity, and a feeling for the distresses of individuals, incline me to accede to what you have proposed concerning the prisoners with us, yet many reasons, to which you cannot be strangers, forbid my complying with this requisition -- such attention as I can, confident with good policy and my duty, shall be shewn them.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

THOMAS BROWN,

Lieut. Col. Commanding the King's troops at Augusta

Lieut. Col. Brown to Brig. Gen. Pickens and L't. Col. Lee

Gentlemen:

In your summons of the 3d instant no particular conditions were specified; I postponed the consideration of it to this day.

From a desire to lessen the distresses of war to individuals, I am included to propose to you my acceptance of the enclosed terms, which being pretty similar to those granted to the commanding officers of the American troops and garrison in Charles Town, I imagine will be honourable to both parties.

I have the honour to be, &c.

THOMAS BROWN,

Lieut. Col., commanding the King's troops at Augusta

Brig. Gen. Pickens and Lieut. Col. Lee, jr. to Lieut. Col. Brown

Sir:

There was a time when your proposals of this date ought to have been accepted. That period is now passed. You have every notice from us, and must have known the futility of your farther opposition.

Although we should be justified by the military of both armies to demand unconditional submission, our sympathy for the unfortunate and gallant of our profession has induced us to grant the honourable terms which we herewith transmit.

We have the honour to be, &c.,

ANDREW PICKENS, B.G. Militia.

HENRY LEE, Jr., Lieut. Col. Com'dg. Cont'l. troops.

Lt. Col. Brown to Brig. Gen. Pickens and Lt. Col. Lee.

FORT CORNWALLIS, June 5, 1781.

Gentlemen:

Your proposition relative to the officers of the King's troops and militia being admitted to their paroles, and the exclusion of the men, is a matter I cannot accede to.

The conditions I have to propose to you are, that such of the different classes of men who compose this garrison, be permitted to march to Savannah, or continue in the country, as to them may be most eligible, until exchanged.

I have the honour to be, &c.,

THOMAS BROWN,

Lieut. Col. Commanding the King's troops at Augusta.

Brig. Gen. Pickens and Lieut. Col. Lee, jr. to Lieut. Col. Brown

FORT AUGUSTA, June 5, 1781.

Sir:

In our answer of this morning, we granted the most generous terms in our power to give, which we beg leave to refer to as final on our part. We have the honour to be, &c.,

ANDREW PICKENS, B.G. Militia.

HENRY LEE, Jr., Lieut. Col. Com'dg. Cont'l. troops.

Lieut. Col. Brown to Brig. Gen. Pickens and Lieut. Col. Lee, jr.

FORT CORNWALLIS, June 5, 1781.

Gentlemen:

As some of the articles proposed by you are generally expressed, I have taken the liberty of deputing three gentlemen to wait upon you for a particular explanation of the respective articles.

I have the honor to be, &c.

THOMAS BROWN,

Lieut. Col., Commanding the King's troops at Augusta.

Articles of capitulation proposed by Lieut. Col. Brown and answered by Gen. Pickens and Lieut. Col. Lee.

ART.I. That all acts of hostilities and works shall cease between the besieged until the articles of capitulation shall be agreed on, signed, and executed, or collectively rejected.

ANSWER. Hostilities shall cease for one hour; other operations to continue.

ART.II. That the fort shall be surrendered to the commanding officer of the American corps, such as it now stands. That the King's troops, three days after signing the articles of capitulation, shall be conducted to Savannah, with their baggage, where they will remain prisoners of war until they are exchanged; that proper conveyances shall be provided by the commanding officer of the American troops for that purpose, together with a sufficient quantity of good and wholesome provisions till their arrival at Savannah.

ANSWER. Inadmissible. The prisoners to surrender field prisoners of war: The officers to be indulged with their paroles; the soldiers

to be conducted to such place as the commander-in-chief shall direct.

ART.III. The militia now in garrison shall be permitted to return to their respective homes, and be secured in their persons and properties.

ANSWER. Answered by the second article, the militia making part of the garrison.

ART. IV. The sick and wounded shall be under the care of their own surgeons, and be supplied with such medicines and necessities as are allowed to the British hospitals.

AGREED.

ART. V. The officers of the garrison, and citizens who have borne arms during the siege, shall keep their side arms, pistols, and baggage, which shall not be searched, and return of their servants.

ANSWER. The officers and citizens who have borne arms during the siege shall be permitted their side arms, private baggage, and servants; their side arms are not to be worn; and the baggage to be searched by a person appointed for that purpose.

ART. VI. The garrison, at an hour appointed, shall march out, with shouldered arms and drums beating, to a place to be agreed on, where they will pile their arms.

ANSWER. Agreed. The judicious and gallant defence made by the garrison, entitles them to every mark of military respect. The fort to be delivered up to Captain Rudolph at twelve o'clock, who will take possession with a detachment of the Legion Infantry.

ART. VII. That the citizens shall be protected in their persons and properties.

ANSWER. Inadmissible.

ART. VIII. That twelve months shall be allowed to all such as do not choose to reside in this country, to dispose of their effects, real and personal, in this province, without any molestation whatever, or to remove to any part thereof as they may choose, as well themselves as families.

ANSWER. Inadmissible.

ART. IX. That the Indian families now in garrison shall accompany the King's troops to Savannah, where they will remain prisoners of war until exchanged for an equal number of prisoners in the Creek or Cherokee nation.

ANSWER. Answered in the second article.

ART. X. That an express be permitted to go to Savannah with the commanding officer's dispatches, which are not to be opened.

ANSWER. Agreed.

ART. XI. Additional. The particular attention of Col. Brown is expected towards the just delivery of all public stores, monies, &c.; and that no loans be permitted to defeat the spirit of this article.

Signed at Head Quarters, Augusta, June 5, 1781. by

ANDREW PICKENS, B.G. Militia.

HENRY LEE, Jr., Lieut. Col. Commandant

THOMAS BROWN, Lieut. Col. Com'dg King's troops at Augusta.

Press, 1971, pages 82 – 86.; Lee, Henry. *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*. New York: University Publishing Company, 1869; Reprint New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1969, pages 367-369; and Tarleton, Banastre. *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America*. London: T. Cadell, 1787; Reprint North Stratford, NH: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc., 2001, pages 487-495. ★

Copies of these documents can be found in Robert Wilson Gibbes, *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, Volume 3. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1853; Reprint Edition, New York: Arno