



Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution

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Assault on Fort Granby

May 15, 1781



Fort Granby was built by the British and Loyalists around the Kershaw and Chesnut c. 1770 trading post on the western bluff overlooking the Congaree River. Located in an area historically called “the Congarees” which hosted two pre-revolutionary forts and trading posts dating back to 1715. German, Swiss and Scot-Irish immigrants established small farms in this area and Granby would later be the leading town for many years. This 1970 oil painting by Alfred Richardson Simson depicts the May 2-15, 1781 siege of the British post by the combined forces of SC militia Gen. Thomas Sumter and Continental Lt. Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee. A 263-man Loyalist force commanded by Maj. Andrew Maxwell defends the fortified frame house. Maxwell agreed to surrender provided he was allowed to maintain possession of his plunder. The green-jacketed Lt. Col. Lee, depicted to the left, watches his cannon engage the fort from the east side of the Congaree River as Gen. Sumter’s and Col. Thomas Taylor’s troops attack. The painting was photographed by Will Graves and enhanced for publication. Used by permission of The Cayce Historical Museum, 1800 12th Street, Cayce, SC where the original hangs.

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Editor's Notes

Some Thoughts on the Revolution in the South

Dr. Walter Edgar recently pointed out that rebel control of the southern colonies was secured by Whig victories in three critical southern battles before the Declaration of Independence: Great Bridge, Virginia; Moore's Creek, North Carolina; and Sullivan's Island, South Carolina. To his three battles, *SCAR* would add the battles on Hutchinson's (Rice Boats) and Tybee Islands near Savannah, Georgia which insured rebel control of Georgia. Rebel leaders in North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia pulled off essentially bloodless *coup d'État* in which the Royal governors were first forced from their palaces onto British men-of-war waiting in the harbors and then eventually to flee their colonies for England or the British stronghold of New York. These Royal governors had few if any troops at their immediate disposal. A modern *coup* usually involves control of some active portion of the military while neutralizing the remainder of a country's armed services. The Councils of Safety in the South operated more as a shadow movement, whose successes were assured by the willing participation of many of the individuals who had previously served in Royal government positions. Thus, the new southern rebel governments inherited many experienced judges, sheriffs, tax and finance officers, legislators, postmasters, and militia leaders. A modern *coup* succeeds if its opponents fail to dislodge the plotters, allowing them to consolidate their position; obtains the surrender or acquiescence of the populace and surviving armed forces; and claims governing legitimacy.

The initial British southern strategy was to inspire the Loyalists to organize into militias and provincial units to fight the rebels. In Virginia, "Lord Dunmore", the Royal Governor John Murray was more aggressive than Governors James Wright of Georgia, William Campbell of South Carolina or Josiah Martin of North Carolina. Dunmore recruited two Loyalist regiments to try to regain his colony by force of arms but his troops were defeated at Great Bridge, Virginia. After many more skirmishes with Patriots, he eventually left Virginia. In North Carolina, the British sent Gen. Donald MacDonald into the backcountry of North Carolina to organize, train and lead the Loyalist Scot-Irish living there. The North Carolina plan fell apart at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge where the embodied Loyalist militia was defeated. The British plan in South Carolina was different. Using a combined operation of the Royal Navy and Army, the British plan was to capture the harbor defenses by combined naval and army actions and force Charles Town to capitulate. The British therefore elected to concentrate their military assets on Charles Town in the June 1776 campaign. The British attempt to retake Charles Town ended in defeat when their army could not cross Breach Inlet between Long Island (Isle of Palms) and Sullivan's Island to attack the unfinished rear of the sand and palmetto log fortress on Sullivan's Island. We agree with Dr. Edgar's thesis that these are three important early battles. However, it is important to note that they followed relatively bloodless *coups* and, at least in the Carolinas, they followed internecine warfare to settle control of the interior of these states. The Battle of Sullivan's Island defeated the British army and Royal Navy and kept them out of the South until the a new British southern strategy was initiated in the fall of 1778. The British cautiously tested southern defenses again in December 1778 with Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell's and Gen. Augustine Prévost's successful invasion of Savannah, Georgia and the successful May 1779 foray into the Chesapeake Bay to raid Virginia lead by Commodore Sir George Collier and Maj. Gen. Edward Mathew.

These 1775-1776 victories gave the nascent rebel governments two and one-half years of relative peace in which to organize their governments including co-opting militia structures, tax structures, legal systems, and representative-based legislative branches; to legitimize the government; and to cower most Loyalists. These new Rebel governments learned under fire – from British East Florida to the south, British naval supremacy to the east, and hostile natives to the west.

The British made two initial, major mistakes. First, Virginia's Royal Governor, Lord Dunmore, tried to retake his colony by force by arming slaves and promising freedom to slaves and indentured servants who fought for the Crown. The birth pangs of the abolitionist movement in London with William Wilberforce railing against the morality of human slavery echoed in the colonies. Second, the Crown allied itself with the hostile Creek and Cherokee Indians. These actions, coupled with King George III's Indian proclamation line of 1763 which attempted to limit the westward expansion to land hungry settlers (we all know that the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence) and Indian trade merchants. These issues polarized the sides' Indian and slave policies. The coastal rice and tidewater tobacco barons feared their slaves armed no less than the frontiersmen feared Indians on the warpath. The happenstance attack of the Cherokees on the South Carolina western frontier on the same day that the British finally crossed the bar and attacked Fort Sullivan was not lost on the Patriot propagandists.

In addition to the battles listed above, the new rebel governments' military warm-ups also consisted of campaigns against the Loyalists, Indian tribes and three campaigns mounted against the loyal British colony of East Florida. These 1776-1778 actions did not amount to much - mainly probing on both sides on the southern frontier as well as fairly constant pressure by the British to get their Indian allies to attack from the West. These early Patriot military victories and *détente* with the Loyalists gave the South a respite while the British concentrated their military power on the Mid-Atlantic States. The early British policy mistakes and Patriot victories made independence seem plausible. All this done before France entered the war and sealed the end for the British control of the 13 mainland North American colonies. Our next quarterly issue of *SCAR*, we will feature two excellent articles on this early Revolutionary period in the South: Don Gara on Lord Dunmore's Loyal Ethiopian (former slave) Regiment and his fight for Virginia and Jeff Dennis on South Carolina's 1776 campaign against the Cherokees.

Questions have surfaced about why *SCAR* features portraits and biographies of British and Loyalists such as Georgia Loyalist militia Col. Thomas Waters, British Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, and in this issue, British Lt. Col. John W. T. Watson. We want to do more to better understand the people who fought on *both sides*. As scholars we must carefully look at all of the individuals, their loyalties, why they chose sides, and even those who decided it was in their interest to change sides, to better understand the mind and motivations of the Revolutionary generation. How some with vested social and economic interest took the very radical stands; others who kept their humanity as Loyalists; and others who simply went feral. We had a local leader in my home area, SC Patriot militia Col. Joseph Kershaw. He is considered by many as the founder of the county, staunch Patriot who staked his reputation and health for the Revolution and who pledged his fortune against the British. Another person, locally referred to as an "honored Tory", was Loyalist John Adamson who stayed in Camden as a successful businessman post-Revolution. He is credited with

saving SC Patriot militia Col. William Bratton's wife, Martha, from the scythe of threatening Loyalists and provincials camped at Williamson's Plantation before the battle that we now call Huck's Defeat. [*Historic Camden* by Kirkland and Kennedy, Vol. I, p. 281; *The Day it Rained Militia* by Michael Scoggins, p. 106; *Partisans and Redcoats* by Walter Edgar, p. 77.] The Camden District also produced another shadowy figure, many times simply called "McGirth" [Daniel McGirt, McGirtt], widely known as a "bad" Loyalist who served as a leader of a banditti of irregular troops known for plunder. [Phil Norfleet compiled the interesting twists of the Daniel McGirtt story on-line at: http://sc_tories.tripod.com/daniel_mcgirt.htm and in *Historic Camden*, p. 297.] Finally, there is the local case of SC Loyalist militia Lt. Col. Henry Rugeley, an important local merchant, miller and trader before the Revolution. He is credited with saving Gov. Rutledge and his counselors from Tarleton's race after Col. Abraham Buford. Col. Rugeley later surrendered his fort to Lt. Col. William Washington without a shot, but never returned to South Carolina to try to reclaim his property after the Revolution. Each community had a collection of these complex characters with different motives, vested interests and overlapping relationships. Those who remained loyal to the Crown deserve our study and understanding. Post revolutionary historical judgments about people figured in on post-war murders, banishments, amercements, confiscations, and, no doubt, many changes in fortune.

Since so much of the fight in the Southern Department was internecine warfare, it is easy to declare that it was the "Presbyterian rebellion." While many rebel Presbyterians of Scot-Irish heritage fought in the Carolinas' backcountry, that generalization ignores the loyal Presbyterians in the Jackson Creek area of Fairfield County; the Little River area [Laurens County]; and along the Fairforest Creek [Union and Spartanburg Counties] of South Carolina, as well as the ultra-Patriots Reverends Richard Furman and Oliver Hart, Baptist clergymen; and Anglican Patriot leaders such as William Moultrie, Richard Richardson, and Joseph Kershaw, among many others. In the South at least, I do not see the Revolutionary War as religious although many families and congregations certainly fought together.

In most traditional accounts of Patriot Lt. Col. William Washington's victory at the Battle of Hammond's Store, one could not decipher who his victory was over, the units, its origin, mission, nor leadership, at least until Patrick O'Kelley's encyclopedic *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter* was published. Col. Thomas Waters was the Loyalist commander of the embodied Georgia Loyalist militia who plundered South Carolina Patriots in the Fairforest Creek area. These were the troops defeated at the Battle of Hammond's Store. Thomas Waters was an important pre-Revolutionary War leader, businessman and planter in Georgia. [For Waters' biography, see *SCAR* Vol. 3, No. 9, September 2006.] In descriptions of Patriot victory, *SCAR* believes that many historians have trivialized Waters by not even mentioning his name or his unit and by not explaining their mission. This treatment, typical of Georgia provincial Loyalist Col. Thomas Brown and other Loyalist leaders, does not well explain the true significance of the battles and the personalities involved or their various motives. Besides the universally-revered Lord Charles Cornwallis, whom we view as a wizened, old political general, historians have often adopted a very ethnocentric view of our heroes and enemies. While it is easy to understand why the 18th century propagandists vilified the British field commanders [Tarleton, Wemyss and Ferguson to name a few] and their Tory stooges, this view greatly over-simplifies the failure of truth in war and the need to influence the hearts of man. Many of these Loyalists commanders left the young United States after the war by choice or otherwise and therefore did not have meritorious post-war careers as politicians,

businessmen and fathers of their communities. Part of the normal point of view that American historians along with myself share is not to be guilty of over-glamorizing the enemy. However, we should not trivialize the enemy because that demeans the victories that our Patriots forefathers won. It demands the very real and rational decision that individuals made to side with the monarch, the mother country, and in essence with law and order as they existed at the time. While you will find *SCAR* standing proudly at patriotic ceremonies waving the flag for America's founding fathers (and mothers), I personally intend to have Prof. Jeff Dennis teach me how to pronounce **Tsi.yu Gansi.ni's** (Dragging Canoe) name and better understand how these peoples played into the Southern Campaigns and to give better homage to scholar Todd Braisted's lifetime study of Loyalists in the Revolution.

When planning a revolution, as with all political upheavals, you need allies - especially strong influential allies that can bring more people into the cause [*SCAR's* mantra]. Unfortunately when planning a revolution, numerous malcontents, radicals, cast-offs, and rascals immediately volunteer for membership (admittedly, a revolution is mostly nasty business). Many who choose this path are less than socially invested. Building a revolutionary coalition is not like selecting club members; you pretty much have to accept all comers. This explains some late 18th and early 19th century writers' views of Patriots like Georgia militia Col. Elijah Clarke who was clearly Georgia Loyalist militia Col. Thomas Brown's social inferior in political connections, land and wealth.

Fortunately for the Revolution, there were underlying acceptance of certain Judeo-Christian, western renaissance, legal precepts, and some classically-educated leaders who well outlined in the Declaration of Independence (and well defended by Thomas Paine) the philosophical foundation to the Patriots' cause. These underpinned the economic and practical policy divisions between the Crown and colonists. From the actions towards moderation, rule of law, and consideration of downstream consequences taken by Washington, Greene, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Francis Marion, you can see these men understood the importance of world opinion in legitimizing the new Continental government. The educated leadership of the American War of Independence knew that to be recognized as a legitimate nation the United States had to act with reason, under laws and with restraint...not like a "democratic" mob. This is why super-Patriot John Adams defended Capt. Thomas Preston, the British officer accused of murder in the Boston Massacre of 1770. America would gain international recognition and self-respect accompanied by the right to join the world stage of legitimate "civilized" nations by demonstrating respect for fundamental human rights and the rule of law. These respects and rights were demonstrated in 18th Century military rules: respect of prisoners and granting quarter; respect for paroles; the concept of fighting fair; avoiding personal humiliation (mostly); and recognizing an "honorable" defense of a post before surrender. Diplomatically, the new nation had to recognize concepts of international law and honoring commercial contracts.

SCAR believes that there are two Southern Campaigns battles which are to date under-appreciated: Ramsour's Mill and Musgrove Mill. Bold North Carolina Patriot militia leadership and concerted intrastate action stopped the premature mobilization of Loyalists in response to the British establishing bases at Camden and Ninety Six, setting the stage for successful backcountry resistance of the British army. At Wofford's Iron Works and Musgrove Mill, the North and South Carolina militias again united to defeat a superior enemy, this time including red-coated, provincial troops. This intrastate cooperation would soon defeat the British at Kings Mountain, Blackstock's Plantation and Cowpens. ★



The Corps of Discovery reveals the Battles at Hanging Rock and Rocky Mount. The Hanging Rock is in the background at top. Photo by SCAR staff photographer Bob Yankle.

SCAR Corps of Discovery Field Trip

The **Corps of Discovery** toured the Hanging Rock and Rocky Mount battlefields of SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter and NC Patriot militia Maj. William R. Davie on March 10, 2007. We met at the beautiful 200-year-old home of Kip and Cindy Carter, two miles south of Heath Springs, SC on the Hanging Rock (II) battlefield. We visited the sites of both battles at Hanging Rock (July 30, 1780 and August 6, 1780) and hiked over Rocky Mount, the site of Gen. Thomas Sumter's unsuccessful siege of the British post there on July 30, 1780. Over 85 joined the Corps of Discovery for our tour and enjoyed presentations by guides: Robert "Bert" Dunkerly, Charles Baxley, David Reuwer, Mike Burgess, Kirk Johnson, Clyde McFadden, Kip Carter, Steve Rauch, and Mike Scoggins.

Dr. Robert H. Walker, event host, welcomed all at the Ingram - Horton - Richards - Carter home. After seeing the area believed to be Col. Samuel Bryan's camp on Hanging Rock Creek and having the first Battle of Hanging Rock, (Davie's raid on Bryan's camp),



Artifacts recovered from the site of Col. Bryan's camp.

described by Charles Baxley, we had an opportunity to view 18th century military artifacts collected at the "rabbit pen".

A farm house near Col. Bryan's camp was the site of the successful diversionary raid by Maj. William R. Davie which was designed - and successful - to keep the British at the Hanging Rock post from marching to relieve Rocky Mount when Gen. Thomas Sumter was attacking the garrison posted there.



NPS Ranger Robert "Bert" Dunkerly describes Gen. Sumter's plan of attack on the British fortified outpost at Hanging Rock. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.

The group moved next to Hanging Rock Road for a presentation by Baxley and NPS Ranger Bert Dunkerly (pictured above) on the layout of the British post and Gen. Sumter's force attack, fought just one week later. The Patriots attacked the British post on three fronts: the initial fight rolling through Bryan's camp to the south; through the Prince of Wales American Regiment's (PWAR) and British Legion infantry's camp; routing the British until they found a defensive square near the Carters' home. After three hours of

hard fighting, exhausted, out of ammunition, having dispersed Bryan's North Carolina militia, annihilating the PWAR, and seriously damaging two companies of British Legion infantry, General Sumter had his men gather the supplies and their wounded to withdraw back towards their base at the Catawba Nation.

At the Hanging Rock, the Corps heard about the local preservation efforts from Andrew Jackson State Park superintendent, Kirk Johnson. David Reuwer (pro) and Mike Burgess (con) presented a spirited debate on Gen. Thomas Sumter's, leadership and personality.



Ranger Kirk Johnson, debater David P. Reuwer, your editor, and Mike Burgess all listen to David defend Gen. Sumter. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.

Both Patriot strikes at the Hanging Rock forward outpost were very successful. Although Bryan's militia was scattered, they re-coalesced after Sumter's withdrawal, but the PWAR, with most of its' officers killed or wounded, would never again have regimental strength. Their southern tour ended with garrison duty in Fort Granby (Cayce, South Carolina).

After enjoying lunch in downtown Heath Springs, South Carolina, the Corps drove to Rocky Mount. Amateur archaeologist Clyde McFadden and noted Revolutionary War historian Mike Scoggins joined us. Trekking up the hill, Clyde showed the group the post's foundation ruins, rock outcrops used defensively by Gen. Sumter's troops, and the location of the archaeological finds that convinced him of the actual location of the British outpost on Rocky Mount. David Reuwer discussed Gen. Sumter's plan of attack using three eyewitness accounts that were read on the site.

This British outpost was successfully defended by Lt. Col. George Turnbull and the Volunteers of New York provincial Loyalists against Gen. Sumter's attacks. Rocky Mount - also called Grimkéville - was the site of a community which supported: the construction of the Rocky Mount canal in the 1820's; Gen. William T. Sherman's February 1865 crossing of the Catawba River; and Duke Power Co.'s early 20th Century construction and operations of hydroelectric generating station at Cedar Creek Dam.

The Rocky Mount - Grimkéville site was also home to the 19th and 20th Century Barkley - Johnson plantation. Sketched in 1857 by historian Benson Lossing during his trip to Southern Theatre Revolutionary War sites, the plantation mansion burned in about 2000. The old roadbeds, cut stone foundations, site of Sumter's attack on the British post, and remnants of the Rocky Mount canal are all subject to development pressure. Rock Mount is an archaeological treasure, approximately 60 acres of which on the southeast side were recently placed under a conservation easement managed by the Congaree Land Trust.



Tourist with Mr. Arthur Price, owner of Rocky Mount, who holds a display box of artifacts from Gen. Sumter's unsuccessful siege of the British fortified out-post. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.

SCAR editor Charles B. Baxley pontificates about NC Patriot militia Maj. William Richardson Davie's successful diversionary raid known as the first Battle of Hanging Rock. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.



The Corps of Discovery especially thanks Ranger Laura Ledford of Andrew Jackson State Park, Kip Carter, Dr. Bobby Walker, all of the tour guides, and property owners for making this a memorable day.

View a photo gallery of the Corps at Hanging Rock and Rocky Mount at: <http://www.ncssar.com/images/HangingRock2007>

For other Corps of Discovery trips we are planning, see page 4: <http://www.southerncampaign.org/newsletter/v3n9.pdf>

March 29, 2008 – The Corps of Discovery will visit three battlefields in Alamance County, NC.

"We're boots on the ground on Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War sites." **Corps of Discovery** field trips are organized upon invitation of a host and guide. SCAR publishes a meeting date, time, and tentative 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! The tours are free and open to the public. SCAR keeps you posted on the details in the Calendar of Upcoming Events.

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

The Battle of Ramsour's Mill

June 9-10

Schedule of Events

Saturday, June 9

Honorary wreath laying at gravesite	10:00 am
Free BBQ Lunch.....	11:30 am
Warlick Family wreath laying.....	1:30 pm
Battlefield Reenactment.....	4:00 pm
Ghost walk through battlefield.....	8:30 pm

Activities that go on throughout the day include:

Tomahawk throwing contest

Skillet tossing contest

Firing of the cannon

Tour the log cabin

Visit the soldiers' tents and see how they and their families lived. Watch as the soldiers practice drills and make ammo while the women craft and cook over an open fire.

Sunday, June 10

Old Fashioned Church Service.....	11:00 am
Battlefield Reenactment.....	2:00 pm



Locaton: Behind Lincolnton High School beside football stadium
Darrell Harkey, Lincoln County Historical Coordinator 704-736-8442

Join your friends in Lincolnton, NC and celebrate the important Patriot victory on the historic battlefield. Eighteenth century military and domestic living historians will create an opportunity to travel back in time to see the folkways of the early settlers of the Carolinas piedmont. Brave Patriots routed a superior Loyalist force on June 20, 1780 in defiance of the British army at Camden, poised to invade North Carolina, setting the stage for the Southern Campaigns resistance that ultimately defeated the British. ★



SCAR is partnered with the Carolina Mountains Literary Festival to present two panel discussions on Revolutionary War literature on September 14 and 15, 2007 in Burnsville, North Carolina. Join panel discussions with Revolutionary War novelist Charles F. Price (historic novelist), Seabrook Wilkinson (literary critic); historians John Buchanan (author); Dennis M. Conrad (Greene Papers editor); Prof. Greg Massey (Col. John Laurens' biographer); Christine Swager (educator, youth writer); Charles B. Baxley (SCAR Editor); and Preston Russell (historian, textbook editor), all accomplished writers and scholars of the American Revolution.

Historian John A. Maass will moderate the first panel that will look at historical fiction and history as great literature and the historian's craft as a good read. The 19th Century historian, historic novelist and poet William Gilmore Simms is a great example of a master of both crafts.

SO YOU THOUGHT THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS BORING? Did you know: That one of America's greatest generals slept with the governor of South Carolina—and a pig? That a high-ranking British officer was given credit for boasting that he had killed more men and ravished more women than any man in America? That the war's bloodiest battle for the numbers engaged was fought in a remote spot in South Carolina? That the mistress of a North Carolina tavern gave her life savings for the use of the impoverished American army? Historical novelist Charles F. Price will moderate the second panel that will focus on the writers' role in telling the story, especially to the younger generations who need to know about the founding of our nation and the ideas upon which it is based: "How the lessons of our past can inform our present and our future." This two-hour panel will examine the power of well-written historical materials to popularize history and foster enthusiasm for the learning of history among a general readership.

Lloyd Bailey Charles Baxley Bill Brooks John Buchanan Kathryn Stripling Byer Rick Chess Dennis Conrad Marshall DeBruhl Abigail DeWitt M. Scott Douglass	John Ehle George Ellison Elizabeth Ellison Anthony Grooms Elizabeth Baird Hardy Michael Hardy Irene Honeycutt Gloria Houston Dot Jackson Hunter James	Carolina Mountains Literary Festival PO Box 355 Burnsville, NC 28714 828.682.7413 cmllitfest@gmail.com cmllitfest.org
most events held at the Burnsville Town Center 7 S. Main Street September 14 & 15 2007	Steven Kirk Vicki Lane John Maass Myra MacPherson Greg Massey Karen Miller Sheryl Monks Robert Morgan	Rob Neufeld Michael Parker Charles F. Price Glenis Redmond Pat Riviere-Seel Preston Russell Timothy Silver Betty Smith

Given the participation and enthusiasm I observed, I think this celebration of the written and spoken word will very soon become a mainstay in the region, as it should.
 - Gloria Houston

Christine Swager
 Peter Turchi
 Kevin Watson
 Seabrook Wilkinson
 Perry Deane Young
 Isabel Zuber

Charles Price: "We believe that historians can reach a broader audience through written history that rises to the level of literature even as it educates. Literature, both as fiction and nonfiction, tells stories with a vividness and immediacy that spur imagination and can make history live in ways dully-written textbooks cannot."

<http://www.cmllitfest.org> ★

Correspondence from the American Revolution Round Table of Richmond

Gentlemen and gentleladies of Camden, South Carolina:

We received by the last post instant, your letter of greetings for us in our new endeavor on behalf of freedom, enlightenment, and good government.

We are calling ourselves the American Revolution Round Table of Richmond, Virginia. Our mission is: "The American Revolution Round Table of Richmond is devoted to the study of all aspects of the Revolutionary period, (c.1763-1789). Composed of a group of eclectic, yet historical minded individuals, the ARRT-R provides a forum for the exploration, discussion, and sharing of knowledge about this interesting and critical period of our history. All are welcome to participate in this enlightening and enjoyable pursuit, regardless of knowledge level."

We are organized with a senior advisor, president, vice-president for programs, vice-president for membership, treasurer, secretary/historian, webmaster/publicity, and two members at large. Simplicity is good. We will meet 21 March, 23 May, 19 September, and 14 November this year. The annual tariff is \$15.00.

We have a silent book auction each meeting with books furnished by the "Black Swan Book" shop located in Richmond. For this consideration the owner receives a free membership, as do the speakers who are not part of the administrative overhead. We meet in the faculty room of the Heilman Dining Hall on the campus of the University of Richmond. We had 42 at our first meeting, from as far away as Northern Virginia and Elizabeth City, NC, surprising us greatly but pleasantly.

We have several speakers in the queue and members who can lead "staff rides" on battles and structures in the area to include Yorktown, Green Spring, von Stuben's maneuvers in the area, Petersburg, and Great Bridge. We will keep you informed of our goings on so if any member of your body is in our area they can visit. Our meeting of 21 March will see the presentation of "The America Rifleman," by a costumed expert on the topic.

Once again know you do not labor in the vineyard alone. We are here for support and camaraderie, which I hope will be significant.

Your obedient servants of the American Revolution Round Table, in the new, (1780), sovereign, independent and unpredictable capital of the Commonwealth of Virginia.

Bill Welsch, president

Lynn Sims, vice-president - programs lsims@richmond.edu

Jerry Rudd, vice-president – membership

<http://arrrt-richmond.org/index.html> ★

Other Active Revolutionary War Roundtables

New York American Revolution Round Table

Northern New Jersey Round Table

Central Delmarva Revolutionary Round Table

American Revolution Round Table of Philadelphia

Western Pennsylvania - Pittsburgh

Washington D.C. Revolutionary War Roundtable

Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable

See contacts listed at:

http://www.geocities.com/arrrtop/#_Personal_Interests ★

South Carolina's Top Historic Preservation Award goes to Gen. George Fields



George Fields discusses research and conservation planning for the Battle of Eutaw Springs. SCAR photo by Lanny Morgan.

At the 2007 SC Landmark and Preservation Conference in Beaufort, SC George D. Fields, Jr. of Spartanburg was honored with the Governor's Award for Historic Preservation. He was recognized for his many accomplishments in preserving and interpreting Revolutionary War battle sites. As director of the Palmetto Conservation Foundation's (PCF) Military Heritage Program, George has negotiated historic preservation easements and purchases of battlefields, overseen archaeological work, provided interpretation, and been hands-on involved in battlefields landscape restoration. George was the leader in acquiring key tracts of property at the Musgrove Mill, Blackstock's Plantation, Camden, and Lt. Col. Lee's trenches at the Ninety Six battlefields.

He has been highly successful in getting the National Park Service, the SC Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism, land trusts, city and county governments, historical societies, chambers of commerce, and many others to work together to achieve permanent protection of significant battle sites. Dressed in backcountry militia garb, George leads bus tours and marches, gives tours and seminars. George has an earned Doctor of Divinity degree, is an ordained Methodist minister, retired President of Spartanburg Methodist College, and retired Brigadier General, US Army Chaplain Corps. He was first recognized for his outstanding contribution to preservation by SCAR last September with a lifetime achievement award for historic preservation. His contagious enthusiasm, diligence and well-researched knowledge have brought the importance of SC in the Revolutionary War alive to many.

Over the past decade, George lead the PCF efforts to help protect areas on 10 Revolutionary War battlefields in the Palmetto State. Two of PCF's ongoing battlefield preservation efforts are the restoration of the Battle of Camden site and a second survey of the Eutaw Springs battlefield.

Congratulations George. Well-deserved.



Searching for Mass Graves at Guilford Courthouse

The Greensboro, NC "News & Record" on March 11, 2007 features an article entitled "226 years later, search for mass graves continues."

Greensboro - "Mass graves of the Revolutionary War soldiers? They are all over north Greensboro on the 1,000 - plus acres where the Battle of the Guilford Courthouse was fought 226 years ago...." "Only two mass graves have been confirmed, which means a lot more graves - what is left of them - are out there, says John Durham, the historian at the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. By now the acidic soil probably has eaten away everything except metal relics. At one time, the graves probably would have contained two to 15 bodies each. About 170 soldiers were killed in action during the battle. 'They would pretty much plant them where they fell during the battle'"

"One confirmed mass grave, verified by ground-penetrating radar, exists inside the national park, which preserves only a fraction of the original battlefield. The grave was found where Americans battled Hessians. The radar indicated no remains; only that dirt had been dug up and filled back in. Durham will not reveal the location of the grave, which measured about 12 ft. wide by 18 ft. long. 'We do not want people to go out there and dig it up,' he says. Durham says the grave probably was ransacked long ago, perhaps by a local doctor ...who returned later to look for skeletons, as one historical account says."

"Another confirmed grave existed near some townhouses on Old Battleground Avenue. Three American soldiers who were with the Delaware Continental Line were buried there. Their remains were exhumed, reinterred in 1888 and marked with a monument in the national park. Durham suspects that British soldiers were buried in mass graves in the same area that the Delaware soldiers were found. Another site where Durham bets on a mass grave: the area around the Bark Park, a dog exercise area in Country Park. One of the last skirmishes of the day was fought there."

"There are also written accounts of 4 mass graves near the battle's third line. Durham believes he stumbled across one about 5 years ago when he was searching for fallen limbs after a winter storm. The unmarked headstones stood out against the snowy background. 'They are laid out like a grid' says Durham, who believes the graves are British."

"Several accounts suggest graves outside the national park. Two reports say the British dug graves near the intersection of present day Battleground Avenue and New Garden Road. Durham has heard a story that would seem to confirm that. The story says the workers once unearthed skeletons while widening Battleground Avenue at the New Garden Road intersection. According to the story, one crewmember found a British Royal Artillery button. Then his boss came along: The foreman said to 'hurry up and fill that in. We do not want to stop our work,' says Durham. As I am told, there are still graves under that road."

"Brent Brackett, the curator at Tannenbaum Historic Park, says that story jives with local lore that says British were buried on land where the Gate convenience store and gas station now stands. In 1984, archaeologists from Wake Forest University looked for graves near the intersection, in what is now Tannenbaum Park. They dug 13 trenches but found no graves."

On a side note, in the New Garden Friend's Church cemetery, there is a stone marker noting the mass graves of both American and British soldiers buried in a mass grave at the marker. Those buried there were wounded men left in the care of the Quakers who died from their wounds. I am not sure how many men were regarded to be interred there.

[Bob Vogler - RevList]



Carolinian History on the Hoof: The Marsh Tacky Horse

by Jeannette Beranger

The name “Tacky” is derived from the English word for “cheap” or “common”. For most of their history, Marsh Tackies were the most common horse in the swampy and marshy low country region of coastal South Carolina and Georgia. They were used for riding, pulling, and anything else for which horsepower was needed. They were found from as far north as Myrtle Beach and as far south as St. Simon’s Island, Georgia, until the advent of the automobile. As the car replaced the horse, the Marsh Tacky began to disappear. Today the American Livestock Breeds Conservancy (ALBC) estimates there are fewer than 200 pure Marsh Tackies left.



Hershey, a Marsh Tacky owned by Tammi Connor, is a dun stallion. Photo courtesy of Jeannette Beranger.

Although the exact origin of the Marsh Tacky horse is unclear, it can be attributed to Spanish stock that arrived on the coastal islands of South Carolina as “drop offs” by Spanish explorers and stock brought over by Spanish settlers in the 1500’s. Oral histories on the breed have been collected by ALBC from longtime Marsh Tacky breeders, local historical organizations and from public records. This information along with DNA evidence supports the hypothesis of the Spanish origin of the Marsh Tacky. One thing is clear: there is a strong case for considering the Marsh Tacky to be a Colonial Spanish horse whose roots reach back centuries in South Carolina.

Marsh Tackies have played a significant role in South Carolina’s history. During the American Revolution, Marsh Tackies were used by many of the troops of the famous “Swamp Fox”, Francis Marion. Marion’s troops of “irregulars” used their own mounts, the common horses of the area, during their campaigns against the British. The most common horse in the region at that time would have been the Marsh Tacky. During the 1780 Southern Campaigns in South Carolina, it is known that British Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton and his troops, mounted on Marsh Tackies, led successful assaults on American cavalry. Tarleton lost most of his cavalry mounts during a violent storm at sea on his way south and impressed local coastal plantation horses to remount his cavalry troopers in South Carolina.

The after the Civil War, the Marsh Tacky became an integral part of the Gullah community and culture as they were the commonly used horse of every farmer on the islands. Oral history indicates that the freed slaves on Hilton Head were given 40 acres and a

Marsh Tacky. The horses were used for everything from delivering the mail, to bringing folks to church, to plowing the fields. Every Gullah family seemingly had a Marsh Tacky in their field or garden.



Abby, a Marsh Tacky owned by Beth Postelle, is a very pretty dun roan filly. Photo courtesy of Jeannette Beranger.

Tackies make a good cavalry horse; they outperform most other breeds as far as endurance and stamina go. The downside is that they tend to be small so many folks think of them as inferior. It is actually their size that gives great advantage. They are easy keepers and do not require much feed. Structurally, their bodies are perfectly balanced producing less wear and tear on joints and giving them the power that often surprises most people that ride them for the first time. You can see in the photo below with Phil Hayes, he is no small man and DP supports him effortlessly on daylong hunting trips all the time.

The body of the Marsh Tacky is designed to radiate heat very efficiently so they do not tire easily. One owner told me she recently went on a trail ride on her Tacky for several hours along with a group on Quarter horses. At the end of the ride the Quarter horses were dripping with sweat and ready to go home. The little Tacky on the other hand was still fresh and ready to go back on the trail. Others have recounted stories of day long hunting trips with Tackies not only carrying their rider but a boar or deer out of the forest as well. They are tough horses.



DP is a Marsh Tacky grulla stallion owned by David Grant and being ridden by Phil Hayes. Photo courtesy of Jeannette Beranger.

As part of the conservation effort for the Marsh Tacky horse, ALBC is seeking to document the role that the breed has played during the early history of South Carolina, especially during the American Revolution. ALBC requests the assistance of historians to help with this project. We encourage anyone who may have pertinent information or is interested in helping with the project to contact ALBC at PO Box 477, Pittsboro, NC 27312, (919) 542-5704, fax (919) 545-0022, iberanger@albc-usa.org, www.albc-usa.org. ★

Southern Campaigns Roundtable Shubrick's Plantation



John Allison discussed the final battle of Gen. Thomas Sumter "Dog Days of Summer" campaign which ended at Shubrick's Plantation on July 17, 1781.



Will Graves (left) listens as David Reuwer shows the Quinby Plantation manager, Calvin Felder, an artifact recovered from the Quinby battlefield.



Part of the artifact collection of John Allison from domestic plantation life and the Battle of Shubrick's Plantation.



Photo of a British Brown Bess musket escutcheon plate issued to the 8th Regiment with an issue number of 53. Allison has recreated the exact location of the action from the numerous military artifacts recovered in the 1970s. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.



A non-matched pair of sword pommel handles recovered at Shubrick's by John Allison. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.



Roundtabliers on the 300-year-old repaired rice dike with impoundment to rear. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.



Brass waist buckle recovered from the Shubrick's Plantation battlefield. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.



Mike Burgess (left) and John Allison discuss the fine points on the porch of the Quinby Plantation meeting hall while Charles Baxley set up Gen. Sumter's plan of action of July 1781. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.



Roundtableurs John Allison (left), Nancy Lindroth, Frank Stovall, and Mike Burgess discuss the Shubrick's Plantation artifacts. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.



Quinby Creek, a navigable, tidally-influenced tributary of the east branch of the Cooper River, taken just upstream from the site of Quinby Bridge. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.



Dave Neilan and Frank Stovall stand on top of the mysterious extant earthworks rectangle at Shubrick's Plantation. It encloses about 1/3 acre and is aligned north-south axis. No Revolutionary War era military artifacts were recovered inside the enclosed area, but the main area of military artifacts is only a few feet away. There is no mention of these earthworks known in any report of the battle at Shubrick's Plantation. SCAR editor hypothesizes that British Lt. Col. James Coates may have built the earthworks with local labor after Gen. Sumter withdrew, but before Coates withdrew his troops back to Charles Town. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.



Roundtableurs discuss the Battle of Quinby Bridge, which immediately preceded the Battle of Shubrick's Plantation on the boat dock at the battle site with David Reuer. David's students did an initial survey of the plantation and battlefield when David taught Revolutionary War Battlefield Preservation in the College of Charleston's Historic Preservation Program. Shubrick's Plantation is across the tidal creek. Photo by Malcolm Marion, MD.

The Shubrick's Plantation battlefield is located on private property and trespassers are not welcomed. ★

Letter to Editor:

Kindly refrain from use of the term "skirmish" when referring to any Southern combat during our War for Independence. A **skirmish** is defined by Webster as "... a slight quarrel or minor argument." Therefore we maintain that to refer to any recorded Southern combat action of the American Revolution, as a "skirmish" is to demean our Patriot forebears and to devalue their sacrifices for Liberty. The South largely won the War for the other colonies ... we did it with non-glamorous guerilla and ambush tactics. To say they were based on a "... slight quarrel or minor argument..." insults our ancestors who, fighting at a severe disadvantage, used what few advantages they had to overcome the massive, at that time the world's best trained, best equipped, most victorious "super-power" army and navy.

Joseph C. M. Goldsmith, Clinton, SC
Historian, SC Society, Sons of the American Revolution
joeg5950@yahoo.com

Charles,

As always, the most recent issue was excellent.

