



Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution

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Charge of the 63^d Regiment of Foot up Hobkirk's Hill Gen. Nathanael Greene Orders off the Cannon



Artist Pamela Patrick White depicts the moment that Capt. John Smith and his Irish Light Infantry provides cover for the cannon's crew to draw Greene's 6-pounder off of the Hobkirk's Hill battlefield. The original painting is on public display in the lobby at Carolina First Bank at 315 East DeKalb Street in Camden, SC.

“As above mentioned the artillery had just come up as the battle began. The guns were merely unhooked from the limbers or fore-wheels and let down to fire on the enemy. The horses were not unharnessed, nor had the boys that drove them dismounted, but only removed a short distance from the cannon and now seeing a general retreat of the American Army attempted to get through the woods without going out into and along the road. They soon got them entangled among the trees and could not get along, but cut their horses and fled leaving the limbers of both pieces of cannon in the woods where they were found by the British and taken. Under the circumstances Gen^l Greene galloped up to Cap^t John Smith and ordered him to fall into the rear and save the cannon. Smith instantly came and found the artillerymen hauling off the pieces with the drag-ropes; he and his men laid hold and off they went in a trot, but had not gone far until he discovered that the British cavalry were in pursuit. He formed his men across the road, gave them a full fire at a short distance and fled with the guns as before. This volley checked the horses and threw many of the riders; but they after some time remounted and pushed on again. Smith formed his men gave them another fire with the same effect and proceeded as before this he repeated several times until they had got 2 or 3 miles from the field of action.” Camden resident Samuel Mathis to General William R. Davie, 26 June 1819. [See page 38 below for an annotated transcription of this letter.]

Publisher's Notes

SCAR's Evolution

We have come a long way since SCAR's birth from the dining room table in 2004 (thinking that there might not be enough material on the Southern Campaigns to fill 12 issues) through the stories, fields, tours, symposiums, conferences, staff rides, speeches, and web to now. Charles and David always dreamed of its growth to new heights, to broader reach and to deeper range, though we knew not exactly how we would get there. Two powerful lights showed us the way. One is the compelling story (after story, after story) of enough good men and women who back then bought us our self-determination at the price of their lives and fortunes. They demand that we tell it how it actually was. We have been humbled by how many stories there are yet to be told and how large is the picture. The other light, equally illuminating and bright, is made up of you, and each of you, our friends. You have picked up our call to arms and freely joined with us in bringing your own accoutrements of pen, paper and computer; gas and gusto; camera and conviction; mind and material; and your own special perspective to these partisan projects.

The SCAR Fellowship -- A Net of Work and Friends

SCAR is about producing a scholarly and informative magazine, attempting to put the Southern Campaigns on the ground and back into the body of knowledgeable truth about the Revolution. More recently, we realize SCAR is primarily a fellowship of scholars, archaeologists, living historians, collectors, and arm-chair generals who hold fundamentals in common: a passion for scholarship about the Revolution; a willingness to share and to help others grow in understanding of the late 18th Century; and a strong desire to preserve these sacred places for the next generation. Your attitude is demonstrated by your generous gifts presented in our publications, symposia, archaeological projects, roundtables, and Corps of Discovery trips - the physical manifestations of these internal fundamentals. Membership is always open in SCAR's fellowship but it is not by application, invitation, fee, or vote. Rather, join us by scholarly contribution and unselfish sharing. This team, along with exceptional scholars, does awesome work. This very edition involved the work of many writers, fact-checkers, artist, photographers, and first-line editors. SCAR's work is enduring and opens doors.

The new **American Revolution Association** is the national non-profit group organized to publish, promote and preserve the historic significance of the Revolutionary era's persons, places, events, and ideas. The American Revolution Association serves to further understanding of what happened; to build constituencies; to save and interpret battlefields and sites; to connect partners; and to put the action on the ground. The American Revolution Association is the culmination of the growth of SCAR, as we envisioned it and how we know it could be, because the SCAR model works. Our mutual efforts and organization are vital to accurate history, good education and strong preservation. We are laying more, heavy track for another, larger train. Built upon the scholarly traditions of SCAR's regional articles, the *American Revolution* magazine will begin publication this winter to fill the national void about the Revolutionary War and to work the international net of enthusiasts and historians of this era of profound change. Until now, there is no across-the-board, inclusive, networking organization advocating the American Revolution.

David has made a life-changing decision to stake his financial and human capital into this Revolutionary War adventure believing, as most of us, that our hobby is a vocational calling of sorts to develop

a national historic, preservation and educational organization to increase scholarship and awareness of the American Revolution. Our mutual conviction is what is driving now in this larger direction. Charles wants to spend more time with book and web publication projects (including SCAR magazine); several research/writing projects of his own; putting the action on the ground, planning conferences; public speaking; planning and promoting Corps of Discovery and other tours; supporting memorials and monuments; supporting and publicizing archaeology projects; and working on preservation and accessibility projects.

Simply put, Charles and David are about helping others with their projects. SCAR is a "focused forum" on the Southern Campaigns, not in competition with the *American Revolution*. Both the SCAR and ARA organizations are focused on fun, fellowship and sharing. Charles will continue to publish SCAR: 1) with no set publication schedule; 2) making it freely available on-line; 3) continuing its folksy-newsy-detailed-scholarly hybrid format; 4) focused principally on Southern regional Revolutionary War topics; and 5) dependent on the continued services and direction of the SCAR creative and editorial team. Future editions of SCAR may be occasionally in coordination with *American Revolution* magazine and always in full support of the American Revolution Association and its goals.

Charles and David fully support SCAR and the running of this new American Revolution Association organization to New England, the Middle states, and the West, and into the schools, libraries, bookstores, sites, battlefields, and minds, hearts and hearths of America. The facts, focus and details of the ventures are ever evolving. We trust you will continue to join and bear with us as we launch this new important venture.

Donations and mailing list

We do not sell subscriptions to *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, **but we do accept all donations**. We do maintain a snail-mail list and email list of folks who have indicated an interest in receiving the magazine in black & white photocopy form. If you would like to continue getting *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, please send us your name, email address and snail mail address, so we can put you on the mailing list. Each month, spam filter issues and many email address changes cause us to lose many contacts so we periodically need to refresh the list of our readers' snail mail addresses as well. Also, do forward friend's email addresses that may be interested.

A Critical Mass

It appears that the southern states are finally beginning to get organized to make an intelligent presentation of the South's key role in winning the American Revolution. This uncoordinated awakening has the potential to fill out this oft-overlooked story of the sacrifice made at this critical time in our nation's history. The key to success will be wide based community support to develop parks, interpretive centers, obtain permanent access to key sites, and provide a comfortable infrastructure to support cultural heritage tourism. To be sure there are already isolated successes, Colonial Williamsburg being an outstanding example, but Charleston, Savannah, Augusta, Camden, Charlotte, Petersburg, and Spartanburg all need to get their historic act together and support development of trails, tourist promotions, and interpretation of their sites. We need to mutually support the NPS research on the Battle of Camden site and the Southern Campaigns Heritage trail.

Cover art

Historic artist Pamela Patrick White has graced our cover with her interpretation of General Nathanael Greene ordering his cannon to retire from the crest of Hobkirk Hill on April 25, 1781 when the 1st Maryland Line failed to advance with bayonet in good order and the 63^d Regiment of British troops charged up the hill to threaten the Patriots' cannon. Surprised by Greene's six-pounders, Lord Rawdon's troops suffered mightily as grapeshot tore through his deploying ranks.

Pamela attended Philadelphia College of Art in the mid-1970s. By 1980 she was represented in New York by Nancy Bruck and began illustrating for companies such as Ivory Soap, Celestial Tea, Pop Shot cards, Disney and others. Eventually Pamela settled into book covers and children's book illustrations, working for companies such as Doubleday, Dell and Simon and Schuster. When Walter Farley, author of the *Black Stallion* book series, passed away in the mid 1980's, Pamela was hired by Dell Publishing to illustrate new covers for the Black Stallion series. She spent the next five years painting horses and has kept them as an important part of her paintings ever since.

Up until 1995, all of her work was done in pastel as a Signature member of the Pastel Society of America. After 1995, Pamela also began oil painting scenes of American history, a topic she had become interested in through re-enacting and research and by traveling to individual historic areas that can be seen in her paintings. By 2001, Pamela decided to concentrate totally on 18th Century American history and left the field of book illustration.

Today, living and working in the Allegheny Mountains of Pennsylvania, Pamela works exclusively on pieces depicting historic scenes and people of the 18th Century. Pamela's historic artwork can be seen in corporate collections such as Carolina First Bank, MBNA, Delaware State Archives, and DuPont and used by Colonial Williamsburg, Brandywine Battlefield, Camden Battlefield, Petersburg Battlefield, and a wide assortment of publications throughout the US, Canada and the UK. You may also have seen her work at various times on the History Channel and Public Television.

Her works are available directly from www.whitehistoricart.com, or may be viewed at shows and galleries throughout the year. For more information see the website or call the studio in Pennsylvania at (814) 652-6120.

Submissions

SCAR is pleased with the great articles, photos, maps, and news shorts our generous researchers and authors share with us, but we are always looking for more! We also could use additional columnists and feature editors. Volunteers should contact SCAR publisher [Charles B. Baxley](mailto:Charles.B.Baxley). Be a part of preserving something much larger than ourselves – our revolutionary past before it is consumed by sprawl or forgotten by neglect. ★



Recognized Will Graves with its 2008 Lifetime Achievement Award



Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution presented its 2008 award to William T. Graves for Lifetime Achievement! Here, Will takes and shares pictures of a Corps of Discovery trip to the site of the colonial Tryon County, NC. SCAR photo.

William T. Graves, Esq. received a standing ovation and recognition by a Lifetime Achievement Award for his Revolutionary War Scholarship, Leadership and Initiative from *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. This recognition was presented at the "Redcoats: The British in South Carolina during the American Revolution - Enemies We Love (To Hate)" conference at Wofford College on 12th day of September 2008. This award was given in recognition of his research, scholarship and authorship of the groundbreaking biography of South Carolina Patriot militia Col. James Williams; for his daily, diligent commitment to the leadership of the team dedicated to the accurate transcription, interpretation and analysis of the Revolutionary War soldiers' individual pension statement records; and, more significantly, for his many years of unwavering devotion, good humor, ascerbic wit, and unflinching support for probing, uncovering and sharing a greater understanding of the Southern Campaigns (or for all things Southern Campaigns). Graves' award citation reflects that, "His leadership and commitment mirror that of General Henry Knox: carrying the big guns wherever they are needed and always there on the ready with SCAR and for our fellows." His pension transcriptions and leadership have produced a critical mass of research in useable, accurate detail for generations of historians, genealogists and buffs to come. His constant support of our conferences, roundtables, Corps of Discovery, and publications has earned this Huzzah from his peers. ★

Charles B. Baxley..... publisher
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Barbara Abernethy..... editor
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Steven J. Rauch..... calendar and co-editor
Jim Picuch..... book review editor
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David McKissack..... contributing editor
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Jim Gillgam..... illustrator

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.

Woodward Corporation publishes *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*. All editions may be downloaded from the website below or purchased from John A. Robertson [scar@jrshelby.com] on a comprehensive, fully-searchable CD. *SCAR* suggests that you print each magazine in color as color graphics enhance the magazine.

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

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

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After taking a summer break, *SCAR* is back before our computers polishing up an exciting edition for your enjoyment. We have a queue of excellent feature articles being researched, edited and enhanced with appropriate documents, maps, art, photographs, and other resources.

The *SCAR* team remains heavily involved with the ongoing Battle of Hobkirk Hill archaeology project; advising Georgia's 13th Colony Trail; organizing three Corps of Discovery field trips this year; planning three Southern Campaigns Roundtables this year; working on seven publication projects; advising the Battle of Camden preservation project; supporting the Southern Revolutionary War Institute; and planning our upcoming Caribbean cruise-tour. ★

Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtables in 2008

Hopsewee Plantation Roundtable



Hopsewee Plantation home sitting majestically for 270 years amongst the live oaks on the north bank of the North Santee River is the birthplace of a Declaration of Independence signer, Thomas Lynch, Jr.

Thomas Lynch cordially and hospitably invited the Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable to visit his home on the North Santee River. Lynch, a delegate to the Second Continental Congress, was unable to sign the Declaration of Independence because of a stroke; however, his son, Thomas, Jr., was also a delegate and became the second youngest signer; he was born in this house at Hopsewee. The first 2008 Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution Roundtable was held on April 5, 2008 at Hopsewee Plantation in the Santee delta low country, St. James Parish. Lynch, at age 27, was the second youngest signer of the Declaration of Independence; he was born at the house at Hopsewee. Lynch was of Irish descent, a full member of the wealthy Carolina rice aristocracy, was educated at Eton, Cambridge, and read law at the Middle Temple. Of note, Lynch married Elizabeth Shubrick of the Quinby Creek rice plantation family. (The site of Gen. Thomas Sumter's Battle of Shubrick's Plantation on July 17, 1781.) Though passionately devoted to their own agrarian South Carolina, this congressional delegation cooperated in the Declaration for purposes of unanimity.

As usual, the roundtableurs gathered to share and present their current Revolutionary projects. John Allison shared Loyalist Levi Smith's report of Patriot atrocities at Fort Motte as published in the "Charleston Gazette", a Loyalist newspaper. Dr. Jeff Dennis talked about several Revolutionary War veterans who served in the War of 1812 including Wade Hampton (I) who lost his luster as a war hero. Nancy Lindroth explained the colonial settlement patterns in western South Carolina - French Huguenots at Hillsborough, Irish Protestants at Boonesborough, and Palatine Germans in the Londonborough townships. Barbara Abernethy shared biographical research on ultra-Patriot William Henry Drayton. Greg Brooking discussed his research on the British conflicting strategy of confrontation and accommodation in the South.

Ever-gracious Raejean and Frank Beattie were our hosts. The beautiful 1730s Hopsewee Plantation mansion is located just off of US 17 on the North Santee River and is open for tours. For more information on Hopsewee, see www.hopsewee.com.



Raejean Beattie addresses the roundtableurs from the old mounting block and gave us a magnificent tour of the historic 1740 rice planter's house that has miraculously survived the wars, earthquakes, wildfires, hurricanes, and floods. Photo by Nancy Lindroth.



We also enjoyed touring its extant outbuildings and the newly constructed river cottage in which we held our ramblings. Photo by Nancy Lindroth.



Rene Webster and Jerry Poslusny of Rochester, NY participate in the roundtable discussions in Hopsewee's new "river cottage". SCAR Photo. ★

Fairfield Plantation Roundtable

The Southern Campaigns was again lucky to be invited into the home of Crosby and Cleo Lewis, Fairfield Plantation in western Fairfield County, SC for its May 2008 meeting.



E. Crosby Lewis, Esq., our gracious host at Fairfield Plantation, poses by the historic marker at the entrance to the colonial Kincaid-Anderson House. SCAR photo.



Roundtable participants pose in front of the beautifully restored colonial mansion, believed to be the oldest extant plantation-made brick home in the South Carolina backcountry, built about 1774. Photos by Will Graves.



Steve Rauch, Bobby G. Moss, Jim Picuch, and John Allison enjoy the discussions in the cottage at the Kincaid-Anderson House. Photos by Will Graves.



Fairfield cottage and a small portion of its beautiful formal gardens and hardscape. Photo by Will Graves.

This beautiful 1774 mansion of plantation made brick and locally quarried granite walls, with its amazing gardens is one of the jewels of South Carolina.



More discussions in the Fairfield cottage. Photo by Nancy Lindroth.

All participants gave valuable insights to the group and each of them came away with something valuable. Just a flavor of the topics discussed included Dr. Bobby Moss report on his recent research in identifying 1,500 Patriots by name who served in the Snow Campaign (November 1775). Terry Lipscomb shared some letters of Pierce Butler who, after the Revolution, served as South Carolina's first Adjutant General. John Robertson described the on-going work on his on-line Global Gazetteer, a project to locate all Revolutionary War sites worldwide. Pelham Lyles, director of the Fairfield Museum brought the roundtable participants up to date on the efforts to save the old Mt. Zion Academy building on the site where Lord Cornwallis camped in downtown Winnsboro. Mike Burgess presented his research tracing the movements of Gen. Thomas Sumter, first towards the British post at Ninety Six, and then to take a stand at Blackstock's Plantation after he learned Tarleton was chasing him.