I would like to make a point about peer-reviewed journals. For many years, my husband was one of the editors of a peer-reviewed journal on geology. Therefore, I have witnessed the incredible delays that occur during the review process, as well as the problems that ensue when reviewers fail to honor their article commitment.

The other thing I noticed was the care with which potential reviewers had to be selected; i.e., the editor had to be aware of specialization issues within a given field of inquiry, academic rivalries, personality traits of both the potential reviewer and author, and the command of the English language on the part of potential reviewer (and authors). The process of getting an article reviewed took an incredible amount of time!

I think the way in which you are publishing carefully researched articles is the best way to proceed. You really do not want the headaches of a typical peer-reviewed journal! The only possible losers with your method are those history professors struggling for tenure who must publish only in peer-reviewed publications.

Toby Turner, Bellaire, Texas

★

On-line Historic Library Resource

SCAR is helping [John Robertson](#) to locate and identify research and literary materials to expand his on-line links to scholarly journal articles, newspapers and historic magazines that contain articles or letters, manuscripts, and diaries of significance to the study of the Southern Campaigns. We also need help in republishing these items in the public domain that are not already readily available on-line. Use the Internet to bring the library to us!

Online Library of the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War [<http://jrshelby.com/sc-links/sc-texts.htm>]

Examples of historic resources we need to compile and make readily accessible are articles on relevant topics and personalities associated with the southern campaigns of the Revolutionary War in publications such as *Harpers Weekly*; *Historical Magazine*; *The Southern Literary Messenger*; *The Magazine of American History*; numerous state and local historical society journals; *Year Book*,

City of Charleston; numerous history professional journals; and modern magazines such as *Military Collector and Historian*; *Muzzleloader*; *Journal of Military History*; *The Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* (London, England); and *Military History Quarterly*.

It would be useful for all researchers for SCAR readers to develop contacts at the Library of Congress' digitation project, Google books and Project Gutenberg to encourage them to make digital copies of relevant books, articles, journals, maps and other primary and secondary documents relevant to Revolutionary War research universally available on-line. Your suggestions would be appreciated. ★

New CD containing 35 historic volumes, [14,246 pages]

Includes several hard-to-find works, such as McCrady, Stedman, Carrington and Johnson. See description, full contents, how to get at "Online Library of the Southern Campaign"

<http://jrshelby.com/sc-links/sc-texts.htm>

While these downloadable books are extremely interesting, regrettably, many of them have over-sized margins, are missing volumes, missing maps, have missing, unreadable or useless pages. For my own use and that of my friends, I have spent several weeks refurbishing books of interest to me, more often than not, one page at a time.

All works have been edited, repaired, missing pages replaced as possible, bookmarks and cross-links added, and formatted for on-screen readability. Adobe .pdx indexes have been provided where possible, and on-line text searches linked where available. Only 1 of the 35 volumes has neither; a few have both.

While this CD is of marketable value, terms of use requirements prohibit the books from being used in a commercial product. I am only allowed to charge a reasonable fee for materials and handling. If you would like to receive a copy of this CD, [email your request](#), providing your mailing address. After receiving the CD and having an opportunity for comparing the enhanced versions with the downloadable versions, I would ask that you send payment of \$5 for materials and handling. Gratuity accepted but completely optional. ★

Volunteers Wanted

SCAR is accepting articles, photos, maps, and news shorts for future SCAR editions. Also columnists and feature editors are needed. We also need a volunteer to head up the marketing campaign for the upcoming Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference. Volunteers are requested to contact SCAR editor [Charles B. Baxley](#).

The strengths of these enterprises are achievable with contributions of your time, talent and treasure. We thank those who have been generous, for this is a costly affair. ★

2007 SCAR Publication Schedule

To allow more time to complete research and writing articles for SCAR, planning Southern Campaigns Roundtable events, Corps of Discovery tours, symposia and conferences, as well as our archaeology and preservation projects, and research for writing books and reports, SCAR will publish this journal quarterly in 2007, perhaps with special editions. ★

Francis Marion Trail Commission Host an Archaeology Tour of Dunham's Bluff

There is a relatively high and dry place in the swamps of the Great Pee Dee River near Gresham, South Carolina called Dunham's Bluff. Recently used as a boating and fishing access for the public, Dunham's Bluff in the 1780 and 1781 likely served as an important base camp for SC Patriot militia Gen. Francis Marion. Recent amateur and professional archaeological research has turned up numerous 18th Century camp artifacts including those compatible with militia sites at three different locations near Dunham's Bluff. The Francis Marion Trail Commission's contracted archaeologist, Steve Smith, hosted public tours of the site displaying artifacts collected there by his expedition and others.



Three inch solid British iron cannon ball recovered by the archaeology team lead by Steve Smith at the Dunham's Bluff campsite. Photo by Kaitlin Patterson.

Dunham's Bluff is immediately across the Great Pee Dee River from Snow's Island referred to by many writers as Francis Marion's principal secret base. Snow's Island is almost all swamp and all in the river's flood plane, so this writer believes that it is unlikely that the Patriots' secret base camps were actually on Snow's Island. But any high place in the river basin may provide protection by the swamps and river. Dunham's Bluff is one of these locations surrounded by two sides by oxbow lakes, now fairly heavy swamps and the flow of the river. The bluff's only connection to modern U.S. Highway #378 by a mile long narrow causeway through the swamp.



Stirrup recovered at Dunham's Bluff camp. Photo by Kaitlin Patterson.



Possible Revolutionary War era earth works built by Gen. Marion's Brigade at Dunham's Bluff on the Great Pee Dee River.

SCAR also examined earthworks which are thought by many to be remnants of a readout built on the site by SC Patriot militia Lt. Col. John Ervin at Gen. Marion's instructions to protect the camps. Modern agriculture and water control as well as 20th Century public access to the site have no doubt amended the sites significantly. SCAR does see resemblances to other 18th Century fortifications that make these appear to be the remnants of Col. Ervin's readout. In addition to the artifacts recovered by the archaeologist, Steve Smith's Francis Marion Trail Commission financed archaeology team, amateur collector James Estes, Jr. (see story on the next page) has a wonderful collection of artifacts that he has recovered at several campsites along the Pee Dee and the general area of Dunham's Bluff.



View from Dunham's Bluff down the Great Pee Dee River. Shown across the river is Snow's Island, home of the elusive base of the famous Patriot Gen. Francis Marion.

The Francis Marion Trail Commission (FMTC) is actively seeking out the sites of Marion's battles and will put together a trail so folks can visit these sites and have interpretation of what happened, when and where. The FMTC advisory council recommended 15 sites to the Commission for research and evaluation to be included as a stop on the initial trail based upon its importance in telling the complex story of the Revolution in the Pee Dee and the ability of the commission to access and permanently interpret this site. ★

SCAR Visits with James Estes in Mullins, SC



James Estes, Jr. discusses maps in his museum in Mullins, SC.

SCAR visited with James Estes, an 82 year-old lifetime artifact collector, at his museum in Mullins, South Carolina. Estes, a retired professional printer, has converted his print shop, Southern Printing Co., into a first-class museum of the artifacts that he has gleaned from military battlefields and campsites in the Southeast. Mr. Estes loves to talk about his collection and share them with others. Most of his collections revolve around Civil War era artifacts; however, he does have a significant collection of Revolutionary War items recovered from the British fortified town of Camden, now called Historic Camden, and recovered from Gen. Francis Marion's campsites at Dunham's Bluff and the Tanyard on the Great Pee Dee River across the river from Snow's Island.



This rare Revolutionary War button with non-segmented rattlesnake, with its tongue projecting, circling 13 stars was recovered at the British base of Camden, SC.

The Estes' Revolutionary War collections include over 700 items from uniforms, furniture, munitions, and military hardware. Fascinating are several examples of collided lead bullets and lead carvings of bullets made by soldiers with time to kill.



Estes' displays include several coins found at various military sites including Spanish silver cut into eights - called "bits".

Spanish "Pieces of Eight", silver coin, uncut, found at Camden, SC, minted in 1723.



Display cases of Civil War and Revolutionary War era artifacts collected by James Estes over 50 years.

Note the huge petrified log in front of the building when you first approach the museum. We all know that petrified wood comes from the Petrified Forest in New Mexico but this petrified log came from the Mechanicsville area of Darlington County, South Carolina.



A portion of the Revolutionary War era artifacts gleaned from Dunham's Bluff and the Tanyard include a SC 2d Regimental button, Marion's Regiment.

His museum is located in downtown Mullins, SC. The sign on the red brick building says "Southern Printing Co." but when you come in the door it is apparent that this former printing shop, complete with linotype machine and type drawers, has been converted into an extensive museum. Petrified wood, huge cannon balls, great Civil War fuse collection, bottles, uniform ornaments, and personal items from the soldiers' daily lives make up some of the thousands of artifacts on display. James Estes'

collections may be viewed daily. He is at the museum generally from 9:30 am to 12:30 pm and from about 2:30 pm to 5:30 pm daily; although this is more of a hobby than a business and the hours are somewhat irregular. Southern Printing Company is located at 144 East Wine Street in Mullins, SC. Call before you go (843) 464-9262.



Carolina Day celebrations June 28, 2007 New Gen. William Moultrie Statue

Carolina Day 2007 will commemorate the heroism of Gen. William Moultrie during the 1776 Battle of Sullivan's Island with the unveiling of a new statue in his honor at White Point Gardens in Charleston. Undertaken by several revolutionary heritage societies, the statue project was announced during the observance of Carolina Day in 2001 and has been overseen to completion by the General William Moultrie Statue Commission, chaired by retired Air Force Gen. Francis D. Rogers, Jr. The sculptor is John Michel. At the outset of the American Revolution, William Moultrie was elected colonel of the Second South Carolina Regiment; he was in command of the out-manned, outgunned defenders of Fort Sullivan, who on June 28, 1776 turned back a massive British amphibious assault on the defenses of the city of Charleston. For his part in the Patriot victory, Moultrie became an instant national hero. He received the thanks of Congress, the palmetto-log fort on Sullivan's island was renamed Moultrie, and he was soon promoted to brigadier general in the Continental Line. After the war, Moultrie served two terms as governor of South Carolina. The much-anticipated William Moultrie statue will join the statue of another hero of the battle, Sergeant William Jasper, erected at Charleston's White Point Gardens by the Palmetto Guard in 1876. The South Carolina Historical Society's website will post further Carolina Day details, including a schedule of events, when they become available. (www.southcarolinahistoricalsociety.org) ★

New Site Picked for Revolution Museum in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania

A long-planned Revolutionary War museum will be built on private land after years of wrangling with the federal government over the previous site. The American Revolution Center has been in the planning stages since 1999 and would be the nation's first comprehensive look at the Revolutionary War. The new site is on

private land that is within the boundaries of Valley Forge National Historical Park.

The museum is buying about 130 acres of land for \$7.1 million and hopes to begin construction on the \$150 million museum in the next 18 months, according to Thomas M. Daly, the nonprofit group's president and CEO. Even with the breakthrough, however, more than \$125 million still needs to be raised. But the fact that there is now a definite site at Valley Forge, where George Washington's troops waited out the winter in 1777, should help fundraising efforts, Daly said. If all goes according to plan, Daly said the museum could be done by late 2010 or early 2011.

"We have been talking with a lot of prospective donors over the past several years," he said. "Now that we have a definite site, we are optimistic that a number of people will be inspired to participate." In 2005, the museum organizers dissolved their partnership with the National Park Service in part because of restrictions the agency places on fundraising, construction and operations, said H.F. "Gerry" Lenfest, a philanthropist who chairs the center's board. "Their interests were to protect the United States taxpayers," he said. "We couldn't live with the restrictions."

At one point, Gov. Ed Rendell even offered to buy back Valley Forge from the federal government after it blocked the museum plans.

[Bruce C. Cobb RevList]

★

Revolutionary War Display – Conway, SC

The Horry County Museum's curator of history, Walter Hill, quoted a gravestone of British soldiers killed April 19, 1775, at the Battle of Concord, Mass.

**"They came 3,000 miles and died.
To keep the past up on its throne.
Unheard, by the ocean tide.
Their English mother made her moan."**

The exhibit "Redcoats: The British Soldier in South Carolina during the American Revolution," on display through May 31 at the museum in Conway, SC takes visitors back to the circumstances soldiers on both sides encountered across the Palmetto State. Hill has localized the Revolutionary War in Horry County, SC by including in the exhibit artifacts from his family's own collection.

The displays include a British Brown Bess musket, "cutting edge" status as an 18th century military weapon with the capability for loading and firing three times a minute, but with only an 80-yard range. The American long rifle could lengthen that effective range in a marksman's hands to 300 yards with accuracy, but at about one shot a minute and without a bayonet.

The Horry County Museum, 438 Main St., Conway, SC at Fifth Avenue is open 9 am - 5 pm Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays; 9 am - 8 pm Thursdays; and 2 - 5 pm Sundays. Tickets are free. For more information call (843) 915-5320 or www.horrycountymuseum.org.

[John Maass – Myrtle Beach Sun Times]

★

Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference

November 9-10, 2007



Not until NASCAR invaded North Carolina could you feel the thundering horsepower in “The Assault” - painting by SCAR artist, Werner Willis of Charlotte, NC.

SCAR, the South Carolina Historical Society, Wofford College, and Cowpens National Battlefield will present an international conference on cavalry operations in the Revolutionary War on November 9-10, 2007 at Wofford College in Spartanburg, SC. Featured will be the personalities, tactics and the uses of cavalry in specific battles and campaigns of the Revolution, ample opportunities of quality fellowship with scholars and others interested in the martial equestrian sciences and arts are our trademarks.

Keynote presentation: Prof. Gregory J. W. Urwin, author (*The United States Cavalry: an Illustrated History*; *Facing Fearful Odds: The Siege of Wake Island*; and something about George Armstrong Custer among many others), SCAR contributor, reenactor, military historian, and The History Channel contributor. Gregory Urwin serves as a Professor of History at Temple University; Associate Director, Center for the Study of Force and Diplomacy at Temple University; General Editor, Campaigns and Commanders, University of Oklahoma Press; and is a Fellow, Company of Military Historians.

We will also enjoy cavalry tactical demonstration at the Cowpens National battlefield, battlefield tours, vendors, book-signings, relevant displays, dinners, and entertainment.

Other cavalry topics we will discuss: training of cavalymen and horses; 18th century military manuals on cavalry operations and Gen. Pulaski's contributions; accoutrements of different types of cavalymen; other traditional uses of cavalry; mounted troops

logistics and limitations, support of cavalry on both sides during the Revolution, and the traits and capabilities of the cavalry horse.

We have reserved blocks of rooms at two conference hotels that have given us great conference rates. Located one block from Wofford College, the Marriott Conference Hotel at Renaissance Park adjoins the conference site at 299 N. Church Street and features a bar and restaurant. www.spartanburgmarriott.com Our group reservation code is CAMCAMA. Conference hotel rates are \$89.00 per room per night plus taxes.

About two miles from Wofford is the Courtyard by Marriott conveniently located at 110 Mobile Drive in Spartanburg, SC 29303 Phone (864) 585-2400 and Fax (864) 585-8121 www.marriott.com/SPACH. Our group reservation code is SOUN. Conference hotel rates are \$59.00 per room per night plus taxes. When reserving your rooms, for the special conference rates, please mention the Cavalry Conference or group codes.

If you are interested in displaying your relevant artifacts or other material culture items or in vending at the conference, please contact Mike Coker at the South Carolina Historical Society mike.coker@southcarolinahistoricalsociety.org

For more information contact [Charles B. Baxley](mailto:Charles.B.Baxley@southcarolinahistoricalsociety.org). Early registrations are \$175.00 per person [before 10-01-07]. Registrations, please contact Gloria Beiter at the South Carolina Historical Society.

gloria.beiter@southcarolinahistoricalsociety.org

The South Carolina Historical Society

The Fireproof Building

100 Meeting Street • Charleston, SC 29401

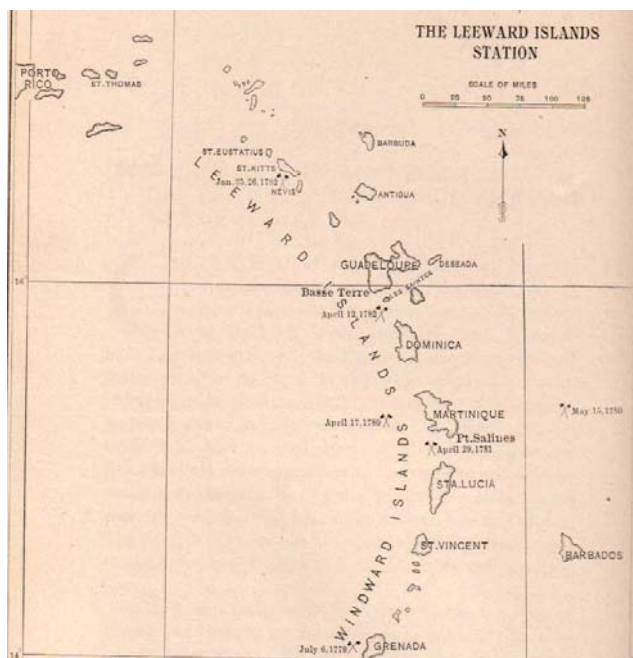
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SCAR The American Revolution in the Caribbean Symposium -- 2008

SCAR is planning a cruise ship-based 2008 symposium on the American Revolution's maritime and land war in the West Indies (Caribbean) during 1778 – 1783. These land and sea battles influenced the course of the American Revolution and the Treaty of Paris. Plan your 2008 vacation now to join SCAR's editors, naval historian Dennis M. Conrad (editor of Gen. Nathanael Greene's Papers) and other scholars for a laid-back family fun vacation, featuring shipboard lectures and battlefield tours in the beautiful West Indies along with all shipboard amenities and activities for the entire family.

The Revolution became truly global as the French, Dutch and Spanish entered the fray against the British after the Patriots' stunning victory at Saratoga, NY. The old territorial and European national pride issues were at stake and prized British colonies in the Caribbean were seen as up for the taking, those valuable sugar=molasses=rum islands. Take a look at John A. Robertson's Global Gazetteer sites database and see the number of battles in the area that we call the southern most Southern Campaign. This theatre held exciting battles: the French siege of the British within the massive fortress on **Brimstone Hill** on St. Kitts; the naval and land **Battles for St. Lucia**; the South Carolina navy captures the Bahamas; the British naval victory over the French at the **Battle of the Saints**, fought between Iles des Saintes and Dominica where French Admiral Comte Jean Baptiste Charles Henri Hector d'Estaing fought British Admiral John Byron in a sea battle near Georgetown, Grenada. Standing on his St. Lucia base at Pigeon Island, why would British Admiral George Brydges Rodney, 1st Baron Rodney call beautiful St. Eustatius a "nest of vipers"?



Lesser Antilles, Windward Islands, West Indies site of major French v. British naval and land battles 1778-1783.

We are taking suggestions of your "must see" battlefields, island tours and museums. Stay tuned for more information. Contact SCAR editor David Reuwer at davidreuwer3@aol.com.

On November 16, 1776 the American Brig-of-War, the *Andrew Doria*, sailed into the harbor of Statia firing a 13-gun salute indicating America's newly declared independence. The 11-gun salute reply, roaring from the canons at Fort Oranje under the command of Governor Johannes de Graaff, established St. Eustatius, a Dutch colony, as the first foreign nation to officially recognize the newly formed United States of America. This cannon may have been used for that salute. This picture (at left) was taken from the fort on St. Eustatius from which was fired "the first salute" to the new United States. Photo by Barbara Abernethy.



Large bore SCAR editor Charles B. Baxley with a short barrel carronade at Brimstone Hill National Park, St. Kitts, working on his farmer's tan at the site of a successful siege of the British fort in 1782 by the French. Photo by Judy D. Baxley.

To some extent, the American Revolution became a replay of the French & Indian (Seven Years War), as many of these West Indian island colonies changed hands again. Entry of Spain into the war reopened the British defense of Gibraltar, a strategic fort and naval station that controlled entry into the Mediterranean Sea. Spanish desired (then as now) to recover this strategic point as well as their coastal island of Minorca.

The Dutch also had colonies in the West Indies - St. Eustatius (Statia) and Saba - wedged between the at British St. Kitts and in response to the French opening hostilities, two British Regiments from North America were immediately dispatched to the West Indies to help man the defenses of the Crown's holdings, the French dispatch of Admiral Comte d'Estaing with a fleet and the Admiral François Joseph Paul, Marquis de Grasse Tilly, Comte de Grasse with another. If these fleets could unite with the Spanish West Indies fleets, they would clearly outclass the British control of the Caribbean and de Grasse's army of 8,000 French troops could attack any British island including Jamaica.

Our study of the 1778-1783 period is not complete without seeing the events in the 13 British rebelling colonies in the 18th Century geopolitical view of territorial defense/conquest; to include the role of the "world" of the first Treaty of Paris which ended the Seven Year War. Many of the issues resolved in the Treaty of Paris in 1783 revolved around much more than the British acknowledging the independence of their 13 rebelling colonies in North America.

The threat to the British colony of India was simply more than the British public and government could accept. The Tory party lost their majority in the Parliamentary elections of 1782; the British Prime Minister, Lord North, resigned and a new Prime Minister, Lord Rockingham, was elected to end the war.

Lord Cornwallis' army was certainly worn out when he marched into Yorktown, Virginia on August 1-2, 1781 awaiting resupply and fresh troops. His mission to cower the Carolinas into submission to the Crown was a miserable failure. As soon as Cornwallis' brigades left an area, the rebels immediately reestablished control and fought to suppress the local Loyalists. What Cornwallis and his commander, Sir Henry Clinton did not count on was an amazing feat, the land-sea operations between the French and General George Washington including the Washington - Rochambeau march and a successful defeat of British Admiral Thomas Graves' fleet at the Battle of the Capes by Admiral de Grasse's fleet. This closed the Chesapeake Bay to the British opening Cornwallis up for a siege.

I have just returned from my first exploratory cruise aboard Celebrity Cruises *Galaxy* where we visited several important sites of the 1778-1783 struggle for colonies in the Caribbean. When the French opened contest of British colonies in the Caribbean, and the Spanish and Dutch soon followed, the British were forced to invest huge military resources to defending her worldwide empire.

There are several must see stops. First is the amazing Fort George, built on St. Kitts' Brimstone Hill, site of a one-month-long successful, French siege of the British garrison in 1782. Second, are the fortifications built on the Vigie Hills and Mount Fortune at Castries, St. Lucia where British General James Grant defeated the French forces in 1778, seized the harbor fortifications, and the Royal Navy defeated the French fleet at Cul-de-Sac Bay. Admiral Rodney established his base at Gros Inlet Bay and Pigeon Island on St. Lucia in 1779. This base is now preserved as a National Landmark. There is plenty to do and see.

Much of the American Revolution in the Caribbean happened in the Lesser Antilles, islands geographically furthest away from the United States and therefore covered in longer cruises or with longer connecting flights. Being mindful of costs and time-off from work, we will carefully choose our destinations, cruise line and the season of the year. My trip left San Juan, Puerto Rico for an eleven (11) nights cruise. My airline flight tickets, round-trip

from Charlotte, North Carolina to San Juan were about \$420 per person, the cruise tickets were about \$960 per person, and on-board gratuities and the local guides, ground transportation, and site admission fees ran about \$400 per person including all taxes. This is not an inexpensive educational vacation, but it gives a very relaxing, beautiful, first class and family orientated way to spend a holiday, associate with friends, and learn more about a very under-studied portion of the world war of 1778-1783.

There is definitely a season for Caribbean travel and when we go effects the price and competition for space. We plan a very laid-back program, all detailed to allow much other shipboard and onshore activities. As plans for dates, costs, itineraries, and program become firm, SCAR will let you know. We will use our group purchasing power to secure competitive rates and availabilities. As any experienced cruiser knows, your choices of onboard accommodations greatly influence the costs. SCAR will partner with an experienced group travel agency and a national association with cruise-tour experience to plan and execute this family vacation / learning experience. Since we are shooting for 2008, please start planning now to join SCAR in exploring the global American War of Independence on the high seas and in Europe's valuable sugar 'n spice islands. ★

Researching the Daniel Morgan Papers and Alexander Leslie Letterbook at the New York Public Library

By David K. Wilson

The first week of February of this year I traveled to New York City where I spent several days examining the Gen. Daniel Morgan Papers and the letter book of British Gen. Alexander Leslie in the Manuscripts and Archives Division of the New York Public Library. I was looking mostly for information on the Battle of Cowpens and Morgan's participation in the Saratoga campaign.

I was somewhat disappointed by the Morgan Papers because I hoped to find more items written by Morgan himself. Don Higginbotham said in his biography of Morgan, *Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman*, that writing came to Morgan "with difficulty." There do seem to be comparatively few items written by Morgan in the collection, and not many lengthy or significant ones. The majority of the items in the collection instead consist of letters written by correspondents to Morgan, which are still valuable and interesting. Copies of many of the most remarkable items in the collection are available in the more easily accessible Nathanael Greene Papers and George Washington Papers in the Library of Congress. Some of the other items in the collection, such as the correspondence of Horatio Gates to Morgan, are also available in the New York Historical Society. Other items in the collection are exclusive to the Morgan Papers, such as the letters of William Davidson to Morgan, though a few have been published elsewhere.

The Morgan Papers is "Series V" of the Theodorus Bailey Myers Collection, and there is a finding aid to the collection available online at the NYPL web site (see the link at the end of this article). This aid unfortunately only lists minimal information about each folio, such as the date and author. In the case of correspondence, it also lists the addressee of the letter. There is no "calendar" available for the collection, which would provide a more comprehensive description of each item the collection contains. I thought one of the more interesting finds in the collection was the four-page "autobiography" written by Morgan (item 1084). While the autobiography was clearly started as a comprehensive account of his wartime experiences, Morgan



Reading room at the New York Public Library, Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street. Photo ©2006 David Iliff.

concluded his notes at the recount of the American attack on Quebec in 1775. A transcription of this autobiography can be found as an appendix in James Graham's *The Life of General Daniel Morgan*. (This book is available online, see links at John Robertson's on-line library; this edition SCAR p. 12.)

Colonel Nisbet Balfour was left in command in Charleston after Cornwallis marched after Greene and Morgan in early 1781. His military correspondence for the period of late 1780 through 1782 is contained in the letter book of General Alexander Leslie, which is part of the Thomas Addit Emmet Collection. Balfour's letters paint a fascinating picture of how fast things in South Carolina came apart for the British after the battle of Cowpens in January of 1781.

Balfour's letters reinforce my belief that it was the Battle of Cowpens that was the critical turning point of the war in South Carolina. In addition to being a morale-suppressing defeat for the British and Tories, the action removed from the British order of battle many of the light troops they had been using to suppress and pursue American partisans and light forces in the theater. Though he often tried to maintain a positive attitude, Balfour makes it apparent that the British no longer had the resources after their defeat at Cowpens to deal with the partisan threat posed by men such as Francis Marion and Thomas Sumter. Balfour often had to refuse requests for reinforcements from his subordinates, telling them "frequent detachments to prevent the enemy's inroads [had] reduced his command." (2 February 1781, EM 15496)

Despite the often-optimistic tone of his letters, Balfour could not disguise obvious British setbacks that came on the heels of Cowpens. The American attack on Georgetown on 25 January 1781 was one such event reported by Balfour. This attack was led by Francis Marion and Henry Lee, whom Balfour described as "two very enterprising officers." A few days later, an American raid on Monck's Corner destroyed "waggons and [the] Quarter Master's General store." (31 January 1781, EM 15495) In a letter written just a few weeks later, Balfour describes the surrender of Captain James DePeyster of the King's American Regiment and 26 of his men to a mere handful of rebel partisans. (24 February 1781, EM 15503) In a letter to an unknown Tory militia leader, Balfour threatens with imprisonment all officers or Tory militiamen who refuse to comply with his orders to turn out for patrol and garrison duty. (25 January 1781, EM 15492) Such

threats would not have been necessary if a problem had not already exhibited itself. Balfour's letters thus serve to illustrate vividly, from his perspective as a central coordinator of British defenses in Charleston, the ever-decreasing ability of the British to maintain control and security in South Carolina in the winter of 1781. This was well before Nathanael Greene's return to the State in April of that year. Once Greene reappeared, the situation quickly became completely untenable for the British, as Balfour's letters clearly represent. (See the excerpts at the end of this article.)

Unlike the Theodore Bailey Myers Collection, there is an excellent guide available for the Thomas Addit Emmet collection: the *Calendar of the Emmet Collection of Manuscripts* which is available in many libraries around the country. The South Carolina Department of Archives and History has a copy, as well as a copy of the Alexander Leslie letter book on microfilm. This book describes in great detail almost every item in the Emmet collection. For example, every letter of Lt. Col. Nesbit Balfour is summarized with some of the summaries being several paragraphs long. The Emmet collection contains many other collections in addition to the Leslie letter book relevant to the Southern Campaigns of the Revolution, including the Benjamin Lincoln Papers for the Siege of Savannah and the Siege of Charleston, which I utilized extensively for my book, *The Southern Strategy: Britain's Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia, 1775-1780*. The New York Public Library and the Manuscripts and Archives Division house many other collections relevant to the American Revolution, such as the Bancroft Collection, so I encourage those who are interested to visit the library's web site at nypl.org to learn more.

A researcher interested in the Emmet and Myers Collections would do well to consult the finding aids before going to the New York Public Library. You could then call ahead to have the items you are interested in ready for viewing upon arrival, or save time by having a research list ready. A first-time visitor to the Manuscripts and Archives Division of the New York Public Library is in for a real treat. This division is located in the Humanities and Social Sciences Library at Fifth Avenue and 42nd Street, which is recognized as one of the most beautiful buildings in New York. After passing through security you can proceed to the Manuscripts and Archives Division on the third floor. Elevators are available, but climbing the picturesque marble stairs will give you a much better view of the building's famous interior architecture. Be sure to arrive early to have your picture ID card made, which you must obtain before you can begin any research.

(You can keep this card for future visits to the library.) Access to the collections is free, but photo duplication services are not.

Like many archival research libraries, orders for items to be retrieved from the archives are only taken a few times a day, so you should be sure to check the library's material request schedule before you go, otherwise you might arrive only to find it will be several hours before you can request materials. For example, if you miss the 11:15 am order time, you can only order items again three hours later at 2:15 pm. You can find the material request and retrieval schedule online at the web site of the Manuscript and Archive Division:

<http://www.nypl.org/research/chss/spe/rbk/mss.html>.

Only a limited number of items can be checked out at one time. If you want to have access to a large number of documents (or make numerous copies), it may be best to access the documents on microfilm instead of requesting the originals. It is often difficult to read the microfilm and the copies made from the microfilm are usually of poor quality.

If you are able to visit New York in warm weather there are many sites to see within walking distance of the Humanities and Social Sciences Library. Bryant Park, one of the more pleasant, small parks in Manhattan, is adjacent to the rear of the library. Both Times Square and the Empire State Building are within a few city blocks of the building.

The staff of the New York Public Library can help you research their collections remotely if you cannot visit the library in person. For example, they can make copies of specific items and mail them to you for a fee. (Use the finding aids to specify requests by collection item number.) I used this service extensively when researching for my first book and the staff was quite helpful. However, those researchers of the Southern Campaigns who can manage the time and expense, will find the trip to the New York Public Library well worth the effort.

Finding aids to the Emmet and Myers collections:

New York Public Library. *Calendar of the Emmet Collection*. New York: New York Public Library, 1900.

Wingfield, Valerie. *Theodorus Bailey Myers Collection, 1542-1876*. New York: The New York Public Library, Humanities and Social Sciences Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, 2004.

<http://www.nypl.org/research/chss/spe/rbk/faids/myers.pdf>

Other resources:

Graham, James. *The Life of General Daniel Morgan*. New York: Derby & Jackson, 1856.

<http://books.google.com/books?vid=0mlNXxiD0k4pwPLVFJQxL&id=roGITf9IZgC&pg=PA17&lpg=PA17&dq=Life+of+General+Daniel+Morgan> (Appendix B, page 464, is the page with Morgan's autobiography.)

South Carolina Department of Archives and History web site: <http://www.state.sc.us/scdah/exhibits/revolution/revsources.htm>

Transcriptions:

I have mostly declined to use the academic "sic" in the transcriptions since the frequency of its use would quickly become tiresome due to the peculiarities of Balfour's eighteenth century spelling and grammar. When I do use "sic," it is only because it might have been difficult to read the original manuscript handwriting, because there may be some degree of interpretation necessary of the manuscript, or because the spelling or wording

might cause some confusion; otherwise it can be assumed that all nonstandard spelling and awkward grammar is in the originals.

Excerpt of letter of Colonel Nisbet Balfour to Lt. Col. George Campbell at Georgetown (EM 15491)

Charlestown, Jany 25th, 1781

Liet. Colonel [Banastre] Tarlton having in advancing into the country received a check on the 17th inst. [Battle of Cowpens], I have thought it necessary tho the circumstances have not yet come to hand to give you the earliest information possible of this unforeseen event in order that you may provide against the evil effects which exaggerated and malevolent reports of this transaction may have on the minds of the country people, that if any rising amongst them should be attempted you may by timely exertions frustrate such intentions finally by knowing, guard against any bad consequences which this affair might otherwise have on your post [Georgetown].

Excerpt of letter of Colonel Nisbet Balfour to General Sir Henry Clinton (EM 15493)

Charlestown, Jany 25th, 1781

Colonel Tarleton's unfortunate affair [Cowpens] has obliged me for a time to detain Capt'n [John] Saunders' small detachment of the Queen's Rangers as it was much wanting at Georgetown to look after parties of enemys by joining some provincial dragoons we are attempting to raise to keep that country in awe, but I am yet in hopes the situation of this may so change as to admit their going in the first ship for [the] Chesapeake.

Excerpt of letter of Colonel Nisbet Balfour to General Sir Henry Clinton (EM 15495)

Charlestown Jany 31, 1781

By the last accounts from Green's army he was on the 25th to the eastward of the Pedee ... his intentions are to distress this country by making frequent inroads of cavalry into it of which yesterday morning destroyed the waggons & Quarter Master Genl's store at Monk's Corner.

Two very enterprising officers, Lee & Marrian, are employed upon this service but I beg to assure your Excellency I shall do everything within my power to secure the communication between this & Camdon [*sic*, Camden].

Excerpt of letter of Colonel Nisbet Balfour to Lord George Germain (EM 15502)

Charlestown, Feb'y 18th, 1781

Hitherto Genl. Greene hath remained in his position on the eastern banks of the Pedee and by their hanging on the frontiers of the province & [harassing?] with a force of cavalry was enabled to make inroads into the heart of it which was greatly destroying [*sic*, distressing?] to the inhabitants and obliged me to detach beyond the ability of this garrison to cover the communication between this and Camdon to prevent the Enemy's taken post on this side [of] the Santee and hinder insults in our vicinities....

Excerpt of letter of Colonel Nisbet Balfour to General Sir Henry Clinton (EM 15503)

Charlestown, Feb'y 25th, 1781

I am sorry to acquaint your Excellency that on the 21st Inst. Captain [James] DePeyster with an Officer and 25 men of Fanning's Regiment [King's American Regiment] that had been detached on some serve a few miles from Georgetown, on the approach of a small party of the enemy [under Captain John Postelle] took refuge in an house and submitted themselves

prisoners of war the particulars of which your Excellency will be more fully informed of, when proper enquiry can be made into it.

Excerpt of letter of Colonel Nisbet Balfour to Sir Henry Clinton (EM 15517)

Charlestown, May 6th, 1781

But notwithstanding this brilliant success [Lord Rawdon's victory over Greene at Hobkirk's Hill], I must inform your Excellency that the gen'l [*sic*, general] state of the country is most distressing that the enemy's parties are everywhere, the communication by land with Savannah no longer exists, Col. [Thomas] Brown is invested at Augusta, Col. [John] Cruger in the most critical situation at Ninety Six nearly confined to works and without any personal comm'd [*sic*, command] over that country. Indeed I should betray the duty I owe your Excellency did I not represent the defection of this province so universal that I know of no mode, short of depopulation to retain it.

The spirit of revolt [*is*] in some measure kept up by the many officers, prisoners of war here, and I should therefore think it advisable to remove them as well as to make the most striking examples of such as have taken protection [and] snatch every occasion to rise in arms against us.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your Excellency's most Obt. humble servt.,

N.B.



The honor of your presence is
requested
to join in celebrating
the 275th birthday of

**Major General
Francis Marion**
at his tomb

12:00 noon ~ September 30,

South Carolina Society of the Sons of the American Revolution (SAR) will offer a public program to honor the birth of Gen. Francis Marion. SCAR will keep you informed about the emerging program details. ★

Battle of Ramsour's Mill GPR Research

The Battle at Ramsour's Mill began at daybreak when about 400 Patriots attacked more than 1,300 Loyalists militiamen who had prematurely embodied to support Lord Cornwallis' supposed invasion of North Carolina after the fall of Charles Town. The Patriots completely routed the Loyalists and set the course of Carolina backcountry resistance that would plague the British for the next year and one-half.

Experts searched in Lincolnton, NC for traces of a mass grave where 70 to 100 soldiers were buried after the Battle of Ramsour's Mill on June 20, 1780 using ground-penetrating radar (GPR). Terry Ferguson, program director for the geology department at Wofford College in Spartanburg, supervised the survey along with Alan May, curator of archaeology at Gastonia, NC's Schiele Museum of Natural History and professor of historical archaeology at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte. The GPR graphically depicts variations and differences in density and materials underground by bouncing radar waves about four feet into the earth.

Ferguson initially focused on a 26-square-foot area identified as a probable burial site by a conventional archaeological excavation in 1991. Although the initial results were inconclusive, the survey's focus was not only on the mass gravesite but other locations on the battlefield. "This is the most historic site in Lincoln County," said Bill Beam, chairman of the Lincoln County Historic Properties Commission. "We have so much growth in this county and we need to make people aware of its history. They are part of the community now and it's their history."



Mural of Battle of Ramsour's Mill, painted in 1997 by Bridget Paysour in the lobby of the Lincoln County Citizens Center, Lincolnton, NC.

Lincoln County Historic Properties Commission retained Dr. Michael Baker and arborist Spirl Wood, to excavate what was believed to be the mass gravesite in August of 1991. Dr. Baker uncovered what he determined to be burial soil some 4 to 5 feet in the ground. A lab analysis proved to be the remains of humans. At that point the site was recovered just as it had been for 211 years at that time. [Ed. SCAR wonders why GPR was selected to use on a previously excavated site.]

[Jim Gillgam and Darrell Harkey] ★

Congressman Wilson Reintroduces Legislation to Memorialize General Francis Marion

With the support of the entire South Carolina delegation, Congressman Joe Wilson (R-SC) reintroduced the “Brigadier General Francis Marion Memorial Act” on January 16, 2007. The legislation authorizes the Marion Park Project, a committee of the Palmetto Conservation Foundation, to establish a commemorative work in Marion Park on South Carolina Avenue in the District of Columbia to honor Brigadier General Francis Marion.

Wilson stated that, “Brigadier General Francis Marion well represented the state of South Carolina and our fledgling nation 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.”

Wilson further said, “I would specifically like to thank Ken Driggers and Nancy Stone-Collum of the Palmetto Conservation Foundation. 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 with fundraising and planning once this bill is enacted. The National Park Service also deserves recognition for their guidance through this important process.”

Led by primary sponsor Congressman Joe Wilson, the South Carolina delegation was successful in passing the Brigadier General Francis Marion Memorial Act of 2006 in the U.S. House of Representatives. Unfortunately, despite valiant efforts by Senator Lindsey Graham and Senator Jim DeMint and their respective staffs, the bill was unable to get a passing nod in the U.S. Senate.

No one was opposed, of course, to this effort to memorialize the Swamp Fox with a monument on South Carolina Avenue on Capitol Hill in Washington, D.C. The effort simply ran into a bit of misfortune. A hearing was scheduled for November 15, 2006 to gain subcommittee approval for the bill, send it to the Senate floor for a vote, and then to the President for his signature. Unfortunately, Senator Craig Thomas of Wyoming, the chairman of the National Parks Subcommittee, fell ill with leukemia the week before and the hearing was cancelled. Despite a last ditch, 11th hour effort by Senator Graham’s office, the bill died an ignominious death on December 9th, 2006, the last day of the 109th Congress.

Not to be deterred, and pledging to forge ahead, both bills have now been introduced into the 110th Congress. **H.R. 497** and **S. 312** are waiting for a hearing in the chambers’ respective subcommittees. Bill sponsor Senator Jim DeMint (R-SC) serves on the Energy Committee in the Senate, and bill sponsor Rep. Henry Brown (R-SC) serves on the Resources Committee and the National Parks Subcommittee in the House. Meanwhile, a group of Washington, DC citizens who live around the park have revived a group called the Friends of Marion Park. These concerned neighbors are very excited at the prospects of the monument, and have embarked on a parallel campaign to lobby for funding to refurbish Marion Park, with a plan to redesign the park in its original Victorian design.

As for now, the Marion Park Committee feels that fundraising would be inappropriate. Authorization is required to proceed and the National Park Service, while in full support of the plan, must

follow protocol. A letter has been sent from the NPS to the Committee Chairmen in both houses of Congress, as well as Congressman Wilson and Senator Graham reiterating their full and wholehearted support for the Marion Park Project. We will succeed and give honor to a great man and a great American. ★

Other Proposed Federal Legislation

Some recently proposed legislation that may be of interest to our Revolutionary War community.

H.R. 158 - to direct the Secretary of the Treasury to mint coins in commemoration of the battlefields of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.

H.R. 160 - to amend the American Battlefield Protection Act of 1996 to establish a battlefield acquisition grant program for the acquisition and protection of nationally significant battlefields and associated sites of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 SCAR readers can find the text of these bills at www.house.gov.

[Mike Connolly - Outwater's Militia - RevList] ★

Rep. Spratt Introduces Bill to Help the Camden Battlefield Become a National Park

U.S. Rep. John Spratt (D-SC) announced that he has introduced a bill to help the Camden battlefield become part of the National Park System. “The Camden battlefield has been a National Historic Landmark since 1962, but it is not permanently protected,” said Spratt, “and the threats from encroachment loom larger with each year. Development interests are changing the use of surrounding land from forestry to residential and commercial. Only through National Park status can this historic site be protected by the National Park Service.”

Spratt said that before a site can be designated as a National Park and enjoy the protection going along with it, the National Park Service must conduct a suitability and feasibility study. A March 2003 National Park Service reconnaissance study concluded that further evaluation of the Battle of Camden as an addition to the National Park System was warranted. In fact, the study recommended that the “National Park Service should place a high priority on further evaluation of Camden battlefield as a potential addition to the National Park System.” “My bill, **H.R. 1674**, would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to undertake the study,” Spratt said.

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

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

Spratt’s bill has been referred to the House Natural Resources Committee, where action is pending. ★

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

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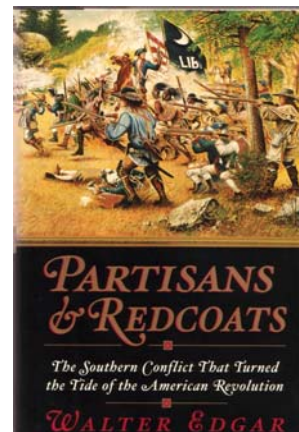
1776 Virginia Light Dragoon used in the magazine's banner is from an illustration by Charles M. Lefferts (1873-1923) now in the collections of The New-York Historical Society. Later cavalry uniform jackets were probably green or buff. Used by permission of The New-York Historical Society.

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

SCAR Book Reviews:

Walter Edgar *Partisans and Redcoats: The Southern Conflict that turned the Tide of the American Revolution.*

Writing a one-volume history of the American War of Independence in the South Carolina backcountry can present a daunting project for several reasons. The first obstacle to such an undertaking stands in the sheer number of engagements that occurred in the region. Numerous encounters are barely recorded, if at all. By the same token, many of the reported encounters in the backcountry cross



the gap of time as little more than the stuff of local legend. Until the publication of Patrick O'Kelley's monumental four-volume work, no truly complete survey of fighting in this theater existed.¹ Even with this resource, the problem of sorting out the combats with significant outcomes from the more desultory fighting emerges as a second major obstacle. Since the violence in the South Carolina backcountry constituted a civil war, the tangle becomes even more complex. An engagement that seemed insignificant in a military sense may have possessed important political ramifications. With all of these obstacles to surmount, any account examining the South Carolina backcountry in the War of Independence deserves some recognition. Walter Edgar's *Partisans and Redcoats* is just such a study. While it succeeds in presenting a strong and well-paced narrative of the war in the South Carolina backcountry, it does contain some very serious shortcomings.

Edgar begins by describing the political relations between the two main regions of South Carolina in the years prior to the War of Independence. From the outset, the author develops a strong case for the idea that the inhabitants on the frontier of South Carolina (the backcountry) did not oppose British colonial policy to the same degree as people living in the lowcountry coastal region. Much of the political division between the two regions on the issues of British taxation actually stemmed from an uprising in the late 1760s by some residents of the backcountry who sought to bring law and order to the region, which lowcountry planters had denied representation in the colonial legislature. The activities of these settlers were eventually known as the Regulator Movement. As a result of persisting animosities toward the lowcountry planters, many residents of the backcountry saw their interests best served by remaining British subjects and resisting lowcountry initiatives to the contrary. While there did exist some support for the revolutionary movement from the backcountry, it was often coerced, and even then, only lukewarm.

In his discussion of the years prior to the Revolution in South Carolina, Edgar demonstrates a clear and pronounced bias for

¹ Patrick J. O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter': The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas*. 4 Vols. Booklocker.com: 2004-2006.

the residents of the backcountry from the first pages of the work. It is clear in reading his coverage of the Regulator Movement that the author is strongly in support of the activities of these vigilantes and sees the lowcountry government as remiss in attending to its responsibilities. Thus, from the first, the book presents a bias that will be more favorable to the actions of backcountry residents and less inclined to hold these actions up to an objective cross-examination. Favoritism towards the backcountry and its patriot residents continues throughout much of *Partisans and Redcoats*. Likewise, this prejudice permeates Edgar's discussion of both the Drayton-Tennent-Hart Mission, which traveled the backcountry attempting to drum up support among the residents for the actions of the revolutionary party in the lowcountry, as well as the "Snow Campaign," which suppressed Loyalist opposition in the region in late 1775. Furthermore, this pro-backcountry sentiment taints the years between 1775 and 1780, during which South Carolina remained fairly peaceful, save for a botched British attack on Charleston in 1776. In all of this, the author seems to lose sight of the fact that political loyalties remained painfully divided in the backcountry during the same period. The divisions in the backcountry, would, in turn serve as one of the sources for the sanguinary nature of the fighting that erupted there later in the war.

The backcountry only began to unite in opposition to the British in the latter stages of the War of Independence. In Edgar's estimation, it was the mismanagement of the British invasion of South Carolina following the fall of Charleston in May 1780 that finally swung the balance of support in the backcountry in the Whigs' direction. He asserts that three aspects of British policy alienated most of the support they could have hoped to win in the backcountry. These were the proclamation changing the conditions of parole for Whig militia officers, authored by Henry Clinton, but announced by Lord Cornwallis, the treatment of American troops meted out by British forces, specifically the reported slaughter of wounded after the Battle of the Waxhaws, and finally, the failure of the British to reestablish a local civilian government. All of these factors led to the uprising of the backcountry that denied the British clear control of the region, and eventually led to their defeat through the erosion of support they engendered.

In all of these points, Edgar echoes what is the current consensus on the fighting in the South Carolina backcountry. This is only right since much of his work relies on the discoveries of other historians, and the work is meant to be more a synthesis of existing scholarship rather than primary research. By the same token, many of the finer points contained in the pages of *Partisans and Redcoats* are open to a great deal of heated controversy. For instance, Edgar does not even mention that the massacre supposedly perpetrated by the British Legion after the Battle of the Waxhaws is not universally accepted as fact. There are accounts that order was restored to the British troops, and that their commander, Banastre Tarleton, saw to the treatment of the wounded on *both* sides. It would seem pointless to go to the trouble of wounding people in order to treat them afterwards. Likewise, the most recent scholarship on this event argues in favor of the idea that it is not so much whether or not an atrocity occurred that matters, but the perception by contemporaries that one had occurred.² In addition, while the author often details the particulars of British and Loyalist activities that crossed the lines of accepted practice, when it comes to Whig atrocities, he says only that the Americans too, committed them. By doing so, the British behavior comes across as much more brutal for the fact

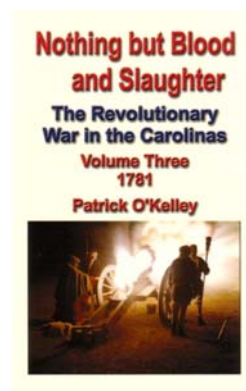
that the readers possess the details in many more instances than is the case regarding the Americans. In taking this approach, the author only bolsters an attitude of wanton British atrocity that has dogged the historiography since the war and the popular perception of the conflict since the motion picture *The Patriot*. Since this work is aimed at a general market, it exacerbates the problem of defeating this misconception in the popular imagination.

Finally, *Partisans and Redcoats* is the kind of book that has had and will certainly continue to enjoy a large readership. It is very accessible to the general reader and presents the material in a lively, well-paced narrative. By the same token, it is certainly not without its drawbacks. It is far from free of bias, and at the same time, it often oversimplifies the mitigating factors behind events in the backcountry fighting. These two pitfalls are quite serious, as they leave the casual reader with an impression of the fighting in the Carolina backcountry that is at the very least simplistic and at the worst seriously incorrect. Still, it will get people to inquire into the fighting in the South Carolina backcountry and it is hoped that once their curiosity is piqued, they will continue to comb this expanding field of historical inquiry.

James McIntyre
Moraine Valley College, Illinois

New York: HarperCollins Publishers Inc., 2001. ISBN 0-380-80643-6. Maps. Illustrations. Notes. Index. Pp. xvi, 198. ★

Patrick J. O'Kelley's *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter*



The single most referenced books in my library are Patrick O'Kelley - *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter* - the encyclopedic chronological coverage of the Revolutionary War in Georgia and the Carolinas. Since these books are on-demand printed, they lack the normal marketing rights of a major national publisher. Boatner is useful but not found in the Southern Campaign, is dated and does not contain the orders of battle and unit commanders by name and unit strength.

O'Kelley is the first to admit his pages are not perfect. He is collecting errata for eventual republication in a second edition. O'Kelley is his main marketer. Please join SCAR in recommending that the public, college, and genealogical libraries across America purchase copies of these comprehensive and inexpensive tomes.

There are a few nits to pick in the works, but I find it 99.44% accurate. Despite O'Kelley's carefully cultivated gruff persona, if you catch O'Kelley privately after he has kissed his three little girls to sleep, he welcomes new sources, conflicting data and suggestions to improve his manuscript. *NBBS* was never intended to compete with the Greene Papers, not a detailed battle analysis such as Larry Babits' *Devil of a Whipping...the Battle of Cowpens...* it is the handy reference to the Revolution in the Carolinas.

Patrick J. O'Kelley, '*Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*': *The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas*. 4 Vols. Booklocker.com: 2004-2006.

Charles B. Baxley ★

² Jim Piecuch, "Massacre or Myth: Banastre Tarleton at the Waxhaws, May 29, 1780." *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, Vol. 1, No. 2, (October 2004), pp. 3-9.

Second Biennial Southern Revolutionary War Symposium



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

The Beginning of the End: The Campaigns of 1775-1776 in the Southern Colonies

The Southern Revolutionary War Institute will host the Second Biennial Southern Revolutionary War Symposium at the McCelvey Center in York, South Carolina on Friday, July 13, 2007. The McCelvey Center at 212 East Jefferson Street is home to the Southern Revolutionary War Institute, a research center dedicated to the study of the American Revolution in the Southern colonies.

This year's symposium will focus on the important but often overlooked years of 1775 and 1776, the "beginning of the end" of British rule in the colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The symposium schedule runs from 9:00 am until 5:00 pm in the newly renovated McCelvey Center auditorium, with lunch provided in the Jane Bratton Spratt Reception Room. The program includes scholarly presentations on Lord Dunmore's Wars in Virginia; the first siege of Fort Ninety Six in SC; the epic Cherokee Campaign in the Blue Ridge Mountains; the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge; and other topics relating to the early period of the Revolution in the South.

The symposium will conclude with a Friday night supper and a special presentation by noted character actor Howard Burnham. For this occasion Mr. Burnham will be debuting a brand new first-person historical interpretation of SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Williamson, the colorful and controversial leader of the SC backcountry militia who was accused of betraying his country after he surrendered to the British at Ninety Six in June 1780.

For pre-registration information, address any inquiries to research director Michael Scoggins at micscoggins@chmuseums.org or the above address.

<http://www.chmuseums.org/ourmuseums/mccelvey/srwi.htm>



Global Gazetteer of the American Revolution

John A. Robertson's **Global Gazetteer of the American Revolution** was officially made public at <http://jrshelby.com/sc-links/gaz/index.htm> on 1 January 2007; however, less than one-third of the database is documented in a fashion that represents what it could and should become. For this one-third, the history has been married to the geography, with benefit to both. More than two-thirds of the entries are simply geographical coordinates

based on no more than the name of the site. This "marriage" consists of nothing more than determining for each site, in a terse fashion, "*who did what, where, when, and with what result*". In most cases, this results in revised coordinates and the addition of other events at the same location.

The cartographical work required in this, that which would generate discomfort in most, amounts to no more than 10% or 15% of the effort to "marry" the history with the geography. Among those with a deep interest and commitment to study of the Revolutionary War, there are many capable of researching the historical aspects of any Revolutionary War battle/skirmish/significant site. This is the type of contribution that is most time-consuming and thereby most lacking in the completion of the stated objective of marrying the history with the geography.

When you first access this website, it will become apparent that that the Gazetteer finds its place on the menu of "Southern Campaign ~ Rev War", the menu for which appears at the top of the page. Each site is found on its own alpha page listing.

Collaboration Sought

The design and intent of this online database is to encourage collaboration. Collaboration can be taking the time to point out errors or omissions, or suggesting a map that would enhance the description of a site. It is a great help if you can provide the opposing commanders in any action if they are missing or incorrect. Suggesting an additional site with which you provide much of the needed substantiating information would be a real contribution. Field verification is also useful to increase accuracy and generate more than a field guide to historical markers.

John A. Robertson [scar@jrshelby.com] of Shelby, NC is an avocational Revolutionary War historian and cartographer and contributor to *SCAR*; he often participates in Corps of Discovery outings and Roundtables and gives an insightful battlefield tour at Cowpens when you can catch him there. ★

SCAR Editor's Vision for the Global Gazetteer

We need your help! Working together, *SCAR* readers, professional and amateur historians and archaeologists, local historians, and property owners are amassing an accurate database of the geographic location of all relevant Revolutionary War sites. To make a comprehensive geographic database, we need to start with the known points including: taverns and public houses; courthouses and jails; churches and meeting houses; bridges, fords and ferries; villages, towns and communities; mills, forges, mines, and factories; plantations; battlefields, campgrounds, muster fields; forts, defensive works and barracks extant in 1775-1783, with their period names.

Hopefully, the database will also ultimately include the tracks of late 18th century roadways and trails. We need to join the efforts of the Trading Path Association to map the old paths, trails and roads. <http://www.tradingpath.org>

With this cultural data, combined with modern accurate base mapping with the 18th century names of the rivers, creeks, springs, hills, mountains, and other natural features. From this ever-evolving dataset, cartographers can display on a geographically accurate 21st century base map with modern roads and towns a geographically orientated 18th century sites map. This powerful new graphic tool helps us better depict and understand the trade and travel, mobility and relationships of the times and events of the Revolution. ★

Fort Morris Update

Fort Morris is a marvelous extant sand battery and archaeological site overlooking a strategic bend in the Medway River in coastal Georgia. The State of Georgia provides there a relatively intact site of Revolutionary War era and War of 1812 era earthen coastal defense fort. This site is interpreted with a modern center, staffed by rangers knowledgeable about the coastal Georgia campaigns of the Revolution. The site saw not only two different British assaults, but hosted the three Carolina and Georgia Patriot invasionary forces going south to attack British colony of East Florida. SCAR recently learned that the State of Georgia plans to downsize Fort Morris' resources, move its interpretive ranger and limit the park operating to four days per week. The SCAR Corps of Discovery, with members of the Georgia SAR, Sir Christopher and Lady Deloris Prévost, and officers of the Haitian-American Historical Society visited Fort Morris last fall and had an informative presentation by David Swinford.

Mr. Baxley,

I have been an active volunteer at the Fort Morris Historic site of Sunbury, Georgia for nearly 14 years. I am president of the sites "Friends" group and we try to give as much support as we can for the site. Over the years we have built trails, bridges, a blacksmith shop, Adirondack shelters, and much more. I am also the commander of the recreated artillery unit that garrisoned the fort historically, the 2nd Co. Georgia Artillery. From our humble beginnings 13 years ago we now boast 12 men and four solid period artillery pieces of varying types. We have a letter and email writing campaign underway to try to prevent this restriction of access at the site from ever occurring. At the moment I have received just over 400 cc'd emails and responses from governmental officials regarding this issue. We need more comments to our decision makers from all walks of life in all areas of our country. Our history is being destroyed in so many places and it's a real shame to see such a lack of commitment to such an important site in our state!

WE NEED YOUR HELP!

We have heard some very disturbing news that the State Parks & Historic Sites Division of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources is in the process of downsizing the Fort Morris State Historic Site from six days a week to 4 days (Thursday-Sunday) and moving the interpretive ranger to another site. This site is not only important to the local community and economy, but is also a vital link in telling the story of how our state and nation developed.

This hardly seems in line with Governor Perdue's announcement at the 2005 summer meeting of the Southern Governors' Association that his primary initiative involved promoting heritage tourism as a means to spur economic growth in Georgia and the other southern states. He also stated his Heritage Tourism Initiative would focus on and expand the link between tourism and economic development beyond the usual mix of tourist attractions scattered across Georgia and other parts of the South by focusing on venues of cultural and historic importance. How can we accomplish these initiatives as well as protect and preserve these diverse resources if they are not open for the public to enjoy and appreciate now and in the future?

Having been in historic recreations for over 20 years, I have seen the signs. First you downsize the site, then you close it, then you get rid of it. I have seen the State try to do this with other historic sites in other parts of the State in the past and still do not understand the logic of downsizing and even closing historic sites

that are vital to heritage tourism in the state. These sites tell the important story of Georgia's history and heritage.

If you look at any study done on the heritage visitor, you know that this visitor spends more money and stays longer than other visitors do, which generates more income for the local and state economies. Someone visiting a historic site is more likely to dump more money into the local economy than someone camping and fishing at a state park. Do not get me wrong. I do love our state parks, too, but the parks have always gotten more of the emphasis in funding and marketing efforts than the historic sites have. The marketing for the historic sites lack anything that distinguishes one site from the other in order to entice visitors to come.

In the division's strategic plan it talks about ways to retool and energize sites like Fort Morris, not downsize them. The state DNR 2005 initiative talks about public participation and support strategies. If these strategies were implemented, sites like Fort Morris would have no problem drawing more visitors.

Georgia has a great deal of natural beauty and I think we should celebrate that. Other states have natural beauty as well but few other states have Georgia's history. Why not put more effort into enhancing the cultural experience that heritage visitor wants instead of limiting it?

Please help us stop the Division from downsizing Fort Morris or any other historic site. Let us find new inventive ways to enhance these sites. Please write or contact the director of the division, our state legislators, governor, and other officials to engage their help and support. Thanking you in advance; the appropriate contacts to voice your concerns are below.

Senator Eric Johnson email: eric.johnson@senate.ga.gov

Senator Tommie Williams email: Tommie@tommiewilliams.com

Representative Al Williams email:

al.williams@caw@coastalnow.net

Representative Terry Barnard at tbarnd@legis.state.ga.us

The Governor of Georgia -- <http://www.gov.state.ga.us/contact>

Becky Kelley, Director for the State Parks & Historic Sites Division of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources:

<http://www.gastateparks.org>

I stand sir, at your service.

Dave Swinford

President, Friends of Fort Morris, Inc.
Commander, 2nd Co. Georgia Artillery

Fort Morris State Park

The Fort Morris site was originally a Gule Indian village closely tied to the settlements and Spanish missions on nearby St. Catherine's Island. It was here, on February 21, 1734, that General James Oglethorpe, founder of Georgia, held the first Masonic meeting in the new British colony. In 1776, delegates attending the Continental Congress recognized the strategic importance of having a fort to protect Georgia's middle coast from attack by the English navy. On a low bluff of the Medway River, near the important colonial seaport of Sunbury, a fort was constructed and garrisoned by 200 Patriots. Fort Morris defended Georgia against the British again during the War of 1812 when it was known as Fort Defiance.

[<http://www.cr.nps.gov/goldcrest/sites/morris.htm>]

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18th Century Forest Restoration: Progress at the Battle of Camden site

When settlers first came to America, the sandy hilltops and hillsides of the midlands of South Carolina were dominated by longleaf pines. These tall, majestic trees provided a relatively closed canopy that shut off most direct sunlight and whose tap roots fiercely competed for the limited water and nutrients. This canopy did not allow for the growth of midstory trees or shrubs. A groundcover of grasses often presented a park-like appearance and provided for a high diversity of animal life. Frequent low-intensity fires kept the vines, briars, and shrubs from choking out the fire tolerant longleaf pine. Battle reports mention the visibility through the woods and the lack of underbrush. In these climax longleaf pine forests, man set forest fires aided hunting parties and natural forest fires controlled the underbrush and encouraged the growth of natural grasses. There were active free-range cattle ranching operations in the sandy hills, which were not well suited for bottomland cropping.

The Palmetto Conservation Foundation's (PCF) restoration of the Camden battlefield to its 1780s conditions was delayed in 2006 because conditions were too dry to burn which in turn delayed other activities. Finally the foresters gave the go ahead to begin the prescribed burn. Firebreaks were plowed in early January and a burn conducted on both sides of Flat Rock Road. Further archaeological research has resumed by Steve Smith and Jim Legg. The hiking trails have been cut and are being groomed. A site plan and interpretation facilities are being reviewed. Changes at the battlefield should be dramatic over the next six months.

For the past three years, PCF has been working on their largest battlefield project to date, the preservation and interpretation of the site of the Battle of Camden in Kershaw County, SC. The Battle of Camden is considered a low point in the American war for independence and was one of the worst defeats in American history. The first preservation efforts began in 1907, when the newly founded Hobkirk Hill Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution erected a granite monument to mark the place where Continental Gen. "Baron" Johannes de Kalb was mortally wounded on August 16, 1780.

In 1961, the Battle of Camden site was designated a National Historic Landmark. The National Park Service has recommended further evaluation of the site as a potential addition to the National Park system. NPS has, until recently, included the battlefield on its "threatened" list due to the site's unprotected status. George Fields and Nancy Stone-Cullum have been leading a multi-group preservation effort not only to protect the battlefield, but also to make it a cultural heritage and an eco-tourism attraction for the Midlands. Some recent and ongoing projects related to protection the Battle of Camden site include:

Forest restoration: A prescribed burning of the battlefield was completed in February. PCF planted over 2,500 longleaf pines in March as part of a forest restoration plan prepared by PCF board member Bo Shaw, a professional forester.

Archaeology: Metal detecting has continued on newly plowed firebreaks and in burned areas. Archaeologists from the University of South Carolina are now planning the remainder of archaeological exploration phase of the project.

Interpretation: Hiking trails have been designed, laid-out, cut and are being cleared, disked, and packed, paving the way for an on-site interpretation program. A March meeting determined sites for waysides and kiosks, as well as an overall interpretation plan. Split rail fences will be installed this spring.

Land acquisition: PCF continues to negotiate with landowners to purchase an additional 200 acres to add to the 316 acres in the core of the battlefield that the PCF currently owns. PCF is also in discussion with a neighbor to purchase an easement on property where the historic night battle was fought.

If you are interested in learning more about this project or the PCF's Military Heritage Program generally, please visit www.palmettoconservation.org.

[Ken Driggers & PCF staff] ★

Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference -- November 9-10, 2007 -- Wofford College

SCAR, the South Carolina Historical Society, Wofford College, and Cowpens National Battlefield will host a conference on cavalry operations in the Revolutionary War on November 9-10, 2007 at Wofford College in Spartanburg, SC. Featured are the personalities, tactics and the uses of cavalry in specific battles and campaigns of the Revolution, with ample opportunities of quality fellowship with scholars and others interested in the martial equestrian sciences and arts.

Keynote presentation by **Prof. Gregory J. W. Urwin**, author (*The United States Cavalry: an Illustrated History*), SCAR contributor, reenactor, military historian, and The History Channel contributor.

Urwin serves as a Professor of History at Temple University; Associate Director, Center for the Study of Force and Diplomacy at Temple University; General Editor, *Campaigns and Commanders*, University of Oklahoma Press; and is a Fellow, Company of Military Historians.

Also planned are a cavalry tactical demonstration at the Cowpens National battlefield, battlefield tours, vendors, book-signings, relevant displays, dinners, and entertainment.

Other cavalry topics we will discuss: training of cavalymen and horses; 18th century military manuals on cavalry operations and Gen. Pulaski's contributions; accoutrements of different types of cavalymen; other traditional uses of cavalry; mounted troops logistics and limitations, support of cavalry on both sides during the Revolution, and the traits and capabilities of the cavalry horse.

Interesting Revolutionary War cavalry commanders: British Lt. Cols. Banastre Tarleton and John Graves Simcoe; Polish Gen. "Count" Casimir Pulaski; Continental Cols. Theodor Bland, George Baylor, William Washington, Anthony Walton White, Joseph Eggleston, Richard Call, Stephen Moylan, Elisha Sheldon, Henry "Light Horse Harry" Lee, Major John Rudolph; SC State Troops Lt. Col. James McCall; NC militia Col. William R. Davie; French allies Col. Charles T. Armond and Armand-Louis de Gontaut, the Duc de Lauzun; Loyalists Lt. Col. Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford), James DeLancey, Colonel Kovats De Fabricy and Maj. Thomas Fraser and John Coffin.

Revolutionary War cavalry battles discussed by our presenters will include: Baylor's Dragoons Massacre, Poundridge, Rugeley's Fort, Battle of the Hook, Monck's Corner/Biggin Bridge, Lenud's Ferry; Parker's Ferry, Waxhaws, Gloucester, Fishing Creek, Hobkirk Hill, Camden, Cowpens, Eutaw Springs, Hammond's Store, Simcoe's cavalry raid through Somerset County, New Jersey and Tarleton's Charlottesville, Virginia raid. ★

226th Anniversary of the Crossing of the Dan Observed in Halifax County, Virginia

by Bob Yankle, North Carolina Society SAR

When it comes to celebrating the Anniversary of the Crossing of the Dan River, it is the event that is paramount. And so it was on February 10th, 2007, when the Berryman Green Chapter of the Virginia Daughters of the American Revolution had the responsibility for hosted the 226th anniversary of the Crossing of the Dan (a task that it did admirably well). Participation of the NCSSAR Color Guard, many officers of the Mid-Atlantic District of the NSSAR, the Virginia Society, the North Carolina Society, and a number of SAR chapters from the states of Virginia and North Carolina made it abundantly clear that this was indeed a premier event to be observed by all descendants of those who had fought in the American Revolution. The second Saturday in February will be perpetually celebrated as the "Crossing of the Dan". Larry McKinley, the current trustee for VASSAR, states that this event should be placed prominently in the yearly SAR calendar of events for its historical significance alone.



20th Century steel double Baltimore (Pratt) truss railroad bridge built on the site of Boyd's Ferry. This photograph was taken at the landing from the north bank of the Dan River near South Boston, VA. by Stewart Dunaway, Secretary, Gen. Francis Nash Chapter, NCSSAR.

Consider the words of Banastre Tarleton when speaking of the events surrounding the Race to the Dan: *"Every measure of the Americans during the march from Catawba to Virginia was judiciously designed and vigorously executed."* With the benefit of hindsight, Tarleton thus expressed his grudging respect for the actions taken by Nathanael Greene to extricate his army from the gun sights of the British Army under the command of the Earl,

Lord Cornwallis. After the signal defeat of British forces at Cowpens, Cornwallis vowed to annihilate the Patriot army. But to do that, he had to first catch them. No easy task - his foe outmaneuvered him even after he had burned his baggage at Ramsour's Mill in an attempt to remove any hindrance from the rapid and sure pursuit of the enemy.

Gen. Nathanael Greene flouted the conventional wisdom of his day and divided his forces in the face of a superior foe. He did it first at Cowpens where one division under Gen. Daniel Morgan completely won the day. But as sweet as that victory was, even Morgan realized he did not stand a chance against the full might of Cornwallis' army. Nathanael Greene rode to meet Morgan as he made his way into North Carolina and once again joined the two arms of the Patriot Southern army. He called for a council of war joined by Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan, Brig. Gen. Isaac Huger and Col. Otho Holland Williams to decide if they should stand and fight or draw the enemy deeper into unfriendly territory. The decision was to retreat to Virginia. But do not confuse this word "retreat" - this was no helter-skelter flight from the battlefield. It was an "ordered retreat" that was planned by a mastermind of strategy and tactics. By heading for Virginia, Nathanael Greene was drawing the enemy away from his supply lines in Charleston, SC and toward a state that would offer Greene's Patriots reinforcements, provisions, moral support, and a place to rest his troops safely.

Greene once again split his army to do this. His main force made its way to Irwin's Ferry while Col. Williams harassed the enemy with a "light army" that included cavalry, light infantry, Virginia riflemen, and militia. This second force ostensibly was making its way to Dix's Ferry. Cornwallis believed that he was following the main force, determined to force an engagement. For three days, Williams' force skirmished with the British vanguard, always keeping themselves between Cornwallis' and Greene's army. Finally on February 14th, 1781, Greene sent word to Williams that the main force was in the process of crossing at Irwin's Ferry and that Williams should make his way to Boyd's Ferry. It is said that when Williams' force received word that Greene's army had safely crossed the Dan River, they raised such a shout that the men in British Gen. Charles O'Hara's van could hear their voices. Nathanael Greene had arranged that every boat on the Dan River be moved to Irwin's and Boyd's Ferries and, after his army had crossed the Dan, there were no boats anywhere to be had by the British. Lt. Col. Edward Carrington waited for Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Henry Lee and his rear guard of the light force to make the crossing at Boyd's Ferry in the last boat. Cornwallis got the news in the course of the evening. The river was too high to cross without boats and every boat was on the farther shore. Greene had won the race.

This is heady stuff, especially for 6th graders. The local DAR in South Boston, Va., scheduled a poetry and poster contest wherein 6th graders in a local public school program called "Project Idea" were asked to write a poem or create a drawing that represented their understanding of the historic event of 226 years ago. The winning entries were posted in the lobby of The Prizery, an old tobacco factory that is being converted into the premier "Crossing of the Dan" exhibit. The posters were enlightening. One shows a frustrated Cornwallis standing on the south bank of the Dan, calling out "come back!", while on the north bank, a Patriot is seen "beating feet" up the northern bank and shouting out "NEVER!" In another, Cornwallis has thrown his hands over his head and decries "I can't cross the Dan!", while a jubilant Patriot looks him squarely in the eye from the opposite bank and taunts him with "Ha, Ha! We took the boats!" In these simple drawings, the students got directly to the heart of the matter. On February 10th, 2007 the students who had posted winning entries were

called forward and recognized with a richly deserved round of applause.

The recognition of patriotic youth was only one of many events scheduled to mark the 226th Anniversary of the Crossing of the Dan. The day started out with a DAR/SAR breakfast at the Four Oaks Restaurant in South Boston, Virginia. Anne Raab of the Berryman Green Chapter, DAR and Douglas Powell, of the Dan River Chapter, VASSAR, served as hostess and host for the event.

The patriotic organizations moved to Constitution Square for a "Crossing of the Dan" memorial and DAR/SAR wreath laying ceremony. The NCSSAR Color Guard and the Guilford Courthouse Fife and Drum Corps added a dazzling array of color and music to the event. The mayor of South Boston, Major General (retired) Carroll Thackston, greeted the large crowd of visitors to his town and asked them to make the most of their visit. City Manager Ted Daniel introduced the honored guests on the bandstand and asked them to make remarks. Notably, within this group were three separate SAR compatriots whose Patriot ancestors were peripherally involved with the historic Crossing of the Dan: Larry Aaron, founding President of the Dan River Chapter, VASSAR, whose ancestor was from Pittsylvania County, Va. and helped to shoe horses and repair firearms when Greene brought his army across the river; John D. Sinks, VPG, Mid-Atlantic District, NSSAR, who numbers several supplemental ancestors in the North Carolina militia; and Sam Powell, PhD, Senior Vice President, NCSSAR whose Virginia ancestors joined Nathanael Greene's Army at Halifax County, Va. and accompanied him when he returned to North Carolina. With such personal histories, you could not ask for a more knowledgeable group of speakers!



Gerald M. Carbone of Providence, RI delivering his lecture, "Greene: A Biography of the American Revolution", Chastain Theater, The Prizery, 226th Anniversary of the Crossing of the Dan, South Boston, Va., on February 10, 2007.

Later in the afternoon, Gerald Carbone, a journalist for the Providence Journal of Rhode Island, engaged the interest of listeners with his presentation of "Greene: A Biography of Revolutionary America". With his New England accent quite evident in an audience full of Virginians and North Carolinians, Carbone quite accurately portrayed the life of the general from Rhode Island. His audience was probably more familiar with Nathanael Greene's history than most, or at least with Greene's exploits during the Southern Campaigns.

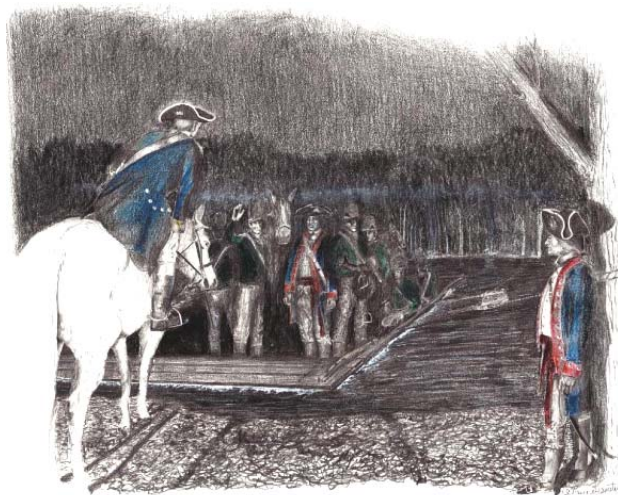
As a perfect culmination to an already eventful day, Wyatt and Flora Osborne graciously hosted a reception at their beautiful 18th century home in South Boston, Va. so that supporters and other interested parties could speak with author Gerald Carbone. Future plans for The Prizery was the hot topic for the evening among many guests who hope to see the "Crossing of the Dan" raised to a much higher level of awareness. Ambitious plans have already been made to make this happen and funding is being sought to put the plans into action. Members of the SAR freely joined these discussions and expressed their personal support of these attainable goals.