The Southern Campaigns Roundtable is a powerful forum for enthusiasts to trade information and obtain help from others. If you missed out on the 2008 roundtables, we hope to see you at a Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable in 2009. You are invited! For more information see

<http://www.southerncampaign.org/rt.html>

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Charlotte History Museum Roundtable

Twenty-five gathered on November 15 at the Charlotte History Museum for the final 2008 meeting of the Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable.



Roundtable discussions presented by John Allison on the Battle of Walkup's Plantation.



Dale Loberger explains his study of geographic, soils and other factors that help predict the location of historic roads, the key to finding the lost sites.



David Reuwer and Dr. Bobby G. Moss participate in the discussions. Photos by Will Graves. ★

Historian Don Higginbotham Dies

Professor Don Higginbotham of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, passed away on June 22, 2008. He was a native of Malden, Missouri. Professor Higginbotham was the Dowd Distinguished Professor of History at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he taught for 41 years. He received his B.A. and M.A. degrees from Washington University and his Ph.D from Duke. Before coming to UNC he taught at the College of William and Mary, Longwood College and Louisiana State University. A dedicated teacher and leading authority on the history of the American Revolution and in particular the life of George Washington, Professor Higginbotham was the author or editor of ten books and dozens of articles and essays, several of which won major prizes. A frequent and popular lecturer at the military academies, he was honored with the U.S. Army Outstanding Civilian Service Medal. He enjoyed his roles as historical consultant to television and film productions and as advisor to the Mount Vernon Ladies Association. In 1998, his book *George Washington and the American Military Tradition* was selected as one of the ten best books ever written about George Washington. His books: *Atlas of the American Revolution*; *The War of American Independence: Military Attitudes, Policies, and Practice, 1763-1789*; *Daniel Morgan: Revolutionary Rifleman*; *George Washington: Uniting a Nation*; and *War of American Independence* are all classics in the field. In addition to holding a number of important positions at UNC, including serving as chair of the Department of History, he was a former president of the Southern Historical Association and the Society of the Historians for the Early Republic. ★



Professor Don Higginbotham, Revolutionary War scholar, gentleman, author, and friend of SCAR. Picture from Wikipedia by Rmsmed.

Letters to the Editor

The American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP)

Dear friends and Fellow Historians,

Many of you are familiar with the American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) of the National Park Service (NPS). ABPP grants are available to non-NPS federal, as well as state, local and tribal government agencies, and private non-profit organizations and educational institutions for doing historic preservation projects on battlefields, representing all wars, on American soil that are not units of the National Park Service. Qualifying projects include, but are not necessarily limited to archeological surveys to define the "core" and GPS mapping of engagement areas; archival research; development of educational or interpretive plans and programs; and preparing applications to nominate sites to the National Register of Historic Places. Remember, ABPP grant money may not be used for land acquisition or construction projects, or refreshments and entertainment at fund raising events.

You may also be aware that the ABPP suffered from austere budgets of grant money in past years. Due to the limited allocation of funds, the ABPP staff had to evaluate and award "points" in various categories to each application on a competitive basis. Each proposed project application then received a score, yielding a rank order in which those with the highest scores stood better chances of being selected for grant funding. The ABPP staff then awarded and distributed grants starting from the highest score in descending order until the allocated funds were exhausted. Unfortunately, a number of deserving projects could often not receive grants just because there was not enough money.

That changed in Fiscal Year (FY) 2007, when the NPS budgeted enough so that the ABPP could award grants to every qualified application, and still had money left over! Because the funds cannot go unappropriated, the ABPP notified some of those who submitted 2006 project applications that were otherwise good, but fell below the cut-off when funds ran out, that they might receive grants for FY 2007. The ABPP received an even greater amount of grant funds to award in FY 2008.

The ABPP staff is anticipating that an equal or greater amount of grant funds will be available in FY 2009. For those involved in efforts to preserve the sites of Revolutionary War battlefields, applications are now available. Completed proposals must be received by the ABPP staff by **23 January 2009**. For more information, see the appropriate link on the ABPP web page at <http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/abpp/grants/battlefieldgrants/2009grants.htm>, or contact the grants manager, Ms. Kristen McMasters, at telephone 202-354-2037; or e-mail kristen_mcmasters@nps.gov.

In addition, the ABPP released its Congressionally mandated Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Historic Preservation Study. It is available in both hard copy and electronic versions (see: <http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/abpp/Rev1812Study.htm> for more details). On the "down-side," the ABPP discontinued public access to its very useful research tool called the "CABIN" (for Coordinated American Battlefield Information Network) database. The recorded data included information such as the significance ranking and preservation priority for battlefields and associated properties, geographic location information, variations in names, brief summaries of the engagements, information on principal commanders, strengths of opposing forces, etc. Unfortunately, someone at NPS thought there was no need to maintain it after the written report was published. If you are interested in researching

battles using the actual ground data - or have actually used it in the past, consider requesting that the NPS continue to maintain the CABIN database link on the ABPP web page. You may do so by contacting the NPS Heritage Preservation Services division (ABPP's parent organization) by e-mail at <mailto:Hps-info@nps.gov> to voice your opinion.

Glenn F. Williams Historian
National Museum of the U.S. Army
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Charles:

Q: What does British Maj. James Wemyss' grave, the Queen's Rangers, Durant's Plantation, Tydiman's Plantation, Fort Golgotha, thermal underwear, the double boiler, the pressure cooker, and the drip coffee-maker all have in common?

A: Loyalist Col. Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford).

For the last couple of years, I have tried to commission visitors from Huntington, NY to Cowpens National Battlefield to report back to me the location of the grave there of James Wemyss. Try number six paid off. Robert Ambrose, member of the Long Island Militia re-enactment group, reported back with sufficient clues that Internet searches could fill in most of the gaps. Following this trail turned out to be a dizzying sequence of irony and surprises. The details are found here:

Grave of James Wemyss / Fort Golgotha,
<http://gaz.irshelby.com/wemyssgrave.htm>
and here **Grave of Benjamin Thompson (Count Rumford),**
<http://gaz.irshelby.com/thompsongrave.htm>

A statement appearing on both the above sites:

"Old Burying Ground (17th Century) & Fort Golgotha (1782). Fort Golgotha is a significant Revolutionary War site in its own right. There is a remarkable irony that Wemyss, himself a Presbyterian, a former Queens Ranger, apparently accepted as a respected member of the community, but notorious in South Carolina for allegedly waging total war against civilians, women and children during 1780, should be buried 1833 in a cemetery desecrated by Col. Benjamin Thompson (King's American Dragoons, absorbing remaining Queen's Rangers) in 1782 by building a fort of questioned military necessity using materials taken from the Presbyterian church including the use of gravestones from the cemetery. Thompson had also served in South Carolina in 1782, with some credit, but without acquiring notoriety."

Wemyss is credited with burning the Indiantown Presbyterian Meeting House in modern Williamsburg County, SC and labeling it a "house of sedition." There is little doubt that Wemyss would have at some time attended services at the Old First Church that was rebuilt on the same spot in 1784 (and is still part of the present church building).

My study of Revolutionary War history began from a cold start less than nine years ago, with near total ignorance of how to proceed. Following some fruitless efforts, I came to conclude that one can never understand any battle in any war without studying it evenhandedly from both sides. In the last year or so, I have been struck by the conclusion that the more we learn about those "we love to hate", the more normal and/or interesting they become.

John A. Robertson Shelby, NC
SCAR cartographer, gazetteer and raconteur

★

Corps of Discovery



March 29, 2008 – Burlington, NC - The *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* (SCAR), in conjunction with the Alamance Battleground Chapter, NCSSAR, and the Trading Path Association (www.tradingpath.org) hosted a “boots on the ground” tour of three Revolutionary War battle sites in and around Alamance County, North Carolina. These skirmishes pitted the Patriot forces of Gen. Nathanael Greene against the British Army who fought under the command of Gen. Charles Cornwallis and occurred in the one month interim between the Crossing of the Dan River by Gen. Greene’s Army on February 14, 1781 and the bloody Battle of Guilford Courthouse on March 15, 1781.

At **Clapp’s Mill**, also known as the Battle on the Alamance, Lt. Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee led an assault on the British troops who foraged near Clapp’s Mill on Beaver Creek on March 2, 1781 under the protection of Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton. Beaver Creek is a tributary of the Great Alamance Creek both of which are now dammed to create Lake Mackintosh. An appropriate memorial to those who fought at the now partially flooded Clapp’s Mill site has been installed at the Lake Mackintosh recreation area on the lake, but this is approximately one mile from the actual battlefield. To plan your tour, the new book, *Battle at Clapp’s Mill* by Stewart E. Dunaway and Jeffrey G. Bright, will give you directions to the actual battlefield and explain the action there. This battlefield is unmarked but accessible by a public road, Pond Road.

The Corps visited the old regulator insurrection’s Alamance Battleground, where British troops under Lord Cornwallis camped on February 28 - March 2, 1781 using the Beaver River as a strategic barrier against a surprise attack by Greene’s forces. At the Alamance Park, we were treated to a demonstration of the firing of a six-pounder cannon.

At **Pyle’s Defeat** Lt. Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee’s Legion, in pursuit of British Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, engaged a group of 300 to 400 NC Loyalist (Tories) under command of NC Loyalist militia Col. (Dr.) John Pyle en route to join the British in Hillsborough on February 25, 1781. Pyle mistook Lee’s dragoons, dressed in green, as Tarleton’s similarly clad troops. In a very one-sided rout, 93 of the Loyalists were killed and Dr. Pyle’s men were disbanded. Later, several of the captured Loyalist were murdered by their guards – both give rise to the alternate names of this action - Pyle’s Hacking Match and Pyle’s Massacre.

Tom Magnuson, Executive Director of the Trading Path Association, presented a riveting description of the British attack on the Patriots on the South Fork River at Weitzel’s Mill. The foundation of the early 19th century mill is clearly visible and the beautiful placid river tumbles over boulders at the site. This beautiful placid river tumbles over boulders and the foundation of the early 19th century mill is clearly visible. The **Battle of Weitzel’s Mill**, following closely upon the heels of Pyle’s Defeat and the Battle of Clapp’s Mill on March 6, 1781 was another of those skirmishes where Nathanael Greene’s Patriot army harassed the Crown forces under Lord Cornwallis in the weeks that led up to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. It is notable for the people who participated, including Col. Otho Holland Williams, Lt. Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee, Gen. Andrew Pickens, Col. William Preston and his “Botetourt Rifles”, and Col. William Campbell, with his “Campbell’s Rifles”.



A young Continental, Luke Reuwer – age 7, fires across the South Fork River at Weitzel’s Mill. SCAR photo.

Late in the afternoon the group drove to the site of the September 13, 1781 **Battle of Lindley’s Mill**. Led by author Stewart E. Dunaway we discovered that the modern mill on Cane Creek is still named “Lindley Mill”. At this site local Patriots intercepted the Tories under Col. David Fanning who had captured rebel Gov. Thomas Burke in their raid on Hillsborough. The Tories successfully defended their prize and eventually returned Gov. Burke to British hands in Wilmington, NC. To plan your own visit, be sure to obtain the landowner’s permission, as this site is on private property, and a copy of *The Battle at Lindley’s Mill* by Stewart E. Dunaway.

A Foreign Visitor’s Report

Now I know that South Africa is a million miles from North Carolina, and I’ve been having a little trouble with the strong (if completely charming) Southern accents since I have been visiting Greensboro. But things were getting ridiculous when I heard SAR’s Jeff Bright say that some old boy out near Clapp’s Mill had hidden a battlefield’s marker “in a whale”! My head shaking, I carried on up the hill with the group asking myself what on earth he was talking about. Yes, they had flooded the area and we had heard the story of Pat Bailey and the Reverend’s brave efforts to save the mill from the water – but surely this whale business was stretching the truth a little? It’s probably just as well I kept listening or I might have ruined Jeff’s reputation as a speaker had I shared that gem with anyone. It turned out that he was actually talking about a well and while all this was going on in my head I was missing the next part of SCAR’s “boots on the ground”.

Saturday, March 29th was a great day for *battlefielding*. It was cold, gray and gloomy which seemed to add just the right ambience to the dramatic tales of revolutionary war, its heroes and villains. Rain threatened to cancel insert for all but the die-hards, but some nifty footwork by of the organizers re-scheduled the program and the tour was a go. We spent the first part of the morning huddled up inside the Lake Mackintosh clubhouse with hot coffee and Krispy Kreme donuts to keep us cozy as we listened to the different speakers from Burlington, NC’s Corps of Discovery, the NCSSAR and the TPA. On our program was to be three less well-known Revolutionary War sites in Alamance County: Clapp’s Mill, Pyle’s Defeat and Weitzel’s Mill.

Jeff Bright (part-time sociology lecturer at Alamance Community College and full-time passionate protector of the Clapp's Mill site) flourished the unveiling a home-made, detailed diorama. This was a new word to me but I had enough sense to know we were looking at a 3D plan of the battle at Clapp's Mill (where one man equals five because Hobby House only had figurines of a certain size!) Naively I thought there should only be two colors on the field (for and against?), but no, this was much more detailed with every different fighting group of men named, marked out, and discussed.

As a brand-new "battlefielder" (this being my first ever tour) I was amazed at the level of knowledge amongst the collected group but thankfully had enough common sense to keep my mouth shut as I doubt whether the one or two books I had read really qualified me for the discussion (which was quite spirited, as you might expect, but all in good humor). Later on I would learn that amongst the group were all kinds of published authors, lecturers, photographers, civic leaders, historians and well-informed amateurs of all kinds. As a visitor from outside it certainly was a rare opportunity to join in with a group like this and listen to the collective knowledge and debate, and despite their vast knowledge the invitation had been a public one and we were warmly welcomed.

But back to the show. Next up was author, war veteran and lecturer Patrick O'Kelley who kept us entranced with his staccato and detailed delivery of the story at Pyle's Defeat (otherwise known as Pyle's massacre). Sword waving and bayonet fixing came very much to life as he demonstrated the two. Patrick has authored what many believe to be the pre-eminent texts on the Southern Campaigns and his precise recall of each and every detail really gave color to his lecture. It was a pleasure to hear him speak.

During the day we also heard from Tom Magnuson of the Trading Path Association. This huge man and his gruff "I'm only interested in the terrain" sparked the interest of the group in the geography of the skirmishes we were discussing. Seeing through Tom's eyes allowed us to open up our minds to a different way of relating to the stories. We see how much the land had influenced the choices of the various decision makers and how these decisions, in turn, influenced the outcomes. Tom's description of his organization's work was fascinating and added a completely different layer of understanding to the stories we had come to hear. Changing perception and time frame enabling us to consider how, for example, a river we would simply drive across today might actually have presented a formidable obstacle in the period under discussion.



Drizzle at the Pyle's Massacre monument did not dampen the Corps of Discovery's interest in Pat Bailey's details on the preservation of this site. SCAR photo.

Once the rain let up we left in convoy to visit the sites we had been discussing, gathering together at the markers that thankfully had not been hidden in whales or thrown down wells, where we stood together imagining, remembering. For me, Pyle's Defeat was a somber place where the air was heavy with the story of the young men who died here. Our group was quiet. Rain pattered lightly around us and the solemnity of our collective interest in these campaigns sank in. Men had died here. Men were buried around us.

Thank you very much to the organizers of the day's events. I was sorry to have to leave at lunchtime due to other commitments but hope very much to be able to join another tour one day. Battlefielding with this group comes highly recommended from this visitor to Greensboro!

Lauren Wilson, South Africa



Tarleton's Raid on Charlottesville Corps of Discovery Tour

On June 7, 2008 – Richmond, Va. – The Corps of Discovery took to the road again on a bus tour of Lt. Col. Banastre "Bloody Ban" Tarleton's Charlottesville cavalry raid with guide **Dr. John Maass**. The tour was co-sponsored by SCAR and the American Revolution Round Table – Richmond. We left Richmond for the Cuckoo Tavern, which is a well-known site, but no structure remains.



Antebellum home, c. 1812, now located on the site of Cuckoo Tavern.

However, at the site is a large, beautiful 1812 house and two historic physicians offices, and behind them is a spring-fed pond that surely must have been used to water the Legion's horses. The owners of the house graciously served us tea and guided us around the house and grounds. The tavern, formerly located on this site is where the Jack Jouett's story begins. Ban Tarleton's raid stopped at Cuckoo Tavern for three hours. Jouett was a visitor from Charlottesville and knew the Virginia legislature was meeting there. He figured out Tarleton's destination and made a historic ride in advance of Tarleton's detachment to warn the Patriots in Charlottesville and Governor Jefferson at Monticello.

We next visited historic Boswell's Tavern that is extant and close to Louisa. (We drove through Trevillians battlefield (Civil War) along the way.) At Boswell's Tavern (built in 1731) we walked the grounds and got to tour inside. It retains its colonial form and structure and the integrity of its site. This is a marvelous property.