A Photo Gallery of the entire day's events may be viewed at:

<http://ncssar.com/images/CrossingOfDan2007>



"Crossing of the Dan" Prints Available



*Crossing of the Dan
Boyd's Ferry
February 14, 1781*

The planned permanent exhibit interpreting the February 14 end of the "Race to the Dan" in the American Revolutionary War required that an image of the final scene be included. Since no suitable work could be located, the artist was commissioned by the exhibit committee to create a historically accurate image. Wayne Feamster was commissioned to produce a graphite illustration of the night scene of the 1781 crossing of the Dan River at Boyd's Ferry in Virginia created specifically for the planned exhibit in South Boston, Virginia. Feamster is a retired commercial graphic artist and teacher from Burlington, North Carolina. The result was a historically accurate scene showing Lt. Col. Harry "Light-Horse Harry" Lee and members of his Lee's Legion and Lt. Col. Edward Carrington, the Virginia hero who had the boats accumulated and ready for the river crossing. They are shown on the last boat crossing the Dan. General Nathanael Greene and Col. Otho H. Williams, the commander of the "light force" that held back the British during the retreat, are also shown waiting to greet the rear guard as they safely arrive on the north bank of the rain swollen river at Boyd's Ferry.

From the original, 350 numbered limited edition prints have been produced and are now for sale for \$100 per print plus \$10 for shipping. Checks should be made to the Halifax County Historical Society and mailed to the society at P. O. Box 601, South Boston, Va. 24592. All proceeds will help fund the exhibit project.

Contact: Douglas Powell at Douglas@BanisterRiver.com or 434-476-2483.

<http://www.prizery.com:80/RacetotheDan/Prints.htm>



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.

Through May 31, 2007 - Conway, SC - exhibit "Redcoats: The British Soldier in South Carolina during the American Revolution," on display at the museum takes visitors back to the circumstances soldiers on both sides encountered across the Palmetto State; localized to Horry County, SC. The Horry County Museum, 438 Main St., Conway, at Fifth Avenue is open 9 a.m.-5 p.m. Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays; 9 a.m.-8 p.m. Thursdays; and 2-5 p.m. Sundays. Tickets are free. For more information call (843) 915-5320 or www.horrycountymuseum.org

May 11 - 13, 2007 - Ewing, Va. - Wilderness Road State Park. 7th Annual Raid on Martin's Station. See and hear history come alive as over 300 living historians re-enact life at Joseph



Martin's frontier fort. Two cultures clash and the flames of war are once again ignited on Virginia's frontier. Activities include tours of Cherokee warrior and Colonial militia camps, frontier fort life, and 18th century merchants and colonial traders selling their wares. There will be a special Sons of the American Revolution historical ceremony and wreath laying on Saturday at 10:00 am. A Contemporary Longrifle Association artists' show that will highlight some of the nation's premier artisans and their craftsmanship. There will be seminars on 18th century topics. The highlight of this event will be the frontier battles between Cherokee Warriors and the settlers of Martin's Station. The first battle will occur Saturday at 1 pm, the special night battle will take place Saturday night at 8:30 pm. Hours: Fri. 9:00 am - 5:00 pm, Sat. 10:00 am - 5:00 pm, Sun. 10:00 am - 3:00 pm. Admission: \$3 Adults, \$1 Children. Special night battle Saturday night 8:30 pm: \$2 admission. Martin's Station is located in Wilderness Road State Park, at the intersection of Routes 58 and 923, five miles west of Ewing, Va. and six miles east of Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, Middlesboro, Ky. For more information contact Billy Heck at Wilderness Road State Park at (276) 445-3065 email

WildernessRoad@dcv.virginia.gov or visit the website for the latest information at www.martinsstation.com.

May 18, 2007 - Charlotte, NC - May 20th Society and City Partners at noon at the square will feature a replica of the first Charlotte Town Court House and a reading of the Mecklenburg

Declaration, a fife and drum corps will perform and Capt. James Jack will appear. Event is free and the public is invited.

<http://www.may20thsociety.org>.

May 19, 2007 - Burlington, NC - "Patriots Day" to celebrate 3 Revolutionary War battles that took place in Alamance County, NC: Pyle's Defeat, the Battle of Clapp's Mill, and the Battle of Lindley's Mill (Cane Creek). It also celebrates the Battle of Alamance, also known as the War of Regulation, fought May 16, 1771. For more information contact LCDR Bob Yankle, USN (Ret.), MMA, Secretary, Alamance Battleground Chapter, NCSSAR byankle@triad.rr.com.

May 19 - 20, 2007 - Huntersville, NC - "Sprit of the Hornet's Nest" is the reenactment of the Battles of Cowan's Ford and Weitzel's Mill to be held at Rural Hill Farm in Huntersville, NC. In January 1781, General Lord Cornwallis and army began their march northward from Charlotte to pursue the Southern Army commanded by General Nathanael Greene. On the morning of February 1, 1781, American troops were positioned on the banks of the Catawba River under the leadership of NC Patriot militia Gen. William Lee Davidson to meet the advancing British army. We recreate the events that took place during that important time in America's struggle for Independence. Walk through the camps and experience the sites and smells of camp life in both British and American armies. Activities and exhibits for everyone will include: colonial games; student militia; craftsmen and artisans (blacksmithing, basket making, candle making, cooking, weaving, carpentry); colonial merchandise vendors; guest speakers and book signings; and battle reenactments Saturday and Sunday. Vendors and sutlers will be on site to provide food and beverages at an additional cost. Handicap accessible facilities are available. Admission \$6.00 adults, \$5.00 seniors (60 above) and military; \$4.00 students, children 6 and under are free. Weekend passes are available. For more information visit <http://www.ruralhillfarm.org/nest.htm>

May 19 - 20, 2007 - Beaverdam, Va. - Mustering of the Hanover Independent Company at Scotchtown - The "Gunpowder Incident". Scotchtown Plantation, 16120 Chiswell Lane, Beaverdam, Va. 23015. <http://www.apva.org/scotchtown> or (804) 227-3500 scotchtown@apva.org.

May 19th 2007 - Charlotte, NC - The Charlotte Museum of History - A Time to Decide: Remembering May 20, 1775 - Performance times: 1:30, 2:30, and 3:30 pm. Celebrate the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence and Mecklenburg Resolves with a visit to the oldest house in Charlotte owned by backcountry Patriot Hezekiah Alexander. A performance entitled *A Time to Decide* examines the cultural and political environment in Mecklenburg County leading up to these documents. Experience the decisions and the ensuing risks and consequences made by our founding fathers. Admission \$6 for adults, \$5 for students and senior citizens, \$3 for children, and children under 6 are free. www.charlottomuseum.org

May 20, 2007 - Union, SC - Union County Museum - 3 pm - SCAR Editor, Charles B. Baxley will speak on **The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas' Backcountry** to the members and visitors of the Union County Historical Foundation at the Union County Museum at 127 West Main Street in Union, SC. Free and the public is invited. For more information, please contact the museum at (864) 429-5081 or email uncomus@netzero.com. The Museum is located at 127 West Main Street in historic downtown Union, a half block from the Court House.

May 23, 2007 – Richmond, Va. - American Revolution Round Table of Richmond. The American Revolution Round Table of Richmond, devoted to the study of all aspects of the revolutionary period (ca. 1763 – 1789), is composed of a group of historically minded individuals. It provides a forum for the exploration, discussion, and sharing of knowledge about this interesting and critical period of our history. All are welcome to participate in this enlightening and enjoyable pursuit, regardless of knowledge level. Yearly dues are \$15.00. The next meeting will be at the University of Richmond in the Westhampton Room of the Heilman Dining Center. The optional dinner will begin at 6:00 pm, with the meeting starting between 6:30 and 6:45 pm. For more information please contact Bill Welsch at wmwelsch@comcast.net.

May 25 - 27, 2007 – Vincennes, In. - Spirit of Vincennes Rendezvous. One of the Midwest's premier Revolutionary War reenactments occurs Memorial Day weekend at the site of the foremost American victory on the frontier. This reenactment, known as the Rendezvous, is sponsored annually by the Spirit of Vincennes, Inc. Since the late 1970s, the citizens of Vincennes, IN; the reenactors of the Northwest Territory Alliance (NWTa); and the employees of the George Rogers Clark National Historical Park (NHP) have collaborated to present this distinguished 18th century historical gathering. The majority of the activities such as the selling of merchandise and food; the demonstration of arts and crafts; colonial period entertainment; and the re-creation of Revolutionary War battles takes place upon the French Commons. The commons, quite fittingly, is located adjacent to the George Rogers Clark NHP. This park includes the Clark Memorial, a



Greek style monument that stands upon the revered spot at which the British surrendered Fort Sackville. The Spirit of Vincennes Rendezvous is designed to bring back to life the sights, sounds, and smells of late 18th century and early 19th century Vincennes. Learn more about the location, schedule, entertainment, merchants, and other exciting aspects of this springtime festival along the banks of the Wabash River. For more information contact the [Spirit of Vincennes, Inc.](http://www.spiritofvincennes.org) or visit <http://www.spiritofvincennes.org/rendezvous/index.htm> or George Rogers Clark National Historical Park (812) 882-1776 ext. 110.

May 26, 2007 – Lancaster, SC - 10:00 AM - Commemoration of Col. Abraham Buford's Defeat at the Battle of the Waxhaws. The South Carolina Society Sons of the American Revolution commemorative program of the 227th Anniversary of Buford's Massacre. Buford's Massacre Site Located 9 miles east of Lancaster, S.C. Take SC Highway 9 east from the SC Highway 9/ US Highway 521 Bypass about 7+ miles to Buford's Crossroad Turn right (South) on SC Highway 522, site is 300 yards on right. The public is invited to this free event.

June 1 - 3, 2007 – North Augusta, SC – “Under the Crown” at the Living History Park. Go back in time during June 1780 and the colonies are in rebellion. Crown troops from Savannah and St.

Augustine are moving up into the Savannah River area and are chasing the rebels out. Each small town and village is falling to them and the loyal citizens are coming out in support of their beloved King George. But the Rebels are not done yet! Come out the weekend of June 2–3, 2007 and see this conflict, a very uncivil war. Find out what happens when the Crown moves in, old scores are settled and lives are changed forever. The Living History Park is located at 299 W. Spring Grove Avenue in North Augusta, South Carolina. For information Contact **Lynn Thompson**, lynn@colonialtimes.us, phone: (803)-279-7560 or www.colonialtimes.us.

June 8, 2007 – Great Falls, SC - 7:00 pm - SCAR Editor, Charles B. Baxley will speak on the Revolutionary War in the Carolina's Backcountry at the second annual Battle of Beckhamville Scots Irish Heritage Dinner. Event is by ticket only; for tickets or more information contact Glinda Coleman at (803) 482-2370.

June 9 – 10, 2007 – Great Falls, SC - Battle of Alexander's Old Field / Beckhamville - Take a step back in time as we honor history and re-enact the Battle of Beckhamville. The battle site is located off Interstate 77, Exit 55. Turn to Great Falls and travel eight miles. The battle site is located at the intersection of S.C. 97 and S.C. 99 just outside the Great Falls town limit. For more information see <http://www.battleofbeckhamville.com> or call (803) 482-2370.

June 9 - 10, 2007 – Mansfield, Ohio - 225th Anniversary of the Battle of the Olentangy and Crawford's Defeat. This is probably the last of the 225th anniversary battles, so plan to be there! The Crawford/Sandusky Expedition went forward - and backward - through the county and a rearguard skirmish (Battle of the Olentangy) was fought just west of present North Robinson, Ohio. Col. William Crawford led a force of about 480 volunteers from western Pennsylvania on a punitive expedition that reached the vicinity of today's Upper Sandusky, Ohio where he was defeated by a coalition of Indians and British troops. Many injured survivors were captured and tortured to death, most famously Col. Crawford himself. Reenactors will camp on the grounds of the William and Hannah Crawford School. Lots of programs and demonstrations are scheduled to take place on the school grounds. Reenactors and the public will be taken by school bus to and from the battle site that is about 2 miles away. For more information contact Wally Richardson at wmrichardson@copper.net. For information on the battle see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crawford_expedition or <http://www.heritagepursuit.com/CrawExp.htm>.

June 9 – 10, 2007 – Lincolnton, NC - Battle of Ramsour's Mill – Saturday, June 9, wreath laying on the mass grave at 10:00 am. Wreath laying at the Warlick gravesite at 11:00 am, free Bar-B-Que lunch at 11:30 am. Camp activities, tomahawk throwing, ladies tea, drilling and cooking demonstrations; battle reenactment at 4:00 pm; 8:30 pm a ghost walk around the battlefield with Darrell Harkey (flashlights and walking shoes suggested). On Sunday June 10, camp opens at 9:00 am, 11:00 am church service on the grounds at cabin site (will have some chairs but suggested to bring your own), battle reenactment at 2:00 pm, 4:00 pm camp closes. Speakers and other programs TBA. For information contact Darrell Harkey hiscord@charter.net

June 15 - 16, 2007 – Leesburg, Va. – The National Fife and Drum Muster. The Loudoun Border Guards will hold its biannual Spirit of Freedom Muster at Ida Lee Park in Leesburg, Virginia and the “National Fife and Drum Muster” which attracts fife and drum corps from all over the United States and Europe. This muster includes many “Rev War” re-enactors as well as those

of the Civil War; this musical tradition also developed into a civilian tradition in the later 19th Century, so there will be a wide variety of musical presentations. Admission is free to the public. Friday evening there will be a concert at 6:30 pm at the Loudoun County Courthouse following by an informal jam session. The muster starts on Saturday morning with a parade down King Street through historic downtown Leesburg at noon. This is followed by performances by each of the attending Fife & Drum corps at Ida Lee Park in Leesburg. A muster in the Fife & Drum world is a gathering of many fife & drum corps who usually march a parade through town out to the muster field. From there each corps performs a show for the public. The performances are then followed by a jam session in which all fife & drum corps gather and play music for hours. For more information go to the Loudoun Border Guards website

<http://fifeanddrum.org/lbguards/muster.htm>

June 28, 2007 – Charleston, SC – Carolina Day celebrations will commemorate the heroism of General William Moultrie during the 1776 Battle of Sullivan's Island with the unveiling of a statue in his honor at White Point Gardens in Charleston. The statue project was announced during the observance of Carolina Day in 2001 and has been overseen to completion by the General William Moultrie Statue Commission, chaired by retired Air Force brigadier general Francis D. Rogers, Jr. The sculptor of the statue is John Michel. At the outset of the American Revolution, William Moultrie was elected colonel of the Second South Carolina Regiment and was in command of the out-manned, outgunned defenders of Fort Sullivan, who on June 28, 1776, turned back a massive British amphibious assault on the city of Charleston. For his part in the Patriots' victory, Moultrie became an instant national hero. He received the thanks of Congress, the palmetto-log fort on Sullivan's Island was renamed "Fort Moultrie" and he was promoted to brigadier general in the Continental Line. After the war, Moultrie served two terms as governor of South Carolina. The much-anticipated William Moultrie statue will join the statue of another hero of the battle, Sergeant William Jasper, erected at White Point Gardens by the Palmetto Guard in 1876. The South Carolina Historical Society's website (www.southcarolinahistoricalociety.org) will post further Carolina Day details, including a schedule of events, when they become available.

July 6 - 8, 2007 - Fort Laurens - Bolivar, Ohio – "Revolution on the Tuscarawas." Three days of Revolutionary fun and history starting on Friday, July 6th with a "Learning Day" covering topics such as camp life, period cooking, spinning, military and civilian clothing, 18th century games, animal tracking, Moravian/Delaware clothing and cooking, 18th century weapons demonstrations, and more. Activity stations will be located throughout the grounds to test your Revolutionary skills so bring the children. Saturday, July 7 -- Frontier Family Reunion III and the Brigade of the American Revolution's (BAR) Annual Encampment at Ft. Laurens with mock battles, artillery demonstrations, ceremony at the Tomb of the Unknown Patriot of the American Revolution, camp life, and more. Family descendants of Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, Simon Girty, Lewis Wetzel, William Crawford, Alexander McKee and representatives from the Delaware and other Ohio based Native American tribes converge at Ft. Laurens to share history and retell tall tales of great feats and adventures. Sunday, July 8th - The Brigade of the American Revolution continues its Revolution on the Tuscarawas and grand encampment with additional mock battles and demonstrations until 4:00 pm. Ft. Laurens State Memorial 11067 Ft. Laurens Road, Bolivar, Ohio - Exit 93 of I-77. Re-enactors contact - Tom Pieper; general public contact - Esther Hawkins (330) 874-4336 tip@neo.rr.com ehawkins@ohiohistory.org

July 8 - 13 and July 15 - 20, 2007 – Spartanburg, SC - The American Revolution in the Southern Backcountry: A National Endowment for the Humanities Landmarks of American History and Culture Workshop will be held at Converse College. This one-week workshop, offered twice, provides teachers with fresh perspectives on the complex dynamics of the American Revolution in the Southern backcountry, a place where long-standing hostilities between American settlers erupted into a full-scale civil war between Loyalists and Patriots. For more information, email project director Melissa Walker at Melissa.walker@converse.edu

July 13, 2007 – York, SC - the Southern Revolutionary War Institute (SRWI) will host their Second Biennial Southern Revolutionary War Symposium at the McCelvey Center in York, South Carolina on Friday, July 13, 2007. This year's symposium will focus on the important but often overlooked years of 1775 and 1776, the "beginning of the end" of British rule in the Southern colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Contact Mike Scoggins at micscoggins@chmuseums.org.



July 14 - 15, 2007 – Brattonsville, SC – Battle of Williamson's Plantation (Huck's Defeat) reenactments. Ongoing demonstrations, scheduled scenarios and the anticipated battle reenactments will fill this weekend of fun, education and adventure for the entire family. The tumultuous times of the American Revolution return to Historic Brattonsville on July 14 and 15 for the reenactment of the Battle of Huck's Defeat. This Revolutionary War reenactment brings to life the war in the Carolina backcountry with camp life demonstrations, music, firearms presentations, and theatrical performances. Visitors will see costumed interpreters portray the lives of Americans during this turbulent period of American history. During the event, three significant battles will be reenacted including Huck's Defeat, Stallions Plantation, and Musgrove Mill. Younger visitors are invited to explore the Children's Encampment area where they can try their hand at historic toys and games, take part in military drills, explore a Revolutionary war camp and hear kid friendly ghost stories. Shopping and foods will be also be available. Hours on July 14 from 10 am – 5 pm and July 15 from 11 am – 4 pm. For more information see <http://www.chmuseums.org/ourmuseums/hb/index.htm> or call (803) 684-2327.

July 28, 2007 - Bolivar, Ohio – "Tribute At The Tomb of the Unknown Patriot of the American Revolution" - 11:00 am - 12:30 pm. The Ohio Society Sons of the American Revolution (OHSAR) and several other states gather at Ohio's direct link to the American Revolution to pay homage to this Unknown Soldier who died in action defending the fort. Each SAR chapter presents a wreath at the ceremony along with a special presentation of the colors and a 21 gun salute. A luncheon for the Ohio SAR is held shortly after for SAR members. Location: Tomb of the Unknown Patriot of the American Revolution, Ft. Laurens State Memorial 11067 Ft. Laurens Road, Bolivar, Ohio Exit 93 of I-77. No admission for attending the ceremony at the tomb. Admission to the museum is \$6 for non-Ohio Historical Society (OHS) members and \$1 for OHS members. Contact: Richard Fetzer, Western Reserve Society SAR (330) 562-5781 treeclimber123@yahoo.com or visit <http://www.friendsoffortlaurens.org/events.cfm>

August 17, 2007 – Elkton, Maryland – 230th Anniversary of British Invasion. Militia encampment on Saturday 17 August to include a Delaware Fife and Drum Corps with patriotic music. For more information see www.elklanding.com

August 17 - 19, 2007 – Blue Licks State Park, Ky. - 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Blue Licks. Blue Licks is the site of the last Revolutionary War battle in Kentucky. In 1782, Kentuckians engaged Indians and British soldiers near the Licking River. Outnumbered, Kentucky Patriots suffered great losses, including one of Boone's sons. Boone's words, "Enough of honour cannot be paid," are inscribed on the monument dedicated to the fallen soldiers in the Battle of Blue Licks. For more information see <http://parks.kv.gov/resortparks/bl/index.htm> or (800) 443-7008 or BlueLicks@kv.gov.

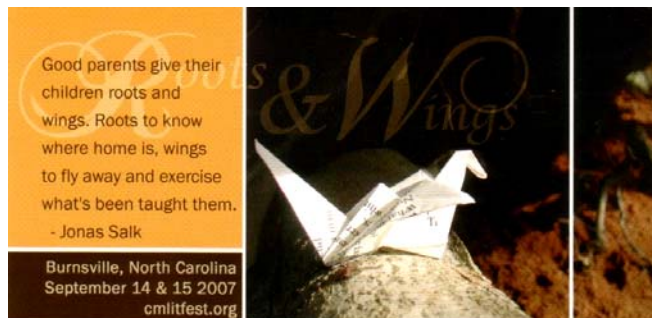
August 25 - 26, 2007 – Wilmington, Del. - 230th of the Battle of Cooch's Bridge. Reenactment event will be held at Brandywine Creek State Park. It will be hosted by [Delaware Division of Parks and Recreation](http://www.delaware.gov) and sponsored by the [Brigade of the American Revolution](http://www.virginia.gov) and the [2d Virginia Regiment](http://www.virginia.gov). Actions both days will be based on the running battle between Howe's advanced guard and Maxwell's Light Corps. Preliminary details, maps and photos of the site can be found at www.battleofcoochsbridge.org for more information contact Todd Post, Event Coordinator, 230th of the Battle of Cooch's Bridge at todd.post2@verizon.net.

August 31 - September 2, 2007 – Jacksonboro, SC - The Battle of Parker's Ferry. Dana A. Cheney (843) 542-6222 dancer1776@msn.com.



September 8 - 9, 2007 – Eutawville, SC – Battle of Eutaw Springs reenactment. Hosted by the SCII.

September 11, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Revolutionary Prospective Lecture. Savannah History Museum Theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Light reception in the lobby at 6:30, lecture at 7:00 p.m. Free. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calendar/?ThisCal=9-1-2007>



Carolina Mountains Literary Festival


September 14 - 15, 2007 – Burnsville, NC – 2d Annual Carolina Mountains Literary Festival - Revolutionary War Authors' Forum. Will feature two moderated panels on historic fiction and historians discussing their and their predecessors'

word craft. Plan to join Dennis M. Conrad, Seabrook Wilkinson, Charles Price, John Buchanan and Greg Massey discussing their craft as modern writers of engaging history on The Revolution. <http://www.cmlitfest.com>

September 18, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Revolutionary Prospective Lecture. Savannah History Museum Theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Speaker TBA. Light reception in the lobby at 6:30, lecture at 7:00 p.m. Free. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calendar/?ThisCal=9-1-2007>

September 19, 2007 – Richmond, Va. - American Revolution Round Table of Richmond. The American Revolution Round Table of Richmond is devoted to the study of all aspects of the revolutionary period (ca. 1763 – 1789). Composed of a group of eclectic, yet historically minded individuals, the ARRT-R provides a forum for the exploration, discussion, and sharing of knowledge about this interesting and critical period of our history. All are welcome to participate in this enlightening and enjoyable pursuit, regardless of knowledge level. Yearly dues are \$15.00. The next meeting will be at the University of Richmond in the Westhampton Room of the Heilman Dining Center. The optional dinner will begin at 6:00 pm, with the meeting starting between 6:30 and 6:45 pm. For more information please contact Bill Welsch at wmwelsch@comcast.net.

September 25, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Revolutionary Prospective Lecture. Savannah History Museum Theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Speaker TBA. Light reception in the lobby at 6:30, lecture at 7:00 p.m. Free. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calendar/?ThisCal=9-1-2007>

September 28, 2007 – Bolivar, Ohio - 12th Annual Moccasin Roast Fund Raising Dinner. 6:00 p.m.-8:30 p.m. An original 18th century meal is served up at this annual event that commemorates the near starving conditions many of the Ft. Laurens soldiers suffered during their time at this wilderness outpost. Although moccasins aren't really served, the three course dinner as become one the most unique and sought after tickets in northeast Ohio. The dinner is held under tent on the Ft. Laurens grounds. A special guest speaker will entertain you as well as a silent auction. Guests are requested to bring dry and/or can food that the Foundation donates to local food banks in the Tuscarawas Valley area. **Location:** Ft. Laurens State Memorial 11067 Ft. Laurens Road, Bolivar, Ohio Exit 93 I-77. **Admission:** \$30 per person. Kids under the age of 15 \$10. **Contact:** Scott Fisher (513) 732-6603 stonelick1@fuse.net or visit <http://www.friendsoffortlaurens.org/events.cfm>

September 30, 2007 - Pineville, SC – noon – program honoring the 275th birthday of Gen. Francis Marion hosted by the South Carolina Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Free, public invited, no bathroom facilities. At the Marion tomb.

October 2, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Revolutionary Prospective Lecture. Savannah History Museum Theatre, 303 MLK, Jr. Blvd. Speaker TBA. Light reception in the lobby at 6:30, lecture at 7:00 p.m. Free. <http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calendar/?ThisCal=10-1-2007>

October 6, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Battle of Savannah Living History Day - Join us at Battlefield Park for a full day of activities that bring the time of the Revolutionary War back to life, including musket and cannon fire demonstrations as well as demonstrations of life during the period. We will recreate the Allied attack on the Spring Hill Redoubt several times during the day. The schedule and hours for this event are still in the planning

stages. For more information, please contact Michael Jordan at (912) 651-6895 or mjordan@chsgeorgia.org.

October 9, 2007 – Savannah, Ga. – Battle of Savannah March - annual dawn observance commemorates the anniversary of the Revolutionary War Battle of Savannah on October 9, 1779. Participants gather at 7am in the Savannah History Museum/Visitors Center parking lot (303 MLK, Jr. Blvd.) in downtown Savannah and form into a loose column and march behind drummers and an honor guard to Battlefield Park. There we will proceed in the footsteps of the French, Haitian, and American soldiers who attacked the British-held fortifications.

Members of heritage groups and descendants of Revolutionary War soldiers will place wreaths on the battlefield during the ceremony. To add your name to the list of organizations laying wreaths, please contact Coastal Heritage Society Public Relations Director Michael Jordan at mjordan@chsgeorgia.org. A light breakfast is served in the WhistleStop Cafe following the march. Reservations are requested. Please leave a message at (912) 651-3673 and be sure to mention the Battle Anniversary March when you leave your name and number. You may also e-mail Jocelyn Xamis at jxamis@chsgeorgia.org.

October 12-14, 2007 - Ewing, Va. – Wilderness Road State Park – America's First Frontier at Wilderness Road State Park brings the frontier to life with a weekend of history and adventure. At Historic Martin's Station, you will be immersed in living history; you will meet historical figures such as Joseph Martin, William Preston, Ebenezer Titus and others. Visit an 18th century market fair and meet skilled colonial tradesmen and participate in life as it was on Virginia's frontier. Fri. 9:00 am – 5:00 pm, Sat. 10:00 am – 5:00 pm, Sun. 10:00 am – 3:00 pm: Admission \$3 Adults, \$1 Children (includes admission to Wilderness Road Heritage Festival) Special evening hours Saturday night 6:00 – 8:00. Martin's Station is located in Wilderness Road State Park, at the intersection of Routes 58 and 923, five miles west of Ewing, Va. and six miles east of Cumberland Gap National Historical Park, Middlesboro, Ky. For more information contact Billy Heck at Wilderness Road State Park at (276) 445-3065 email WildernessRoad@dcr.virginia.gov or visit the website for the latest information at www.martinsstation.com.

October 19 - 20, 2007 - Manning, SC - 5th Francis Marion/Swamp Fox Symposium: "Explore the Revolutionary War in the South with Francis Marion." <http://web.ftc-i.net/~gcsommers/fmarionsymposium.html>

October 20 - 21, 2007 – Yorktown, Va. - Yorktown Victory Celebration – Demonstrations of military life and tactics mark the 226th anniversary of America's victory at Yorktown. To experience Continental Army life firsthand, visitors can enroll in "A School for the Soldier" to try on uniforms, march to the beat of a Revolutionary drum and join in other hands-on military activities. Special programs also are held in Yorktown and the Yorktown Battlefield, administered by Colonial National Historical Park. Yorktown Victory Center.

November 3 and 4, 2007 – Camden, SC - Historic Camden Revolutionary War Field Days –



South Carolina's Revolutionary War years come alive as some 500 reenactors interpret life on the Southern Campaign trail. At 1:30 pm cannons roar as Redcoats and Patriots portray tactics from the Battle of Camden (Saturday) and the Battle of Hanging Rock (Sunday), followed by military courts martial scenarios. Watch period craftsmen ply their trades; listen to civilian

interpreters share their lifestyles as you stroll through the camps; enjoy shopping on Sutlers Row; and watch a period fashion show and colonial dance demonstrations. Lots of hands-on activities for kids of all ages. Daily from 10 am - 5 pm, admission is \$8/adults, \$6/Seniors over 65 and military, \$3/ages 6-12 and under six free. Food concessions and free parking. No pets. Historic Camden, South Broad Street in Camden, SC, 1.4 miles on US Highway 521 North from I-20/Exit 98. <http://www.historic-camden.net>

November 9 - 10 – Spartanburg, SC – Wofford College will host the Revolutionary War Cavalry Conference.

November 14, 2007 – Richmond, Va. - American Revolution Round Table of Richmond. The American Revolution Round Table of Richmond is devoted to the study of all aspects of the revolutionary period (ca. 1763 – 1789). Composed of a group of eclectic, yet historically minded individuals, the ARRT-R provides a forum for the exploration, discussion, and sharing of knowledge about this interesting and critical period of our history. All are welcome to participate in this enlightening and enjoyable pursuit, regardless of knowledge level. Yearly dues are \$15.00. The meeting will be at the University of Richmond in the Westhampton Room of the Heilman Dining Center. The optional dinner will begin at 6:00 pm, with the meeting starting between 6:30 and 6:45 pm. For more information please contact Bill Welsch at wmwelsch@comcast.net.

December 1 - 2, 2007 – 13th Annual Battle of Great Bridge, Va. – For more information please contact Ron Phelps, Event Coordinator ronphelps11@cox.net.

December 1 - 2, 2007 - Saint Augustine, Fla.
www.britishnightwatch.org

March 29, 2008 – Burlington, NC – the Corps of Discovery convenes at the Alamance Battlefield Park, Burlington, NC.

July 18 - 20, 2008 – Shelburne, Nova Scotia - Loyalist Landing 2008. Anticipate a Grand Time in Nova Scotia during the observation and celebration of the 225th Anniversary of the flight from America and Arrival in Canada of Thousands of Subjects Loyal to His Majesty, King George. In conjunction with the Loyalist Landing 2008 Society, the Prince of Wales American Regiment, will be organizing this great event, which will include



several opportunities for re-enactors. During the prime reenactment period there will be a large Encampment, many Suttlers, a re-creation of the Landing and arrival of Gov. Parr, some planned skirmishes, ships battles, longboats, parades &c, &c. For more information contact Robert Guay, Commander, Prince of Wales American Regiment Shelburne, Nova Scotia Canada at princeofwales@canada.com. ★



Major General Nathanael Greene Remembered in a Ceremony on March 16th, 2007 at His Gravesite in Johnson Square, Savannah, Georgia

**by Col. Richard Sheryka
Kentish Guards**

On Friday, March 16th, 2007 in Johnson Square, Savannah, Georgia, the Kentish Guards paid tribute to Major General Nathanael Greene - 'The Savior of the South'. He is buried in Johnson Square under the tall obelisk placed there in his honor. The tribute took the form of a colorful military review with fife and drum music. Lt. Col. William Gorry, the Kentish Guards Executive Officer, conducted the memorial ceremony. Lt. Col. Gorry began the ceremony with comments of welcome for the dignitaries and describing Nathanael Greene's relationship to the Kentish Guards and his greater contributions for American independence. Lt. Col. Gorry concluded by quoting the Marquis de Lafayette's praise of Major General Greene that was given in 1824 for the dedication of Greene's Monument:

"The great and good man to whose memory we are paying a tribute of respect, affection, and regret, as acted in our revolutionary contest a part so glorious and so important that in the very name of Greene are remembered, all the virtues and talents which can illustrate the patriot, the statesman, and the military leader..."

The Kentish Guards Fife and Drum Corps then presented a musical tribute which included a medley comprised of Revolutionary War tunes and modern compositions, linking the time of Nathanael Greene with that of our own. The fife and drum corps then concluded the ceremony with the stately and ceremonial 'Troop Step' saluting the Major General and his memory symbolized by the monument in Johnson Square.



A wreath from the Kentish Guards was placed on the monument by Capt. Robert A. Greene (a cousin to Major General Greene) and William McKinnon (a direct descendant). Shown above is Lt. Col. William Gorry conducting the ceremonies. Photos by Chris Ferrara.



As they did six years before on their prior visit to Savannah, the Kentish Guards posed all together by the Major General Nathanael Greene Monument/Gravesite. Pictured (left to right) Back Row: Drum Major Robert DuFour, Lt. Col. Bill Gorry, Maj. Rick Corbett, Capt. Robert Allen Greene II, (Col.) Roy Lauth, 1Lt. Paul Ferrara, Drum Sgt. Jim Enos, 1Lt. Kevin Koehler (with the Kentish Guards Flag); Middle Row: Cpl. Jon Buzzi, 1Lt. Dwayne Goulding, 2Lt. Warren Kaye, Fifer Steve Squizzero, Cpl. Bob Gilmore, Bass Drummer Jon Gilmore; Front Row: Fife Sgt. Chris Myers, Col. Richard Sheryka. Photo by Chris Ferrara.

After our ceremony in Johnson Square, the Kentish Guards joined the parade from Johnson Square, down Bull Street, to Madison Square for their ceremony at the foot of the Jasper statue which honors Sgt. William Jasper and all the men and women of the American armed forces, past and present.



Guards march in Savannah's St. Patrick's Day Parade. Photos by Chris Ferrara.

The following day the Kentish Guards marched in Savannah's Saint Patrick's Day Parade, the second largest in the United States. The flag carried by the Kentish Guards with the blue canton with 13 stars and (not visible) a fouled anchor is a flag Nathanael Greene knew very well. This was the flag of one of the three regiments of which he became the general (and the Kentish Guards commander, the colonel of the regiment) in May 1775. Rhode Island made this contribution to the Siege of Boston.



The Kentish Guards Flag (with the red canton, foreground) was never seen by Nathanael Greene, though he was a founding member. The flag's eagle has a shield with 16 stripes and has 16 stars; so this was designed when there were 16 states, between 1776 and 1803. The first two photos by Ron Ferrell of Effingham, Georgia, the second two by

not escape this fate, as pictured below, photo by Chris Ferrara:



Chris Ferrara.



An interesting Savannah custom is to honor all those in uniform who participate in the Saint Patrick's Day Parade (the 3rd U.S. Army Division and 8th U.S. Air Force are nearby) by having young ladies plant lipstick marks on those in uniform. Though the Kentish Guards are remnants of the old militia system, they did

The **Kentish Guards** are an elite militia company from East Greenwich, Rhode Island, the former seat of Kent County (from where the unit takes its name). The Kentish Guards of today is the same unit formed in 1774, not a re-enactment. It was Nathanael Greene's home military unit and his first military experience; he joined as a founding member when the unit was organized and chartered in 1774. The Kentish Guards served with distinction in the American Revolution: serving as a training ground for many who later became officers in the Continental Army; preventing British activity in western Rhode Island (there was a large British Army stationed in Newport, RI); and assisting the French Army when they occupied Newport.

The Kentish Guards continued in their service as part of the militia system in the 19th Century and again distinguished themselves in the Dorr Rebellion, a state rebellion in Rhode Island in 1842. This service earned them a grant with which they built their armory, which they possess to today. Because of their uniquely distinguished history, they survived the end of the militia system that created the National Guards of today. Still recognized as a legal militia company, the Kentish Guards have become the sixth oldest military organization in continuous existence in America.

Nathanael Greene, a prosperous Quaker farmer and tradesman, developed an intense interest in Enlightenment ideas and military science and so forsook his family's pacifist ways. He read every book on military science that he could obtain from his Boston bookseller friend, John Knox, and joined the local elite militia company forming in 1774. In the 18th and 19th Centuries every male was in the militia, but the well-to-do wanted to be in a 'good unit'; so they founded a unit with high standards and membership requirements – one of which was being wealthy enough to obtain a full uniform and the finest equipment and training. Rhode Island also did not have a Royal Governor; so it was possible to obtain a special charter through a Patriot unit. The Colonial Legislature granted this on October 29th, 1774.

Nathanael Greene's lack of 'social polish' from his limited Quaker education and a limp prevented him from becoming an officer in the Kentish Guards. He marched with them as a private when the unit marched to the aid of Lexington and Concord in April of 1775. It may be of interest to note that Nathanael Greene and the Kentish Guards were wearing red regimental uniforms as they marched to the aid of the Patriots. Rhode Island had a locally elected government (and no Royal Governor) that was willing to

help in the formation of Patriot militia companies. Rhode Island formed three regiments to aid in the siege of Boston in May. The commander of the Kentish Guards became the commander of one of these regiments and Nathanael Greene became the general in charge of all three. This is said to be the most rapid rise in rank in U.S. history. General Greene's enterprise and tactical brilliance caught the eye of George Washington. Greene would soon become Washington's most trusted military advisor and political ally.