Tarleton's raid came through here, left a detachment, and burned several supply wagons that happened by at the wrong time and were on their way to supply Greene in South Carolina. Gen. Lafayette and his army was here too and stayed one or more nights.



Extant Boswell's Tavern, site of a Tarleton stop on his Charlottesville Raid. SCAR photo.

Next, we continued to Cash's Corner and down Route 231 to Charlottesville via Shadwell. We passed numerous old plantations, at two of which Ban Tarleton stopped at, caught prisoners, etc. We toured the grounds of the historic Castle Hill mansion on Rt. 231; the siding colonial house is extant and has a 19th century brick mansion grafted onto its front. There is extremely beautiful scenery through here. Maass presented some of the various sites we saw and tied in Jouett again at this point.

The tour visited "The Farm", in Charlottesville where we walked the historic grounds. At The Farm there is an 1830s home and an 18th century outbuilding that Tarleton used for one night as his headquarters near downtown Charlottesville.



Extant Boyd's Tavern, beautifully restored, is located on historic Three Chopt Road outside Charlottesville and was the last stop of the Corps of Discovery and a Tarleton's Raid on Charlottesville site. SCAR Photo.

From downtown Charlottesville we arrived at Boyd's Tavern. This was the *pièce de résistance* of the trip. It is on the old Three Chopt Road. Most people do not know that the actual tavern still stands and pass it by. Built in 1751, and very nicely restored about 5 yrs ago on a 9-acre parcel, its current owners Mr. and Mrs. Buck presented the history of the tavern. We were all very interested to see how they kept the 18th century character of the house inside and out but still manage to live in it. They did so with charm, reasonable modern comfort (air-conditioning) and beauty.

SCAR's hat's off to Dr. Lynn Sims and Bill Welsch of the American Revolutionary Round Table - Richmond for organizing a first class Corps of Discovery trip and to Dr. John Maass for his expert research, fieldwork and presentations. For SCAR photographer, Bob Yankle's excellent tour photo-journal, see: <http://revolutionarywarphotoarchives.org/TarletonsRaidOnCharlottesville>

Corps of Discovery field trips are informal tours organized upon invitation of a host and guide. SCAR publishes a meeting date, time, and place of the Revolutionary War related sites to be visited. We invite all those interested to carpool and join the hike to enjoy informal, on-the-ground, interpretive, presentations of research. SCAR keeps you posted on the details here.

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

The American Revolution in the Caribbean SCAR Symposium

SCAR is still planning a cruiseship-based symposium on the American Revolution's maritime and land war in the West Indies (Caribbean) during 1776 – 1783. The date and cruise line has not been finalized but will probably be in 2010. To protect the wealth of the sugar and spice island colonies and to seize new colonies, the European powers fought land and sea battles in the Caribbean that greatly influenced the course of the American Revolution, the world war it spawned and the terms of Treaty of Paris. We will nail down the dates and costs soon so you can plan your 2010 vacation now to join SCAR's editors, naval historian **Dr. Dennis M. Conrad** (editor of *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*) and other scholars for a laid-back family fun vacation. This cruise to the sites of the battles, forts and ports will feature shipboard lectures and battlefield tours in the beautiful West Indies along with all shipboard amenities and activities for the entire family. ★

Crossing of the Dan Exhibit Dedicated

At The Prizery in South Boston, Virginia, dignitaries gathered to dedicate a new permanent exhibit describing Gen. Nathanael Greene's withdrawal across central North Carolina while drawing Lord Cornwallis further from his supplies and support in the days leading up to the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Winning the "Race to the Dan" brought Greene supplies, safety and new troops to head back into North Carolina to take a stand against Cornwallis.

SCAR and NCSSAR photographer Bob Yankle attended the dedication ceremonies and posted a beautiful photo essay which you may view at

<http://www.ncssar.com/images/CrossingOfDanGrandOpening>

More information on the exhibit may be obtained at:

<http://www.prizery.com/RacetotheDan/Exhibit.htm> ★

Digging for Information Southern Campaigns Archaeology Projects

The **Hobkirk's Hill** battlefield archaeology project (ARCHH, Inc.) has returned for its fourth season of field work and completed its metal detection survey of the 11th property located south of Greene Street and east of Broad Street, much further east than we initially defined within the search area and in which we envisioned recovering any 18th century military artifacts. This property has yielded two poorly formed, dropped .45 caliber rifle balls and one swan shot – these finds prove that the initial search area needs to be expanded. Another property, at Greene and Lyttleton Streets in the heart of the battlefield, has produced our first documented iron one-pounder cannon balls. There is nothing in the known literature about either side having a one-pounder present at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill. If you are interested in volunteering to work with the Hobkirk Hill archaeology research project, please contact [SCAR](#). If you have Battle of Hobkirk's Hill artifacts in your collection, please contact [SCAR](#) about sharing your data. (see www.hobkirkill.org)

Scott Butler of Brockington and Associates, archaeologists of Norcross, Georgia in cooperation with the Palmetto Conservation Foundation have submitted a draft of their second archaeological survey report on the Battle of **Eutaw Springs** to the National Parks Service for review. This is a follow-on to the initial battlefield survey work done by Scott Butler and *SCAR* co-editor David P. Reuwer. Last year's severe drought provided the surveyors a unique opportunity to look at portions of the battlefield normally flooded by Lake Marion which *SCAR* estimates to be no more than 5% of the area of the battlefield. This flooded area likely includes Maj. Marjoribanks positions along Eutaw Creek and Lt. Col. William Washington's infamous cavalry charge of the Provincial Light Infantry in the blackjack thicket. The final archaeological and preservation plan report by the Palmetto Conservation Foundation will be submitted to the National Park Service for their review and approval. If you have artifacts from Eutaw Springs sites in your collection, please contact [SCAR](#) about confidentially sharing your data.

Led by archaeologist Rita Elliott, the **Coastal Heritage Society's** team has worked through the summer looking in the city's historic squares and other public places for archaeological remnants of the 1779 **British defenses of Savannah** and evidence of the Allies siege and unsuccessful attacks.



Following the August 2005 discovery of remnants of the Spring Hill Redoubt (as well as some musket balls and a gun part) at the site of the 1779 Battlefield Memorial, Rita and her team received a grant for more than \$37,000 from the National Park Service's American

Battlefield Protection Program to fund travel up and down the east coast where she visited libraries and archives to collect copies of original, hand-drawn maps of the fortifications in Savannah. Rita's team used cutting-edge software to match the period maps with modern street maps of downtown Savannah, determining places where battle-era fortifications matched up to modern green spaces (where the soil has been relatively undisturbed since the 18th century). While the team conducted fieldwork in several locations downtown, they achieved the most success in the northeast corner of Madison Square. Ironically this is in the shadow of the monument to Sgt. William Jasper, a hero of the battle. Rita and her team uncovered markings indicative of a British earthworks that was the scene of the diversionary attack on October 9, 1779 which the Allies planned to distract the British defenders from the main Allied thrust at the Spring Hill Redoubt.



Archaeologist Rita Elliott shows 18th Century military artifacts recovered from Madison Square.

Smith, Legg and Tamara Wilson's detailed report on the first two **Battle of Camden** archaeological surveys, called *Understanding Camden*, is available for sale for \$20.00 from the Palmetto Conservation Foundation.

(<http://palmettoconservation.org/book-camden.asp>)

Their follow-on report on the Battle of Camden site from their third fieldwork season is at the National Park Service for comments before being released.

The SCIAA team of Smith and Legg are conducting a Gen. Francis Marion military history site survey contract for the State of South Carolina's Francis Marion Trail Commission. Approved is a detailed survey of Gen. Marion's **Battle of Black Mingo Creek (Dollard's "Blue House" Tavern)**.

The 1779 **Kettle Creek Battleground** site located about 10 miles west of Washington, Georgia in Wilkes County received a Preserve America grant for the first-ever archaeological study of this important Revolutionary War battlefield. Washington, Georgia's Mayor, W.E. Burns, accepted the presentation from Mrs. Laura Bush, First Lady of the United States and Honorary Chair of Preserve America and Secretary of the Interior Dirk Kempthorne on behalf of the City of Washington and Wilkes County, Georgia.

"This is a wonderful example of the benefits of cooperation," Burns said. "We have a unique national resource in the stewardship of Wilkes County and we have been able to acquire preservation funds through the City of Washington. This cooperation will benefit everyone."



First Lady Laura Bush and Secretary of the Interior Dirk Kempthorne (r) present Washington, Georgia Mayor Willie E. Burns with the Preserve America grant for the survey and archaeological exploration of the Kettle Creek battlefield.

The Preserve America grant funds were used to conduct an archeological survey of the Kettle Creek Battleground that can be used to locate interpretive signs, walking trails and scripts for re-enactments during the Kettle Creek annual celebration. The grants can also provide funds on a matching basis to assist Preserve America Communities with marketing, planning, and educational efforts associated with protection and appropriate use of community heritage assets.

In accepting the grant, Mayor Burns said, "I want to express a heartfelt thanks to the Washington-Wilkes Historical Foundation for their financial contribution to the project, Fort Gordon for their technical support, and the Sons of the American Revolution for their spiritual support. We have been pursuing funding for quite some time and it was with these partners that we have finally seen success."

Dan Elliott and the [Lamar Institute](#) were retained to conduct the archival and on-site archaeological survey of the Kettle Creek battlefield. Over the summer, they completed the archaeological survey fieldwork, test excavations of 18th Century house sites and a ground penetrating radar survey of the 20th Century memorial cemetery at the site. The Lamar report will delineate the battlefield based upon metallic artifacts recovered and interpret several features excavated. The Lamar team located the sites of several 18th Century structures and a long ago abandoned roadbed. Dan has asked for help from anyone with artifacts from this area. If you have artifacts from the Battle of Kettle Creek in your collection, please contact archaeologist [Dan Elliott](#) or [SCAR](#) about sharing your data.

In addition to the studies reported above, [SCAR](#) is interested in obtaining information on artifacts related to the **Battles of Hanging Rock, Rocky Mount, Cary's Fort, Fishing Creek, Beattie's Mill, Parker's Ferry, Blackstock's Plantation, Musgrove Mill, Briar Creek, Great Cane Brake, Belleville, and Big Glade (Savannah) near Manigault's Ferry (Amelia Township), and Long Cane** near Troy, SC. If you have artifacts or other knowledge about any of these places, please contact [SCAR](#) about confidentially sharing your data. ★

Kudos to Kim Burdick – Leader of W3R



French Ambassador Pierre Vimont at Award Luncheon, Yorktown, Virginia with W3R Chairman, Kim Burdick.

As part of Yorktown, Virginia's Celebration of the 225th Anniversary of the Treaty of Paris, the treaty that officially ended the American Revolution, Delaware historian and educator Kim Burdick was honored by the French government for a lifetime of service in strengthening French-American cultural relations and especially for her work in developing the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route (W3R). The new French Ambassador, Pierre Vimont, greeted Mrs. Burdick and the W3R delegation. French Consul General Michael Schaufhauser presented Mrs. Burdick with an Academic Palm at a private luncheon for Mrs. Burdick. The *Ordre des Palmes académiques* (Order of Academic Palms) is an Order of Chivalry of France to academics and educators. The order was originally created by Napoleon to honor eminent members of the University of Paris. It was re-established in 1955 and is one of the world's oldest civil awards. Originally, the *palmes académiques* were only given to teachers or professors; however, in 1866, the scope of the award was widened to include major contributions to French national education made by anybody, including foreigners.

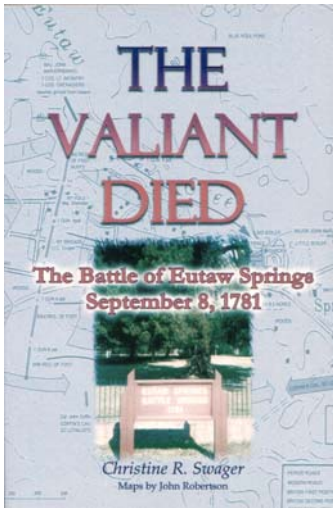
Mrs. Burdick was responsible for developing an extensive network of grassroots volunteers, state and local government officials, park and preservation authorities encompasses 9 states, DC and France as the National Chairman of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route Association (W3R-USA). The route encompasses the 685 mile long Revolutionary War route walked from Newport, Rhode Island to Yorktown, Virginia by allied French and American soldiers of the American Revolution. Under Kim's leadership the nine states have discovered and marked the Revolutionary War Route used by the allied French and American soldiers who defeated Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown.

Mrs. Burdick is a member of the American Friends of Lafayette, Alliance Française, and former President of the Delaware Huguenot Society. She is Chairman of the Delaware Humanities Forum Council, currently celebrating its 35th Anniversary Year with the theme "Picturing Delaware: Inside and Outside the Frame." Kim is the site manager of the historic Hale-Byrnes House and teaches American history at Del Tech's Wilmington campus.

Ralph Nelson, Newark, Delaware SAR and Delaware Chairman W3R ★

SCAR Book Reviews

***“The Valiant Died; The Battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, 1781”* by Christine R. Swager**



The title of this book - “*The Valiant Died*” - is a fitting description of the Revolutionary War experience of several thousand American and British military men fighting in the last major “close-in” engagement of that War.

The author of *The Valiant Died*, Christine Swager, has written several works of historical fiction on military matters taking place in the Carolinas during the Revolutionary War aimed at teens to tell the Revolutionary stories of South Carolina. In

this popular history, she has done an excellent job in presenting basic information that sets the stage for the Battle of Eutaw Springs and the military engagements that transpired in the Southern Campaigns leading up to this battle. It is a short book (about 160 pages, including 35 pages of excellent maps by SCAR cartographer John A. Robertson) and is well tailored for those who may not be too well-acquainted with the Revolutionary War, particularly the military action that took place in 1780-1781 during the Southern Campaign. The author starts from the beginning of the North American colonial conflict with a brief summary of the Revolutionary War engagements (and underlying American and British governmental strategies) that took place in the North (1775-1778). Dr. Swager then launches into a more detailed summary of the British plan (and American counter-plan) with respect to the Southern Campaigns, as well as the major military engagements that were fought in the South leading up to Eutaw Springs, e.g., Kings Mountain (October 1780), Cowpens (January 1781), Race to the Dan (February 1781), Guilford Courthouse (March 1781), Hobkirk’s Hill (April 1781), Ninety Six (June 1781), as well as various partisan attacks on British forts/outposts (led by “Light Horse Harry” Lee (father of Robert E. Lee) and Francis Marion (the “Swamp Fox”). The book includes several maps providing the reader a comprehensive collection of reference points related to these battles of the Southern Campaigns. Dr. Swager also provides significant discussion on the preparation General Nathanael Greene (commander of American forces in the Southern region) makes immediately before the battle, including his attempts to increase his troop numbers, as well as resting and revitalizing his forces given the prior months’ grueling campaigns that took place during the sweltering South Carolina summer.

In addition to her discussion of events preceding Eutaw Springs, Dr. Swager provides a thorough description of the military regiments of both sides, American and British, as well as their commanders. Such description is very helpful, especially to the reader who has little or no knowledge of Revolutionary War-era military regiments. The author provides a straightforward, but ample, description of each unit that was engaged in the Battle of Eutaw Springs, as well as basic information on the categories of military regiments involved (e.g., Continental Army, British regulars, Patriot militia, Loyalist regiments).

Dr. Swager also addresses the impact of the Battle on both the British forces in Charleston and the American forces in the Carolinas. She observantly sets forth the key outcome of the Battle—the British would never again venture out of Charles Town (what we know today as Charleston, SC) for any significant military maneuvers beyond foraging for food. Eutaw Springs basically provided the “final nail” quelling any designs/plans of the British to retaining the southern colonies of Georgia, and North and South Carolina.

Notwithstanding the very positive aspects of this book, there appears to be room for additional detail on the actual battle. While other parts of the book describe the army units involved for both sides (as noted above) and provide a fairly detailed account of events, including troop movements, leading up to the battle, the amount of material specific to the course of this engagement could be expanded on. There are a few subject areas that could have been discussed more fully within this book, including: (1) the hand-to-hand combat that took place in several instances of the battle and (2) how the British beat back the American charge toward the end of the battle, thus effectively securing at least a “draw” on the field of their final engagement. The main battle map featured in the book and on its cover was by SCAR editor David Paul Reuwer.

Another item that was not discussed in this book (as well as several other books by other authors on the Southern Campaigns) pertains to the role of deserters, both American and British, in this battle. Both General Greene and his adjutant-general, Otho H. Williams, in their post-battle writings, make reference to men on both sides having previously fought for the other side before this battle. This is an area that requires further research as it is unclear to what extent did deserters (from both sides) populate the ranks of the military units that participated in this battle.

In Summary, while the book could have incorporated some additional detail about the battle for which it is named, it is a very good basic read for those with a keen interest in how the British were defeated in the South during the Revolutionary War and should be on any Revolutionary War enthusiast’s bookshelf.

Note: The author took the title from a poem penned by Philip Freneau, a renowned Revolutionary War poet; it reads, in part:

**“At Eutaw Springs the valiant died;
Their limbs with dust are covered o'er. -
Weep on, ye Springs, your tearful tide;
How many heroes are no more!**

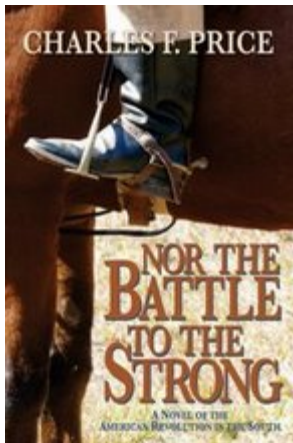
**If, in this wreck of ruin, they
Can yet be thought to claim the tear,
Oh, smite your gentle breast, and say,
The friends of freedom slumber here!**
* * * * *

**Now rest in peace, our patriot band;
Though far from Nature's limits thrown,
We trust they find a happier land,
A brighter sunshine of their own.”**

Reviewed by Mark H. Hill of Alexandria, Virginia.

***“The Valiant Died; The Battle of Eutaw Springs, September 8, 1781”* by Christine R. Swager with maps drawn by John A. Robertson.** (Westminster, Md.: Heritage Books, 2006). pp. 176. \$24.00. ISBN 0-7884-4102-7. ★

***Nor the Battle to the Strong: A Novel of the American Revolution in the South* by Charles F. Price**



With his novel *Nor the Battle to the Strong* Charles F. Price has earned the stature to stand alongside such noted Revolutionary War historians and authors as Dennis Conrad, John Buchanan, Lawrence Babits, Robert Morgan, and David McCullough. In this company of noted historians, however, Mr. Price distinguishes himself as perhaps the best “storyteller”, as well as the best (if only) pen and ink artist. While his research is impeccable and he has taken great pains to use language common in eighteenth-century America to

flesh out the storyline of his tale, that which is most notable about this book is the breadth and depth of the introspective insights offered by his two main characters as they question the very reasons for behaving as they do.

For those readers who are well-read in the southern campaigns of the American Revolutionary War, and have placed “boots on the ground” at Guilford Courthouse, the Dan River in Halifax County, Virginia, the Waxhaws, Camden, Hobkirk’s Hill, Ninety Six, and Eutaw Springs, (and for all of you who have yet to visit these sites) this book provides the context for the battles and skirmishes that took place there. Mr. Price weaves firsthand accounts of the people who fought in these actions with such accurate descriptions of place that the reader is drawn into the fabric of history.

Not interested in geography? More of a people person? Price fleshes out *Nor the Battle to the Strong* with believable dialog placed into the mouths of Nathanael Greene, the Baron von Steuben (if you read German), Tadeusz Kosciuszko, Henry “Lighthorse Harry” Lee, William Washington, Otho Holland Williams, Jethro Sumner, Isaac Huger, Francis Marion, Andrew Pickens, and a whole host of others. The masterful interplay of plot, people and place are never more evident than in the account of the council of war that Nathanael Greene convened before the assault on British troops under Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Stewart at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina.

For lovers of horses, this book also offers a delightful treatment of horses, horsemen, and horsemanship. The author provides a portrayal of cavalry life that is wide-ranging, thorough and informative. From a consummate list of every horse color that might be familiar to an American equestrian, to the descriptions of the animal’s conformation, and a thorough treatise on the training of a novice cavalryman, Price takes us through the Revolutionary War on horseback. The notable cavalymen, Lieutenant Colonels William Washington and Henry “Lighthorse Harry” Lee play pivotal roles in this tale, as do the horses upon which the cavalry depended so much.

The only slight drawback for readers is the rather lengthy sentences the author employed to detail his sense of place. They are well crafted, albeit somewhat time-consuming. This book is not for the faint of heart when it comes to vocabulary, either. Which of you is familiar with the terms *haar*, *caitiff*, *splatterdash*, *congeries*, *mingo*, *bunter*, *gabion*, *fraising*, *fleches*, and *pocosin*?

I had the chance to address these comments to the author directly. His response:

“I have to warn you, if long sentences test your patience, you had best quit reading right now. It is the intentional style of the whole book. You are right that my purpose is to convey a sense of place, but not just of place but also of a very different time and way of thinking and expressing, and in those terms I am a disciple of the late Patrick O’Brian; he rendered the period of the Napoleonic Wars in its own terms with relentless exactitude, and he expected the reader to care enough to follow him trustingly into that distant past. He expected, and I expect, the reader to do some heavy lifting, just as he did in writing it.”

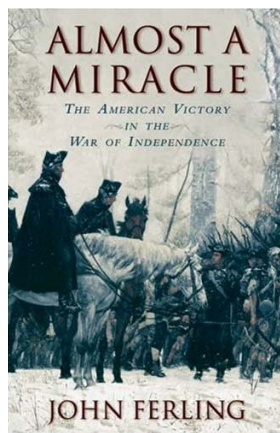
The last few chapters of *Nor the Battle to the Strong* come as a complete surprise, are somewhat disturbing, and offer an insight into the traumatic psychology of war that has been largely overlooked until now. Without giving away the ending, suffice it to say that the reader will be presented with a revelation that is gut-wrenching. And what is most interesting is that the clues are always there for you to see, but the reality still slams home like a twelve-pound shot striking a file of infantrymen.

I found this book to be a thoroughly enjoyable read.

***Nor the Battle to the Strong: A Novel of the American Revolution in the South* by Charles F. Price.** Savannah, GA: Frederic C. Beil, 2008. 448 pp., maps, illustrations. \$25.95 ISBN 978-1-929490.

Reviewed by SCAR Staff Photographer Bob Yankle of Burlington, NC. ★

***Almost a Miracle: The American Victory in the War of Independence* by John Ferling.**



Years ago, I debated with one of my professors over whether anything like general histories of the United States, Western Civilization, or World History can be taught in a meaningful way. As a teacher of all of the above, I argued in the affirmative but I understood what she meant. Sometimes a subject seems so broad that anything said or written must either be too general or bogged down in details. Studies of the American Revolution over the last several years remind me of that debate, but especially some works by British historians for whom I blame their misinformation and

misinterpretation upon inadequate works by American scholars.

Almost a Miracle comes as a pleasant shock. Even at almost 600 pages of text it seems too short for its subject but readers will want to read it at one sitting, despite its size. Even as “hunt and peck” reading, it proves engrossing. John Ferling put this work together from forty years of research in which he had produced nine earlier books. Such an extensive knowledge could have resulted in a text too dry and incomprehensible for the general reader. This author tells his great tale with remarkable clarity, even for the uninitiated. Furthermore, the extensive maps and illustrations reflect a care for achieving literary intelligibility and scholarly integrity. It reads

like James McPherson's Pulitzer Prize winning *Battle Cry of Freedom* on the American Civil War. The book is detailed enough to accurately place a small skirmish like Kettle Creek in the greater scheme of things while also covering the broadest international political and economic issues. Far from being an encyclopedic narrative (it lacks a complete index), the total work provides a solid general history of both amazing depth and greater understanding at the same time.

Ferling's interpretations embrace recent research while avoiding misguided revisionism found too often in modern histories. For example, he describes the year 1781 as one of turning points in the war, if not the most critical (pp. 468-500). In a carefully reasoned argument on several different levels, he contends that the United States could still have lost everything to the British at that late date before success on the diplomatic front and on southern battlefields turned the situation in favor of the American cause for the last time.

Almost a Miracle, however, cannot include everything about everyone everywhere, even in passing. It does remarkably well in discussing such subjects as women, the French, African-Americans, Indians, Loyalists, and other groups too often omitted or treated inaccurately in other general works. In a single volume of such broad scope, mistakes will be made. In a lengthy description of South Carolina partisan warfare, Ferling identifies Elijah Clarke as a resident of South Carolina instead of Georgia (p. 455), likely because Clarke made his reputation in the former state. The author more often amazes with what he gets right, however. Some specialists will also argue about what his book includes, prioritizes, excludes, and interprets such as his omission of the critical battle of Blackstock's Plantation, South Carolina, (20 November 1780). However, to be credible, his critics must make their arguments with great care.



Robert S. Davis
Wallace State College
Hanceville, Alabama

***Almost a Miracle: The American Victory in the War of Independence.* By John Ferling.** (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). Pp. 679. \$29.95. ISBN: 978-0-19-518121-0. ★

Honoring Ancestors at Musgrove Mill

Jim Livingston

The Second Annual Commemoration Service Honoring the Patriot Victory at Musgrove Mill was held at Musgrove Mill State Historic Site, home of the General James Williams Chapter, South Carolina Society Sons of the American Revolution on August 16, 2008. This historic site is at Union and Laurens County on the Enoree River and is important because of the Patriot victory on August 19, 1780 between the American and the British immediately after defeat of the Southern Continental Army at Camden and Col. Thomas Sumter's militia and Continentals at Fishing Creek.

The commemorative service was jointly sponsored by three organizations comprised of descendants of those who served our nation in the American Revolution - the South Carolina Children, Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution. The program of just over an hour was splendidly presented on the grounds beneath great shade trees very near the colonial home site of the Edward

Musgrove family. The weather could not have been finer for a mid-August South Carolina afternoon.



Boy Scouts from Troop 339 in Laurens practice the thirteenth point of the Scout Law: ...Brave ...Clean ...Reverent ...Hungry! That is after they had helped unload cars and performed a number of strenuous chores before and during the ceremony and meal. Photo by Jim Livingston.



Members of the SC Societies SAR and CAR Color Guards. Photo by Jim Livingston.

Highlights in addition to the revered honor for the Patriots who gave us this Revolutionary War victory a performance of 18th Century music by the pipes and drums of the Johnson and Orr families; a drama "The Musgrove Family in this Battle" presented by the McDavid-Westmoreland Society SCSSAR; unveiling of the Enoree River Bridge sign for "The Battle of Musgrove's Mill Memorial Bridge" by all youth and Melvin Foshee, President Cambridge Chapter SAR; and placing of the wreaths to honor the Patriots, SAR, DAR, CAR, Confederate Daughters of the Seventeenth Century, American Legion, and other patriotic groups. Additionally the Spartan and Musgrove Mill Companies, South Carolina Patriot militia re-enactors provided a musket salute. By reloading for the second round of fire they demonstrated how time-consuming use of these single shot firearms was. Paul Grier, State President of the SCSSAR, presided over the installation of chapter officers and presented chapter awards. Special presentations were made by Norman B. Pigeon, Acting President of the General James Williams Chapter SCSSAR and Jo Ann Roberts Childers, Senior President of the McDavid-Westmoreland Society SCSSAR.

At the Battle of Musgrove Mill three backcountry militia regiments commanded by Col. James Williams of the western South Carolina Patriot militia; Col. Elijah Clarke of the Georgia militia; and Col. Isaac Shelby of the over-the-mountain area of North Carolina led a force of 200 men to victory. The American forces had 200 fighting against 400 British. The American's casualties totaled 4 killed and 8 wounded whereas the British suffered 63 killed and 90 wounded. Although the Patriot (American) forces were outnumbered two to one, by taking a strong defensive position and luring the Loyalists (British) into a fierce fight at a site chosen by the Americans, the battle of about an hour created near total defeat and utter confusion for the British.

It was reported that at the nearby Duncan Creek Presbyterian Church on the day following their miraculous victory of the Patriots at Musgrove Mill, membership increased by 60 congregants.



Youngsters from the Johnson and Orr families performed the lament “Will ye No Come Back Again?” (the Highland equivalent of America’s bugle call TAPS) on pipes and drums to honor the fact that many of the combatants on both sides during this battle were Scottish Americans. Photo by Jim Livingston.

Jim Livingston of Newberry, SC is the chairman of the History Committee of the new Gen. James Williams Chapter of the SAR and enjoys writing and exploring the Revolutionary sites and events in the Newberry, Saluda and Dutch Forks areas of South Carolina and Saxe-Gotha Township area Germans of the Revolution. Jim.Livingston@yahoo.com ★

This Edition’s SCAR Authors

“In Defense of General Thomas Sumter” by **Thomas L. Powers** (p. 31) studies the oft-repeated statements about the partisan leader’s decisions and how he related to Generals Gates, Greene and his peers. Powers simply posits that modern scholars need to take a closer look at the shorthand dismissal of Sumter as a cranky partisan leader of questionable efficacy.

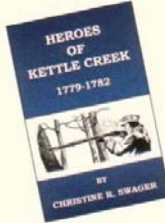
Thomas L. Powers is a professor of history at the University of South Carolina in Sumter. He lives in Sumter, SC and received his Ph.D. in History from the University of Virginia. His paper and remarks on revisiting the career of General Sumter were presented at the annual meeting of the South Carolina Historical Association on March 1, 2008 in Columbia.

“Cavalry Actions at the Battle of Hobkirk Hill – Remounted” by **Lee F. McGee** (p. 36) includes newly discovered letters which support the author’s conclusion that the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill map drawn for Johnson’s *Life of Greene* introduced a key mistake in the military history literature by showing William Washington’s cavalry movement to the west of the battlefield. Also, Sam Fore has provided a fresh transcription of an important letter written 39 years after the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill by local resident Samuel Mathis that *SCAR* has annotated.

Lee McGee is a frequent writer for *SCAR* and presenter at *SCAR*’s conferences, with a passion for the mounted service in the Revolution. Lee lives in the Pittsburgh area where he practices emergency medicine and researches Lt. Col. William Washington and the European influences on cavalry operations in the North American theatre.

“The Alarm of War: Religion and the American Revolution in South Carolina, 1774-1783” (p.43) by UNC Chapel Hill graduate student **Daniel J. Tortora** chronicles the impact on the Revolution of South Carolina’s churches. It seems that both the British and Americans used the churches, but they more often received the short end of the stick from the British. While it would be neat for religion to be the sole predictor of a person’s role assumed in the war, nothing in life is that simple. Religious organizations were important community secular organizations and went to war with their parishioners.

Daniel J. Tortora was born in Connecticut, but enthusiastically pursues his fascination with all things South Carolina. A graduate of Washington and Lee University with degrees in geology and American history, he earned his M.A. from the University of South Carolina and wrote his thesis on Rev. William Hutson, a pastor in Charleston from 1757-1761. He is currently a Ph.D. candidate in History at Duke University, where he has been a teaching assistant in Caribbean History. He has spent his summers in Montana or teaching at Midlands Technical College in Columbia, South Carolina. While he continues to write and publish on evangelicalism in the eighteenth century, Dan is currently researching his dissertation on the Anglo-Cherokee War of 1759-1761 and its legacy. He is an avid outdoorsman, soccer referee, and sports fan. daniel.tortora@duke.edu ★



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Research Notes

On-line Historic Library Resource

A great resource for scholars who do not have a major research library at their fingertips is John Robertson's on-line collection of links to many rare or hard to find 18th and 19th Century books, manuscripts, magazines, and scholarly articles, all focused on understanding the Southern Campaigns. SCAR is helping [John Robertson](#) to locate and identify research and literary materials to expand this on-line library with 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://lib.jrshelby.com/>]

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 are appreciated.

CD containing 35 historic volumes of 14,246 pages is now available

John Robertson's CD includes full copies of several hard-to-find works, such as McCrady's *History of South Carolina in the Revolution* (2 volumes); Charles Stedman's *History of the American War*; Henry Carrington's *Battles of the American Revolution*; and William Johnson's *Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*. See description, full contents, how to get at "Online Library of the Southern Campaign" <http://lib.jrshelby.com>.

While these downloadable books are extremely interesting, regretfully, many of them have over-sized margins, are missing volumes, missing maps, and have missing, unreadable or useless pages. For his own use and that of his friends, John has spent many hours refurbishing historic books on the Southern Campaigns of interest, more often than not, one page at a time. All works on this CD have been edited, repaired, missing pages replaced as possible, with 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.

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Southern Revolutionary War Institute

"New Acquisitions"!