After General Gates' debacle at the Battle of Camden, Greene became the general officer in charge of the Southern Department. With few men and almost no resources his army harassed British General Cornwallis' supply lines and backcountry depots to the point that Cornwallis threw discretion to the wind. Abandoning supplies to be able to travel faster, he chased after Greene in a headlong pursuit. Cornwallis finally fought Greene in a battlefield of Greene's choosing, Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina. Cornwallis technically won the battle by driving Greene off the field but Greene's army had relatively few casualties whereas Cornwallis' army was greatly mauled. Cornwallis, with many wounded and with few supplies traveled on for resupply and reinforcement to Wilmington, NC.

The war was not over for General Greene and his army. He circled back into South Carolina and Georgia, clearing the British out of their backcountry fortifications. He also helped to restore order there and reestablish local Patriot government. Without this effort the United States might have obtained its independence with 11 states and with two English colonies on its southern border.

In honor of this work, General Greene was given the Mulberry Grove Plantation near Savannah, by the State of Georgia. He moved his family there but died from heat stroke in 1786 and so came to be buried in Savannah. The Greene's contribution to southern history continued even after his death. His widow, Caty Littlefield Greene, had an idea for a farm implement. With the technical help of her children's tutor, Eli Whitney, they invented the cotton gin, which was to greatly affect the agriculture, economy and politics of the South.

The Kentish Guards Fife and Drum Corps provided music for the military ceremony on March 16th and served as the field music of the Kentish Guards. When the Kentish Guards were formed in 1774, they had two fifers and two drummers, which is the normal compliment for a company-size organization. Nathanael Greene even participated in this, arranging for the hiring of a fife and a drum instructor. In 1966 a 'regimental-sized' fife and drum corps was organized, the Kentish Guards Fife and Drum Corps. It is now considered to be one of the 'top ten' fife and drum corps in the United States. The Kentish Guards Fife and Drum Corps celebrated its 40th anniversary by being the feature corps in the Westbrook Fife & Drum Muster (in Westbrook, Connecticut), an honor given only to the very best musical units. The Corps will be attending the National Fife and Drum Muster in Leesburg, Virginia on June 15 and 16 of this year.

Both the Kentish Guards, Rhode Island Militia and the Kentish Guards Fife and Drum Corps wear the Kentish Guards uniform of 1790; this is a Federal Era uniform, not one from the Revolutionary War. The Kentish Guards Fife and Drum Corps is also one of only four fife and drum corps associated with a legal military organization. In this rare position, they have had the experience of performing proper military ceremonies for the Adjutant General of the State of Rhode Island as well as music in the historic- and civilian-musical tradition.



Gen. Greene's original tomb in the "Graham Vault". This tomb has the distinction of having been the burial place of two heroes of the Revolutionary War, one American and the other British. Photo by Richard Sheryka.

Major General Nathanael Greene and his eldest son, George Washington Greene, were both originally buried in the 'Graham Vault', a bed-like sepulcher for one's eternal rest. This was located in what is now Savannah's 'Colonial Cemetery'. This former gravesite is still there with metal placards that read:

**THE GRAHAM VAULT
HERE RESTED FOR 114 YEARS
THE REMAINS OF
Maj. Gen. NATHANAEL GREENE
BORN IN RHODE ISLAND AUGUST 7, 1742
DIED AT MULBERRY GROVE, GA., JUNE 19, 1786
HIS REMAINS AND THOSE OF HIS ELDEST
SON
GEORGE WASHINGTON GREENE
NOW LIE UNDER THE MOUNMENT IN
JOHNSON SQUARE
THIS CITY**

Readers of the placard above may notice the birth-date, August 7th; this is on the Gregorian calendar. Nathanael Greene was born when England and its colonies were still using the Julian calendar, which was 12 day late. So this is why some folks in Rhode Island celebrate his birthday on July 27th. The second placard reads:

**NATHANAEL GREENE, MAJ. GEN.,
CONTINENTAL ARMY
JOHN MAITLAND, LT. COL., 71ST REGT. OF
SCOTCH FOOT**

Lt. Col. John Maitland of Lauder, Scotland, son of the 6th Earl of Lauderdale, won wide acclaim for his feat in bringing 800 Highlanders and Hessian troops by inland waterways from Beaufort, SC to Savannah, Ga. in September 1779 under the eyes of the French fleet and Patriot spies and navies. The timely arrival of these reinforcements enabled British Gen. Augustine Prévost to defend Savannah against the besieging French and American forces.

Maitland died at Savannah on October 26, 1779 shortly after the siege was raised. The British hero was buried in the vault of the Royal Lieutenant Governor, John Graham. Col. Maitland's

remains were, apparently, removed later to another burial place.
<http://jrshelby.com/sc-links/gaz/maitlandgrave.htm>

Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island, one of Washington's most brilliant generals, who died on June 19, 1786 at Mulberry Grove Plantation near Savannah, was also interred in the Graham vault. His burial place later became the subject of conjecture and remained so until 1901 when this tomb was opened and his remains identified. Gen. Greene's ashes now repose beneath his monument in Johnson Square in downtown Savannah.



Greene monument in Johnson Square. Photo by Richard Sheryka. Johnson Square is the first and the principal square of Savannah's unique park system and is the square closest to the City Hall, visible in the picture above. On the square there are two historical placards that read:

JOHNSON SQUARE

Johnson Square is named for Governor Robert Johnson of South Carolina who befriended the colonists when Georgia was first settled. It was laid out by Oglethorpe and by Colonel William Bull in 1733 and was the first of Savannah's squares. In early colonial days the public stores, the house for strangers, the church, and the public bake oven stood on the trust lots around it.

Events of historical interest are associated with Johnson Square. Here in 1735, Chekilli, head Chief of the Creek Nation, recited the origin of the Creeks. In 1737, the Rev. John Wesley, after futile efforts to bring to trial certain indictments against him growing out of his ministry at Savannah, posted a public notice in this Square that he intended to return to England, The Declaration of

Independence was read here to an enthusiastic audience, August 10, 1776.

In 1819 a ball was given for President James Monroe in a pavilion erected in the Square. Eminent men who have spoken here include the Marquis de LaFayette (1825), Henry Clay (1847) and Daniel Webster (1848). Beneath the Nathanael Greene monument rest the remains of the famous Revolutionary general and his son.

NATHANAEL GREENE MONUMENT

Beneath the monument in this square repose the remains of Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene of Rhode Island. Greene died near Savannah on June 19, 1786 at Mulberry Grove Plantation that had been granted to him by this State in appreciation of his services in the Revolution.

The 50 foot high, white marble obelisk, designed by the well-known architect, William Strickland, was completed in 1839. Greene's old friend, the Marquis de Lafayette, laid the original cornerstone on March 21, 1825. At the dedicatory ceremony General Lafayette said:

"The great and good man to whose memory we are paying a tribute of respect, affection, and regret, as acted in our revolutionary contest a part so glorious and so important that in the very name of Greene are remembered, all the virtues and talents which can illustrate the patriot, the statesman, and the military leader..."

General Green's remains were originally interred in the burial ground now known as Colonial Cemetery. His exact resting place was a matter of doubt and speculation for many years. The remains of the famed Revolutionary hero were found in the Graham vault in 1901, and were reinterred beneath this monument the following year.

The plaque on the Greene monument reads:

**MAJOR GENERAL
NATHANAEL
GREENE
BORN IN RHODE ISLAND
1742
DIED IN GEORGIA 1786.
SOLDIER PATRIOT
THE FRIEND OF
WASHINGTON.
THIS SHAFT
HAS BEEN REARED BY THE
PEOPLE OF SAVANNAH
IN HONOR
OF HIS GREAT SERVICES
TO THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION**

To this I would only add the words of Thomas Jefferson, who said of Greene:

"Second to no one in enterprise, in resource, in sound judgment, promptitude of decision, and every other military talent." ★



Home school students from Laurens County, SC tour a number of Laurens County battles and related sites from the American Revolution during a field trip on February 9th, 2007. They began with brief dramatic re-enactments of the battles of Musgrove Mill, Cowpens and Kings Mountain. Afterward they saw the Sons of Liberty meeting place at the Liberty Spring in Cross Hill and then the battle sites of Williams Fort and Little Mountain/Mud Lick Creek, they afterwards explored the archaeological ruins at Col. James Williams' mill and went on to the monument to the Battle of Hayes' Station (Hayes' Station Massacre) (pictured above). They saw the Patriot muster grounds at Belfast and Little River (Dominick) Presbyterian Church and then had lunch beside the Black Swan Trading post in Ninety-Six. They then explored the battlefields of Williamson's (Palisade) Fort and the Star Fort at Ninety-Six National Battlefield Park. They are shown above with the Rev. Dr. Sandy Campbell (far right) before the DAR monument on the mass grave at Hayes Station in southern Laurens County. The Cambridge Chapter of the SC SAR provides complimentary tours guides and speakers on the local battles and heroes of the American Revolution to local youth, patriotic, church, and family groups. For more information or to arrange a speaker or tour, e-mail Joe Goldsmith at joe5950@yahoo.com. Photo courtesy of Joseph C. M. Goldsmith. ★

Colonel Thomas Posey and the Last (Virginia) Battalion

by David McKissack

"Colo. Posey commands the Detachment, it's well-officered and, I hope when it gets into the field it will in part retrieve the sinking character of the Va. Line."

Colonel Christian Febiger (Superintending Officer of the Virginia Line) to George Washington, February 10, 1782. Papers of George Washington, Library of Congress.

As General Nathanael Greene's army in South Carolina examined its ranks in early 1782, the once-proud Virginia Continental Line could scarcely be located. Decimated by fighting in the North for five years, the Virginia Line practically disappeared in May 1780 when the bulk of it surrendered at Charleston and the rest – Buford's detachment – dissolved in Tarleton's furious assault at the Waxhaws. The line briefly revived when Baron Von Steuben scraped together two new Virginia regiments and hurried them south for the battle of Guilford Courthouse. By the end of 1781 those units were so reduced from non-stop fighting and marching with Greene that they barely formed a battalion. When the survivors' enlistments expired at the beginning of 1782, Greene released them. On January 3, 1782, Greene wrote Francis Marion, "...the service of the Virginia line is expired and they are gone home."¹ On February 7, 1782, he wrote George Washington that his army contained "not more than sixty men" from the infantry of Virginia, a state that early in the war had provided 15 regiments to the Continental line.²



Figure 1 -- Thomas Posey.
Image reproduced by permission from the Society of the Cincinnati Library, Washington, DC.

battalion appeared ready to leave the general with his 60 Virginian infantrymen and join the ranks of other Continental regiments which had mutinied throughout the war.

Major Thomas Posey

The battalion had been formed (at least on paper) almost exactly a year prior to its refusal to march when a board of senior officers ordered exchanged or paroled Virginia officers captured at Charleston into a temporary battalion. Thomas Posey was named the battalion major and he played a major role in forming and training the unit. Posey stood in the top tier of Virginia officers, beginning the war as captain of a rifle company that served as part of the Seventh Virginia Regiment.

Posey fought at Saratoga in 1777 as a captain in Daniel Morgan's elite rifle corps. When Morgan rose to command a Virginia brigade, Posey led the diminished rifle corps against Tories and Indians on the New York frontier. Rejoining the Seventh Virginia as a light infantry major in 1778, Posey was an obvious choice for inclusion in the new Light Infantry Corps formed in 1779 under General Anthony Wayne. Posey led the vanguard in the successful night assault on Stony Point, NY. Ordered with the Virginia Line to reinforce Charleston, SC in 1780, Posey took a furlough to visit his motherless sons and narrowly missed the city's investment and surrender. As an officer without a regiment, he spent most of the following summer and fall attempting, with little success, to raise troops in Virginia's western counties. It was probably with mixed feelings that the thirty-two year old major learned he had been appointed a field officer in a non-existent battalion in February 1781.³

"The men are literally naked"

It was indeed one thing for the legislature to order formation of Posey's new battalion and quite another to actually create it. Five years of war and several British incursions had left Virginians weary. Some groups in western Virginia resisted the State's 18-month draft to the point of arming themselves and seizing and destroying draft lists. Posey wrote Virginia's Adjutant General, Colonel Williams Davies, "I don't know where this may stop, if there is not a temeous check, in Hanging a few, for examples to the rest."⁴ Nevertheless, Posey continued raking western Virginia for recruits.

In the meantime near Richmond, Colonel Christian Febiger (a Dane known to the army as "Old Denmark"), with whom Posey had served in Wayne's Light Corps, had been named "Superintending Officer" and given overall responsibility for raising and training Virginia's new troops. In June 1781, after reviewing recruits who would later form part of Posey's battalion, Febiger graphically described their plight: "But Lord have mercy upon us, a modest army of Women on examining Any Thing lower than the navel, would instantly take to their Scrapers on the Appearance of so many naked Clubs. The fact is the men are literally naked, shirts and Blanketts excepted." Febiger begged the State Adjutant General for "a sufficiency of shoes, Overalls and Hatts," without which the troops would "from real nakedness be compelled to quit the Feild."⁵

From opposite ends of the State, Febiger and Posey marched their recruits to meet at Old Cumberland Courthouse where they set to work building a camp including barracks. Despite their lack of clothing and proper tools, Posey and his men soldiered on while Febiger traveled to Philadelphia to escort his wife back to Virginia. Posey's promotion to lieutenant colonel came through late that summer, just in time for he and Febiger to march their ragged and still-incomplete unit across the State to support the siege at Yorktown. Their men served in Lafayette's Division at the right end of the American lines. It was not long before Posey could write in his journal, "I had the happiness to see the two foregoing armies (Burgoin and Cornwallace) defeated and lay down their arms."⁶

Only four days after Cornwallis' surrender, General Washington ordered the remaining troops of the Virginia Line "be marched to Cumberland Old Court House, there to be cloathed, together with those now at that place...from thence they will march Southward."⁷ At that time, there was only one fully-functioning Virginia regiment in the field - Gaskins' regiment - but Colonel Gaskins was retiring due to bad health. In addition, many of his troops' enlistments would expire by December 31, 1781. Nevertheless,

half of the regiment marched from Yorktown to Cumberland Old Court House.⁸ Posey's battalion was augmented by 70 recently-paroled soldiers captured the year before at the surrender of Charles Town. These men were exchanged during the Yorktown campaign and sailed back to Virginia where Lafayette promised them a furlough until December 15 at which time they would join Posey's battalion.⁹ Originally intended to raise fresh troops, Posey's battalion was turning into a hodge-podge of new recruits, post-Charleston veterans and survivors of the old Virginia Line. Posey viewed the addition of so many veterans to his unit as a reason for optimism. He would later write to General Greene that the "greater part" of "two-thirds [of the battalion] can be depended on" as they "are old soldiers."¹⁰

General Washington was aware of the heavy burden his post-Yorktown order to march had placed on Colonel Posey and his men. Having reviewed the troops at Yorktown, Washington noted their ragged clothing. He also knew the men had received no pay since their enlistment and their officers no pay for the past several years. But there was nothing he could do, given the inefficiency and incompetence of Congress and the Virginia legislature. "I wish the means in my power, for their relief," he wrote Von Steuben, "were it equal to my inclinations, but as I am divested of them, I can do no more than recommend them with others, to Congress and their own State in particular."¹¹

Despite misgivings about the men's poor clothing, Posey and Colonel Febiger prepared the men to march, only to discover smallpox breaking out in the ranks "daily." Declaring it "madness" not to delay their departure, Febiger ordered the men inoculated.¹² However, the frightened local civilian population sent a memorial to camp stating that unless the inoculation was halted they would "withhold all supplies and cease communication" with the post.¹³ As Febiger grappled with this dilemma, additional orders arrived from his immediate superior positively ordering all well men to march.

"How inhumanely they have treated us."

The first signs of mutiny in Posey's battalion came from a surprising source - the battalion's officers. On November 17, 1781, they presented Colonel Febiger with a memorial stating that they would not march until they and their men were adequately supplied. Among other things, the memorial stated, "We are truly destitute of cloathing, having barely sufficient to support us against the inclemencies of a Winter Campaign, nor has each officer a Blanket...we are destitute of Cash (and ...have had none for two and some for three years past...). Observe to our Rulers, how ungenerously, nay how inhumanely they have treated us...the Ballance of ill usage and neglect has fallen with unmerciful weight on the shoulders of the Officers of the Continental Line of this State." The officers added that they would "march upon the shortest notice to any the most distant post...if supply'd in any Suitable manner," but failing that, they would resign their commissions. The battalion's five highest-ranking and most battle-tested veterans including its Lieutenant Colonel, Thomas Posey, signed the memorial.¹⁴

Upon receipt of this memorial, Febiger's immediate superior, General St. Clair, cancelled his orders to march and forwarded the document to General Washington with an accompanying note. "It is too true that they have reason for complaint, but it pains me to see that they should take such means and such occasion to express it, and I was much surprised to see Colonel Posey's name to the memorial."¹⁵ Washington wrote Virginia's governor and others admitting the officers' grievances and asking for help but he did not reply to the men who wrote the memorial for almost two months. When he did reply, he wrote on January 12, 1782, that he would

"use every exertion" to provide and equip the detachment, but that "I expect and insist, in the most positive Manner, that the detachment shall march."¹⁶

Washington, however, did not leave his reply at that but went on to exercise his talents of ridicule and shaming. He pretended to interpret the officers' letter as a demand for all of their back-pay writing: "The Officers must and do very well know that it is not in the power of the State to pay them up in good Money. If therefore they continue to make that a plea, I shall take it for granted that disinclination to service upon which they are going is the real motive." Coming from another superior, this accusation of malingering might have only further infuriated officers who had served their cause with bravery and sacrifice for almost six years. But it did not come from another superior; it came from Washington. And His Excellency added that their conduct had embarrassed him as a Virginian - "...you must suppose my feelings are particularly wounded on the occasion. When asked whether any and what reinforcements have marched from Virginia, I shall blush when I say none, and more so when I assign the cause."

Washington's appeal won over Colonel Posey and his officers, as did additional efforts of the state government to supply them. Posey wrote Washington that he and his fellow officers were "blamable" for expressing their grievances in such a mode and had never entertained "even the most distant idea of not marching without the whole of their pay." All of them wanted to "march to the assistance of General Green as soon as the men could be properly equipt for that purpose." Posey added, "I wish that I had not been one that signed the letter without having more maturely considered many parts of it, for I am affraid it may have a tendency to injure my Character which I hold exceedingly dear."¹⁷ Febiger wrote Washington a private note saying he thought Posey had only signed the memorial in sympathy with his officers.

"I gott rid of the Detachment after hanging one and whipping 73"

Unfortunately, word of the officers' memorial spread among the battalion's rank and file. Shortly after Washington wrote his reply, a wagonload of spoiled beef rolled into the camp at Cumberland Old Court House. Febiger wrote that the beef stank so badly it was "dangerous to be near it" but an attempt was made to serve it out anyway. The men had been without meat for twelve days and some of them, furious, complained so vigorously they were arrested and confined. In reaction, 150 of the soldiers "rose in arms to rescue them, But by the Vigilance of the officers they were disperse'd." Shortly afterwards, someone brought Febiger an inflammatory circular that had been passing among the troops. On January 21, 1782, he wrote that he was "trying to prevent an open Rupture," but that he thought "the men might attempt something to morrow."¹⁸ The men did not "attempt something," but it is a wonder they did not. The people for whose liberty they served had treated them with utter disregard. Unpaid, poorly clothed and poorly fed, even their officers' actions validated their complaints.

On top of all this was a general feeling among the soldiery and populace that Cornwallis' surrender meant the war was almost over. In their memorial, the officers had buttressed their threat to resign by stating, "Independence is so firmly fixed that we can retire without doing any essential injury to our Country." General Washington had mocked this statement in his reply: "Do they think the remaining force of the enemy is to be crushed by words or Blows? I should suppose by the former, or they would never have started an idea not only ridiculous but of dangerous tendency." But the Idea *had* been started.



Figure 2 --A private in Posey's battalion. (Reproduced by permission of Peter Copeland from *Military Collector and Historian*, Vol. 17, Fall 1965, p. 85-86)

And now Posey's battalion, which included a company of men who had fought at Charleston and endured the prison ships there, was being ordered to march 300 miles to the hot, malarial South – a death sentence for a certain percentage of them. And for what?

We can only guess at Colonel Posey's thoughts as he awoke and dressed on February 14, 1782, the day appointed for his men to march. Posey was a veteran officer in every sense and he must have possessed a pretty good idea of the range of problems he might face that day. He apparently prepared for the worst because afterwards he wrote Virginia's Adjutant General that he had put his officers "in readiness for action" and once the men saw the "determination and steady carriage among the officers," they "declined putting into execution their concerted scheme."¹⁹ Colonel Febiger wrote three letters about the events of the day and it is amusing to compare

them. To General Washington, he wrote "...the men very uneasy about Pay and other necessities, when ordered by Colo. Posey to strike their tents refused, saying they would not march without money. I was on the spot with a little Threatening, some Provisions and an excellent band of Musick to play them off all was quieted."²⁰ Febiger wrote a similar letter to Virginia's governor, noting "the men leaving with considerable reluctance, for want of money and cloathing."²¹ But to his friend, Adjutant General Davies, he wrote, "I gott rid of the said Detachment after hanging one and whipping 73 of them, and they are well officer'd & Posey informs me behave well on their march. I dismounted the Officers, which has a good Effect."²²

Thus, with the officers marching on foot, with the memory of at least one comrade executed for mutiny, and with the backs of 73 men still tingling with welts from floggings, Posey's 437 man battalion marched away from its barracks and began the trek to join Greene near Charleston, SC.

"Cheerfulness appears in the mens Countenances"

Given their intense unhappiness prior to marching, one would hardly expect to find the men of Posey's battalion satisfied with their lot a few days later. Nevertheless, two days into the march, Posey wrote Febiger that "the Spirit, which seem'd to provoke them just before our March is in a great manner subsided and cheerfulness appears in the men's Countenances." This change in attitude was considerably augmented the next day when a barrel of rum met the battalion at Prince Edward Courthouse. Liquor had been absent from the lives of Posey's men for some time, despite regulations that soldiers should be provided with a gill (four ounces) of rum a day. Consequently, Posey wrote, "...not having had any [rum] for so long, some of them gott very Tipsey on their Gill, though none acted out of caracter except one or two...I have

not a Doubt of marching every man now with the Detachment to General Greene's army."²³

Not only rum smoothed the way for Posey's men. The battalion was accompanied by a band of 22 drums and fifes led by Fife Major Peter Sheldon, a bandmaster since 1775 and known for "playing an excellent Fife." The day after the men got their first rum in months, Posey wrote Febiger that the music had likewise helped to sooth "the turbulent Spirit which seemed to agitate the Soldiers the Day we left you...they seem satisfied and many of them ashamed of their Conduct there...your Band has been of infinite service. I don't know that I have ever seen men more delighted with it, than on the March."²⁴ After marching only two days, Posey's men enjoyed a rest at Prince Edward Courthouse, receiving an issue of clothing, a gill of rum, and serenades by a very fine band of music. They could be forgiven if they were lulled into thinking the march to Charleston might be an easy affair. They would have been wrong.

"Damn [the magistrates] I can get nothing done"

Shortly after the battalion's idyll at Prince Edward Courthouse, three of Posey's men broke out in smallpox. Posey wrote a few days later that he had "provided for" the men and left them behind. Considering his other comments, "provided for" may have meant he left them by the side of the road with food, water and blankets:

"My heavens! what am I to do about the men breaking out with the Small pox, another man has this moment discovered that he has it, and God knows what I shall do with him, for the inhabitants everywhere upon the route we march, is frightened, and I am really afraid that some of the men will perish...you may rely upon it, I shall be plagu'd the whole march. I have applied to the magistrates for some provision to be made for these poor unhappy mortals, but damn them I can get nothing done."²⁵

Frustration with the lack of public support as Posey led his men south became a recurring theme. The authorities had failed to create magazines with provisions, thereby forcing him to impress food from civilians, which detained him "one day in every three or four." This, along with "a Violent spell of Wet Weather" which resulted in "bad roads," slowed his march as it progressed through Peytonsburg, Va., Guilford Courthouse and Salisbury, NC. He arrived at Charlotte, NC, on March 16, a month after beginning his march. By that time, half the men were again "naked" and barefooted and most of their tents were "intirely useless." The detachment's wagons were breaking down and his teams of horses "much fatigued" and in need of shoes. On the positive side, however, Posey had lost only about 20 men to smallpox and desertion, and most of those at the march's beginning. Likewise, despite being told a stock of shoes at Charlotte could not be issued without Greene's express order, Posey "appropriated" 100 pairs because he believed if Greene were there he "would not hesitate a moment to grant me an order." A return completed two weeks later after the battalion passed Camden showed it needed 109 cartridge boxes, 310 shirts, 221 pairs of shoes, and 191 overalls.²⁶

A Change of Destination

A few days' march from Charleston, SC area, Posey received orders from General Greene diverting his men to Savannah, Ga., where he would reinforce General Anthony Wayne. Posey had served in Wayne's Light Corps in 1779 and won distinction as one of the first men over the wall in the successful assault on the fort at Stony Point, New York. Afterwards, Posey had taken exception to the fact that Wayne's report on the assault did not mention him and their disagreement veered close to a duel. Posey went so far as to

consult the lawyerly mind of his friend and fellow Virginian, Captain John Marshall, for advice. [Ed. Future historian and Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.] Fortunately, Posey and Wayne negotiated a settlement which satisfied their honor.

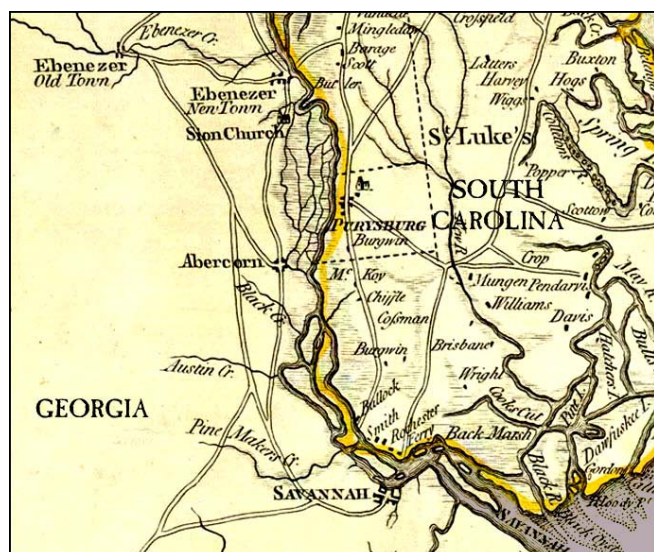


Figure 3 – Area of operations for Posey’s battalion Georgia, 1782. From Thomas Jefferys, “Composite: North and South Carolina”, 1776 (Mouzon’s map included in Jefferys’ *The American Atlas*) from the David Rumsey Map Collection. Online at: <http://www.davidrumsey.com/maps4579.html>

Despite their past disagreement, Posey and Wayne’s correspondence upon the approach of Posey’s battalion indicates they welcomed their renewed association. Wayne said he was glad Posey was joining him because “I know your military abilities so well.” Posey wrote Wayne that he would “gladly serve under you, knowing you to be an experienced officer.” On April 7, 1782, Posey’s battalion marched into Wayne’s camp in Ebenezer, Georgia, (see map in Figure 3) about 14 miles upstream from the British-held city of Savannah.

Virginia’s Last Battalion Fights in Georgia’s Last Battles

General Wayne had campaigned in Georgia for almost four months prior to Posey’s arrival. His primary mission was preventing the British from scouring the countryside for supplies and suppressing Tory and Indian attacks. Wayne’s “army” at that time had included no regular infantry, but 100 Continental dragoons, 300 mounted men from Sumter’s brigade, and 170 Georgia volunteers. Though British troops in Georgia (about 1,000) outnumbered his, Wayne nevertheless launched an offensive and forced the British to abandon their outposts and retreat into Savannah.²⁷

In spite of his successes, Wayne was far too weak to assault Savannah’s fortified lines. The arrival of Posey’s battalion emboldened him enough to move his army to within five miles of the city. He still could not risk attack, describing his army as a mixture of “British, Hessians, new levies, out layers, Tories, Crackers, Ethiopians & Indian allies to the number of thirteen tribes,” but satisfied himself for the time-being with “bullying” the British troops.²⁸ While the British commander of Savannah, Gen. Alured Clarke, avoided combat, he still encouraged Indians belonging to the Creek, Cherokee, Choctaw, and other tribes to cooperate with Loyalist forces in Georgia’s interior and also to reinforce the Savannah garrison with supplies and men. One such party made up of Creeks blundered into Wayne’s camp in early

May. Wayne took several of their leaders hostage, gave the rest a conciliatory speech, and told them to go home. Other groups of Choctaw and Cherokee were likewise intercepted and turned back.

Clash with Thomas “Burnfoot” Brown

Several weeks later, however, Savannah’s British commander received word of the approach of another party of 300 Creeks, this time led by the famous chief and steadfast British ally Emistisiguo (Guristisigo). Fearing another interception by Wayne, Col. Clarke ordered Lieutenant Colonel Thomas “Burnfoot” Brown, commander of the King’s Rangers, to escort Emistisiguo’s party into the Savannah. Known as “Burnfoot” because his feet were held to flames early in the rebellion by “Liberty Boys,”²⁹ Brown took a detachment of about 350 infantry and cavalry to meet Emistisiguo’s men at the Ogeechee River. While there was risk in sending Brown’s detachment into the country, his force would outnumber Wayne’s small army once he united with the Indians.³⁰

Wayne’s camp at Sharon was northwest of Savannah. Brown marched his detachment southwest to the designated rendezvous point on the Ogeechee River. When Wayne learned of Brown’s expedition, he immediately marched his entire force of 500 men, including Posey’s battalion, for a long causeway through a swamp, which Brown would use for his return. This maneuver placed Wayne’s force directly between that of the returning Brown and the British army in Savannah. If things went badly, Wayne would find himself squeezed between two British armies, each bigger than his own. He later admitted to feeling some “delicacy” in his situation.³¹

Moreover, Wayne feared he might not reach the causeway before Brown did. Hoping to slow Brown’s advance, he ordered a van to rush ahead of his army and seize the causeway. Captain Alexander Parker, the commander of Posey’s light infantry company, formed this van and took 40 Continental dragoons with him. (While no contemporary documents mention it, it would have been normal at this stage of the war in the South for 40 of Parker’s infantry to double up with the dragoons to quicken their march. Likewise, the remaining 20 men might have grabbed the saddle stirrups and run along beside the horses. This practice was known as “stirrupsing.”) Parker managed to reach the causeway before Brown used it to slip back into Savannah, but the bulk of the American army did not. Thus, Parker found his van alone when Brown’s force-marched out of the dark about midnight. (The Indians had failed to make the rendezvous point with Brown, apparently having been delayed by a tribal argument). Brown placed his Loyalist cavalry at his column’s front and Parker ordered his 40 Continental dragoons to charge them. The Loyalist cavalry “were thrown into confusion; and as Brown’s whole force was in column on the causeway, from whence there was no moving, to the right or left, the substitution of his infantry for his cavalry became impracticable, and the British colonel was obliged to fall back.”³² Parker’s Continental infantry supported their cavalry and Brown’s forces retreated into the darkness and the swamp, sneaking into Savannah later that night on a different road. Brown lost about 40 men killed and wounded; 18 of his dragoons were captured with their horses and equipment. Parker’s losses were five dead and two wounded.³³

Two days after the clash with Brown’s detachment, Wayne displayed Posey’s battalion and other troops in a battle line outside Savannah. Advancing his skirmishers, he taunted the British to come out of their works and fight. The British commander had received orders by that date not to initiate offensive actions and also news of peace negotiations occurring in Europe. For the next month, Wayne could only hover close to British lines and watch for an opening to attack.

Emistisiguo arrives – in Wayne's rear

Meanwhile, somewhere out in Georgia was that party of Indians whom Colonel Brown had failed to find at the Ogechee River. They arrived weeks later in June, having crossed the whole of Georgia undetected. Emistisiguo decided to launch a night attack on the rebel force after reconnoitering Wayne's camp and then dash into Savannah. General Wayne was no stranger to surprise night attacks. In command of Pennsylvania troops at Paoli in 1777, his men were surprised after dark by British Light Infantry under Colonel Charles "No Flint" Grey. Though a court-martial cleared Wayne of negligence, the Paoli Massacre remained a stain on his record.

Shortly before Emistisiguo's assault on June 24, 1782, Colonel Posey's men had come off several grueling weeks' service near British lines where they were attempting to draw the redcoats into a fight. The troops had done "hard duty, every night lying down in their ranks, with their clothes and accouterments on, and their arms by their sides, and almost worn out by fatigue and watching and loss of rest, in constant expectation that the British would either come out of Savannah in force for action, or that we might have an opportunity of falling in with foraging parties."³⁴ Having worried for weeks about a British force surging out of Savannah to attack their front, probably the last thing that concerned Posey's men was an assault from behind. Yet that is where Emistisiguo struck.

On the night of the attack, Capt. Alexander Parker's light infantry company and an artillery detachment slept a few hundred yards to the rear of Posey's battalion, who had established camp down the road and nearer Savannah. Posey, who had recently endured a spell of malaria, was ordered by Wayne to spend the night with him at headquarters between the two camps, leaving Major Samuel Findley in charge of the battalion. Pandemonium broke over Parker's sleeping troops as Emistisiguo's 300 braves burst from the darkness "with yelling and the use of their tomahawk, spears, and scalping-knives and guns."³⁵ Memories of the Paoli nightmare must have threatened to overwhelm Wayne. Wayne and Posey ran out of headquarters and almost immediately met Captain Parker who reported that the attack had "confused his men" and asked for orders. Posey told him to rally the light infantry company behind the house and Parker somehow managed to do so.

Some of the Indians stopped by this time and tried without success to fire the captured artillery. Other Indians, intent on reaching Savannah, got between the light infantry camp and that of the battalion further down the road. Posey and Parker led the light infantry in a charge through the Indians in an attempt to reach the rest of their battalion. As Posey slashed and stabbed his way forward, felling "one or more" Indians, he unfortunately encountered a light infantry sergeant named Thompson who, against orders, had removed his coat and tied up his head with a handkerchief. Thompson was "manfully" engaged in combat and Posey mistook him in the dark for an Indian and "thrusting his sword through his body, laid him at his feet." Meanwhile, Wayne rallied the cavalry and led them to Posey's battalion which by now had formed and marched toward the action. Together, Wayne and Posey led a united charge which completely dispersed the Indians and killed Emistisiguo as well.

Wayne and Posey got separated in the fighting as Wayne and the cavalry "filed off to the left and fell in with a considerable body of Indians." Despite the Indian attack from the rear or perhaps because of it, Posey now about-faced his men and marched to within a mile of Savannah "to ascertain the situation of the British." Posey advanced a patrol nearing the city which found that the British guards were in their usual positions and showing no preparations for attack. Then a trooper arrived and told Posey he

had discovered a large body of men to Posey's rear. Once more, the battalion about-faced and followed the trooper. By this time, there was enough morning light to see the men whom the trooper discovered were Indians, now standing in a road leading through a swamp. Posey ordered his men to prepare for action. The Indians acted confused; they thought Posey's men must be British, marching out of Savannah to aid them. Most of the Indians drifted back into the swamp but twelve of their leaders advanced to examine the Americans more closely where Posey waved them forward with his sword. Captured, the Indian leaders were placed under guard and Posey marched back to where the night attack had begun. Posey wrote:

General Wayne joined with the balance of the troops. The general appeared in a good humor until he discovered the Indian prisoners, his countenance then changed, and he asked Posey in a very peremptory manner, how he could think of taking those savages prisoners. Posey related the circumstance of the manner in which they were decoyed, and observed he thought it wrong to put them to death after they became prisoners; he said they should not live, and they were accordingly put to death.³⁶

Peace Achieved

The attack of Emistisiguo's Creeks at Sharon was the last significant engagement of the war in Georgia. The British evacuated Savannah less than three weeks later on July 11, 1782. Wayne's men including Posey's battalion occupied the city; no doubt pleased that the British had committed no senseless destruction or depredations. Posey's men would have enjoyed better quarters in Savannah than in the countryside around the city. This would especially have been a relief to the half of the unit "in the hospittle" by July 30 as the malaria season deepened.³⁷ With Savannah recovered, General Greene insisted that all fit troops must join his army outside Charleston. Posey marched his depleted ranks for that city on August 5 and General Wayne followed in a few days.

The next four months saw little fighting, with the exception of a few skirmishes, one of which killed the gallant Colonel John Laurens of South Carolina. [Ed. SCAR believes there were large-scale fights during this late period.] Posey and his men fought in none of these. The troops' deadliest enemy for the remainder of the summer continued to be disease. On August 26, General Greene issued an order which probably spoke volumes about conditions in camp:

"The general has observed that the custom of beating the *dead march* at Soldiers' funerals has a tendency to depress the Spirits of the Sick in camp & he is therefore pleased to order that in future this practice be discontinued."³⁸

The British evacuated Charleston on December 14, 1782. South Carolina's General Moultrie remembered the day in his memoirs:

"I cannot forget that happy day when we marched into Charleston with the American troops; it was a proud day to me, and I felt myself much elated, at seeing the balconies, the doors, and windows crowded with the patriotic fair, the aged citizens and others, congratulating us on our return home, saying 'God bless you, gentlemen!' Both citizens and soldiers shed mutual tears of joy."³⁹

It is doubtful that Posey's battalion as a unit witnessed Charleston's liberation. Posey had noted the previous summer that enlistments of his "18-month men" were to expire in September.⁴⁰ His battalion does not appear in lists of units who entered the city.⁴¹

Nevertheless, Posey's light infantry company under Captain Parker was placed in the army's light infantry corps along with companies from Maryland, North Carolina and Pennsylvania,⁴² and these troops, led by Posey, were the first to enter Charleston after the British embarked.⁴³ Many of Posey's old battalion, however, had probably already mustered out and started home.