The Southern Revolutionary War Institute (SRWI), located in the heart of the former "New Acquisition District" (now York County, South Carolina), is pleased to announce the recent acquisition of several important new collections of primary source documents on microfilm. Thanks to a generous gift from the Foundation for the Carolinas, the SRWI has obtained copies of the **Thomas Sumter Papers** from the Library of Congress (LOC), and the North Carolina Treasury and Comptroller General's records relating to Revolutionary War service from the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources (Archives and Records Section).

These **Thomas Sumter Papers** were collected by Thomas Sumter, Jr., the son of the famous Revolutionary War General Thomas "Gamecock" Sumter, and were donated to the Library of Congress by Mrs. Mary H. Brownfield of Summerville, SC in 1916. The Library of Congress collection officially known as the "Thomas Sumter Papers" should not be confused with another collection of the same name found in the Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection at the Wisconsin Historical Society which is composed primarily of research material collected by Wisconsin historian Lyman Copeland Draper in the late 19th century. (The Draper Collection of Revolutionary War documents relating to the Southern Campaigns is also available on microfilm at the SRWI.) The Sumter Papers in the Library of Congress date from October 6, 1780, with Governor John Rutledge's letter transmitting Sumter's commission as brigadier general of South Carolina militia. The collection also includes an original handwritten copy of Colonel William Hill's Revolutionary War memoirs, which Colonel Hill sent to General Sumter in 1815, as well as letters to Sumter from Generals William Smallwood, Francis Marion, Nathanael Greene, and other prominent Revolutionary War officers. Postwar documents include several rare election addresses and broadsides, as well as newspaper accounts of Sumter's death. This important collection has never been microfilmed before and has never been available for study in its entirety outside the Library of Congress.

The SRWI has also ordered **Lieutenant Colonel James Mayson's order book** for June 1778-May 1779, another rare documentary collection from the Library of Congress that has never been microfilmed and has never been available outside of the Library of Congress. This order book was maintained by Lieutenant Colonel Mayson while serving as second-in-command of the Third South Carolina Continental Regiment, also known as "Thomson's Rangers" after their commander, Colonel William "Danger" Thomson. It contains Mayson's regimental orders as well as general orders from General William Moultrie, commander-in-chief of the South Carolina Line. The Mayson order book will be available on microfilm at the SRWI in 2009.

The North Carolina Revolutionary War records acquired by the SRWI from the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources include state treasurer's and state comptroller's papers for war

veterans' back pay settlements; muster rolls for the North Carolina Continental Line, 1778-1783, arranged alphabetically by soldier and by regiment; state pensions to widows and invalids; Revolutionary War pay vouchers; troop returns of Continental and militia service; the North Carolina Revolutionary War Military Collection of miscellaneous documents; and the Delamar Transcripts of selected General Assembly legislative papers relating to military service in the Revolutionary War period. These records are now available to the public and complement the Institute's microfilm collection of the North Carolina Revolutionary War Army Accounts, which were financed by a gift from the Foundation for the Carolinas in 2007.

Since July 2006, the Institute has received by gift or has purchased a large number of important microfilm collections including the South Carolina Audited Accounts for Revolutionary War Service; the Cornwallis Papers on the Southern Campaign; and the National Archives' regimental rosters for the North and South Carolina Continental regiments. The Institute has also purchased microfilm copies of the indispensable Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection covering the Revolution in the Southern states, including the Thomas Sumter Papers (not to be confused with the LOC collection of the same name), Kings Mountain Papers, South Carolina Papers, South Carolina in the Revolution Papers, North Carolina Papers, Mecklenburg Papers, Tennessee Papers, Frontier Wars Papers, and William Preston Papers.

The Southern Revolutionary War Institute is a scholarly research center dedicated to the study of the American Revolution in the southern colonies. Based at the McCelvey Center in Historic York, South Carolina, the Southern Revolutionary War Institute is operated by the Culture & Heritage Museums (CHM) of York County, SC, in conjunction with the CHM Search Room and Archives. At present the Southern Revolutionary War Institute is the only facility in the world that is devoted exclusively to the study of the American Revolution in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Kentucky, Alabama, and Louisiana. The Southern Revolutionary War Institute's unique and growing collection of research material is available for use by the public Monday through Saturday, 10:00 am until 4:00 pm.

For further information contact Michael C. Scoggins, research director of the Southern Revolutionary War Institute and historian for the Culture & Heritage Museums, at the McCelvey Center, 212 East Jefferson Street, York, SC 29745, (803) 684 – 3948

Mike Scoggins micscoggins@chmuseums.org
McConnells, SC ★

Research Aids - "The London Gazette"

If you are doing research on British officers, a great tool is available. "The London Gazette" is now on line. Besides the officers the paper is largely legal notices, but does include some of the letters from the British Commander-in-Chiefs. We have all heard about British officers being "gazetted" to their rank. "Gazetted" can be defined as the posting of the commission in a gazette, or in the British Army's case, "The London Gazette".

The web address is: <http://www.gazettes-online.co.uk/AdvancedSearch.aspx?geotvpe=London>

Paul Pace [from RevList]

Commemoration of Buford's Defeat at the Waxhaws



Members of the North Carolina and South Carolina SAR, many in period garb, gathered on May 29, 2008 to honor and commemorate those who fought and gave their lives at the Battle of the Waxhaws (Buford's Massacre). SCAR staff photographer, Bob Yankle. ★

Walter Edgar speaks on the Revolution in Greenville, SC



Dr. Walter Edgar, historian, author and broadcaster, spoke to an enthusiastic crowd in Greenville, SC on October 17 as part of the McBee Lecture Series of the Upcountry History Museum. He began with comparing the heroism displayed in the ride of Mrs. Jane Black Thomas of the Spartan District to that of Boston silversmith, Paul

Revere. Mrs. Thomas rode 55 miles during the night to warn her son and the South Carolina Patriot militia's Spartan Regiment of plans of the British at their Ninety Six base to attack their camp at Cedar Spring near modern Spartanburg, SC which she had overheard while nursing her husband who was a prisoner of war and ill. Paul Revere's ride was famous only because Longfellow's poem made him a hero.

Noted historian Dr. Edgar serves as a professor of Southern Studies at the University of South Carolina. He is the author of the comprehensive and widely-acclaimed *South Carolina: A History* and the Revolutionary War book, *Partisans and Redcoats* that tells the story of the summer of 1780 Patriot victory at the Battle of Williamson's Plantation (Huck's Defeat). He also hosts a weekly cultural history program on South Carolina's public radio stations, "Walter Edgar's Journal".

One of the questions asked at the end of Dr. Edgar's speech concerned the film, "The Patriot". In discussing the famous scene of the church burning Dr. Edgar said, "The silliest thing was thinking that one hundred Scots Irish inside of the church couldn't somehow have got out". After the talk Dr. Edgar chatted with members and signed copies of his books.

Barbara Abernethy, Seneca, SC ★

[Dr. Edgar's photo courtesy SC ETV.]

Nathanael Greene Statue Dedicated in Greensboro, NC

Greensboro, North Carolina, like a number of other cities in the United States (e.g. Greenville, PA, NH, IL, RI, OH, MS, TX, TN, NC, and SC) is named after Major General Nathanael Greene, the mastermind and eventual victor of the Southern Campaigns of the American Revolutionary War. What is amazing is that Greene rarely won a battle, but his perseverance and his uncanny ability to preserve the Continental Army to fight another day eventually forced the British Army to evacuate Charleston, SC in December 1782. This marked the end of army-to-army engagements in the South even though it was many months after Washington's victory over Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, VA.

To commemorate the memory of its namesake, the City of Greensboro, NC commissioned local sculptor Jim Barnhill, an associate professor of art at North Carolina A&T University, to produce a bronze statue of Nathanael Greene to be displayed prominently in the public square in the Greene-McGee traffic circle. The monumental statue was unveiled on March 26, 2008 during the bicentennial celebration of the city's founding.



The Greene bronze at the moment of unveiling. The 11.5 foot tall bronze was a gift from the Joseph M. Bryan Foundation.

When it comes to Revolutionary War History, Greensboro is blessed with the proximity of the Guilford Courthouse National Military Park (with its extensive research library) and the Guilford Courthouse Fife and Drum Corps. It also has an active SAR chapter, the Nathanael Greene Chapter of the NCSSAR and two active DAR chapters. Of particular note, the Nathanael Greene Chapter Color Guard has a close relationship with the Guilford Courthouse Fife and Drum Corps as they are often requested to perform at the same events in North Carolina and several surrounding states. The bicentennial was a perfect time to bring all these people together and come together they did, adding color, authenticity and dignity to an auspicious unveiling.



The Nathanael Greene Chapter SAR Color Guard.

In what might be considered an "embarrassment of riches," Greensboro also has access to some of the most renowned reenactors of Revolutionary War history in the South. The Reverend Dr. D'Oyle G. Moore portrayed Nathanael Greene, while reenactor Jeff Lambert (District Vice President of the Piedmont District, NCSSAR) mingled in the crowd with other reenactors who had gathered for the occasion. Both of these gentlemen spent a good part of the afternoon answering questions in character from inquisitive bystanders.



The Guilford Courthouse Fife and Drum Corps.

There is probably no more fitting memorial for honoring war heroes than a statue in bronze. It is permanent, steadfast, and ages gracefully with time as it takes on the patina of many years of public display. This new statue of Nathanael Greene stands only miles distant from the more famous equestrian statue of Nathanael Greene in Guilford Courthouse National Military Park. Its position in the thriving downtown community serves as tangible proof that Americans still honor their heroes and this city honors its roots.

**Article and photographs by Bob Yankle,
Burlington, NC** ★

Delaware Revolutionary War Monument Dedicated at Legislative Hall in Dover

by Richard B. Carter

The Delaware legislature in July 2005 funded and established the Delaware Revolutionary War Monument Commission which facilitated a new monument in honor of Delaware troops who fought in the Continental Army during the Revolutionary War. This memorial was dedicated in ceremonies in Dover at Legislative Hall on July 16, 2008. The centerpiece is a bronze sculpture of three life-size Delaware Continental soldiers standing atop a large granite pedestal bearing the state's motto, "Liberty and Independence" on the front and "Delaware Continentals" on the back.



Sculpted by Ron Tunison, this monument was commissioned by the Delaware General Assembly in 2006. Tunison also designed and sculpted a bronze bas-relief sculpture for the Delaware monument on the Gettysburg Battlefield in 1999. The three figures symbolize Delaware's three counties of New Castle, Kent and Sussex and they represent an officer and two enlisted men. Tunison is known for the historical accuracy of his work. He worked very closely with Charles Fithian, historian with the Delaware Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs and an expert on the Delaware Continentals. The commission reports that, "We feel confident that this statue represents an accurate depiction of the Delaware soldiers of the Continental Line."

Delaware was the only one of the original 13 states without a monument to its Revolutionary War soldiers in or around its State capitol building. The fact that Delaware's Continental troops were among the most highly respected by their contemporaries made this void all the more significant, according to members of the monument commission. In February 2006, the commission entered into an agreement with Ron Tunison of Cairo, New York, a well-known sculptor of historical military subjects, to undertake the work. Sculptor Tunison also created the Delaware monument on the Civil War Gettysburg Battlefield. On schedule, the Delaware Continentals monument was erected at Legislative Hall the week before the dedication ceremony on July 8th.

The use of three figures, an idea suggested to the commission by Tunison, is meant to symbolize the fact that those who fought in the First and Second Delaware Regiments during the Revolution came from each of Delaware's three counties and from many walks of life. Colonel John Haslet, who led the first regiment until his death at the Battle of Princeton in 1777, was a Kent Countian from Milford. His second in command was Lt. Col. Gunning Bedford of New Castle County. The regiment's second commander, Colonel David Hall, was born and raised in Lewes.

One of its most famous officers, Captain Robert Kirkwood, was a native of the Newark, Delaware area and was educated at the institution that later became the University of Delaware. Several members of the Delaware Continentals including Hall and Nathaniel Mitchell of Laurel were future Delaware governors, as was Col. Haslet's son, Joseph. The Second Delaware Continental Regiment served from July to November 1780 under the command of Lt. Col. Henry Neill of Lewes. Numerous other Delawareans contributed to the American war effort as members of militia units or in Continental Army units not directly related to the two Delaware Continental Line regiments.

Richard B. Carter, chairman of the commission, said, "This monument will honor a group of Delawareans whose monumental achievements have been a little overlooked in our State's popular history. Every Delaware school child hears the story of Caesar Rodney's ride to Philadelphia in July 1776 to sign the Declaration of Independence. And we all know the story of Delaware's ratification of the new U.S. Constitution on December 7, 1787, but how many of us know about the contributions of the Delaware Continentals? Rodney signed the declaration but the Delaware Continentals fought for seven years to make it a reality."

Other monument commission members are Delaware State Senator Nancy W. Cook of Kenton and former Delaware House Majority Leader Wayne A. Smith of Wilmington, sponsors of the 2005 enabling legislation; Major General Francis Vavala and Lt. Col. Wiley Blevins of the Delaware National Guard; Major General Francis Ianni (retired) of the Delaware Heritage Commission; Mollie Revels of Dover and Lyman R. Brenner of Wilmington, representing the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Sons of the American Revolution; State Archivist C. Russell McCabe; and Timothy Slavin, Director of the Division of Historical and Cultural Affairs, and Charles Fithian of the Division, an expert in the history of the Delaware Continentals.

The first Delaware regiment was established in January 1776 and first saw action with the Continental Army in the Battle of Long Island in August of that year. From that point forward, Delaware troops fought with distinction in every major battle of the war and many minor actions, with the sole exception of the January 1777, Battle of Princeton, in which only a few Delawareans fought and Col. Haslet was killed.

The First Delaware Regiment was assigned to the Southern Army after four years in the northern campaigns. They suffered such heavy losses at the Battle of Camden, South Carolina, on August 16, 1780 that they were restructured as two companies. The Delawareans also fought in five major battles in 1781 and continued in service to the new nation until their return to their home state in January 1783.

One may gain a sense of their contribution to the history of Delaware and the U. S. from the words of historian Christopher Ward in his 1941 work, *The Delaware Continentals*. He summed up the true significance of their achievement this way:

From January, 1776, to January, 1783, this regiment had borne the burden of as hard service as was ever imposed upon soldiers. For four years in the North and three years in the South these men had marched in broken shoes or shoeless, on rutted roads and where there were no roads at all, through mud and sand, through swamps and streams, in Summer's heat and Winter's cold, thousands of weary miles. They had slept, or tried to sleep, in tents in zero weather, or without tents or any shelter, without blankets or any covering, on the bare ground in rain and snow. They had gone without clothing, food and drink, without pay for years on end. And they had fought in every battle, except Princeton, in which Washington's army in the North and Gates's and Greene's in the South had been engaged; on Long Island, at White Plains, Mamaroneck, Trenton, Brandywine, Germantown, Fort Mifflin, Monmouth, Stony Point, Paulus Hook, Camden, Cowpens, Guilford, Hobkirk's Hill, Ninety-Six, Eutaw Springs, Yorktown, and in skirmishes and minor engagements without number. They had met on the field of battle, bayonet to bayonet, the veterans of Great Britain and of Germany, the best soldiers the world could furnish.

Time after time they had been chosen for the most difficult and dangerous service, at advance posts in battle and as rear-guards in retreat. They had been beaten again and again, but never disgraced. They had been publicly thanked by their general commanders and by the Congress. Their comrades in arms and the contemporary historians had praised them unstintedly, and they had been applauded by all writers of the history of the Revolution from that time to this.

Haslet, their colonel in the first year, and Kirkwood, their commander after Camden, have been singled out of the multitude of Revolutionary regimental officers for especial commendation by all who have recorded the military events of those seven years...

The regiment was few in numbers, never, in battle, more than 550, as at Long Island, and, at the last, less than 100 as at Eutaw Springs. But, even at its fewest, it was a force to be reckoned with. Forged on the anvil of hardship under the hammer of experience, the Delaware Regiment was a weapon which any of the great captains of history would have been glad to launch at his foe. It is not too much to say that no other single regiment in the American army had a longer and more continuous term of service, marched more miles, suffered greater hardships, fought in more battles or achieved greater distinction than this one of Delaware.

(Christopher Ward, *The Delaware Continentals*, pp. 483-484)

The monument is located in a circular amphitheater on the east side of Legislative Hall and is clearly visible from the street. When fully completed, it will also include a "Continental Wall," a series of bronze plaques listing the names of all those known to have fought in the two regiments to be mounted on the brick wall surrounding the monument. These plaques were not installed for the July 16, 2008 dedication because State Archivist Russ McCabe and his staff discovered several hundred more names in addition to those listed in standard reference works. It is expected that these plaques will be installed in November 2008. There will also be several panels containing information about the regiments' history, uniforms and equipment.

The Delaware Continentals are the ancestors of the present Delaware National Guard and battle streamers won by the regiments during the Revolution are now displayed with pride on the banner of the Delaware National Guard's 198th Signal Battalion. For this reason, the Guard will be presented with bronze miniatures of the Delaware Continentals monument to be placed on permanent display in a Delaware National Guard facility in each of the three counties.



Sculptor Tunison did three bronze miniatures of the monument that were presented to Major General Francis Vavala, Adjutant General of the Delaware National Guard to be placed on permanent display in a National Guard facility in each Delaware county. Since the Delaware Regiments of the Revolutionary War are the ancestors of the present Delaware National Guard we feel that this monument is, in part, a memorial not only to the Delaware Continentals, but to all who have served in the Delaware Guard over the centuries.

Dick Carter may be reached at dick.carter@state.de.us. ★

Camden Battlefield Preservation Update

The ongoing effort to preserve and to interpret the Camden battlefield got a big shot in the arm last fall as the Palmetto Conservation Foundation closed the purchase of 161 additional acres on the west and northwest side of the 309 acres of battlefield originally acquired. This area was found to be critical to the preservation and interpretation efforts by the collectors who generously shared details of their finds' with the



battlefield archaeology survey team. This includes all lands to the MacDonald Branch that borders the battlefield to the west and the areas of the intense, terminal, hand-to-hand fight of the Maryland and Delaware Continentals last stand northwest of the monuments on the Great Waxhaws Road.

Dr. Jim Picuch, author of *The Battle of Camden: A Documentary History*, has drafted the verbiage for the kiosk and trailside interpretive signs. Definition and safety split rail fences and entry signs, as pictured above, have been installed to define the park's two entrances. The Applied Technical Education Center in Camden, SC students have agreed to construct a kiosk on the battlefield under the leadership of their building arts instructor.

Representatives of the interested institutions gathered for two days in March 2008 under the leadership of Frank Stovall of the SC State Parks service to draft a long-term plan to improve and operate the Camden Battlefield Park. This group's vision includes a manned interpretive center on location to provide security, interpretation and maintenance of the site. This plan has not been released by the SCPRT. The leadership role of the Military Heritage Program of the Palmetto Conservation Foundation is coming to an end as the forestry, use, conservation, and interpretive plans have been written and approved. The future ownership and operations have been debated. The first choice of the advisory committee is to have the site included in the National Parks system; however, the state of governmental budgets may prohibit the transfer of maintenance and operations for the foreseeable future. In the meantime, the property is permanently protected from development and public use trails are in place.

Although the Patriots suffered a humiliating defeat at Camden, it is seen as the high point of the British military power in their failed Southern strategy that ultimately led them to defeat at Eutaw Springs and to surrender at Yorktown. ★

Camden Battlefield - National Park Study

For the second time, the U.S. House of Representatives passed legislation in December 2007 championed by Rep. John Spratt (D-SC) to help the Camden battlefield become part of the National Park System. "The Camden battlefield has been a National Historic Landmark since 1962, but only through National Park status can this historic site be permanently protected," said Spratt.

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 and they recommended that the "National Park Service place a high priority on further evaluation of Camden battlefield as a potential addition to the

National Park System." Rep. Spratt was responsible for introducing a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to undertake the study. Congressman Spratt's bill was included in the legislation the House passed, H.R. 3998, "America's Historical & Natural Legacy Study Act." After the crushing defeat for American forces Patriot General Horatio Gates was replaced with General Nathanael Greene. American Patriots rallied their forces to win pivotal battles at Musgrove Mill, Kings Mountain and Cowpens and reversed the tide of British military power in North America. Thus, the Battle of Camden is a key to understanding how military victory came to the Americans at Yorktown and political victory came in Paris two years later.

"This site is a national historical treasure, and it deserves to be a part of the National Park System. The bill ensures that the battlefield is protected and people can continue to enjoy it. I am pleased to see this bill pass the House, and I appreciate the help of my colleague, Rep. Henry Brown (R-SC), in seeing it through his committee," Spratt said.

H.R. 3998 again moved to the United States Senate for its consideration where Sen. Lindsey Graham (R-SC) introduced S. 3051, a companion bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to study the suitability and feasibility of designating the site of the Battle of Camden in South Carolina as a unit of the National Park Service. The Senate Energy Committee unanimously approved S. 3051 on September 11, 2008 and the bill was placed on the Senate's Legislative Calendar under General Orders as calendar No. 996. ★

Study of the Proposed Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution National Heritage Area



Congress passed legislation in 2006 authorizing the National Park Service (NPS) to conduct a study to determine the feasibility of creating a National Heritage Area focused on the Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution in North

South Carolina. The planning team for the official NPS Feasibility Study has been assembled and met in September 2008 based upon the legislative mandate. The project planning team consists of experts from government agencies in North Carolina and South Carolina to coordinate the study and provide information regarding the Revolutionary War. Tom Thomas (Tom.Thomas@nps.gov) at the NPS's Denver Service Center (DSC) will guide the study.

The planning team felt that they should focus on a few tasks to get ready and to educate the public as much as possible about what a National Heritage Area is, what a feasibility study includes and our general work plan and timeline for the study. In that direction, the team has conducted several conference calls and a face-to-face meeting with the project planning team in Kannapolis, NC on September 3, 2008 to determine some key elements such as the area or sites for inclusion in North Carolina since the legislation is vague as to specific sites. The study team is gathering cultural, natural and recreational resource information for the study area. They have created a mailing list database of interested individuals, organizations, agency representatives, and elected officials to keep folks aware of the progress of the study (plus public meetings, info needs, etc.) throughout the process as appropriate. Finally, the study team is finalizing the details to make sure all the information shared with the public accurate.

The NPS - Denver Service Center has created and distributed a professionally designed newsletter to educate the public about the purposes of a National Heritage Area, the evaluation criteria, a historical overview of the Southern Campaigns, a step by step description of the study process, and as well as providing information about the upcoming public meetings. It will also include a comment card so the public can share their thoughts. You may make comments or sign up for their mailing list:

National Park Service, attn: Tom Thomas, Planning
P. O. Box 25287
Denver, Colorado 80225-0287
Or by Internet at <http://parkplanning.nps.gov/sero>

The NPS - Denver Service Center says that any resource information is welcome as well as any contact information for the mailing list. The planning team will begin conducting public meetings in early 2009.

The public scoping and comment period for the Feasibility Study of the Southern Campaign of the Revolution is now open. This comment period ends on November 17, 2008. Below is a link to the National Park Service PEPC website where you can view the newsletter, enter comments online or download a comment card.
<http://parkplanning.nps.gov/document.cfm?parkId=470&projectId=23636&documentID=25054>

Marlene Riley, National Heritage Areas Assistant at the National Park Service, Atlanta. ★

National Park Service Releases Report to Congress on Preservation of Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Sites

The National Park Service has the responsibility of preserving numerous battlefields and areas that are important in understanding the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812. Many more are preserved by states and local governments or other public or private entities.

As the 225th Anniversary of the Revolutionary War approached in 2000, members of the United States Congress were concerned that the "historical integrity of many Revolutionary War sites and War of 1812 sites" were at risk. To assess long and short term threats to their integrity, Congress passed The Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Historic Preservation Study Act of 1996. This resulted in the "Report to Congress on the Historic Preservation of Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Sites in the United States" which was completed and presented to Congress. "This comprehensive study is an outstanding achievement and will help assure the protection of the many important Revolutionary War and War of 1812 areas nationwide," said Mary A. Bomar, Director of the National Park Service. "I am proud that the National Park Service produced this landmark study, and that we preserve and protect many of the areas highlighted in the report."

The Report to Congress is available by accessing the following link at:
<http://www.nps.gov/history/hps/abpp/Rev1812Study.htm>. It is the most comprehensive list of Revolutionary War and War of 1812 sites taken on by the federal government. The report identifies the sites of almost 3,000 events associated with the two wars, including 60 sites within the National Park System. "While there is so much literature on the history of these wars, this report will stand out for the contribution it makes to understanding of the

location and condition of these sites," said Robert K. Sutton, Chief Historian, of the National Park Service.

The National Park Service has developed a web site to highlight many of the sites preserved by the NPS as well as State and local governments and public and private entities. By logging onto the Preserving Revolutionary War and War of 1812 Sites website at: http://nps.gov/pub_aff/rev1812/intro.htm, people can learn of the many special places preserved throughout this nation. In addition to a list of sites, the web site includes information and web links to books and documents related to the revolutionary War and War of 1812. ★

The American Battlefield Protection Program awards 32 grants - 8 for RW sites

The American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) announced the awarding of 32 grants totaling \$1,367,144 to assist in the preservation and protection of America's historic battlefields. The funds will support a variety of projects at battle sites in 24 states or territories. Funded projects include battlefield surveys, site mapping, National Register of Historic Places nominations, preservation and management plans, cultural landscape inventories, educational materials, archeological surveys, and interpretation. The American Battlefield Protection Program funds projects conducted by federal, state, local, and tribal governments, nonprofit organizations, and educational institutions. The ABPP's mission is to safeguard and preserve significant American battlefield lands for present and future generations as symbols of individual sacrifice and national heritage. Since 1990, the ABPP and its partners have helped to protect and enhance more than 100 battlefields by co-sponsoring 360 projects in 41 states and territories. This grant cycle includes eight Revolutionary War sites.

Francis Marion University, South Carolina - \$43,440

General Francis Marion's victory at Black Mingo Creek (Dollard's Tavern) fostered greater support for the Revolutionary cause in the Pee Dee area of South Carolina. While the location of nearby Willtown and its bridge, crossed by Marion's troops, is well known, the exact location of the September 1780 British camp at Patrick Dollard's "Red House" Tavern has not been confirmed. This project will identify and document the battlefield using land grant research, genealogy, pension accounts, and limited archeology. This project supports the ongoing efforts of the State of South Carolina's Francis Marion Trail Commission mission to design a tourist trail to interpret Gen. Francis Marion military sites, mainly in the Pee Dee area of South Carolina.

James City County, Virginia - \$55,224

This project will clarify the boundaries of the Revolutionary War battlefields at Spencer's Ordinary (June 26, 1781) and Green Spring (July 6, 1781). These engagements were a precursor to the final conflict at Yorktown. Mapping information produced with this grant will be integrated with local planning and zoning information, to identify parcels to purchase and further protect.

Lake Champlain Maritime Museum, Vermont - \$36,608

Valcour Bay was the site of the Revolutionary War naval battle of Valcour Island on Lake Champlain in Clinton County, New York. Although the American forces lost nearly their entire fleet, the damage inflicted on the British strategically delayed any invasion until the American forces grew stronger. The Museum has conducted extensive underwater archeology at this battlefield site

through a previous ABPP grant, and will create a brochure that details the best practices of working with volunteer underwater archeologists.

Ohio Historic Preservation Office, Ohio - \$45,000

The State Historic Preservation Office will update inventory and survey data for nine Revolutionary War and War of 1812 battlefields in Ohio. This project will build upon surveys conducted for the ABPP in 2002.

Princeton Battlefield Area Preservation Society, Inc. New Jersey - \$30,534

This project will create a GIS database and maps of the January 3, 1777 Revolutionary War Battle of Princeton. The boundaries will include troop movements and delineate the entire battlefield area, not just the smaller portion of the battlefield that is a state park. The Battle of Princeton was Gen. George Washington's first victory in the field against the British regulars. Princeton University's Institute for Advanced Studies has scheduled some of the last open land, a part of the battlefield, for development.

Research Foundation of State University of New York at Binghamton, New York - \$53,286

During the Clinton and Sullivan Campaign of the Revolutionary War the Continental Army destroyed the villages of the Iroquois Indians who sided with the British. Newtown was the only major battle of the campaign and resulted in a significant defeat of the Iroquois and British forces. This project will draw on research including American Indian and British perspectives to develop a GIS database and map of the battlefield, and a research design for future preservation planning.

University of South Carolina Research Foundation, South Carolina - \$39,366

Located at the confluence of the Great Pee Dee and Lynches Rivers, Snow's Island was the secret base of Brigadier General Francis Marion, the Swamp Fox, and his troops, from which they conducted numerous raids on British outposts and support columns during the Revolutionary War in 1780 and 1781. The British under Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle attacked Marion's small garrison and destroyed the secret base in late March 1781. This is the second attempt by archaeologists to locate remaining evidence of the Swamp Fox's hidden lair on the swampy island. The grant will provide funding for historical research and limited archeology will be conducted to determine the boundaries for this battlefield, and a revised National Historic Landmark nomination will be prepared based on those findings.

Vermont Division for Historic Preservation, Vermont - \$41,115

The only Revolutionary War battle fought entirely in Vermont, the Battle of Hubbardton (July 7, 1777), was a successful rear guard actions where the Green Mountain Boys of Vermont held the British off so the main Patriot force could retreat, and although technically a British victory, heavy losses forced them to abandon their pursuit. This project will use military terrain analysis to document the battlefield, determine its boundaries, and produce digital maps. ★

Update on the Marion Park Project "The Swamp Fox in D.C."

The bill, called the BG Francis Marion Memorial Act of 2008, authorized a monument to Gen. Francis Marion to be constructed at private expense in Washington, DC was passed by Congress and signed into law by President George W. Bush on May 8, 2008, moving the project into the next planning phase.



General Francis Marion designed by sculptor Robert G. Barinowski.

While the Marion Park Project Committee now possess Federal authorization to establish a memorial honoring Marion on federal land in Washington, DC, they do not have final authorization for the site to be Marion Park on South Carolina Avenue. This will

take a successful site study, alternate site study, environmental study, and traffic study. To make this happen, the Marion Park Project Committee has retained the services of Hartman-Cox and Associates of Washington, an architectural firm with experience in the process of memorial making, and have engaged Columbia-based engineering firm Wilbur Smith Associates to work with the Hartman-Cox architects. The Marion Park Project Committee is pleased to announce that Wilbur Smith Associates is working *pro bono* on this project and it is greatly appreciated by all American Patriots. (Feel free to send a letter of thanks to M. Stephenson Smith, Chairman, Wilbur Smith Associates, 1301 Gervais Street, Columbia, South Carolina 29201).

Once Wilbur Smith Associates and Hartman-Cox architects, along with the Marion Park Project Committee members and other interested parties prepare the required reports and designs, the Marion Park Project Committee will present plans to several D.C. agencies and commissions, including the National Capital Planning Commission, the Advisory Neighborhood Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts. The projected timeframe to complete these tasks is about six months.

The Marion Park Project Committee is in need of funds and is developing official fundraisers for the cash needed to complete the project. These will include formal and informal events, a professionally driven fund raising effort, and a planned coordinated effort with K-12 education departments around the United States, and more. If you would like to help seed the effort, please send a check to **Marion Park Project, c/o The Palmetto Conservation Foundation, 1314 Lincoln Street, Suite 305, Columbia, South Carolina 29201. Please mark the check clearly as to the benefit of the Marion Park Project. The PCF is an IRC 501(c)3 tax exempt organization.**

The Committee's website is under construction at www.swampfoxmemorial.org, and will be greatly enhanced soon.

John McCabe, Columbia, SC ★

Francis Marion Trail Commission Update

The Francis Marion Trail Commission approved \$86,925 for its 2008-2009 fiscal year budget; the South Carolina General Assembly cut the commission's public funding for the 2009-2010 fiscal year from its prior year's funding of \$200,000. "Along with almost every other local tourism project, we lost all of our funding in the General Assembly this year," the Commission's chairman said. Potential bricks and mortar funding for the main tourist gateway interpretative center proposed for Florence County, SC also was reduced because of a change in the rules governing the use of public monies to match product development grant monies appropriated by the General Assembly to the South Carolina Department of Parks, Recreation and Tourism for fiscal year 2008.

The Phase 1 archaeological report by Steve Smith of the University of South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology were presented to the commissioners in August. Smith described important discoveries such as several related sites at Wadboo Barony/Avenue of the Cedars (near Moncks Corner); the Battle of Black Mingo (between Hemingway and Georgetown); the Battle of Parker's Ferry and the location of the 1782 Jacksonborough meeting of the South Carolina General Assembly (in Colleton County); the Battle of Blue Savannah in Marion County; Port's Ferry in both Marion and Florence Counties; Witherspoon's Ferry (in Johnsonville); Dunham's Bluff (Marion camp and redoubt); Snow's Island; and the path of British Col. John Watson's chase of Gen. Marion, called the Bridges Campaign (located in a number of different sites and counties). The Commission indicated that the draft archaeological report contains a number of findings, conclusions and recommendations with regard to more than a dozen Marion sites that, along with sites that have been located and/or interpreted, may be used to form a core of developable tourism products.