A Reputation Restored

There is something wistful in the thought of Posey's men stepping off on their own, or boarding ships, to return to Virginia or elsewhere. The men probably straggled back in groups – released from the hospital or discharged at the end of their differing enlistments. One source suggests a small number remained in service and were incorporated into a regiment that garrisoned Winchester, Virginia in 1783.⁴⁴ Regardless of their destinations, no parades welcomed them. Probably few of their countrymen shook their hands and thanked them for sustaining the rebellion in its last year. One wonders if they had any inkling of the revolution in personal liberty they had helped birth. We can only hope the men took pride in their service and acquired a good piece of land where they prospered through a bounty. They deserved it. The cobbled-together battalion that had marched from Cumberland Old Court House under the threat of flogging had indeed fulfilled Colonel Febiger's hope that it would "retrieve the sinking character of the Va. Line."

The author wishes to thank Marko Zlatich, Peter Copeland, Scott Smith, Todd Post, Charles B. Baxley, David Sullivan, and John A. Robertson for their valuable assistance in the preparation of this article.

¹ Dennis Conrad, Ed., *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, Vol. IX, p. 473. In a letter to Governor Thomas Nelson of Virginia on October 24, 1781, Greene wrote "...but remember your whole line leaves us in December."

² Ibid, Vol. X, p. 331.

³ John Posey, *General Thomas Posey: Son of the American Revolution*, Michigan State University Press, East Lansing, 1992, p. 80.

⁴ William Palmer, Ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, Richmond, 1881, May 18, 1781, Major Thomas Posey to Colonel William Davies, Vol. II, p. 107.

⁵ Ibid, June 30, 1781, Col. Christian Febiger to Col. William Davies, Vol. II, p. 193.

⁶ Thomas Posey, *A Short Biography of the Life of Governor Thomas Posey*, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, IN.

⁷ George Washington to Friedrich Wilhelm, Baron von Steuben, October 23, 1781, *Papers of George Washington*, Library of Congress website,

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>

⁸ William Palmer, Ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, Richmond, 1881, November 6, 1781, Febiger to Colonel William Davies, Vol. II, p. 580.

⁹ Christian Febiger to Friedrich Wilhelm, Baron Von Steuben, October 22, 1781, *Papers of George Washington*, Library of Congress website,

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>; William Palmer, Ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, Richmond, 1881, November 6, 1781, Febiger to Colonel William Davies, Vol. II, p. 584.

¹⁰ Dennis Conrad, Ed., *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, Posey to Greene, February 22, 1782, Vol. X, p. 396.

¹¹ George Washington to Friedrich Wilhelm, Baron von Steuben, October 23, 1781, *Papers of George Washington*, Library of

Congress website,

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>

¹² William Palmer, Ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, Richmond, 1881, November 6, 1781, Febiger to Colonel William Davies, Vol. II, p. 584.

¹³ Ibid, November 16, 1781, Febiger to Governor Thomas Nelson, Vol. II, pp. 602-603.

¹⁴ Ibid, Virginia Officers' Memorial to Febiger, Vol. II, pp. 609-611.

¹⁵ Arthur St. Clair to Washington, November 26, 1781, *Papers of George Washington*, Library of Congress website,

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>

¹⁶ Ibid, Washington to Febiger, January 12, 1782.

¹⁷ Ibid, Posey to Washington, February 11, 1782.

¹⁸ William Palmer, Ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, Richmond, 1881, January 21, 1782, Febiger to Colonel William Davies, Vol. III, pp. 44-45.

¹⁹ Dennis Conrad, Ed., *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, Posey to Greene, February 22, 1782, Vol. X, p. 396.

²⁰ Febiger to Washington, March 14, 1782, *Papers of George Washington*, Library of Congress website,

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>

²¹ William Palmer, Ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, Richmond, 1881, February 23, 1782, Febiger to Governor Harrison, Vol. III, pp. 73-74.

²² Ibid, February 23, 1782, Febiger to Davies Harrison, Vol. III, p. 72.

²³ Posey to Febiger, February 16 and 17, 1782, *Papers of George Washington*, Library of Congress website,

<http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/gwhtml/gwhome.html>

²⁴ Ibid, Posey to Febiger, February 18, 1782.

²⁵ William Palmer, Ed., February 23, 1782, Posey to Davies, *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, Richmond, 1881, Vol. III, p. 72.

²⁶ Dennis Conrad, Ed., *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, Posey to Greene, Vol. X, p. 571.

²⁷ Paul David Nelson, Anthony Wayne, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985, p. 164.

²⁸ Dennis Conrad, Ed., *Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, Wayne to Greene, April 1, 1782, Vol. X, p. 572.

²⁹ Edward J. Cashin, *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier*, Fordham University Press, New York, 1999, p. 28.

³⁰ Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter*, Blue House Tavern Press, 2005, Vol. IV, p. 69.

³¹ Paul David Nelson, Anthony Wayne, Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1985.

³² Henry Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, Arno Press, 1969, p. 555. Lee included a note stating that "The narrative in the text is founded chiefly on information contributed by Captain Parker...who was personally and conspicuously engaged in the encounter."

³³ Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter*, Blue House Tavern Press, 2005, Vol. IV, p. 70.

³⁴ Henry Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, Arno Press, 1969. Letter of Thomas Posey, p. 558.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ William Palmer, Ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, Richmond, 1881, Posey to Governor Harrison, July 30, 1782, Vol. III, p. 243.

³⁸ Terry Golway, *Washington's General: Nathanael Greene and the Triumph of the American Revolution*, Henry Holt and Company, New York, 2005, p. 301.

³⁹ William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution*, New York Times, New York, 1968.

⁴⁰ William Palmer, Ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers, April 1, 1781 to December 31, 1781*, Richmond, 1881, Posey to Governor Harrison, July 30, 1782, Vol. III, p. 243.

⁴¹ O'Kelley, Patrick, *Nothing But Blood and Slaughter*, Blue House Tavern Press, 2005, Vol. IV.

⁴² Thomas Posey, *A Short Biography of the Life of Governor Thomas Posey*, Indiana Historical Society Library, Indianapolis, IN.

⁴³ Henry Lee, *The American Revolution in the South*, Arno Press, 1969, p. 573.

⁴⁴ E.M. Sanchez-Saavedra, *A Guide to Virginia Military Organizations in the American Revolution, 1774-1787*, Willow Bend Books, Westminster, MD, 1978, p. 33.

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John Watson Tadwell Watson and the Provincial Light Infantry 1780-1781

by Walter T. Dornfest

The British Army detached the light infantry and grenadier companies of various regular regiments and formed them into battalions to perform special duties during the American War of Independence.¹ With the appearance of the Provincial Light Infantry Battalion as a Loyalist unit in New York City late in 1780, it has been taken for granted that British headquarters had done the same thing with the established light infantry companies of Royal provincial units in the area. There also is speculation that two provincial light infantry battalions existed, one operating in the North and one functioning during the Southern Campaigns. Further research reveals that there was but one Provincial Light Infantry Battalion. Formed in the North, it operated principally in the South until it was disbanded at Charleston, South Carolina near the end of 1781.²

The history of the Provincial Light Infantry begins with a British Guards officer. Born in 1748, John Watson Tadwell Watson entered the 3rd Regiment of Foot Guards (Scots) as an ensign on 13 April 1767 and rose to lieutenant in his regiment and captain in the

army on 28 April 1773.³ It was with these ranks that Watson arrived in the rebellious American colonies about mid-1777 to join the Guards detachment that had been drafted for service in North America.⁴ Watson and other Guards officers were expected to serve in America for two years after which time they would be eligible to return home, according to the established understanding within the detachment. Thus by the middle of 1779, Watson anticipated being able to sail for England to settle his personal affairs which had been left in financial disarray when he was called upon to serve overseas with the Guards detachment.⁵

Lieutenant Watson soon established himself within the proper circles of army society in Philadelphia. He took a prominent role in the great *Mischianza*⁶ given on 18-19 May 1778 in honor of Sir William Howe upon his departure as British commander-in-chief. The lieutenant appeared as Chief of the Knights of the Burning Mountain (the black knights) in the extravaganza. When the British army evacuated Philadelphia in June, Watson returned with the army to the dull garrison duty of New York City.⁷

Watson attained the rank of captain-lieutenant in his regiment and lieutenant-colonel in the army on 20 November 1778. While his promotion improved Watson's position in the military, it had adverse consequences on his personal finances. With his new commissions came orders from home that officers receiving an advancement in rank while in America would be required to remain

there for the good of the service. Watson estimated that it cost him about £5,000 by being prevented from going to England when he planned.⁸

Colonel Watson's professional behavior upon the occasion of his disappointment at not being relieved earned him the good opinion of General Edward Mathew, commander of the Guards detachment. He favored Watson by creating a second light infantry company of the Guards that he placed under Watson's command. At the first opportunity, Mathew formed a second grenadier company of the Guards which he also assigned to Watson. When General Mathew was given command of the raid to the Hampton Roads area of Virginia in May 1779, Watson commanded the four flank companies of the Guards that accompanied the expedition.⁹

Another honor fell to Watson on 18 September 1779 when he was promoted again, this time to captain and lieutenant-colonel. During that winter, Colonel Watson was offered the command of the detached post at Kingsbridge but he turned it down for fear that it would be too inactive an assignment in that season to suit him. At the same time, Sir Henry Clinton invited the colonel to join his military family as part of the expedition preparing to depart for the assault upon Charleston, South Carolina. Watson accepted this opportunity and took command of the troop of Bucks County Light Dragoons - provincials that accompanied the army as the commander-in-chief's personal guard.¹⁰

Watson was back in New York serving with the Guards by May of 1780. Meanwhile, he had become a favorite of Clinton and accompanied him whenever Sir Henry took the field. At the end of the campaigning season in the North, Clinton asked Watson what favor he might grant him for his attentiveness and good company. The colonel responded with a desire to remain active during the coming winter months by being allowed to join the southern army.¹¹ Clinton not only gave Watson leave to seek the warmer climate but created the Provincial Light Infantry Battalion for him to command during his sojourn to the southward. Unfortunately, by doing so, according to Col. Alexander Innes, Inspector-General of Provincials, Clinton put "the finishing stroke...to the few wretched Corps [of provincial troops] in New York Province."¹² Watson took command of his battalion on 12 September 1780, which was composed of men combed from the ranks of the 1st, 2nd and 4th Battalions, New Jersey Volunteers; the 3rd Battalion, Delancey's Brigade; the Loyal American Regiment; and the King's American Regiment, all Royal Provincials.¹³

Most of these battalions had no light infantry company to begin with so they had to be created from the personnel at hand in each unit. On 15 August 1780, orders had been issued that every provincial regiment not possessing a light infantry company raise one at once. This covered all of the regiments noted above except the King's American Regiment which already had such a company. Muster rolls indicate that men were transferred from the various companies of a battalion to a company designated to act as light infantry; then that company became part of the Provincial Light Infantry Battalion. The designated companies were as follows: Captain James Shaw's Company, 1st Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers; Captain Norman McLeod's Company, 2nd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers; Captain Jacob Van Buskirk's Company, 4th Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers; Captain Gilbert Willett's Company, 3rd Battalion, Delancey's Brigade; and Captain Morris Robinson's Company, Loyal American Regiment. These men were equipped as light infantry complete with tomahawks. The light company of Captain Thomas Cornwell, King's American Regiment, also joined the battalion, but seemingly not until after both that unit and the Provincial Light Infantry Battalion were already operating in South Carolina.¹⁴ The composition of the battalion was completed with the addition of Major Thomas

Barclay of the Loyal American Regiment as second in command, Captain Leopold F. Bertaud as an additional provincial captain, and Thomas B. Campbell, surgeon, King's American Regiment.¹⁵

Cornwallis had urged General Clinton as early as July 1780, to create a diversion in his favor in the Chesapeake to relieve pressure on the British army in South Carolina. Finally having the means available, Clinton was able to send Maj. Gen. Alexander Leslie with about 2,500 men to threaten rebel supply lines in Virginia. Watson's 244 man unit was assigned to Leslie's expedition that sailed from New York on 15 October 1780. Also accompanying Leslie was a detachment of the 17th Regiment of Foot, 102 men under Captain George Cuppidge, which had also been placed under Watson's command on 12 September. Colonel Watson was ill at the time of the departure and did not sail with the expedition but joined his men later after their arrival at Charleston.¹⁶

Leslie landed a party on 22 October upon reaching Hampton Roads, Virginia, which included 100 of the Provincial Light Infantry. Their objective to seize Portsmouth, Va. with its stores and shipping was accomplished without difficulty. The battalion and the 17th Foot under Major Barclay next moved to occupy nearby Bickle's Mill and establish an outpost. Orders were soon received from Lord Cornwallis for the expedition to proceed to the Cape Fear River in North Carolina. General Leslie evacuated Portsmouth and sailed south on 22 November.¹⁷

Sir Henry Clinton had intended that Cornwallis should have the option to order Leslie's troops to whatever destination he felt they would be most useful. However, Clinton had failed to make this clear to the earl in their early correspondence. By the time the misunderstanding was cleared, Ferguson's command had been wiped out at Kings Mountain on 7 October 1780 and Leslie's men were immediately needed further south to help stabilize the situation in South Carolina.¹⁸ Leslie received a letter off Cape Hatteras, NC from the commandant at Charleston, Lieutenant-Colonel Nisbet Balfour, indicating that Cornwallis wanted the expedition to continue on directly to that city. The ships arrived at Charleston on 14 December 1780.¹⁹ Cornwallis, apologized for not writing sooner to Leslie (on December 21st), indicated that it was his intention to have Watson's corps serve with that part of the army under the command of Lord Rawdon. Leslie was to bring Watson's unit with him by way of Nelson's Ferry when he marched to reinforce Cornwallis at Winnsboro, SC. Leslie was further instructed to take the light infantry only as far as Rawdon's headquarters at Camden unless directed otherwise by Rawdon.²⁰

Colonel Watson joined his men in Charleston before they marched. There he learned that he was to have a separate command protecting lines of communication instead of acting as an advanced corps for the army under Cornwallis. He complained to Balfour that the commander-in-chief had "properly clothed and appointed [his] troops as Light Infantry" and that the southern army would have use for them.²¹ However, Balfour replied that an independent command was a more prestigious assignment than being part of the main army. Balfour further pointed out that the importance of protecting the lines of communication within the eastern district of the province along the Santee River should not be minimized. He was informed that he was to replace Major Robert McLeroth and the 64th Foot that had attempted to control communications along the Wateree and Santee Rivers late in 1780. SC Patriot militia Gen. Francis Marion - 'The Swamp Fox' - had harassed the 64th Regiment of Foot at Halfway Swamp and Singleton's Mill on 11-12 December.²²

Watson had many concerns. His command comprised less than 340 infantry of his own unit and the company of the 17th Foot in the face of a superior, mounted enemy. [Ed. By December 1780, SC

Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter was recovering from his wounds received at Blackstock's Plantation in November 1780 and Gen. Marion rarely had over 150 men at any one time; however, Continental Gen. Horatio Gates had dispatched Gen. Daniel Morgan's light troops and Lt. Col. William Washington's cavalry back into South Carolina.] Watson requested the use of the mounted detachment of the provincial New York Volunteers under Major John Coffin that had operated with McLeroth. His petition was turned down. He then asked for additional ammunition and wagons. The colonel was told that not only must his men manage with the cartridges in their pouches, but that he had too many wagons and some were taken from him.²³

The colonel remained in the city as Watson's men marched from Charleston on 20 December 1780 with the troops destined for Cornwallis. He attempted to collect maps of the area and talk with officers familiar with the country and local rebel tactics, since he was completely ignorant of both. Upon asking General Charles O'Hara for advice on how to handle his approaching tactical situation with the resources available to him, the general simply shrugged his shoulders.²⁴

Colonel Watson's troops reached Nelson's Ferry on the Santee on Christmas Day where their commander joined them. Watson had appealed to General Leslie for mounted men and the general assigned him 20 of the provincial South Carolina Rangers under Captain Samuel Harrison.²⁵ Having instructions from Rawdon to remain in the vicinity of Nelson's Ferry, Watson sought a place of security as a base from which to operate. He established a post about ten miles northwest of Nelson's Ferry on the Santee River atop an old Indian ceremonial mound about seventy-five feet long, fifty feet wide and thirty feet high. He had the top strongly stockaded and surrounded the bottom with a triple abatis, naming the place after himself. Lord Rawdon added to the defenses by supplying the colonel with a three pounder cannon for the works.²⁶

Leaving Lieutenant James McKay of the King's American Regiment as commandant of the fort with 40 of the most debilitated men of his battalion, Watson took the remainder into the country to seek Marion. While he was in the field, Watson learned that on 23 February near Belleville Plantation²⁷, SC Patriot militia General Thomas Sumter - 'The Carolina Gamecock' - was back in the field after recovering from his wounds. Sumter had intercepted and captured a supply train bound for Camden at the Battle of Big Savannah or Big Glade. Fortunately for the British, the supplies were recaptured shortly thereafter by a party of Watson's men stationed on the Santee River. This incident probably motivated Sumter to attack Fort Watson. Watson was back at his post by this time having been warned by Lord Rawdon through intelligence sources of the impending assault.²⁸ On 28 February 1781 Sumter struck a party of 20 light infantry under Ensign Richard Cooper, 4th Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers, about a mile from Fort Watson. The firing was heard in the fort and a substantial reinforcement was sent to the rescue. Sumter was driven off after suffering 18 killed and 38 missing.²⁹

Lord Rawdon designed a plan at the urging of Balfour to strike at Marion's base on Snow's Island that lay at the confluence of the Pee Dee and Lynches Rivers. While sending a column under Watson to amuse the Swamp Fox on the Santee front, Rawdon directed Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle's mounted New York Volunteers to march east from Camden, then down the Pee Dee River, cutting in behind Marion and assaulting his base from the rear.³⁰ Rawdon reinforced Colonel Watson with the 64th Foot commanded by Captain Dennis Kelly and a second three-pounder fieldpiece. Watson departed the post bearing his name on 5 March with his own unit, Harrison's 20 troopers and the reinforcement, plus his other three-pounder fieldpiece, Lt. Col. Henry Richbourg's SC

Loyalist horsemen with his force numbered some 500 men.³¹ After camping near Nelson's Ferry, Watson resumed his advance on the 6th of March. Marion prepared a reception for the column at Wiboo Swamp but was forced to withdraw after the engagement, suffering about 18 casualties. British losses were fewer.³²

Colonel Watson continued his march down the Santee camping at Cantey Plantation on March the 8th. After a skirmish with the rebels on the 13th at Mt. Hope Swamp, the British column proceeded to the Black River. Watson attempted to force a crossing at Lower Bridge in the face of opposition from Marion. In a two-day battle lasting from the 14th through the 15th of March, Watson lost about 15 or 20 men and the Swamp Fox about 13. The British could not cross the Black River and withdrew to Witherspoon's Plantation. Marion harassed the encampment forcing Watson to move to Blakeley's Plantation a half mile further up river, where the harassment continued.³³

Being unable cross over the Black River under almost continuous fire by Marion's men and having no word of Doyle's column, Watson made for the British post at Georgetown, SC to regroup. The British broke camp on the 28 March with the Swamp Fox's men in pursuit and ahead of Watson as well. The rebels blocked causeways and destroyed the bridges to Georgetown. This forced the column to turn right for the Santee Road and make for the bridge across the Sampit River nine miles from Georgetown.³⁴ General Marion was well aware of the destination of the British column and did not fail to ruin the span over the Sampit and lay an ambush. Watson approached the crossing and found the boards taken up on the far side. Sending some light infantry across on the rafters of the bridge, they soon encountered a party of Marion's men waiting for them on the other side. At the same time, the Swamp Fox attacked the rear of the British column defended by the 64th Foot. The rebel attack was soon broken. The light infantry secured and repaired the bridge and crossed over along with part of the 64th.³⁵

The remainder of the 64th covering the rear found it difficult to disengage from the rebels, so Watson took Harrison's 20 troopers and led them in a charge to relieve. The rangers drew up before Watson intended they should; the colonel found himself alone and dangerously near the Americans. Indeed, they fired at Watson killing his horse. Watson's black servant nearby killed a rebel who was about to fire at Watson, again saving him from further harm. Meanwhile, the only thing that stopped Harrison's retreating men was a threat by the 64th to fire upon them if they did not instantly stop their cowardly retreat. Finally, Watson got safely over the Sampit and camped at Trapier Plantation. He left about 20 dead at the bridge versus one American dead and one wounded.³⁶

Colonel Watson remained at Georgetown for several days. He then marched towards Marion's Snow's Island base which (unknown to him) Lt. Col. Doyle had overrun at the end of March. The British crossed the Great Pee Dee River at Britton's Ferry and encamped at the Widow Jenkins' house on Britton's Neck on 7 April. By the 9th, they were at Catfish Creek trying to rally the local Loyalists. During this period, Watson heard of the approach of Lt. Col. Henry (Light Horse Harry) Lee's Legion which was to join Marion and that General Nathanael Greene was leading his army against Lord Rawdon at Camden. Lee and Marion combined forces on the 14th of April. Watson decided that he must fall back and attempt to join Rawdon who would be facing a superior enemy.³⁷

Watson returned to Georgetown by way of the Waccamaw River. He learned from the Georgetown garrison commander, Captain John Saunders of the provincial Queen's Rangers, that Balfour had sent word that he was to leave 40 of his men with the garrison. Unable to disobey, the colonel left Saunders 40 disabled soldiers

much to the captain's chagrin.³⁸ Watson's column left Georgetown heading west to rejoin Rawdon at Camden. They crossed the Santee River at Lenud's Ferry, turned northwestward towards Nelson's Ferry and re-crossed the Santee at Buckenham's Ferry. [Ed. Reported to be a corruption of Buchanan's Ferry; SCAR is unsure of the exact location of this ferry; however, SCAR hypothesizes that it was Manigault's Ferry, crossing the Santee River about two miles downstream of the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree Rivers. There was also a second "Manigault's Ferry" about five miles upstream of Nelson's Ferry over the Santee River.] During this march his troops crossed two swamps and seven creeks and built a bridge of sixty feet over one of them.

Upon reaching Camden on 7 May, Watson learned that his post at Wright's Bluff (Fort Watson) had fallen to Marion and Lee on 23 April after a siege of nine days. Lieutenant McKay had put up an effective defense. McKay was forced to capitulate after the besiegers built a firing tower designed by Col. Hezekiah Maham of the South Carolina State Dragoons to enable riflemen to fire into the fort. When the rebels began to undermine the works, most of the garrison mutinously grounded their arms and refused to continue to defend the position.³⁹

Although Watson was too late to help Rawdon fend off the American army, his Lordship had managed to best General Greene at Hobkirk's Hill on 25 April. Rawdon evacuated Camden on the evening of 9 May accompanied by Watson and the remnant of the Provincial Light Infantry. While Marion and Lee were besieging and capturing Ft. Motte, Rawdon was retreating east of the Wateree River, across the Wateree and Congaree Swamps from Fort Motte. Rawdon continued his march east and turned south. By May 14th, the British had crossed over the rain-swollen Santee River at Nelson's Ferry reaching Moncks Corner about the 24th.⁴⁰

The way was now clear for General Greene to move against the British post at Ninety Six. The Americans arrived in the vicinity of the fort on 22 May and commenced a siege. Events were progressing favorably for the rebels when they learned on 17 June that a relief column was on the march to succor the garrison. With British reinforcements arriving at Charleston, Rawdon had been able to gather sufficient troops to march on 7 June to the rescue of Lieutenant Colonel Cruger and the Loyalist garrison. The Provincial Light Infantry accompanied this column which arrived at Ninety Six on 21 June; Greene having been forced to abandon his siege on the 19 June 1781.⁴¹

It is doubtful if Colonel Watson was with Rawdon's column. The colonel had been allowed to go south by Clinton with the understanding that when spring 1781 arrived he would return to New York to resume his position with the commander-in-chief. With the improvement in the situation in South Carolina by the arrival of three full regiments, the 3rd, 19th and 30th Regiments of Foot from Ireland on 3 June, Watson felt free to honor his promise to Sir Henry Clinton. Colonel Watson sailed north in June or July 1781 leaving the command of the remains of his battalion with Major Thomas Barclay.⁴² Rawdon abandoned Ninety Six on 3 July and moved down to Orangeburg. There he met Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Stewart with the 3rd Regiment of Foot, the famous Buffs, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Harris Cruger's men from Ninety-Six. Leaving Stewart in command at Orangeburg with about 2,000 men including the Provincial Light Infantry, Rawdon went on to Charleston.⁴³

During the heat of July and August, Greene rested his men in the High Hills of Santee. Stewart moved his army from Orangeburg east to Eutaw Springs, SC, a better position for his command. On 22 August 1781, General Greene resumed operations by marching

120 miles and attacking Stewart's force on 8 September. In the British battle formation, it is probable that the light infantry formed part of the reserve under Captain John Coffin with the mounted New York Volunteers. The British victory turned out to be very costly. [SCAR believes that Gen. Greene defeated Lt. Col. Stewart at Eutaw Springs.] The Provincial Light Infantry, totaling only 108 of all ranks when the battle began, suffered 48 casualties.⁴⁴ At Eutaw Springs, the Provincial Light Infantry was also without its second in command. Major Barclay had lately sailed for New York from Charleston aboard the *HMS Romulus* only to be captured by the French fleet prior to the Battle of the Chesapeake Capes, Va., on 5 September 1781. Barclay was a witness to the Battle of the Capes naval engagement from aboard the *L'August* commanded by Admiral Louis-Antoine de Bougainville, (1729-1811). Barclay finally reached New York in a flag of truce vessel on the 30th of the month.⁴⁵

The Provincial Light Infantry ended its service as a unit in the garrison of Charleston. In its muster of 25 October - 24 December 1781, the battalion recorded six companies with 12 commissioned officers, one staff officer and 175 enlisted men.⁴⁶ General Leslie dissolved the unit at the end of December 1781 and returned the men to their original corps as far as possible. When Clinton in New York learned that Leslie had apparently drafted the men of the New Jersey Volunteers and DeLancey's Brigade into the other battalions of their corps, he expressed concern. In a letter to Leslie dated 24 January 1782, Clinton informed him that he had promised these men when they were embodied that they would return to their respective battalions. Clinton further stated that this was to be done whenever the good of the service permitted it and that they were to be considered as belonging to their original units until that time.⁴⁷ Leslie replied that the light infantrymen had been returned to their battalions where possible or incorporated into others when their own was not present and that he had so informed Adjutant General Oliver DeLancey, Lieutenant-Colonel, 17th Light Dragoons. Leslie had sent the supernumerary officers to New York.⁴⁸

Since the King's American Regiment was still present in the southern command, it is safe to assume that those light infantrymen returned to their unit. Eighteen officers and men of the light company of the Loyal American Regiment reached New York about 24 February 1782 where their battalion was stationed. After Clinton's letter to him, it appears that Leslie separated the men of DeLancey's Brigade and the New Jersey Volunteers into two separate companies at Charleston. A state [of the troops] in the southern district dated 24 June 1782 shows two companies of Provincial Light Infantry doing duty as such under Captain William Hutchinson, 1st Battalion, NJV, consisting of seven sergeants, three drummers, and 62 rank and file. It is probable these were all that remained of the light companies from DeLancey's and the three New Jersey Battalions. They were combined for administrative purposes.⁴⁹ Regarding Captain Cuppidge and his company of the 17th Foot, they were still serving with Colonel Watson and Provincial Light Infantry in January 1781, having a strength of four officers and 115 enlisted men. On 17 January 1782, General Clinton acknowledged Leslie's high opinion of the captain and the detachment under his command. When Charleston was evacuated on 14 December 1782, the 17th Foot, with a strength of 94 men, went with the fleet that sailed to New York.⁵⁰

Meanwhile, Colonel Watson had resumed his place in the suite of Sir Henry Clinton. In July 1782, London communicated to Clinton that Watson was needed in his regiment which was ordered home. He lingered in America until at least December during which time he commanded the Guards Detachment.⁵¹ After the War of Independence, John W.T. Watson's career continued to advance. He attained the rank of colonel in the army on 22 August 1783 and major-general on 20 December ten years later. In 1799 he reached

lieutenant-general. Watson was colonel of the 8th Royal Veteran Battalion from 29 December 1804 through June 1815 during which time he attained the rank of general in 1808. His regiment became the 2nd Royal Veteran Battalion and he continued serving as its colonel until 24 May 1816. General Watson died at Calais, France in June 1826.⁵²

The Provincial Light Infantry Battalion was created in the tradition of the detached grenadier and light infantry battalions of the regular army. While the primary impetus for bringing the battalion into existence was, no doubt, the favoritism shown by Clinton for Watson, it is clear that there was a need for more light troops in the southern army. Royal provincials were well trained, disciplined and highly motivated to help stamp out the American rebellion. In the final analysis, the light infantrymen spent many months of hard campaigning in South Carolina and proved to be an asset to the army of Lord Rawdon.

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OFFICERS OF THE PROVINCIAL LIGHT INFANTRY 12 September 1780 - 31 December 1781

Field Officers

WATSON, John Watson Tadwell. Captain (18 September 1779), 3rd Foot Guards (Scots); also Lieutenant-Colonel in the army by brevet (18 September 1779). Commander, 12 September 1780, Provincial Light Infantry.^a

BARCLAY, Thomas. Major (7 October 1777), Loyal American Regt. Commissioned major 2 August 1778, allowed to 7 October 1777. Second in Command, 12 September 1780, Provincial Light Infantry.^b

Company Officers

Captains

WILLETT, Gilbert Colden. Captain (13 November 1776), Light Infantry Company, 3rd Battalion, DeLancey's Brigade.^c

CORNWELL, Thomas. Captain (14 December 1776), Light Infantry Company, King's American Regiment.^d

SHAW, James. Captain (14 December 1776), Light Infantry Company, 1st Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers. Wounded at Eutaw Springs, SC on 8 September 1781.^e

MCLEOD, Norman. Captain (23 December 1776), Light Infantry Company, 2nd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.^f

ROBINSON, Morris. Son of Col. Beverly Robinson. Captain (7 October 1777), Light Infantry Company, Loyal American Regiment.^g

VAN BUSKIRK, Jacob. Son of Lt. Col. Abraham Van Buskirk. Captain (13 May 1780), Light Infantry Company, 4th Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers. Wounded at Eutaw Springs, SC on 8 September 1781.^h

BERTAUD, Leopold Frederick. Captain, ca. 12 September 1780 (unattached to any established provincial unit), Provincial Light Infantry.ⁱ

Lieutenants

PARKER, Josiah. Lieutenant (23 December 1776), Light Infantry Company, 2nd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.^j

MCKAY, James. Lieutenant (30 December 1776), Light Infantry Company, King's American Regiment. Captured at Ft. Watson, SC on 23 April 1781.^k

BARBARIE, Oliver. Lieutenant (15 February 1778), Light Infantry Company, Loyal American Regiment.^l

EVANS, Edmund. Lieutenant (20 March 1778), Light Infantry Company, 3rd Battalion, DeLancey's Brigade. Captured at Eutaw Springs, SC on 8 September 1781. Prisoner on parole, 25 October 1782.^m

HEDDON, Isaac. Lieutenant (25 April 1778), Light Infantry Company, 1st Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.ⁿ

COX, George. Lieutenant (28 August 1778), Light Infantry Company, King's American Regiment. Wounded at Eutaw Springs, SC on 8 September 1781.^o

VAN NORDEN, John. Lieutenant (25 August 1780), Light Infantry Company, 4th Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.^p

Ensigns

BLAAU, Uriah. Ensign (13 January 1777), Light Infantry Company, 2nd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers. Captured at Eutaw Springs, SC on 8 September 1781. Prisoner, 25 October-24 December 1781.^q

MONTGOMERY, William. Ensign (2 November 1777), Light Infantry Company, 3rd Battalion, DeLancey's Brigade. Wounded at Eutaw Springs, SC on 8 September 1781.^r

ROBINSON, Robert. Ensign (21 June 1778); Lieutenant (12 March 1781), Light Infantry Company, Loyal American Regiment. Captured at Ft. Watson, SC on 23 April 1781.^s

REID, John. Ensign (29 July 1778); Lieutenant (14 August 1781), Light Infantry Company, 1st Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers. Captured at Eutaw Springs, SC on 8 September 1781.^t

COOPER, Richard. Ensign (25 August 1780), Light Infantry Company, 4th Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.^u

Adjutant

MURRAY, _____. Adjutant, 25 October 1781, Provincial Light Infantry. Captured at Eutaw Springs on 8 September 1781. Prisoner, 25 October-24 December 1781.^v

Quarter-Master

CUMMINGS, Alexander. Adjutant (ca. 24 October 1781), King's American Regiment. Quarter-Master, (ca. 24 October 1781), Provincial Light Infantry.^w

Surgeon

CAMPBELL, Thomas Bulkeley. Surgeon, 12 September 1780-1781 January 1782, King's American Regiment. Captured at Ft. Watson, SC on 23 April 1781.^x

Journal of the Blockade at Scott's Lake, [SC] Fort Watson 15-23 April 1781 ^y

Sunday [April] 15th

At four in the Afternoon, a party of the Enemy's Horse & foot appeared in the Skirts of the Wood on our front. A party Sallied out, when as Skirmish ensued, in which we had One Private of the Infantry^z mortally wounded. At the same time they appeared in Force on our Left, the Party was recalled & the Works Manned. A Flag was sent to Summons the Post to surrender at Discretion but was returned with the following Reply "That A British Officer Commanded, & they timidly never surrendered Posts, - if they wanted it, they must come and take it." A Firing ensued, in which we had A Corporal of the 64th wounded, the loss of the Enemy cannot be ascertained but several were seen to fall – at night they set Fire to the Hospital having taken out the Wounded, & made the Nurse Prisoner – A Private of the 64th deserted.

Monday [April] 16th

Some Shots were exchanged, in which we had Two Privates wounded the one of the 64th, the other of the Infantry, the latter of whom does Duty – some of the Enemy were seen carried off wounded, no Provision or Water in the Works.

Tuesday [April] 17th

The Enemy fired a few Shot, & killed A Private of Major Harrison's Rangers^{aa} at night A party was employed in getting up Provisions & Sinking A Well.

Wednesday [April] 18th

Some Shot as usual from the Enemy, & as opportunity offered were returned, through the Day the Enemy had One Man killed at Night to Our Satisfaction had it in our power to relieve, in some measure, Our Distressed Troops – with an half Pint of Water per Man – having been since the first Appearance of the Enemy without Provisions or Water. Under cover of the Darkness, the Enemy broke ground within one hundred Yards of our Works & retook part of the Baggage of the 63rd & 64th, that had been Retaken from General Sumpter, we were employed in getting up Provisions Rum & Water.

Thursday [April] 19th

The Enemy as usual kept Firing but without effect, in the Course of the Day we sunk our Well deeper our Water threatening to fail us. Two Militia Men went privately through the Enemys Centinels to Nelson's Ferry for Express, employed A Party as usual to fetch up Provision & Water, the Enemy at Work at their Entrenchments – they took the remainder of the 63rd & 64th Baggage, but in the attempt lost several Men killed & Wounded.

Friday [April] 20th

Some Firing as usual from the Enemy, when we lost Corpl Shanks^{bb} of the Infantry – in the course of the day a covered Passage was made to the Wall. The last night we brought 3 barrels of Pork & 4 do. Of Flour likewise deserted Sergt Brown^{cc} of the Infantry, with the Provision Returns of the Garrison.

Saturday [April] 21st

Some Firing as usual from the Enemy when Lt. McKay^{dd} was wounded in the Face by a Splinter, & a Negro in the hand. The Enemy ask'd permission to bury their Dead – but they refusing to desert Firing during the time, their request was denied, they likewise in the Afternoon brought down a Wooden Machine which they had built, & were busy in raising a Scaffold made of Rails & Mold, nearly level with the top of our Works for their Marksmen to pick off our Centinels, this Night employed in getting up Rum &

Water & raising a Traverse to counteract the Enemy's Scaffold - & sinking our Ditches.

Sunday [April] 22nd

Some firing as usual from the Enemy but without Effect - at night they broke fresh ground opposite our Well, with an intent to cut us off from our Water – employed in getting up Rum & Water. Evacuated the Store, & placed a Guard over the Well.

Monday [April] 23rd

Some firing as usual from the Enemy in which Lt. McKay was wounded & Two Men killed. Mr. Cru^{ee} of the Militia died of a Putrid Fever, & the Private of the 64th died of his Wound. The Enemy having finished their Entrenchments under cover of their Fire made a lodgment under our Works, with the intention to Undermine us. A Flag was a second time sent to Summons the Post, when we were reduced to the disagreeable necessity of Capitulating, by the Cowardly & Mutinous behavior of A Majority of the Men having grounded their Arms & refused to defend the Post any longer, notwithstanding every Exertion made by the Officers to encourage & force them to their Duty.

James Mackay, Lt., P. L. Iy.

Robt Robinson, Ensign, P. Lt Infy. ^{ff}

Thom. B. Campbell, Surgeon, Provl. Lt Infy. ^{gg}

TERMS OF CAPITULATION PROPOSED BY LIEUT MCKAY COMMANDANT OF FORT WATSONⁱ

1st .- The Officers to be permitted their parole, to wear their side arms, and to possess their private baggage.
Agreed.

2^d .- The British soldiers to be permitted to march to Charles Town, where they are to continue perfectly out of service till exchanged, and liable to be ordered elsewhere by the Commander in Chief of the American Southern Army.
Agreed.

3^d .- The Irregulars to be treated as prisoners of War.
Agreed.

4th .- All public stores to be delivered to the Legion Quarter Master, and the Fort to be delivered up to Capt Oldhamⁱⁱ, who will take possession this evening with a detachment of Marylanders.