Dr. Jerry Weitz of The Jaeger Company presented to the Commissioners its recommendations for of a master plan for the trail. The Jaeger Co. took Smith's archeological work and developed recommendations regarding sites that should be utilized into everything from roadside kiosks to sites suitable for full-scale restoration of battlefields. Weitz recommended specific design features and sizes of regional interpretive centers as well as local centers. Transportation facilities, signage, interpretive displays, exhibits, audiovisuals, support facilities, interpretive trails, and bicycle and water access were discussed. In addition to the four interpretive centers the commission has considered from the beginning of their planning, Jaeger made additional recommendations including new interpretive centers in the South Carolina towns of Kingstree, Lake City, St. Stephen, Conway, Myrtle Beach, and several other communities around the Pee Dee and Lowcountry.

The Commission's chair said that the completion of the archaeological report and master plan provide a good basis on which the Commission might seek funding from the private sector and local governments. "With the completion of these two initiatives, we will move from the 30,000 square foot conceptual level to the sites and communities that are actually on the ground," he said. "Based on this perspective, we believe the time will be right to ask the private sector and local governments to invest in the development of the sites and infrastructure that will form the trail."

This report is based on articles published in the "Florence Morning News" written by reporter Dwight Dana. ★



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JOIN or DIE
MUSTERING THIS FALL, 2008

Spartanburg Regional History Museum

“Redcoats: The British in South Carolina during the American Revolution -- Enemies We Love (To Hate)”



The Spartanburg County Regional History museum, in conjunction with the Revolutionary War Roundtable of the Backcountry, Wofford College and *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* presented a symposium focused on the Redcoats who fought in the South Carolina backcountry in 1780 and 1781.

The symposium kicked off with a keynote address by Prof. Jim Picuch in which he discussed the major themes of his new book *One King, Three Peoples: The British 2d Southern Campaign*. Jim serves as Professor of History at Kennesaw State University in Georgia. Historian Greg Brooking presented a talk based on his paper on the Alleged British Brutality during the Occupation of South Carolina. Greg is a Ph.D. student and adjunct instructor Georgia State University in Atlanta.



Ron Crawley, amateur historian and cavalry reenactor discussed the interesting life of Major James Dunlop, a controversial Loyalist cavalry officer who fought in the western Carolinas before he was captured at Beattie's Mill. Dunlop was probably murdered by his captors in Gilbert Town, NC, likely in retribution for his raid on Col. Charles McDowell's camp at Earle's Ford where young Noah Hampton was killed.



Mike Scoggins, research director at the Southern Revolutionary War Institute in York, SC, presents his research on Capt. John Fanning and his “Sandy River Boys” and Col. Matthew Floyd of the Broad River, both South Carolina Loyalists militia active in 1780 and 1781.



Steven Rauch, professional military historian for the US Army and adjunct professor at Augusta State University, discussed prominent New York Loyalist Col. John Harris Cruger, commandant of British backcountry stronghold at Ninety Six.



A wonderful luncheon held in the Wofford College Multicultural Room in the Burwell Building (note the mural). The conference presenters lead lively luncheon discussions and hosted each table.



SCAR Editor Barbara Abernethy presents on Redcoat Lt. Col. Nesbit Balfour of the 23^d Regiment of Foot, commandant of the British base at Ninety Six.



The audience got into the discussions in an “ask the experts” freestyle panel – Steve Rauch served as moderator and fielded questions from the audience along with panelists (seated left to right) Dr. Jim Piecuch, Mike Scoggins, Dr. Bobby Moss, Rev. George Fields, and John Robertson.



Noted preservationist, Gen. George Fields and Dr. Fritz Hamer, of the South Carolina Museum, enjoy a moment after lunch.

The program featured a demonstration of the Southern Campaigns Roundtable led by David Reuwer. Will Graves made a presentation and led a discussion on his research on the *1780-1781 SC Loyalist Militia Organization* in South Carolina. This was followed by George Fields’ presentation on the *South Carolina Royalists* provincial regiment followed by extemporaneous discussions by “roundtableurs.”

Other presentations on British and Loyalists officers and units serving in the SC Backcountry were made by Barbara Abernethy on Lt. Col. Nesbit Balfour of the 23^d Regiment of Foot and by Prof. Rory Cornish on Maj. John Coffin of the New York Volunteers.

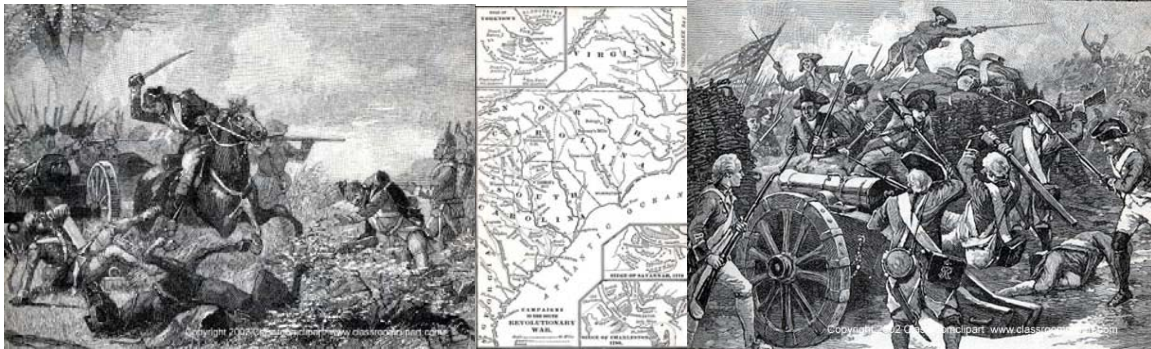


Gathering in the Papadopoulos Room at Wofford College.



Our host and behind the scenes magician, Charlie Gray of Wofford College. Photographs by Will Graves. ★

The six-year war for freedom in the American Colonies neared its conclusion from June of 1780 through the summer of 1781 in the backcountry of South Carolina. Although sporadic fighting would continue through most of 1782, the events of 1780-81 had made the eventual outcome much more certain. Most of the fighting here was between Whigs /Patriots and Tories /Loyalists. With few boundaries for conduct and behavior, this struggle was most intense, bloody, partisan, and ruthless. Both sides included native-born American colonists, foreign-born colonists, African-Americans, and native Indians. While the history of this conflict has been written by the victors, the story of their vanquished foes has not received the attention that the road to freedom and victory has shown on the patriot victors. However, we must realize that heroes who sacrificed all for what they believed in also represented the Loyalist side. This struggle brought forth the best and the worst in humanity and was a heroic struggle on both sides. As we look at who the Loyalists were, what they were like, how they thought, what they did, and what became of them, we discover that they were not unlike their Whig/Patriot brothers, cousins and neighbors. Now you can begin to understand the rest of their story.



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Carolina Mountains Literary Festival Features Revolutionary War Topics

The third annual Carolina Mountains Literary Festival in Burnsville, NC on September 12 and 13 staged several readings and panel discussions relating directly and indirectly to the American Revolution in the South. With pure blue skies and moderate temperatures the festival attendees enjoyed the mountain delicacies, great rockabilly music in the square and one-on-one talk with favorite authors and poets. It was the second straight year this increasingly popular literary event has focused attention on the Southern War.



SCAR friends (left to right) Janet Hubbell, Gail Gulbenkian, Dave McKissack, Ben Rubin, and Dana Hatfield seated in the jury box in the Yancey County Courthouse listen to Dennis Conrad describe the documentary history methods used in preparing *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*. Photo by Bob Yankle.

Revolutionary War experts and writers present included John Buchanan, distinguished author of *The Road to Guilford Courthouse* and *The Road to Valley Forge*; Gerald Carbone, whose recently published *Nathanael Greene: A Biography of the American Revolution* has received high praise; Dr. Dennis M. Conrad, editor of the later volumes of *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*; Robert Morgan, author of the current bestselling biography *Boone* and his earlier Revolutionary War novel *Brave Enemies*; North Carolina historical novelist Suzanne Adair, whose widely popular fiction is set in Florida and other parts of the South during the Revolution; and Charles F. Price, frequent SCAR contributor whose long-awaited novel *Nor the Battle to the Strong*, an account of Greene's 1781 campaign in South Carolina, appeared this summer to immense critical acclaim.

Buchanan, Carbone, Conrad, and Price offered a lively panel discussion on the topic "Nathanael Greene: Four Literary Perspectives," with SCAR's Charles B. Baxley moderating. Professor Robert Morgan presented two sessions on Daniel Boone and, together with Jack Buchanan, discussed the subject of Manifest Destiny, the westward movement growing out of the Revolution. Author Suzanne Adair read from her works and also spoke on "Community Camp Followers and Combatants in the

American War of Independence and the Civil War." Dr. Dennis Conrad, departing from the Revolution but drawing on the resources of the Naval Historical Center in Washington, DC where he works, gave a talk on the exploits of Capt. Otway Burns, the most successful of the War of 1812 privateers, a businessman and state legislator in North Carolina after whom the festivals host city, Burnsville, North Carolina, is named. Novelist Charles F. Price read from his new novel, *Nor the Battle to the Strong*. John Buchanan also read from some of his works-in-progress in fiction.

For an excellent photographic report by SCAR and NCSSAR staff photographer Bob Yankle, visit:

<http://www.revolutionarywarphotoarchives.org/CMLitFest2008> ★

VI Annual Francis Marion Symposium a Hit!



Judge Wright Turbeville of Manning, SC explains the role of lawyers in the Revolution and early republic. "The Manning Times" photo.



Professor Joseph Taylor Stukes of Florence, SC portrays the retired South Carolina Rebel Governor John Rutledge after the Revolution. "The Manning Times" photo. ★

In Defense of General Thomas Sumter

by Thomas L. Powers



General Thomas Sumter has not enjoyed a particularly good historical reputation as commander of South Carolina's military forces in the latter part of the American Revolutionary War. He is normally looked upon, at best, as irrelevant to the outcome of the American Revolution in South Carolina, especially in comparison to such heroes as Francis Marion and Nathanael Greene. At

worst, he is seen as a definite obstacle to the achievement of American independence. John Buchanan in his *The Road to Guilford Courthouse* may have reached an acme or nadir in this line of criticism in asserting that Sumter's severe wounding at the Battle of Blackstock's Plantation in November of 1780 gave the Rebel cause its only real hope for victory in the South.¹ But the line itself already had been well established by then.

There are many grounds for such criticism but most of them, other than those of an *ad hominem* nature, center around three points: that he was incompetent, that he was but a legalized plunderer, and that he was uncooperative, even insubordinate, with higher authority.

Let us address the question of competence first. That Sumter won few pitched battles should not be an issue for he fought few. As a partisan leader, it was never his purpose to take on a regular Imperial² army in the field but to engage in acts of harassment, to pick off isolated enemy detachments and outposts, and to deny Imperial control of South Carolina's countryside and population. These he seems to have done reasonably well and with success. Another point that should be noted is that Sumter seldom fought in the same manner as more-familiar guerrilla leaders like Marion. Rather, he was more likely to command such leaders, leaving them to operate on their own in their respective areas, and bringing them

¹ John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Court House: The American Revolution in the Carolinas* (New York: John Wiley & Co., 1997) p. 259.

² It seems there never has been an agreed-upon convention for naming the two sides in the American Revolutionary War. All are inadequate, especially considering that many citizens of Britain's North American colonies remained loyal to the crown and even fought in its armies. Terms like "American", "British", "Patriot", "Loyalist", even "Whig" and "Tory" contain misleading ambiguities. From this author's perspective, the major issue appears to have been whether the British Empire would maintain its territorial and administrative integrity in America or whether secessionist Rebels would succeed in detaching part of it from the whole and establishing its independence. Accordingly, the titles "Imperial" to refer to the former and "Rebel" to refer to the latter will be the major ones used in this paper, though more familiar terms such as "British" and "Loyalist" will occasionally be used when appropriate.

together under his own command for larger missions. Assessments of his competence must be judged in context and not simply by comparison to leaders of regulars such as Nathanael Greene or small-unit partisan commanders such as Francis Marion.

While there have been some aspersions cast on Sumter's strategic sense, most allegations of incompetence have been based on his tactical performance. He is said to have been unwilling or unable to attempt or even to conceive any maneuver but a frontal assault, usually against a fortified position, and usually without any regard for probabilities of cost or success. Almost invariably, such critics echo Lt. Col. Henry ("Light Horse Harry") Lee's oft-repeated *bon mot* that Sumter was so "Enchanted with the splendor of victory, he would wade in torrents of blood to attain it."³ Often cited as examples are such battles as Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock in the summer of 1780, Fort Granby, Belleville and Fort Watson in February of 1781, and Quinby Bridge and Shubrick's Plantation in July of that same year. But a look at these examples, taking into account contexts and situations, shows a somewhat different picture.⁴ This paper will examine only Sumter's attacks on Imperial posts at Hanging Rock, Fort Granby and Fort Watson.

Sumter designed the attack on the Hanging Rock position as more than a simple frontal assault. Sumter used good intelligence of the disposition of Imperial forces and terrain and aligned his own to take advantage. But the inability of the troops he commanded to stick to planned corridors of assault resulted in much of his force's converging on one part of the Imperial line.⁵ Even so, the attacking Rebels overran the British camps and prepared battery, inflicted major casualties on the enemy, effectively annihilated an enemy regiment, and surrounded the rest of the now-exposed garrison. The success might have been complete for the Imperial commander had formed his remaining troops into a square, maximizing his open-field defense but minimizing his chances for breaking contact and escaping the battlefield. But the square held long enough for Sumter's attack to disintegrate. Several of his units had run out of

³ Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States*, Vol. I. (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1812) p. 166.

⁴ Accounts of these actions may be found easily in the military literature of the Revolution in South Carolina. Both of Sumter's major biographers describe them. See Robert D. Bass, *Gamecock: The Life and Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter* (originally published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston in 1961, with a paperback reprint by the Sandlapper Press of Orangeburg, SC in 2000) and Anne King Gregorie, *Thomas Sumter* (originally published by the Gamecock Press of the R.L. Bryan Company of Columbia, SC in 1931, reprinted for the Sumter County Genealogical Society of Sumter, SC by Gamecock City Printing, Inc. of Sumter, SC in 2000). A good story but one which must be used with care, given the times and general perspectives of the author, is Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902). A still-utilized account from the "other side" which demands equal care is Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (originally published in London by T. Cadell, 1787, with a reprint by The Reprint Company of Spartanburg, SC in 1967).

⁵ Sumter planned a three prong simultaneous attack at dawn on three separate British camps at Hanging Rock; however, his guides got lost in the woods at night and led all three divisions to attack the same camp (Col. Samuel Bryan's NC Loyalist militia) of three or four separate regimental camps. Sumter's men quickly overran Col. Bryan's camp. "No battle plan survives contact with the enemy," attributed to Prussian General Helmuth von Moltke.

ammunition and the others were running low. Attempts to get ammunition from the overrun Imperial camp foundered as the hungry and thirsty Rebels discovered and shifted their attention unto both food and strong drink. An Imperial reinforcing column arrived on the field just as the attack was running out of steam. His force spent, Sumter withdrew. That this was not a Napoleonic victory should not obscure the fact that it was an exceptional performance given the type of combat in which partisans such as Sumter typically engaged. This is especially true given the restrictions imposed by the limitations of the troops and supply system within which he had to function.

The Gamecock did move against established fortifications at Fort Granby and Fort Watson. But again, he did not simply charge across a field into enemy fire and against the vertical palisades that are implied in names like “Fort” Granby and “Fort” Watson. Rather, he led assaults against the outer regions of those forts and did so with the expectation that surprise was on his side. He also chose this tactic because nearby Imperial reinforcements gave him too little time for a successful siege and because the men he led, in the field for longer than they had planned, could be induced to stay only by the promise of recovering lost supplies and other property contained within those forts. Further, these thwarted surprise attacks did not comprise the whole of his operation. He tried besieging Fort Granby. He built and utilized portable fortifications to shield his troops as they advanced on the fort. He even built what later would be called a “Maham Tower” so that sharpshooters could fire from its heights down into the enemy position.⁶ The approach of Imperial reinforcements forced him to lift the siege.