The Capitulation is acceded to as it now stands, in compliment to the gallantry with which it has been defended.

(Signed)

Patrick Carn[e]s ^{jj}
Capt Legion Infantry

James McKay
Lieutenant

23^d April 1781

A List of prisoners taken at Scotts lake 23^d April 1781

Comm^d Officers - Lieu^t. McKay Commandan^t Fort
Surgeon Campbell, Kings Amⁿ Regim^t
Ensign Robinson, Loyal American regim^t
Lieu^t [Richard] Lewis - S. Carolina Rangers
Ensign & Q.M. McKallam " "
[Kenneth McAllen]
73 British privates
36 Tories -
Total 5 Commissioned officers and
109 privates.

¹ Edward E. Curtis, *Organization of the British Army in the American Revolution*, 1926 (Reprint, NY, 1969), p. 4.

² Philip R. N. Katcher, *Encyclopedia of British, Provincial, and German Army Units, 1775-1783* (Harrisburg, PA, 1973), 98.

³ Army List, TNA WO 65/16 (1766):63. Army List, TNA WO 65/23 (1773):53. To hold the rank of lieutenant, captain-lieutenant, or captain in a regiment of foot Guards was a particular advantage over similar ranks in the other marching regiments. Lieutenants of the Guards also ranked as captains in the army by brevet, while captain-lieutenants and captains also ranked as lieutenant-colonels by brevet. This meant that each Guards lieutenant, captain-lieutenant and captain held two commissions from the King. When serving with their regiment they ranked as lieutenant, captain-lieutenant, or captain. When serving outside of their regiment, they took the superior rank. Hence the constant reference to Watson in South Carolina as lieutenant-colonel, Army lists (printed), TNA WO 65. *Military Dictionary*, 1768, np. Francis S. Drake, *Drake's Dictionary of American Biography* (Boston, 1879), p. 961.

⁴ The three regiments of Foot Guards did not serve in America as whole units. A draft of fifteen men was taken from each of the sixty-four companies of household infantry and they were formed into a battalion for service in the colonies. The detachment was composed of one brigadier-general, one major of brigade, one chaplain, one adjutant, one quarter-master, one surgeon, three surgeon's mates, ten captains and lieutenant-colonels, eleven lieutenants and captains, nine ensigns, forty-two sergeants, forty corporals, fourteen drummers, 6 fifers and 960 privates, Curtis, 3. Changes in the organization of the guards in America were made later. Barrington to Howe, 13 March 1776; Barrington to Howe, 3 February 1777, enclosure: List of Officers of the guards ordered for the American Service, 25 January 1777, British Headquarters (Carleton) Papers, microfilm, David Library of the American Revolution, Washington Crossing, Pa., TNA 30/55. William W. Burke and Linnea M. Bass, "Preparing a British Unit for Service in America: The Brigade of Foot Guards, 1776," *Military Collector & Historian* 47 (1995), pp. 3-4.

⁵ John W. T. Watson to [John Campbell, 5th Duke of Argyll (Marquess of Lome) ?], [1789 or 1790], William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Clinton Papers 232/21. See below, this issue of *SCAR*, p. 55.

⁶ A spectacular event lasting twelve hours given by the officers of the army to salute the achievements of General Howe while in America. It involved gun salves, a marine regatta, fireworks, a banquet, an exhibition and a mock tournament between rival groups of knights, Mark M. Boatner, III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (New York, 1966), p. 710.

⁷ John W. Jackson, *With the British Army in Philadelphia* (San Rafael, Ca., 1979), p. 244.

⁸ Army List, TNA WO 65/29 (1779) p. 62. Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21.

⁹ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Bernard A. Uhlendorf (trans. and ann.), *Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals 1776-1784 of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1957), 271. Flank company was the term used for the grenadier and light infantry companies of a regiment because of the positions of honor they held at each flank of a regiment when it was in formation.

¹⁰ Army List, TNA WO 65/29 (1779): 62. Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Carlos E. Godfrey, "Muster Rolls of Three Troops of Loyalist Light Dragoons Raised in Pennsylvania 1777-1778," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 34 (1910), 26. Bernard A. Uhlendorf (trans. and ed.), *Siege of Charleston: With an Account of the Province of South Carolina: Diaries and Letters of Hessian Officers* from the von Jungkenn Papers

in the William L. Clements Library, 1938 (Reprint, NY, 1968), plate iii facing page 108.

¹¹ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21.

¹² Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Alexander Innes to Lord Cornwallis, Charleston, 10 October 1780, Cornwallis Papers, microfilm, DLAR, TNA 30/11/3, 203-204.

¹³ General Orders, 12 September 1780, Clinton Papers. Provincial Light Infantry Battalion, Vol. 1900; 1st, 2nd and 4th Battalions, New Jersey Volunteers, vols. 1851-1853, 1856, 1859, and 1860; 3rd Battalion, Delancey's Brigade, vols. 1876-1882; Loyal American Regiment, vols. 1867, 1869 and 1870; King's American Regiment, Vol. 1903, Canada, National Archives, Loyalist Muster Rolls, RG 81 "C" Series, microfilm, DLAR. Provincial Light Infantry Battalion, Canada, New Brunswick, Public Archives, Loyalist and New Brunswick Muster Rolls, MS4 4/3, microfilm, DLAR. Albert R. Newsome, ed., "British Orderly Book, 1780-1781", pt. 1, North Carolina Historical Review 9 (1932), pp. 71-72. Late in 1779, these units along with the Prince of Wales' American Regiment and the Nassau Blues had been drawn upon to supply volunteers for Major Patrick Ferguson's Corps. Herein lie the seeds of Colonel Innes' comments, Jonas Howe, "Major Ferguson's Riflemen - The American Volunteers," *Acadiensis* 6 (1906), pp. 241-245. Captain Frederick DePeyster's Orderly Book, The New-York Historical Society Library.

¹⁴ John Andre Letterbook, Clinton Papers, Vol. 275. King's American Regiment, Vol. 1903, NAC, Loyalist Muster Rolls, RG 81 "C" Series. Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21.

¹⁵ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Newsome, pt. 1, p. 72.

¹⁶ William B. Willcox, *Portrait of a General: Sir Henry Clinton in the War of Independence* (New York, 1962), p. 349. When Captain Cuppidge discovered that Watson would not accompany the expedition, he inquired of General Clinton if this placed his detachment under the orders of a provincial officer, Major Barclay. By regulations in effect at the time, Cuppidge should have been under Barclay's orders, and that was undoubtedly confirmed. Cuppidge said he would obey instructions, Clinton Papers 123/22. C. T. Atkinson, "British Forces in North America, 1774-1781: Their Distribution and Strength," *JSAHR* 16 (1937), p. 20. Newsome, pt. 1, pp. 71-72. General Alexander Leslie to Lord Cornwallis, Hampton Roads, Va., aboard [HMS] *Romulus*, 24 October 1780, Cornwallis Papers, TNA 30/11/3, pp. 275-276. No documentation has been found indicating that the company of the 17th Foot assigned to Watson was ever separated from his control while he commanded the Provincial Light Infantry Battalion.

¹⁷ Newsome, pt. 2, pp. 163-166 and 177-178.

¹⁸ Newsome, pt. 2, pp. 349-350.

¹⁹ Newsome, pt. 1, p. 59.

²⁰ Cornwallis to Leslie, Winnesborough, 21 December 1780, Cornwallis Papers, TNA 30/11/83, p. 61-62.

²¹ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21.

²² Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Rankin, p. 126.

²³ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21.

²⁴ Newsome, pt. 2, 180. Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21.

²⁵ Newsome, pt. 2, p. 182. Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Robert D. Bass, "South Carolina Rangers: A Forgotten Loyalist Regiment," *South Carolina Historical Association Proceedings* 10 (1977), pp. 65 and 69.

²⁶ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Mark M. Boatner, III *Landmarks of the American Revolution* (Harrisburg, PA, 1973), p. 473. Lord Rawdon effectively took command in South Carolina on 19 January 1781, when Cornwallis began his pursuit of Daniel Morgan after his victory at Cowpens, SC on 17 January, Christopher Ward, *War of the Revolution*, 2 vols. (NY, 1952), 2:764-765.

²⁷ Bellville Plantation, home of SC 3 Regiment commander Col. William "Danger" Thomson was located near the Congaree River,

just west [ed.] of the US 601 bridge in Calhoun County, Boatner, *Landmarks*, p. 452.

²⁸ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Howard H. Peckham, *Toll of Independence: Engagements & Battle Casualties of the American Revolution* (Chicago, 1974), p. 81.

²⁹ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, pp. 143 and 156-157.

³⁰ Rankin, pp. 164-165.

³¹ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, 143. Army List, TNA WO 65/31 (1781):138.

³² Bass, *Swamp Fox*, p. 144. Peckham, p. 81.

³³ Bass, *Swamp Fox*, pp. 147, 149-150. Peckham, p. 82.

³⁴ Bass, *Swamp Fox*, p. 154.

³⁵ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21.

³⁶ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, p. 154. Peckham, p. 83.

³⁷ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, p. 168. Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 677.

³⁸ Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21.

³⁹ Journal of the Blockade at Scott's Lake, [SC], 15-23 April 1781, British Headquarters (Carleton) Papers, TNA 30/55/9915. Robert D. Bass, *Gamecock: Life and Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter* (New York, 1961), pp. 164-165. The garrison of Fort Watson consisted of 73 British privates [probably regulars and Royal Provincials], 36 Tories [probably Royal Militia], and five commissioned officers for a total of 114, Terms of Capitulation proposed by Lieut. McKay, Commandant of Fort Watson, Papers of the Continental Congress, microfilm, DLAR, M247, r175, i155, v 2, p. 173. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army During The War of the Revolution*, April 1775 to December 1783. 1914 with Addenda. 1932. (Reprint, Baltimore, 1967), 377. A number of writers state that Watson threw his two three pounder cannons into Catfish Creek before withdrawing to Georgetown, but Watson says that his guns were with him just before he entered Camden on 7 May 1781, Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21.

⁴⁰ Benjamin F. Stevens (ed.), *Campaign in Virginia, 1781* [binder's title: Clinton-Cornwallis Controversy], 2 vols. (London, 1888), 1:483.

⁴¹ Ward, 2:816-822.

⁴² Watson to [Campbell ?], Clinton Papers 232/21. Bass, *Swamp Fox*, p. 204.

⁴³ Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 1031. Frederick Mackenzie, *Diary of Frederick Mackenzie*, 2 vols., 1930 (Reprint, NY, [1962]), 2:650.

⁴⁴ Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, p. 1031. Mackenzie, 2:650-651, 653.

⁴⁵ Mackenzie, 2:652. Boatner, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, p. 1237.

⁴⁶ Return from [Provincial Light Infantry] Muster of 25 October-24 December 1781, Huntington Museum Library, San Marino, CA, 15228.

⁴⁷ Clinton to Leslie, HQ, New York, 24 January 1782, Clinton Papers 190/28.

⁴⁸ Leslie to Clinton, Charleston, 29 January 1782, British Headquarters (Carleton) Papers, TNA 30/55/4085. K.G. Davies (ed), *Documents of the American Revolution*, 21 vols. (Shannon, 1972-1981), 20:286-288.

⁴⁹ Abstract of Pay, Loyal American Regiment, 25 April - 24 June 1782, Loyalist Muster Rolls, RG 81 "C" Series. TNA 30/55/4874.

⁵⁰ State of the Troops left in South Carolina under the Command of Lord Rawdon, 15 January 1781, Cornwallis Papers, TNA 30/11/103, 15-16. Clinton to Leslie, 17 January 1782, NY, TNA 30/55/4056; List of Transports Appointed to Receive the Garrison of Charles Town, 19 November 1782, TNA 30/55/10026.

⁵¹ Mackenzie, 2:663. Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (Hereford, 1907), 3:41, 101, 226, 254, and 281.

⁵² Stevens, 2:463. Drake, p. 961. A.S. White, "Garrison, Reserve and Veteran Battalions and Companies," JSAHR 38 (1960), pp. 157, 163.

^a Clinton Papers 50/11. US, Washington, DC, Library of Congress, George Washington Papers, 1741-1799, 6B/5/220. TNA 30/55/3343. Mills and Hicks's British and American Register, ..., (New York, [1778]), microprint, 96. Mills and Hicks' *British and American Register, with an Almanack For the Year 1780*; ..., (New York, [1779]), microprint 97. AL, 1779:62; AL, 1780:68.

^b NAC C/8/1867/4, 56; 1868/3; 1869/80; 1900/[11]. TNA 30/55/3343, 6966. Great Britain, The National Archives, Colonial Office, America and the West Indies, 1606-1807, (CO 5), microfilm, DLAR, TNA CO 5/103/118. Great Britain, The National Archives, War Office, Certificates of Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, Loyal American and Canadian Corps, 1776-1783 (WO 42), microfilm, DLAR, TNA WO 42/59/B5. US, New-York Historical Society, Early American Orderly Books, British Army Orderly Book, New York, 7 August-25 December 1778, microfilm, DLAR, 13 November 1778. Rivington, 1783:11.

^c NAC C/8/1879/33; 1880/1; 1900/[9]. TNA 30/55/5969, 7245, 7262, 7507. NAC, Lawrence Collection: Ward Chipman Papers, MG 23, D 1, Series I, Volumes 24-30, microfilm, DLAR, 23/1/1/25/44. List of the General and Staff Officers and of the Officers in the several Regiments serving in North-America, Under the Command of his Excellency General Sir William Howe, K. B. With the Dates of their Commissions as they rank in each Corps and in the Army, (New York: Printed by James Rivington, 1778), microprint, p. 64. List of the Officers of the Army, serving in North-America, Under the Command of his Excellency General Sir Guy Carleton, K.B. with the Dates of their Commissions, as they rank in each Corps, and in the Army, For the Year 1783, (New York: Published by James Rivington, 1783), microprint, p. 88.

^d NAC C/8/1902/[6]; WCP 23/1/1/24/53. TNA 30/55/6965. NBPA, MC 1161, MS 11/42. Rivington, 1783:80. AL, 1783:190. AL, 1784:309.

^e HM 15228. NAC C/8/1851/62; 1860/12; 1900/[7]. US, New Jersey Archives, New Jersey Adjutant General Office, Loyalist Manuscripts, 1776-1783, NJA, 1-L.

^f NBPA, MC 1161, MS 4/3; NAC C/8/1854/1; 1859/57. Rivington, 1783:86. "List of All of the Officers of His Majesty's Provincial Forces in North America Arranged to the Date of Their Appointments with Their Rank in the Army for 1782," Bulletin of the Fort Ticonderoga Museum 2, no. 5 (1931):173-201. [From a manuscript book in the Philip Skene Papers in the museum collection.], Skene, p. 189.

^g NAC C/8/1866/1; 1867/2, 15, 21; 1868/53; 1900/[11]. NBPA, MC 1161; MS 11/71. TNA 30/55/6966, 7245, 7262, 7580, 7764. TNA CO 5/98/110; 103/118. Rivington, 1783:81.

^h NAC C/8/1857/22; 1858/2; 1859/9; 1900/[1]. NJA, 1-L; 4-L. TNA CO 5/104/139. TNA WO 42/60/E1.

ⁱ Clinton Papers 116/16. NAC C/8/1857/22; 1858/2; 1859/9; 1900/[1]. NJA, 1-L; 4-L. TNA CO 5/104/139. TNA WO 42/60/E1. DCB, 6:793. Jones, New Jersey, 226.

^j NBPA, MC 1161, MS 4/3. NAC C/8/1854/15; 1857/16; 1900/[3]. Mills & Hicks, [1777]:85. Rivington, 1783:86.

^k NAC C/8/1900/[8]; 1902/[6]. PCC M247/r175/i155/v.2/173. WCP 23/1/1/26/174. TNA 30/55/6965. NBPA, MC 1161, MS 11/42. Rivington, 1783:80. AL, 1783:190.

^l NAC C/8/1851/89; 1867/28; 1900/[11]. NJA, 1-L. TNA 30/55/6966. TNA CO 5/103/118. Rivington, 1783:81.

^m NAC C/8/1879/22; 1880/1, 51; 1882/[82]; 1900/[9]. TNA 30/55/5969, 6961, 7507. TNA CO 5/104/139. WCP 23/1/1/25/44; 28,1/98. Rivington, 1778:64. Rivington, 1783:88. Mills & Hicks, [1778]:92.

ⁿ NAC C/8/1851/17, 47; 1860/4; 1900/[7]. NJA, 1-L. Mills & Hicks, [1778]:93. Rivington, 1783:84.

^o NAC C/8/1900/[8]; 1902/[10], [15]. NBPA, MC 1161, MS 11/39. TNA 30/55/6965. TNA CO 5/104/139. Rivington, 1783:80. AL, 1783:190. AL, 1784:309. Skene, 180.
^p NAC C/8/1857/22; 1858/8, 25; 1859/36; 1900/[1]. TNA 30/55/9738. NJA, 1-L. Skene, 189.
^q HM 15228. NAC C/8/1854/27; 1857/2, 12; 1900/[3]. NBPA, MC 1161, MS 4/3. TNA CO 5/104/139. Rivington, 1783:86.
^r NAC C/8/1879/22; 1880/11; 1900/[9]. TNA 30/55/5969, 6961, 7507. TNA CO 5/104/139. WCP 23/1/1/25/37. Rivington, 1783:88.
^s NAC C/8/1867/13, 59; 1869/57, 95; 1900/[11]. PCC 47/r175/i155/v.2/173. TNA 30/55/6966, 7262. TNA CO 5/103/118. TNA WO 42/62/R10. Rivington, 1783:81.
^t NAC C/8/1851/58; 1853/21; 1860/26; 1900/[7]. NJA, 1-L. TNA CO 5/104/139. TNA WO 42/62/R6. WCP 23/1/1/24/49. Mills & Hicks, [1777]:86. Mills & Hicks, [1778]:93. Rivington, 1783:84.
^u NAC C/8/1857/22, 54; 1859/36; 1900/[1]. TNA 30/55/10031. Rivington, 1783:86. Skene, p. 189.
^v HM 15228. NAC C/8/1900/[11]. TNA CO 5/104/139.
^w NAC C/8/1900/[8]; 1902/[70]. TNA 30/55/6965. Rivington, 1783:80. AL, 1783:190. Skene, p. 181.
^x PCC M247/r175/i155/v.2/173. TNA 30/55/3343, 4715, 7201, 8746, 9915.
^y Journal of the Blockade at Scott's Lake, [SC], 15-23 April 1781, British Headquarters (Carleton) Papers, TNA 30/55/9915.
^z Provincial Light Infantry.
^{aa} South Carolina Rangers.
^{bb} Corporal George Shanks, 1st Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers.
^{cc} Sergeant William Browne, 3rd Battalion, DeLancey's Brigade.
^{dd} Lieutenant James McKay, King's American Regiment.
^{ee} Unidentified.
^{ff} Ensign Robert Robinson, Loyal American Regiment.
^{gg} Thomas B. Campbell, Surgeon, King's American Regiment.
^{hh} PCC, M247, r175, i155, v 2, p. 173.
ⁱⁱ Edward Oldham, Captain (20 May 1777), 4th Maryland Regiment, Heitman, p. 419.
^{jj} Patrick Carnes, Captain (1780), Lee's Legion (Infantry), Heitman, p. 144.

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Narrative of John Watson Tadwell Watson Lt. Colonel of the Provincial Light Infantry in South Carolina 1780-1781

Transcribed from the Original Manuscript in the
Possession of the William Clements Library
by Donald J. Gara

This narrative written by Lt. Col. John Watson provides an important glimpse into the British perspective of a critical phase of the Southern Campaigns. The winter and spring 1781 fight of the British against the insurgents in the Eastern portion of South Carolina, dominated by Gen. Francis Marion's partisans. Watson clearly paints his campaigns against Marion as a victory, and in a way, it was a personal victory. That is he marched across the Pee Dee area of South Carolina fought many battles with Marion's partisans and lived to tell the story. His troops did force many swamp-causeway-bridge crossings to move where they pleased, but he does not mention anything about the costs: losing Fort Watson, provincials of his light infantry and regulars of the 64th Regiment of Foot.

You may want to skip over some of the personal aspects of Watson's narrative, but the balance provides us with Watson's self-portrayal to a senior military or political sponsor. [Ed.]

* * * * *

Having done my duty up to the 25th of August, I made an application to General Stephens for the obtaining His Majesty's leave of absence for a twelve month. I have the honor to enclose you his answer and my reply. The friendly disposition you have ever manifested towards me, emboldens me to request the favor of your influence, to prevent any difficulty in obtaining this leave, and anybody [else] being appointed permanently to the company of grenadiers during my absence. For trifling, as all the honor of this world may appear in Philosophic Eyes; yet whilst we continue our intercourse with society, worldly distinctions must have their weight; and as I trust the following circumstances will prove how much I have labored to acquire this Heather. It cannot be wonderful, if a regular molting creates sickness, that an animal should become miserable, feeling himself suddenly divested of his whole plumage.

To a man who has endeavored to deserve well, nothing can be more painful than to speak of himself. But when neglected by those who ought to spare him mortification, necessity compels him to state his services in his own defense.

I have been near 23 years in the service without missing a day's duty; nor ever applied for leave of absence but once, with the intention of visiting those plains where the battles had been fought, and those posts, which had been occupied by the King of Prussia and Prince of Brunswick, during the war of Germany. I was for this purpose on my way, and with General Langlois at Mons, when the war which was threatened with Spain, occasioned my recall. That blowing over, I proposed applying for leave to prosecute my intended purpose. But being weak enough to engage in play (gambling), I lost so much (that to initiate any plans was) out of my power. I then applied myself with assiduity to those regimens which with justice are considered the elements of our profession. Just as the American War broke out, my affairs were on the point of being arranged, and would have being satisfactorily settled in a few months. But being amongst the number of those who by seniority were destined for that service, though my whole future welfare depended upon my staying in England for so short a time, I

would not apply for leave, knowing that according to the arrangement then established, in two years if I lived, my rank would bring me home.

This sir, was the case with every officer obtaining an advanced rank till, it came to the time of Cols. [Frederick] Madan [1st Foot Guards], [Lowther] Pennington [Coldstream Guards] [and] myself; when, with our commissions, came an order from home, that all officers obtaining rank in America should remain there. This order was evidently for the good of the service, and therefore although it was inevitably my destruction, nobody ever heard me complain. But the heavy annuities [debts] under which [I] then labored, were going on without the possibility of redemption; by which means the interest amounted to the [sum of the] capital and it made the difference in my circumstances of about £5,000. Even under this pressure, in the face of an order, and being upon actual service, I would not ask for leave, but thus endure [my American service]. I [then] exerted every endeavor in my power to acquire such an experience in the service, as I hoped might at some future period, put me above that want; which a perseverance in my duty must occasion.

The way in which I had conducted myself had procured me the good opinion of [Brigadier] General [Edward] Mathew, under whose command I served. He immediately formed another light company out of the Guards for me and, on the first occasion in which we were employed, he added another Grenadier Company to my command. His good opinion, so much so, that in the winter of 1779, he offered the command of the detached outpost at Kingsbridge with whatever force of cavalry and infantry I should judge requisite. But as ever the outpost promised to be inactive, compared with the prospects of those services, which opened to the southward, the Commander in Chief [Sir Henry Clinton] then having in contemplation the reduction of Charlestown and being kind enough to offer me a place in his family, I attended him. He was likewise pleased to be so satisfied with my services, that after the reduction of that place and our own return to New York, he asked what he should do for me. I told him my object was seeing all the services possible. If therefore, when he [Clinton] did not take the field, he would give me leave to serve with my own Corps, and when the severity of the season precluded all operations to the northward, if then he would permit me to join the troops who were going to the southward, he would gratify my most sanguine wishes.

In policy I ought to say nothing of his goodness to me, least those truths, I shall ever feel myself bound to testify respecting his own services, should be thought the flattering account of a grateful heart; and however little it may be to the purpose in this place, I cannot help expressing my hopes that his merits may one day or other be as possibly acknowledged, as they are well understood, by all who know the truth of facts; for the man who bravely stated his life and character in violation of an order from the Minister [Lord George Germain]; and truly saved the whole army and navy from capture; has at this moment no other consolation but what arises from the consciousness of having served his country, confirmed by the thorough approbation of one of the most consummate Generals in Europe.

Through his indulgence I continued to serve with the Guards. When we took the field, I had the honor to attend him and, when the season drove both into winter quarters and enabled the southern troops to act, he formed a battalion of light infantry from the Provincial Line [8/21/1780], and flattering me with the command of it, and sent us with 2,000 men under [Major] General [Alexander] Leslie to reinforce Cornwallis. These troops being landed at Charlestown, upon the order for moving up the country, I was informed by [Lieutenant] Colonel [Nesbit] Balfour [Commandant of the Town] that I was not to go with the troops to

Lord Cornwallis. Expecting my surprise, he endeavored to make me understand, I was to have a more distinguished situation than that of the rest of the advanced Corps of the Army, as mine would be a detached command and that the object of which was to protect the communications of the Santee River to Camden and to cover the Eastern District of the Province.

Whatever may be a soldier's opinion, whenever he received prospective orders, it's his duty to obey them in silence. I therefore held no further conversation with the gentleman on the subject, than inquiring of him what might be the length of the river that called for protection. As my whole number embarked did not amount to 340 men, he said the river, indeed, was of considerable extent, but the principal front in which it was available, was within a few miles of Nelson's Ferry, that the eastern part of the province was my front, that I was to consider Camden on the left and Georgetown on the right as my flanks and appear [there] in case of necessity; that I should be supplied from the post on this side of Nelson's Ferry and that I was to communicate by letter with Lord Rawdon at Camden and with him at Charlestown.

As the country was in perfect security on this side of the Santee River; myself, with every Man and Officer of the Corps, [were] total strangers to the part of it in which we were to act. [Since there were] several Officers, living in Charlestown, who had served in that province, I remained there, whilst the troops were on their march to collect [12/20/1780] such maps, plans and intelligence of the nature of the country, the force, character and conduct of the enemy. [Then] as [soon] as was possible, [I] joined my Corps just as they reached Nelson's [12/25/1780] [Ferry]. By this means [temporarily staying in Charlestown] I soon learned what I had been before, totally unable to apprehend. In spite of all, [Lieutenant] Colonel Balfour obliging endeavored to make me sensible of it [the necessary knowledge]. The flattering preeminence of this allotment, [was] in [the] preference to [now] being one of the advanced Corps of the Southern Army. For the Commander-in-Chief, foreseeing the occasion that [the] army would have for such Corps, had properly clothed and appointed these troops as Light Infantry. The justice of this discernment became evident, when in the course of the campaign, to such distress were they [the army under Cornwallis] induced for want of similar Corps, they were obliged to appoint a regiment of Hessians as light troops. But sir, I became sensible to the compliments paid to my abilities and the high esteem to which an untried Corps of Provincials was considered. When I found that I was to succeed [Lieutenant] Colonel [Robert] McLeroth in his command and to take the field against the enemy with no more troops than he had, when they [the enemy] obliged him to find himself in one of the strongest posts [Nelson's Ferry] of that country, and send to Camden for a reinforcement acknowledging himself surrounded and unable to move, in a country ____ desolate of provisions, by the supplies it had afforded to his troops and those of the enemy; all communications being cut off with the post at Nelson's Ferry, on the other side of the [Santee] River, wherever it [the river] rose which happened in a few hours at any time, in consequence of rains falling in the upper country.

Under these circumstances, and whilst the enemy remained in this force, I inquired where our sick and wounded were to be lodged, and, if we kept our body together for covering the assailable points of the river, how we were to be fed, as detachments became impossible, if the they [the enemy] could surround when collected an equal, at least, [it is as said an superior force] to remain in a strong post in such a manner, that Colonel [Maj. Robert] McLeroth could not show a sentinel but was fired at. Nobody would tell me. I applied to [Major] General [Charles] O'Hara for his service and such instructions, as his experience might furnish us with, who only shrugged his shoulders [in reply].

Having then applied for the mounted peoples [detachments of New York Volunteers under Loyalist Major John Coffin] being attached to me who had attended Colonel McLeroth, some spare ammunition and wagons to convoy the sick or wounded we might have, and being informed that the mounted peoples must go with the other troops, that they could give me no ammunition, and as for wagons that I had already five, which was more than would be allowed me and which they actually took away two or three, I drew up two papers, copies of each other, describing my situation as total stranger in that country, without any place of security for sick and wounded nearer than Camden or Georgetown, the one fifty or sixty, the other not nearer than fifteen or twenty miles [Ed. Georgetown is also about 50-60 miles from Watson's post at Nelson's Ferry or Fort Watson] of my chief post, no wagons to convey sick, wounded or provisions if they could be fetched from a distance, not a horse, except one I had purchased, among the whole Corps, not a mounted man to place as a videt, to form a patrol or send with intelligence, and not a cartridge but was in the men's pouches, to oppose an enemy of superior numbers flushed with their late ascendancy.

I showed the letter to General O'Hara, telling him my situation, presenting one to General Leslie and conveying its copy to a friend, in case of misfortune to me, to be disclosed to the Commander-in-Chief. He approved it, said it was a justice I owed to myself, then, and never he believed was an officer left in such a situation; that he was persuaded I should do what could be done; but he was as seen putting his fingers before his eyes and cropping them, [as if] I should in a few days be in that manner peeping through the Grate of Hillsborough jails [as a captive with the enemy]. This bill I sent to General Leslie and soon after had about twenty mounted men of that country, under a Captain [John] Harrison [of the South Carolina Rangers], sent to me.

This whole country, the great roads excepted, is one continuous wood, without any underwood, minimally flat, except our place called the High Hills of Santee, where Colonel McLeroth had taken post. Our first object therefore was to look, while General Leslie was on his move towards Camden, for some spot in the vicinity of the weak spot of the River, which might be rendered secure for a time with a few men and having found a place [the future Fort Watson], supposed to have been the burying ground of their Indian Chiefs in former times, resembling the barrows [burial mounds] of this country. We scraped it at the top, abated it at the bottom, and rendered it as strong as the materials we could collect, the only utensils we had, our tomahawks, would admit. This being done [12/27/1780] and Lord Rawdon, to whom I had made know my predicament and applied to, either for some cavalry to enable me to act offensively with a prospect of success, or for a gun to secure any defensive situation, having sent me a three-pounder with ammunition, and information that Sumpter and Marion were the Partisans I might expect in that quarter. His Lordship added instructions that I was to seek and fight them wherever they were found.

Prior to the arrival of this piece, as the river soon rose and interrupted our communications with Nelson's Post, we were obliged to make long marches in pursuit of provisions, and as the enemy were all mounted, they used to attack us in small parties at a distance, drive when they could the cattle before us and, by long and chance shots at the column wound our men; nor did they neglect on our first taking the field, their customary attack by day on the sentinels and piquets by night. But [our] ambuscades being laid with success and the spirit and activity of the officers, together with the courage and zeal of the men to emulate the Light Infantry of the Line, occasioned [the enemy's] constant impulse [to attack] with loss, soon rendered their visits less frequent, thus [making their] feeling for our several posts more tender [to their sensibilities].

Upon the reinforcement of this gun, I left forty of the men who seemed least qualified for the severity of our marches, under Lieutenant [James] McKay, a very good officer of [Lieutenant Colonel Edmund] Fanning's [Kings American] Regiment whom I appointed Commandant of the Post [Fort Watson]. We began in our turn to beat up Mr. Marion's quarters.

We succeeded in our endeavors so fortunately that, with the operation and effectual support in every instance we experienced from Lord Rawdon, whose merit, as a soldier, I want language to express, that he [Marion] began to conceal his quarters, encamping always in swamps, with every known avenue covered with small parties; videts stationed at the distance four and sometimes seven miles. We had however just fallen in with and defeated Marion, pressing him as far as Black River, which crossing, he broke up the Bridge when we learned that Sumpter had made his appearance on the opposite side of the Santee River, defeated the escort and captured the camp equipage [2/23/1781] and stores which was going to Camden for the Army. I therefore forwarded all the provisions possible to our Post [Fort Watson].

Ignorant of a concealed but commanding spot, we kept a guard on this side of the river. He attempted sending his prize, which he had embarked in boats, down the river, and which, by this means, we had the good fortune to recover, taking all his boats. He therefore determined to attack our Post, of which Lord Rawdon, obtaining information, sent me intelligence and that he would reinforce me in person. We continued fetching and laying in whatever new Indian corn we could.

Returning one day from a foraging party, one of the wagons, which was bringing a mill to grind the corn, broke down as it was not about one mile and a half from home. I left an Ensign [of the Provincial Light Infantry], whose name was Richard Cooper, with twenty men to repair and bring it on. Our men were just in [2/28/1781] and began to start their dinner, when we heard a continued firing towards the line, in which he had just left. Every man was instantly in arms, suspecting the cause, which was confirmed by the horses galloping home by themselves. We were soon up to the spot which was about a mile from having repaired the cart. They were proceeding home, when Sumpter wholly summoned them, called him [Cooper] to surrender but forming his men in a circle, joined the men nearest him. He replied "Light Infantry never surrender" and began firing as hard they could. Seeing us approach, they quitted our gallant Ensign and formed to receive us. This fighting did not last long before they fled, leaving what killed and wounded may be seen by the actions. We took some [38] prisoners and thirty horses. Lord Rawdon came the next day, flattered his Light Corps much by his manner of thanking them and took that particular notice of Mr. Cooper, [which] he so well deserved. Sumpter was himself said to have been wounded which was probably the case as he never afterward appeared in that Quarter. I believe not very long after, [he] died [Watson mistaken]. His Lordship too, much approved the Post we had taken and the manner in which we had strengthened it.

As [our] infantry, who were to follow mounted troops, became so little stationary, [it] would rarely permit their remaining two days upon the same ground. The fatigues of marching together with such skirmishes having weakened our Corps, Lord Rawdon, who apprehending the return of Sumpter and his junction with Marion, left me the 64th Regiment, for its services, likewise reduced in number, with another 3-pounder, saying he should want them again at a given time.

The stores being sent forward from our Post and the country on this side of the Black River, evacuated by Marion, I determined to make the tour of the eastern part of the district, where Marion still continued his ravages upon those supposed to be well affected.

[He] forced those who were disposed to remain at home, out in arms, under pain of military execution. As he had broken up all the bridges upon the River, I did not choose to expose the troops to his long shot with a river between us. I took the lower road [3/6/1781]. [Transcriber Note: Events of the period 3/7 to 3/27/1781 are omitted from Lt. Colonel Watson's manuscript. Actions which took place during this interim were skirmishes with Marion's Brigade at Wiboo Swamp on 3/5/1781, Mount Hope Swamp on 3/13/1781 and Lower Bridge of the Black River on 3/14 and 15, 1781. Watson stayed at Blakely Plantation until 3/28/1781 when he marched toward the headwaters of the Sampit River.]

Over Sampit Creek was a bridge rising in pyramid form, so that till upon it, you could not see that the boards had been taken up on the opposite side. Ordering therefore a few Light Infantry to get over upon the rafters and make that examination, so suspicious a circumstance warranted. They soon discovered the enemy behind the thickets and railings of a house adjoining; who upon this came out and began firing upon the troops at the Bridge, whilst Mr. Marion at the same instant appeared formed to attack our rear. Having ordered one gun up with Major [Thomas] Barclay of the Light Infantry to face the Bridge, I formed the 64th to receive Mr. Marion. A better regiment than this never took the field.

The spirit of these hardy veterans soon broke his [Marion's] line and put them in confusion. The enemy being driven by the Light Infantry and the Bridge secured, I ordered part of the 64th to pursue, whilst the commanding officer, with the remainder, followed in good order. But observing a little knot of them, who from eagerness to run different ways, had got huddled, they could not clear themselves. I led those twenty mounted men of Captain Harrison's, before mentioned, to charge them, [having in the course of time picked up cutlasses and other sword like instruments for them], when by one on those panics, which are never meant to be accounted for, in the very instant of charge, where each of the enemy were twisting how to avoid the stroke, every individual man, turned about, galloped off and would have rode over the 64th Regiment, if Captain [Dennis] Kelly, who commanded it, had not ordered his men to present their arms and swore he would fire upon them, calling out and pointing to where they had left me; for not feeling the destruction they expected, the enemy, turning their heads over their shoulders, saw me alone. Our surprise was mutual, but Parthian like, they fired a volley as they fled and shot my horse. On seeing him fall and me laying under him, one fellow more determined than the rest, separated himself to fire at me, but a black servant I had, who always carried a fowling piece of mine, seized by anxiety, at seeing my horse fall, ran up, stood over me and shot him. Providentially, I was not hurt and preserving in the pursuit, as far as could be any advantage to infantry, we continued our march, the Light Infantry having repaired the Bridge. Going up the west side of the Great Peedee River [4/7/1781], in order to cross through the heart of the country, which showed the strongest marks of disaffection, I received a deputation from the inhabitants of the Little Peedee, to say if I would only cross the Great One, to cover them whilst they assembled, they would join to a man. I did and the day following about 200 of them rode into our camp. The assembling of these people, Mr. Marion's latter ill success, and the showing ourselves in that quarter; together with the declarations we have out that, whenever Marion insists upon them turning out in arms, we only advise them to stay at home, cultivate their land and that every man found at home might rely upon protection, had reduced their Partisan numbers from 400 to less than 150, daily diminishing.

Having now marched the eastern limits of the province, I trusted that our march, with a force that in militia was hourly increasing and of a kind too, who when collected, win by themselves, not the least afraid of Marion, would restore, if not quiet, our supremacy in

that district. The boats were collected for our crossing the river at four the next morning and in three days I had promised, marching by the head of Lincho [Lynches] Creek and Black River, to have restored to his Lordship, the 64th at Camden. Judge of my astonishment at twelve that night [4/9/1781], to be informed by one of those faithful men of the Peedee, that he had seen the militia of the Cheraw District assembling and heard the Major read there a letter he had received from Greene, directing him to order every man to take arms; that Lord Cornwallis had quitted the province, that he [Greene] himself was going against Camden, where his success might not be certain but at all events he might make sure of me. He directed they [the militia] should occupy all of the passes of the river and that to the support of the whole militia, he had attached [Lieutenant] Colonel [Harry] Lee, with his cavalry, guns and some Continentals.

To have heard nothing of this, neither from Lord Rawdon nor Georgetown, seemed strange. But the assembling the militia where we had even been successful, when in their neighborhood, and with our militia collecting, put it past doubt and I began to suggest what proved to be the fact: that our respective messenger to & from Camden, had been intercepted.

This melancholy intelligence soon confirmed by accounts from one of our people; of Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton being at some place, they said, within forty miles of us, and as these precautions were said to be taken [by the enemy] respecting the passes of the river, our guides recommended our moving up to join Lord Cornwallis, as the ferries [being] secured, we could not reach Georgetown.

Lord Rawdon's accumulated force, was, I know insufficient to oppose Greene, out of which he had lent the 64th Regiment, and as he had no cavalry, he could not easily move, unless I joined him. It was therefore of little import, in that great line of consequence, should I fail in attempting the junction; and whilst I made it, their detachments against me, and those I presumed they would make against our Post, must I knew summon the enemy's collective force less considerable. I moved within the hour, and marching fifty miles that day, fell back upon the Little Peedee. I had just thrown troops enough over, to secure the post on the other side, when the enemy came to possess themselves of it. I then crossed the Waccamaw River, as our own militia left us, whilst those of the enemy ever daily augmenting, and marched down to Georgetown. Here to my amazement, I found an order from Lieutenant Colonel Balfour to leave forty men to reinforce that post. I represented to the commanding officer [of the post], I conceived there must be some mistake as Lord Rawdon's situation called for more troops than I had to carry if I could get to join him. That when it was considered I was to attempt this, with Greene's whole army to intercept me upon the Congaree River, and Colonel Lee's detachment, with the aggregate militia of the province, now said to be 1,500, to oppose my crossing the Santee, one of which two [rivers] must be affected. If success crowned our endeavors, it surely could never be meant, but to strengthen the party, who was to attempt what appeared next to be an improbability. I therefore presumed he was to give me the forty men [rather than vis-versa], for if Lord Rawdon succeeded, his front was secure, if not, it must be evacuated. This sir, said he, is the order. I am not disposed to remember this gentleman's name [it was Captain John Saunders of the Queen's Rangers, on detached duty in South Carolina], for upon his producing it [the order], I said there was no disputing an order and picked out forty men, whom I left. As he told me [however] he thought it strange, I should leave only disabled men.

This noble Corps, the 64th Regiment, were almost all gray headed men, but such men, that if they had no legs, they would have crawled upon their hand and knees to join Lord Rawdon. I therefore did not think it worth while to tell him, that in a march of

fifty miles, not a man was left behind; nor that every poor fellow, independent of the distance he had marched, had each according to their respective strengths, carried rails for miles, as to reach this place. We had crossed two swamps, presumed impassible, one of which, Catfish Swamp, tradition reported, had never before been trod by human foot. With these rails we made platforms as we went without loss [of] our guns and men.

We proceeded up the hither side of the Santee, to a point near the confluence of the two rivers, and which, being supposed impracticable, was left unguarded. Here we crossed [4/24/1781] and after wading six creeks, which though deep, were fordable. We built a bridge of sixty feet over the seventh that was not so [fordable]; then cutting away for about a mile and a half, through the canes that grow in those swamps, we, the next morning, joined his Lordship without molestation. We had now learnt that Lieutenant McKay, after defending the post [Fort Watson], with his forty men, for nine days against about 1,000 men and Colonel Lee, and when there was not a spot in his post, but was commanded by their riflemen, he had made [on 4/23/1781] honorable terms for his brave garrison.

The afternoon of the day we joined Lord Rawdon [5/7/1781] he moved out meet Greene, encamped at a five mile distance. But this able general [Greene], instructed, by the defeat he had experienced [at Hobkirk's Hill on 4/25/1781] from his Lordship, with only his weak garrison, a few days before, retreated to a stronger post some miles farther back. His Lordship followed him the next day, but found he [Greene] had so secured his front, as to be in attackable [position], but by the turning [of] his flank to have effected [a situation] which we must have made such a detour, as might have gotten him an opportunity of slipping into Camden during our attempt [to attack him]. After, therefore, driving in his advanced parties, so as to be afraid of his situation, we retired to that place, but so wary had this gentleman [Greene] become of Lordship, we were not followed by a single man. His Lordship, having made the necessary preparations, then evacuated Camden [5/9/1781] We moved down, unfollowed, to the post at Nelson's Ferry [5/14/1781] contracting our lines to the boundary of the Santee River [at Monck's Corner on 5/24/1781]

The arrival soon after at Charletown of the 3rd, 19th, 30th Regiments, changing the aspect of affairs, enabled Lord Rawdon, reinforced only by the flank companies of those regiments, to march to the relief of the post at Ninety Six, then at the mercy of Greene's whole force and most handsomely defended by [Lieutenant] Colonel [John Harris] Cruger, an action as glorious as was performed by any individual, during the whole war. Finding Lord Rawdon preparing to reach the place, they made their assault with that determination which animates troops, who know their only hope to rest in their bravery, but were completely repulsed; when Greene moved off by such rapid marches, that Lord Rawdon, who followed him as far as the Saluda River, finding he would not stop and hopes of overtaking him vain, discontinued the pursuit.

His Lordship now seeing that country once more in security, turned his thoughts toward establishing a health, which had been long much affected by that climate. He therefore left the Province.

The superiority established by the arrival of these troops, ending my longer continuance useless. I explained my having leave to go to New York, for the General [Sir Henry Clinton] had honored me with this at [originally] quitting him, to enable me to return when I judged requisite, with this additional flattering circumstance, of making my [re] joining him early in the spring [of 1781], the condition of my southern command; he then proposing to take the field as soon as the season would admit, for the purpose of giving efficacy to whatever might be hoped from Lord Cornwallis's operations.

This, the hitherto distressed situation of the province, had prevented my fulfilling [my original intention] but I now returned [arriving in New York on 6/26/1781]. I found the commander-in-chief not circumstanced, as the infamous publication in the new edition of the Encyclopedia had represented him. A description so false that a stranger would be led to think that it was written by an American, but so injurious, that slight discernment teaches it could only be the production of a set of people, who own no allegiance but to the arm which can outstretch itself for their support, who know no gratitude to a patron who has no more bounties to bestow, whose security, whose federal principles are such that led by their idol, temporal advantage, they would link against that God, who finds them in their orative wilderness.

Sir Henry Clinton is a soldier and skilled in those arts which afford ability to his profession but is ignorant of those disagreeable wiles which constitute the machiavellian policy of little minds. He therefore cherished a knot of these fawning and snaky characters, favoured by his fostering hand. They could now rear their crests, when suspecting his declining consequence. They burst at once from his bosom and helping left him. That the fate of ingratitude may not be delivered and to deaden the tongue of truth, starvelings from the same faith, were employed in the work to murder his reputation.

By the following authentic statement, foreigners would be informed, the present age know and prosperity form an very different estimate of that gentleman's [Clinton's] character.

The commander having repeatedly explained to the Minister at home, the true state of that country [America] and if a force, inconsiderable as his, was to be permanently divided, or established posts so detached, attempted [to aid Lord Cornwallis]; what must be the consequences, should the French ever feel a superiority at sea, though but for a moment, could not but be mortified in the highest degree at finding Lord Cornwallis in Virginia, without his orders. To do however all that was possible for his Lordship, so circumstanced, he sent his very choicest troops under [Major] General [William] Phillips, a command under [Brigadier General Benedict] Arnold, to strengthen and cooperate with his Lordship. This services to contradict the slanderous narrative of his being deceived, by any contrived letters of Washington, had this experienced officer felt, at the very time [he] had attached so largely [a force] in support of Lord Cornwallis, how vulnerable he should become in such extensive and detached posts as Staten Island, Long Island, Long Island, Paulus Hook and York Island, when the season enabled the foe to take the field.

The French having secured Rhode Island, it was no longer the Americans only, but them in conjunction with the gallant and disciplined armies of that Perfidious Nation, who had now declared herself our avowed enemy.

Having then made known his apprehension of the French fleet superior at sea, he [Clinton] directed his Lordship to select a defensive situation, to keep all the troops, till he had rendered it impregnable; and then to return [to] him such as he could to New York, naming what Corps' he should wish to be sent, in [order of] preference.

Every part of Sir Henry Clinton's conduct, is a flat contradiction to their absurd account of his being deceived. For upon Washington, with his whole army, supported by the Count de Rochambeau with 4,000 French troops, taking a post in the front of York Island, his [Clinton's] accumulate [remaining] force for this extensive defense not being [more than] 11,000 men. He called a Council of his General Officers to know their opinion, respecting what number of troops they thought sufficient for the several garrisons, if he moved

towards Washington. Having learn't their opinion, he left what number he judged necessary and collecting the remainder, he posted himself so as to take advantage if Washington should detach or, by any forage, separate his army; applying at the same time to the Navy to transport him with the troops, if Washington should move to the southward. As he took this direction, the General [Clinton] ordered the troops to the coast, but [Rear] Admiral [Thomas] Graves, doubting the naval strength, held it advisable to wait for [Rear Admiral] [Robert] Digby, who was daily expected with the ships of the line. This, together with the refitting of some ships, which had suffered in a partial engagement that officer had just had with the French, took some time. As soon however as he gave notice, they were ready to receive the troops. We embarked and found ourselves off the Capes of Virginia, October 24 [1781]. We there saw the whole French fleet in the York River and learn't that Lord Cornwallis had capitulated on the 19th.

With all these delays, for which Sir Henry [Clinton] was not accountable. It was only five days after the surrender. The Army was a portée to have afforded succor to his Lordship.

It was the object of Sir Henry Clinton wishes to form a junction with Lord Cornwallis and fight the united enemies of these Kingdoms upon the neck of Williamsburg. For spite of their very superior numbers, the discipline and know spirit of the French troops, he hoped every thing from Officers trained by the experience of a long war, commanding troops inured to toil and victory. Here, if fortune favored, it would be victory, which no success elsewhere could give his Majesty's arms.

The same idea struck these distinct leaders [Clinton and Washington]. Their object was different. Their mode of reasoning similar. Each saw his separate interest in its new light. The junction of the French had taught, less experienced minds than Sir Henry, that good was now to be despaired of, unless it could be effected by some decisive stroke. The American Fabius held the converse of this opinion. The Commander-in-Chief urged and performed all that was possible to get there. Washington knew it as a cull de sac. He therefore halted at the Head of the Pamunkey River nor would he put himself upon the Neck till the French fleet had anchored in the York River.

The personal spirit of Lord Cornwallis [which] led him, was to despise danger; and he had in consequence neglected till too late, those precautions for defense, which had been recommended; where the price of his surrender seem to have been accelerated by a circumstance not generally adverted to [and which is explained as follows]. His Lordship, to this gallantry, has joined great national goodness of heart and unappreciateness of so trying a situation. This disposition seem to have led him to the selection of an Engineer [Captain Alexander Sutherland], more amiable for his private virtues, than vetted by his abilities to rival that great character in the same line [Captain James Moncreiff], whose defense of Savannah would in other times have immortalized him.

Sufficient experience had not learn't this gentleman, to secure the most important line of defense. The contracted works upon which he had employed himself, differently constructed, might have formed a citadel to retire to. When the outward strong portion had been carried, such a defense would have at least have gained that time, which would have afforded the opportunity of some attempt in his Lordship's favor. As it was, his Lordship's sole defense consisted in narrow works, thrown up in such a manner as gave the French, ever ready to insult, under an appearance of compliments, an opportunity of observing after the capitulation, that inspecting the entrenchments of our army, brought shame upon them, as a uninformed spectator comparing the lines of attack with those of defense, would be disposed to judge the Besieger, the Besieged.

Thus sir, led from circumstances to paint my own situation, I have not suppressed those ideas which presented themselves in the attempt; and which led naturally to touch on outlines, at the close of an unfortunate campaign, in concerns of such consequence it is as important that the eight line of truth [not to bear false witness] should be seen, as it is difficult to be discovered, amidst the various interests which combine to warp or veil it.

When false representations take place from the scanty means of a compiler, to get better information, illuminated candor should correct the error. But when calumny usurps the rank of history, the herald cry of justice is called up to detect the importune and expose the friend. It may be alleged, that some explanations I have used are severe. But when it is considered that the Encyclopedia is a book not confined merely to Europe, or like other publications, which are read with the day and forgot, but that it is a book of reference, and from its merits, in many respects, it must find its way into the Library of every enlightened individual who can purchase it. What asperity of language is sufficient to express the indignation due to them, who not only rob a man of his good name, but contrive to perpetual reflection undeserved, upon his memory, and destroy that honest pride of family, arising from the fair name of a meritorious ancestor.

To return to the first object of this add up, which was designed a letter, but is drawn into a volume. Myself: Reflection, upon the cause of Lord Cornwallis's misfortunes and other experience I had acquired in the field: Pointing the necessity of every officer being in some degree himself an engineer, led me to the torah of understanding that work, the plan of which I had the honor of submitting to your inspection; and I have in view to compress in one volume all the elements requisite to complete a horn for this purpose.

Not considering my own interest, but devoting myself to what I hoped, might be found beneficial to our profession, I refused that situation which was proposed to me, and to which your son is since appointed. [This is] because the inclusion necessary to application, was incompatible with the popularity essential for so distinguished a post in that hospitable country; and [I] preferred the alternative in which I now find myself, of living hid up two pair of stairs in the heart of this metropolis, upon a guinea a week which I find ample to supply every want of my own, except those books and instruments required by a man, who considers himself merely initiated in the great school of his profession.

I hope then sir, through your kind interference to find no difficulty in procuring the leave of absence which can alone enable me to continue in that service for which I have so labored to qualify myself.

If I can obtain but half of that time which has been granted to officers in our own regiment, who never served at all, I do not despair of being able to settle my affairs as my present debts do not exceed 3,000 pounds. With 1,000 pounds, I could regain my freedom; for which sum, I have still left, a better security to give than friendship might require. As I have not so conducted myself, either in public or private life, as not to deceive a friend, sooner or later: some one may be found to advance this money.

I preferred this retirement to going abroad, on account of the expense, and because books, instruments and an intercourse with scientific men in my circumstances was not to be found out of a great Capital. My desires are, you see Sir, very limited. My child I can teach to defy or despise want. [But] I should rejoice accordingly, to put a deserving woman, above feeling the neglect of opulent and misfeeling relations, whose first cousin, living at the next door with a clear income of sixteen thousand pounds a year

and not spending eight, [stays] ignorant whether or not she [the deserving woman] was starving, [and the cousin] has never inquired if she was grown thinner.

I desire to remain only three years longer in the Army, if in that time, I can acquire some of those advantages, to which my present rank might give me some claim. I shall quit it and pay my debts, considering what may be thought a misfortune by some people, a chastisement designed to correct a presumptuous vanity, which had led me to hope some time or other have been no dishonor to my King, whilst I was of some service to my country. I have the honor to be with great respect.

I am much obliged and most obedient and humble servant

Source: The document from which Don Gara transcribed this narrative is in the Clinton Papers, William Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and is posted with their permission. The recipient of the previous memoir is not specified, but may have been John Campbell, 5th Duke of Argyll.

Donald J. Gara is a former resident of Morristown, New Jersey but has since retired to north central Florida. He has been a researcher and collector of information on the military activities of the American Loyalists for over 20 years. His special emphasis has been the British Legion and the Queens American Rangers (QAR). Don is a contributor to a number of web sites, devoted to the study of the British/Loyalist side of the Revolution, such as 'The On-Line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies' at www.royalprovincial.com, "Oatmeal for the Foxhounds" at www.banastretarleton.org and www.revwar75.com. His article *Loyal to the Crown* is based on a chapter taken from a history of The Queen's American Rangers (aka The Queen's Rangers") that he is presently working on for possible publication in the near future. Many of the Loyalist Virginians that supported Dunmore subsequently became officers in the Queen's Rangers in March 1777. dgara64449@aol.com

John Watson Tadwell Watson (1748 - 1826)

By Marg Baskin

This oddly-named Knight of the Mischianza rose to fleeting prominence during the later phase of the Southern Campaigns, but his overall life remains obscure. Aside from some brief accounts of his military service in 1780-81, I have had little luck in tracking information on him. In a paper presented in 1977, Robert Bass commented that even the Scots (3rd) Guards, Watson's career-long regiment, could provide him with no information beyond the bare dates of Watson's promotions.¹

Watson was born in London and began his military career when he joined the 3d Foot Guards as an ensign, probably some time in 1768. (His commission date was April 13, 1767, but since his name does not appear in the Officers' List for that year, it was likely backdated.) On April 28, 1773, he rose to the ranks of lieutenant and captain in the same regiment. He would remain with the 3rd Guards throughout his years of active service, but like many of his contemporaries he also commanded provincial and militia forces during the Revolution. According to Bass, "he had been living right high around London prior to [the] Revolution. He'd

gotten himself thoroughly entangled in gambling debts and when there was an opportunity to come to America on full pay... he asked for it, because he figured he could save enough to pay himself out of debt and get started again."²

Watson's service in America began in March 1777. By the early part of 1778 he was in command of the Light Infantry Company of the Brigade of Guards, stationed in the Philadelphia area. This Brigade was formed in Great Britain in February 1776 and composed of detachments from the existing three regiments of Guards (the First Guards, the Coldstream Guards and the Third Guards). The personnel were divided into eight battalion companies, one light infantry company and one grenadier company. They embarked for America under the command of Brigadier General Edward Mathew (Captain and Lieutenant Colonel of the Coldstream Guards) on May 2, 1776 and arrived at Sandy Hook on August 12. At the orders of Lieutenant General William Howe, they were reorganized into two battalions of five companies each. The Grenadier Company was assigned to the First Battalion and the Light Company was assigned to the Second Battalion.³

Over the winter garrison in Philadelphia, Watson also served as captain of the Black Knights in the Mischianza. A newspaper account of the pageant provided this description of the guardsman in full regalia: "Captain Watson, of the guards, as Chief, dressed in a magnificent suit of black and orange silk, and mounted on a black managed horse, with trappings of the same colours with his own dress, appeared in honour of Miss [Rebecca] Franks. He was attended in the same manner as Lord Cathcart. Capt. Scot bore his lance, and Lieut. Lyttelton his shield. The Device, a Heart, with a Wreath of Flowers; Motto, Love and Glory."⁴ The winter garrison had not necessarily been a quiet one for him. A few weeks before the Mischianza, he fought a sword duel with a fellow officer, Colonel West Hyde, about "their people pulling down some old house" and ran Hyde through the arm.⁵

After the army had retired to New York in June, the Bucks County Light Dragoons were attached to the Light Infantry Company of the Brigade of Guards. (Earlier in the year, Watson seems to have held temporary command of that Provincial troop while its regular commander, Captain Thomas Sandford, was a prisoner with the rebels.) He also briefly commanded the other core cavalry units of what would become the British Legion. The entry in the orderly book of the Brigade for July 28, 1778 announced, "Captain Watson will, until further orders, take charge of the Provincial Light Cavalry, (Hovenden, James, Kinlock's Troops) attached to the Light Infantry Company of the Brigade of Guards." But it was an easy-come/easy-go command. Mere days later on August 1, another entry announced that the three cavalry units were to become part of the newly formed British Legion.⁶ On November 20, 1778, Watson was promoted to Captain and Lieutenant Colonel of the 3d Foot Guards and Lieutenant Colonel in the Army. Bundled with his promotions were orders to remain in America, even though it was customary for Guards officers to be rotated home at the end of two years of service.⁷

He commanded the four flank companies of the Guards that accompanied Major General Edward Mathew on his expedition to the Chesapeake from April 28, 1779 to May 24, 1779. (The four flank companies were the two light and two grenadier companies of the two guard battalions). Afterwards, he returned to New York City and rejoined the rest of the Brigade of Guards. On October 12, 1779, the War Office announced "Lieutenant-Colonel John Watson Tadwell Watson to be Captain of a Company [of the 3d Regiment of Foot Guards], vice Charles Earl of Harrington."⁸

Later that year, he was offered command of the post at Kingsbridge but turned it down on the assumption that it would be an inactive assignment. In lieu of that appointment, he joined Sir Henry Clinton's staff just in time to sail south with the expedition bound for Charleston (December 26, 1779) as an aide-de-camp. He was afterwards detached to command the newly formed "Provincial Light Infantry," a unit consisting of six detached Provincial Light Infantry Companies taken from The Loyal American Regiment, The Kings American Regiment, DeLancey's Brigade (3rd Battalion), and the New Jersey Volunteers (1st, 2nd and 4th Battalions). Without its new commander who was ill at the time, the battalion accompanied British Gen. Alexander Leslie on a second expedition to the Chesapeake. That assignment lasted from October 20, 1780 until November 12, 1780 when Leslie received orders from Charleston to proceed south to join Lord Cornwallis. Leslie arrived in Charleston on December 16, 1780, and Watson, who had remained behind in New York until he recovered, caught up with it there.⁹

Watson remained with Lord Rawdon's forces when Cornwallis advanced north after Greene. By leaving him behind, Cornwallis seems to have essentially been getting rid of Watson whom he apparently did not like. When he made the assignment, he wrote to Rawdon, "I know I am not making you a great present. But, my Lord, at least you can make him obey you. I'm not taking him with me on campaign, because his troops are light troops and Tarleton's troops are also light troops and there would be constant friction between the two men." In another letter written to Tarleton on December 18, 1780, the Earl commented, "Lord Rawdon very readily agreed to undertake Watson so we shall be relieved of that plague."¹⁰

Those two statements, combined with Watson's duel with Col. West Hyde, and a modern writer's comment that Watson "was so convinced that he had a right to whatever rations he felt necessary that when a commissary refused him a few extra rations to provide for a guest in his household, he complained bitterly and indignantly to Clinton", would seem to indicate that Watson was not an easy man to work with. But the evidence is circumstantial at best. The fact that Watson was a former aide and favorite of Clinton's could as easily explain Cornwallis' hostility towards him as his personality or abilities.¹¹

Whether it was for that or other reasons, Rawdon did not try to get along with him immediately. In fact, years later in a letter to Harry Lee, he would comment, (not quite accurately), that Watson's corps had never formed part of his garrison. Rather than calling Watson to join him at Camden, Rawdon dispatched him on an extended patrol "for the purpose of dispersing the plunderers that infested our eastern frontier." Watson was less than thrilled with the assignment and complained about it to Nisbet Balfour, who convinced him that this detached command was more prestigious than simply functioning as part of the regular army. Watson petitioned for more men, ammunition and wagons without success; then finally got down to business. Over the course of the next five months, his mission would bring him into near-constant conflict with Marion, Sumter and other rebel partisan leaders.¹²

Watson began his tour of duty at Wright's Bluff, about 70 miles from Charleston where he designed and built "Fort Watson," a small communication post situated atop an Indian mound. Due to his sound engineering, it and its approximately 114-man garrison were taken by the rebels in April, 1781 only after a difficult, nine-day siege while Watson and his main force were absent. Watson used the post through the early part of 1781 as a staging base for raids and Marion reported to Greene that it seemed unlikely it could be surprised and taken.¹³

In early March 1781, Rawdon dispatched his Volunteers of Ireland under Lt. Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle to join Watson's force in a two-pronged attack against Marion's headquarters at Snow Island. Doyle succeeded in destroying the base but Marion led Watson on a costly chase, peppering his route with traps and ambushes. The constant warfare ate away at Watson's force, which at that point is variously described as consisting of "the wing companies of... several volunteer corps", some regulars, and Capt. John Harrison's SC Loyalist Rangers.¹⁴

In addition to skirmishing with weapons, Watson and Marion exchanged a flurry of accusations and counter accusations concerning atrocities, the dishonoring of flags of truce, and other forms of dirty warfare. They consist largely of a "did!"/"didn't!"/"DID!" level of articulation -- especially on Marion's side, since he was a man of few words. On March 9th, Watson fired off a particularly eloquent diatribe elaborating on how rebel methods of warfare looked from his side of the fence:

It is with less surprise that I find a letter sent by you in all the apparent forms of a flag of truce, attended by an armed party who concealed themselves within a certain distance of a place that pointed itself out for the delivery of it, than to see the contents of it exhibit a complaint from you against us for violating the law of nations. I believe, sir, it would be as difficult for you to name an instance of a breach of it in his Majesty's troops, as it would for them to discover one where the law of arms or nations has been properly attended to by any of your party. An enumeration of the various particulars of such practices on your side, beginning with the very disgraceful conduct of Congress respecting the Convention troops, and the incessant instances that from that time to this hour have occurred in the different provinces, would be needless. I think it however right to mention one, as I meant to inform Gen'l Sumter of it. A few days ago, after Gen'l. Sumter had taken some waggons on the other side of the Santee, and the escort to them had laid down their arms, a party of his horse who said they had not discharged their pieces came up, fired upon the prisoners and killed seven of them. A few days after we took six of his people. Enquire how they were treated. As to reflecting on our practice of hanging your followers whom the chance of war puts into our hands, I have to answer, that if your followers are composed of our people... who have broken their paroles, they must expect to suffer that punishment (which in opposition to the late cruelties exercised by those who say they belong to you) it becomes necessary for us to inflict and which the law of nations justifies. The houses of desolate widows have been laid waste -- even burnt by these people. By these people too, many individuals defenceless, without arms, and taking side with neither contending party, but residing peaceably in their own houses, have been murdered. By what law are these proceedings justified? does martial any more than civil law countenance such people? If ever they fall into our hands, they will meet with the punishment due to their crimes. When noble enemies make war, such men are protected by no side. ... With respect to your threat of retaliation -- so long as you will permit us by a return of similar behaviour, we will make war with that generosity, that is the boast of Britons is the characteristic of their nation. Men like his Majesty's troops, fighting from principle for the good of their country, with hearts full of conscious integrity, are fearless of any consequences. War itself bears with it calamities sufficient. Take care then, sir, that you do not, by improper behaviour to our people who may from its chance of war become your prisoners, add to its natural horrors.¹⁵

During this period Watson also received his badge of being a *somebody* from rebel storytellers. That is to say, he joined the

ranks of Huck, Ferguson, Tarleton, and Wemyss by having the mandatory bardic encounter with the predictably spunky rebel housewife. His version is quite charming and more sympathetic than is typical. His spunky rebel housewife was one "Widow Elizabeth Jenkins" and they started out with the typical conversation concerning the whereabouts of her menfolk. That duty fulfilled, Watson asked for a glass of wine, and proposed a toast to King George. Mrs. Jenkins drank the toast. She then slyly refilled the glasses. As he raised his, she cried: "Health to George Washington!" Watson made a wry face, but being a gentleman he cheerfully toasted the American Commander in Chief.¹⁶

While Watson and Marion were chasing each other through the swamps, Rawdon received intelligence that Greene's army had given up the pursuit of Cornwallis and were returning southward. He tried to recall Watson's detachment, which was roughly 500 strong, but Marion's force lay between them. "The position which Marion had taken near the High Hills of Santee precluded the hope of Lieut.-Colonel Watson's joining me," Rawdon wrote to Cornwallis a few weeks later.¹⁷ Unable to get back to Camden, Watson was eventually forced to retreat to Georgetown to find aid for his wounded. The detour meant that Rawdon was left on his own to face Greene's army at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill (April 25, 1781). When he finally did reach Camden, Watson would discover that one of his subordinates had surrendered Fort Watson to Marion and Lee on April 23rd.¹⁸

After a stopover at Georgetown to rest and refit his detachment, Watson eluded his pursuers and made his way back to Camden. Buchanan's Ferry, where he finally managed to cross the Santee, had been left unguarded because Marion considered it impractical for him to cross there. He then proceeded to Camden "without molestation" along a route which required his force to "wade across six creeks, build a sixty-foot bridge over a seventh, and cut 'for about a Mile and half through the canes that grow in those swamps.'" On May 24, Rawdon reported to Cornwallis that "On the 7th of May Lieutenant-colonel Watson joined me with his detachment, much reduced in number through casualties, sickness, and a reinforcement which he had left to strengthen the garrison at George town."¹⁹

Camden was evacuated on the night of May 9. By the end of the month, Rawdon's health was seriously failing. At the beginning of June, a rebel intelligence report noted that Watson had taken over his command while Rawdon lay in Charleston, "very sick."²⁰ Shortly thereafter, Watson returned to New York carrying dispatches from Rawdon, leaving his executive officer, Major Thomas Barclay - a New York City Loyalist from the Loyal American Regiment - in command of the Provincial Battalion. What happened to Watson after returning to New York is the subject of argument. Bass reports that Watson served with the garrison at Charleston until it was evacuated, but it is likely that Bass is referring only to the Provincial Battalion, which served there until December 1781, when it was dissolved. Another modern source states that after Watson left the South, he returned to England - which he did eventually, of course, but not until at least December 1782. During the intervening time, he again served on Clinton's staff and commanded the Guards detachment. On June 5, 1782, he was one of several officers who wrote letters of protest to George Washington over the threatened execution of Captain Asgill.²¹

On July 28, Sir George Osborn wrote to the commander-in-chief from London that "Lieut. Col. Watson's presence is greatly needed in his regiment which is ordered home," adding that he hoped Watson would not be detained in America. On November 17, a reply was sent, informing Osborn that Watson would "take the first opportunity of going home." His signature on various minor

documents in New York indicate his continued presence there until at least December 24, 1782, after which he finally returned home.²² Watson remained in the army until his death, working his way up the ranks. He became Colonel in the Army on November 20, 1782, and on December 15, 1783, the *Morning Herald* announced his promotion "by brevet" to colonel of the 3d Foot Guards. On April 1, 1795, he was given a regular commission as first major of the regiment and remained in that post until 1801. In 1802, he vanished from the roll of the Guards (reduced to half pay perhaps?) then resurfaced in his final service post as Colonel of the 8th Royal Veteran Battalion on December 29, 1804. He was named Major General on December 20, 1793, Lieutenant General on June 26, 1799 and became a General on April 25, 1808.²³

Beyond this, all I can find is a notation that at some point he married a daughter of John Hinchliffe, Bishop of Peterborough, and that he died in Calais, France on June 11, 1826. At the time of his death, he was the eighth senior general in the army (two slots below Rawdon, and six above Tarleton). Unlike most of the men whose names surrounded his on the list, he had earned neither knighthood nor title.²⁴ Some time after the war - probably c1791, based on a statement on the length of his military career - Watson wrote a "narrative" of his military accomplishments for a noble patron. This document, which is now part of the Clinton papers, gives his version of his participation in the Southern Campaigns. Unfortunately, it does not fill in any significant blanks from other parts of his life.

Notes:

¹ Robert D. Bass, "John Tadwell-Watson, Builder of Fort Watson," *The Independent Republic Quarterly* 12 (1978): 10. I believe the 3rd Guards took on the name "Scots Guards" at a later period, but I am not certain.

² Grant Wilson and John Fiske, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia Of American Biography*, 6 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1887-89), 6:393. *A List of All the Officers of the Army: Viz. the General and Field Officers; the Officers of the Several Troops, Regiments, Independent Companies and Garrisons... in Great Britain*; (War Office, published annually), 1768 and 1775 editions. Bass, "Watson," p. 10. (He gives no source for the information, but it is possibly from a memorial by Watson in the Clinton Papers.) Mark M. Boatner, III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1994), p. 1172; Bass, "Watson," p. 11.

³ *A Brief History of the Brigade of Guards* on <http://www.brigadeofguards.org/history.html>, accessed in January 2004. "Roll of Officers of the 3rd Guards who served in the American War of Independence," on <http://web.archive.org/web/20051218124816/http://members.caytel.net/brownrs/History/RollOfficers.htm> accessed in March, 2004. (Both listings provided to me in hard copy.)

⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* (August, 1778), p. 355.

⁵ John Peebles, *The Diary of a Scottish Grenadier, 1776-1782*, ed. Ira D. Gruber (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), p. 173.

⁶ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 36 (1912):256. It is from a note and query page that lists miscellaneous items. The entry is from an orderly book of the Brigade of Guards in the Library of Congress, which covers the period January 30 to August 9, 1778. Another article from the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 35 (1910) entitled "Loyalist Muster Rolls 1777-1778" lists Watson in command of the Bucks County Light Dragoons on the April 24, 1778 muster roll.

⁷ *Officers of the Army*, 1780 edition. Walter T. Dornfest, "John Watson Tadwell Watson and the Provincial Light Infantry, 1780-1781," *Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research* 75 (1997): 220-1 and above in this issue of SCAR, p 47.

⁸ Carl Leopold Baurmeister, *The Revolution in America: Confidential Letters and Journals, 1776-1784, of Adjutant General Major Baurmeister of the Hessian Forces*, trans. and ed. B.A. Uhlendorf (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957), letter dated May 3, 1779, pp. 271 and 279. *London Gazette*, 09-12 October 1779.

⁹ Peter Russell, "The Siege of Charleston: Journal of Captain Peter Russell, December 25, 1779, to May 2, 1780," ed. James Bain, Jr., *American Historical Review*, 4 (1899):479. Baurmeister, letter dated October 29, 1780, p. 385. Dornfest, pp. 221-223. Boatner, p. 1172.

¹⁰ Bass, "Watson," p. 12.; Robert D. Bass, *The Green Dragoon: The Lives of Banastre Tarleton and Mary Robinson* (New York: Henry Holt and Company; 1957), p. 140.

¹¹ R. Arthur Bowler, *Logistics and the Failure of the British Army in America, 1775-1783* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975), p. 172, citing the CP, Col. Watson to Clinton, 14 July 1781.

¹² Rawdon to Henry Lee, Jr., 24 June 1813, in Henry Lee, *The Revolutionary War Memoirs of General Henry Lee*, ed. Robert E. Lee (New York: Da Capo Press, 1998), p. 615. Rawdon to Cornwallis, 26 April 1781, in K.G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770-1783*, 21 vols. (Dublin: Irish University Press, c1977-1982), 20:122-124; Dornfest, p. 224.

¹³ Boatner, p. 388-389. Bass, "Watson," p. 12. Marion to Greene in Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (London: Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand, 1787), pp. 471-473. Nathanael Greene to Francis Marion, 25 January 1781, in Nathanael Greene, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, ed. Richard K. Showman, Dennis M. Conrad et al., 11+ vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C. and London: The University of North Carolina Press for the Rhode Island Historical Society, c1976-), 7:194-195.

¹⁴ Robert Stansbury Lambert, *South Carolina Loyalists in the American Revolution*, (Columbia, South Carolina: the University of South Carolina Press, 1987), p. 168. Baurmeister, p. 439. Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion. Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of his Campaigns, 1775-82* ed. William B. Willcox. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954), pp. 295-296. Rawdon to Cornwallis, 26 April 1781, in Davies, 20:122-124. Balfour to Germain, 1 May 1781, in Davies, 20:130-131. It is common to see the other officer involved in the raid referred to as (future Sir) John Doyle. Both brothers were in the Volunteers of Ireland, but John, although the older of the two, was inferior to his brother in rank.

¹⁵ Watson to Marion, 9 March 1781, in R. W. Gibbes, ed. *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, 3 vols. (Spartanburg, S.C.: The Reprint Company, 1972), 3:33-35.

¹⁶ Robert Duncan Bass, *The Swamp Fox, The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion* (Orangeburg, South Carolina: Sandlapper Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), p. 165. I assume most of these encounters took place in some form or other, but I would love to know if any of the conversations actually took place in a recognizable form. Or were they all "it makes a better story this way" embellishments from a later date?

¹⁷ Rawdon to Cornwallis, 26 April 1781, in Davies, 20:122-124.

¹⁸ Rawdon to Cornwallis, 24 May 1781; in Tarleton, pp. 475-479; in Charles, Marquis Cornwallis, Rawdon to Cornwallis, 25 April 1781, in *The Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis*, 2d edition, ed. Charles Derek Ross, 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1859), 1:98; Dornfest, p. 227.

¹⁹ Greene/Showman, 8:215n, citing Watson to unnamed correspondent, n.d., Clinton Papers; Rawdon to Cornwallis, 24 May 1781; in Tarleton, pp. 475-479.

²⁰ Greene, 8:355n, referencing a letter from Maham to Huger, 4-5 June 1781.

²¹ Peebles, p. 455; Bass, "Watson," p. 16; Dornfest, p. 228; Watson to Washington, 5 June 1782, in Davies, 19:303.

²² Sir George Osborn to Sir Guy Carleton, 28 July 1782, in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institute of Great Britain*, 4 vols. (London: Printed for His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1901-9), 3:41. Sir Henry Clinton to Sir George Osborn, 17 November 1782, *Ibid.*, 3:226. Watson's signature appears on a variety of documents, including John W. Watson to Major Fred. MacKenzie, 10 December 1782, *Ibid.*, 3:257-8, "Account of 183 Days' pay for chaplain and surgeon's mate of the [Brigade of Foot Guards], signed J.W. T. Watson, Lieutenant Colonel, 25 June - 24 December 1782, *Ibid.*, 3:281, etc.

²³ *Officers of the Army*, 1783, 1796, 1801, 1805, 1815, 1826 editions. *Morning Herald*, 15 December 1783.

²⁴ Cornwallis/Ross, 1:98n. Wilson and Fiske, 6:393.

Marg Baskin, a Kitchener, Ontario researcher, maintains a comprehensive website on Sir Banastre Tarleton and related characters. This article is posted thereon at www.banastretarleton.org and used with her permission.

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