He never attempted to assault Fort Watson itself. Rather, he sought to recover some flatboats tied to the shore near the fort. The boats were laden with some twenty wagonloads of supplies including, according to historian Robert Bass, “enough arms, ammunition and clothing for three regiments”⁷ (which Sumter had previously captured but which subsequently had been recaptured and diverted to the fort). Initially attacking a faltering supply wagon, the enemy’s escort tenaciously halted Sumter’s attacking column and reinforcements quickly arrived. After a brisk skirmish, Sumter pushed on to Fort Watson but found it recently greatly reinforced and had to withdraw. Blocked from his objective and acutely aware that enemy columns were in close pursuit, Sumter broke off the attack and conducted a successful evasive action which allowed him to escape a pincer move involving no fewer than three converging enemy columns.⁸

The record viewed fully and in context does not substantiate the assertions of Sumter’s incompetence. Sumter did not normally

⁶ It is worth noting that Sumter utilized a “Maham Tower” in February of 1781, well before Francis Marion earned acclaim by using one when he attacked Fort Watson two months later. Sumter also attacked the fortified post at Rocky Mount, using ingenious methods considering he had no artillery or other weapons of siege warfare.

⁷ Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 130. These supplies were captured by Sumter at Big Savannah (or Big Glade) in modern Calhoun County near Fort Motte and Patriot Col. William “Danger” Thomson’s fortified home, Belleville, on February 23, 1781.

⁸ Walter T. Dornfest, “John Watson Tadwell Watson and the Provincial Light Infantry, 1780-1781”. *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* Vol. 4, No. 2, (April-June, 2007), p. 49. Dornfest’s source for the lack of an assault on the fort itself is a letter of Watson’s in the Henry Clinton Papers. Other historians have reported that Sumter unsuccessfully attacked Fort Watson on March 1, 1781. O’Kelley, *NBBS*, Vol. 3, pp. 104-105.

charge willy-nilly into the face of prepared defenses unless he had good reason to believe that conditions favored success. When one tactic failed, he was quick to adopt others until changing circumstances – usually the nearness of Imperial reinforcements – rendered the continued presence of his ephemeral force on the field tenuous. When that point was reached, he skillfully guided his men to safety to live to fight again. To this must be added the observation that Sumter was not working with units of trained and disciplined professionals. He commanded “regiments,” not individual soldiers, and those regiments were composed of volunteers of uneven ability and experience. Few could be counted upon to remain in place for any appreciable length of time. Tricky battlefield maneuvers were beyond such a force. Sumter worked well with what he had and what he could keep.

Allegations of plundering derive mostly from “Sumter’s Law,” which is often misunderstood as Sumter’s self-justification for using his manpower to seize civilian property. Sumter did impress supplies for his soldiers but he did this under explicit authority from the legitimate government of South Carolina. Impressment was necessary as well as legal for there was no other way to supply an army in the State.⁹ At times, this was *ad hoc* supplying, as in the case of his “Rounds” in February of 1781. There his equally *ad hoc* army was unexpectedly forced to remain in existence much longer than had been planned, and food and other supplies that men had brought with them simply ran out. The confiscations at other times were purposeful, ongoing, and legal, efforts to pay his State Troops. Confiscation and sometimes destruction of the property of Loyalists were the only means of raising money to sustain a Rebel government in South Carolina and to prevent the Imperial government from gaining effective control over its population.

The term “Sumter’s Law” usually refers more specifically to an aspect of a plan which Sumter submitted to Governor John Rutledge, proposing the creation of a new South Carolina standing army, the South Carolina State Troops. Always on active duty, well equipped and properly trained, such a force could be utilized far more effectively than militia whose limitations have already been noted. But such a force would cost money and, of course, there was no money, nor any practicable means of raising any other than the requisitions mentioned earlier. Sumter proposed that troopers be paid in kind. His plan called for some payments to be made in slaves, according to a standardized pay scale based on rank, because the men that Sumter led valued slaves beyond anything other than hard cash. The slaves were to be taken from Loyalists as a tax on the disloyal. The legal right to such confiscation was conveyed to Sumter when Rutledge approved the plan as a whole.¹⁰

Further, let us remember that what is called “plunder” was by no means Sumter’s exclusive preserve. The attacks of Imperial forces on private property and even private lives were far worse than anything Sumter did.¹¹ Even Nathanael Greene, for all his loud disdain for the practice (and for Sumter), engaged in it himself and justified it when it suited his purposes. As he wrote to North Carolina Governor Abner Nash,

⁹ Militia Act of 1778, Section 29. *The Statutes At Large of South Carolina*. Cooper and McCord (Columbia, SC: A. S. Johnson, 1841) Vol. 9, p. 678.

¹⁰ Bass gives a good and concise description of the plan in *Gamecock*, pp. 144-145.

¹¹ One need only cite the names of Banastre Tarleton, James Wemyss, Christian Huck, and William “Bloody Bill” Cunningham (and they were far from the only ones so engaged) to illustrate this assertion.

“It is my wish to pay the most sacred regard to the laws and Constitution of the State, but the emergencies of war are often so pressing that it becomes necessary to invade the rights of the citizens to prevent public calamities Many may think that war can be accommodated to civil convenience, but he who undertakes to conduct it upon this principle will soon sacrifice the people he means to protect”.¹²

During the “Race to the Dan,” Greene threatened to send impressment gangs into Virginia because his army needed provisions. He wrote in explanation to Virginia Governor Thomas Jefferson that “Necessity has and will oblige me to take many measures... contrary to the established laws of the different States. The occasion must justify the measure...”¹³

The editor of Greene’s papers acknowledges that Greene’s severe criticism of Sumter’s “plundering” was ironic given his defense of it in others and in himself. Greene’s opposition to confiscations and impressments took hold only after he was in the military ascendancy in South Carolina. Greene was aware that to win the local populations support, great care had to be taken concerning confiscations. Prior to that, he participated eagerly in the same system of plunder he would later disdain. He and his soldiers benefited from confiscations and plunderings.¹⁴

Perhaps the most damaging of the charges against Sumter’s reputation, and the one most frequently advanced when broader historical accounts take any notice of him at all, is that he was uncooperative, even insubordinate, with higher authority and that this insubordination threatened the success of the Revolution. This charge is probably the most misunderstood of all for it is rooted in an unwarranted and unspoken assumption that the Constitution of the United States was in effect in 1780 and 1781, or that everyone should have acted as though it were.

It is important to understand that there was really (in law, at least) no such country as The United States of America until March of 1781 with the final approval of the Articles of Confederation. Even then “The United States of America” was only the title of a confederation of sovereign states. That point was explicitly made by Article II’s unambiguous statement, that “Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom and independence, and every power, jurisdiction and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States, in Congress assembled.”¹⁵ Ultimate authority in this war, even after adoption of the Articles and most certainly before, lay with the individual states binding themselves into “a firm league of friendship ... for their common defense, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general

welfare”.¹⁶ The Articles of Confederation did not create a national government with power over the states and, significantly, over their armed forces. As David Wilson described the situation in his book *Southern Strategy*,

There existed a legal gray area in regard to superiority of command when the Continental Army had to cooperate with the militia. ... [T]he primacy of Continental command had never been codified in law. Therefore, disputes over command supremacy often occurred whenever there were mixed Continental and militia armies (which was the majority of the time).¹⁷

Sumter was hardly alone in insisting that the sovereignty of the State of South Carolina and the provisions of the Articles not be surrendered to Continental supremacy. And though some members of Congress, as well as most Continental officers, might have wished that state forces automatically would come under the control of whatever Continental officer might enter their vicinities, such was neither the common practice nor the law. Gen. Horatio Gates, for example, needed to beg the governors of Virginia and North Carolina for troops and supplies rather than simply asserting command authority over them, when assembling his army for the invasion of South Carolina in the summer of 1780.¹⁸ Later that year, to make it possible for Continental General William Smallwood to defend Charlotte with an army composed mostly of state forces, Gates had to request the Governor of North Carolina to give Smallwood a second commission as a general in the North Carolina militia. Continental General Robert Howe’s offensive to the Georgia-Florida border in 1778 with a force of Continentals and Georgia militia was halted when the Georgia militia, under the personal command of Georgia’s Governor John Houston, refused to obey any more of Howe’s orders, insisting that neither the governor nor the militia were obligated to do so. Howe’s protests were in vain. In law as well as in fact, the state commander commanded the state militia even when the latter was placed under the operational control of a Continental commander.¹⁹ State “cooperation” with Continental forces meant just that, not “subordination”!

Thomas Sumter, in fact and in law, was legitimately under the authority of only one superior: South Carolina Governor John Rutledge. Prior to the fall of Charleston, the South Carolina Legislature had vested in Rutledge full power to do almost anything the legislature itself could do, much as the old Roman Republic sometimes yielded all power in the state to a temporary dictator, with the notable exception that Rutledge could not subject the militia to “Continental discipline.” The legislature had then adjourned and would not reassemble until 1782. During that period, Rutledge was the only government that Rebel South Carolina had.²⁰ But having power vested in him by the legislature did not automatically give Rutledge the apparatus for

¹² Quoted in Mark A. Clodfelter, “Between Virtue and Necessity: Nathanael Greene and The Conduct of Civil-Military Relations in the South, 1780-1782”, *Military Affairs*, Vol. 52, No. 4. (October 1988), p. 170.

¹³ Quoted in Clodfelter, “Between Virtue and Necessity”, p. 170.

¹⁴ Dennis M. Conrad, “Comment” at session “‘Your Presence is Indispensable’: Gen. Nathanael Greene and the Revolutionary War,” Annual Meeting of the Society for Military History, Frederick, MD, April 19-22, 2007. Conrad goes on to note that Greene offered no objection to Sumter’s plan when it was submitted to and approved by South Carolina’s Governor, John Rutledge, though Greene was in command of the Southern Department by that time. [At that time, South Carolina had no other means to pay its State troops and militia and Greene needed them militarily. Ed.]

¹⁵ *Articles of Confederation*, Article II.

¹⁶ *Articles of Confederation*, Article III.

¹⁷ David K. Wilson, *The Southern Strategy: Britain’s Conquest of South Carolina and Georgia, 1775-1780*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005), p. 66.

¹⁸ There is a good collection of Gen. Gates’ letters on this subject at <http://battleofcamden.org/documents.htm>.

¹⁹ Wilson, *Southern Strategy*, p. 67. Even Nathanael Greene was reduced to begging, rather than simply ordering, for troops and supplies from the Governor of Virginia during the “Race to the Dan”. This point is noted in more depth in Clodfelter, “Between Virtue and Necessity”.

²⁰ James Haw, *John and Edward Rutledge of South Carolina*. (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1997) contains a good brief description of this situation. See p. 131.

executing that power. In exile in North Carolina, he had no agencies to collect taxes; no independent courts to render judgments; and no bureaucrats or commissioners to see to constructing and maintaining roads and bridges. He was a dictator with nothing to which to dictate, except to Sumter and his militia officers. Thus, until Rutledge joined Nathanael Greene's camp in the spring of 1781, Sumter, as commander of the entire South Carolina militia and of the South Carolina State Troops (after 1780), was himself the highest authority of South Carolina's government within the State. It was not for him to subordinate himself and therefore South Carolina to the centralizing force of Nathanael Greene, certainly not without the authorization of the Governor. And apparently, though Gov. Rutledge did tell him to "cooperate" with Greene on occasion, Sumter did not understand "cooperate" and "subordinate" to be synonyms, as Greene seems to have done.

This entire controversy is not simply about Sumter. Greene's relationship with Sumter and other South Carolina commanders did not stand alone. There were other occasions in other states in which he demonstrated his proclivity for attempting to seize power over states and state forces regardless of the law or of the Articles of Confederation. His high-handed tactics with state authorities even brought him into conflict with a Georgia governor whom he himself had had installed. That governor, Dr. Nathan Brownson, had been Greene's Chief Surgeon. That fact, however, did not stop Brownson from chastising Greene when the latter sought to exert direct control over Georgia state commanders, insisting that the right of states to control their own must be respected.²¹ When the Virginia General Assembly took exception to Greene's confiscations in that State, he threatened that the General Assembly's failure to come to heel would "oblige me to take a measure which cannot fail to bring ruin upon the Army, and fresh misfortune upon the Country."²²

"The Great Laws of Necessity" of which Greene often wrote took precedence over the "sovereignty, freedom and independence" and laws of states, the Acts of Congress, and the Articles of Confederation, which alone legally justified the others. His entire career is marked by such arrogations. Greene was, in fact and in law, insubordinate to and uncooperative with higher authority. It was Sumter who was acting in accordance with the law and in obedience to his chain of command.

To Greene, as to his co-worker Alexander Hamilton, as to his admiring lieutenants, Otho Holland Williams and Henry Lee, subordination of the states in almost every important way offered the only prospect not only for military victory but for the creation of a viable nation afterward. Anyone or anything which stood in the way of the transfer of real power to the center, regardless of the provisions of the Articles of Confederation, appeared an obstacle to victory, to independence, and to all the virtues said to be dependent upon that independence. That perspective is one which finds favor with those looking approvingly through the lens of the arrangements embodied in the Constitution of 1787 and further developed by the Federalist Party in the administration of the first President under the Constitution, George Washington.

But we must remind ourselves that it is the historian's task not only to see things through the prism of subsequent developments or

²¹ This story is told in Clodfelter, "Between Virtue and Necessity", pp. 171-172. According to the author, Greene "seemed bewildered" by this argument, despite its being entirely consistent with the existing law and the Articles of Confederation.

²² Clodfelter, "Between Virtue and Necessity", p. 170.

from the position of the historian's own "day", but also to attempt to understand things as they were at the time they happened and as they might have appeared to the people who lived them. We owe due respect to the perspectives of people like Greene and Williams and Lee. But we owe at least equal respect to those of people like Sumter and Brownson and Jefferson, who did not favor using the war as a tool to undermine the "sovereignty, freedom and independence" of the states and to shift power to a national order not yet even constructed. We should at least consider the judgment of those on the other side, like Banastre Tarleton and Charles, Lord Cornwallis, whose dispatches often mention Sumter as the only serious threat to Imperial control of South Carolina. The latter explicitly referred to him as "our greatest plague in this country."²³

It is significant that most historiographical condemnations of Sumter's uncooperativeness, as of his incompetence and plundering, rest on a very few primary accounts, especially those of Nathanael Greene, Otho Holland Williams, and Henry Lee. To these men, Sumter was indeed an obstacle to the realization of their visions. Worse, he continued to be so after the war as an Anti-federalist and then as a hard-line Democratic-Republican, whom Jefferson once described as more Jeffersonian than Jefferson himself. It is no wonder that they viewed him in so negative a light. The wonder is that so many today continue to accept those observations so uncritically.²⁴

I do not claim here that Thomas Sumter was a military genius, nor that his role in the ultimate success of the Rebel cause (or more accurately, the ultimate failure of the Imperial cause) was determinative, nor even that he was not justly described as incompetent, larcenous, and uncooperative. But I do contend that the reputation which continues to dog him is not entirely a well-earned one and that it is time for a more balanced look at this controversial soldier. I have tried to provide the beginnings of such a look here today.

²³ Cornwallis' often-quoted remark is in his letter to Tarleton of November 23, 1780, which may be found in many locations, including Tarleton, *Campaigns*, p. 202-203 and, now, on websites such as the South Carolina Historical Society's "American Revolution in South Carolina: Online Archives" at http://www.southcarolinahistoricalociety.org/wire/RevWar/archives-online/Tarleton_Ch_3_%5BL%5D_p_202a.html [Ed. A scanned image of Tarleton's book has recently been added to John Robertson's Online Library, which interestingly has Lord Cornwallis' letter printed on pages 208 and 209. http://books.google.com/books?id=d1YAAAAMAAJ&printsec=frontcover&dq=inauthor:banastre+inauthor:tarleton&lr=&as_brr=1-PPA208.M1 Both books show publication date of 1787. The Ayers reprint shows a page of errata following the contents and preceding page 1. This is missing from the online Google Books version linked above (which might indicate that it is a slightly earlier version).]

²⁴ Analyses of Greene's broader purposes are well treated in Clodfelter, "Between Virtue and Necessity"; Jim Mc Intyre, "Nathanael Greene, Soldier and Statesman", presentation at the Nathanael Greene Symposium, Camden, SC, April 21-22, 2006; Mc Intyre, "Nathanael Greene and the War of Independence in South Carolina: A Successful Counter-Insurgency", presentation to the Society for Military History, Frederick, MD, April 19-22, 2007; and John Maass, "Nathanael Greene, Moderation, and the Revolutionary Settlement in the South, 1781-1783", presentation to the Society for Military History, Frederick, Maryland, April 19-22, 2007. ★

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.** For current updates: <http://www.southerncampaign.org/coe.php>

November 29, 2008 - Ninety Six, SC – You are invited to step back into history with your family this Holiday season at Ninety Six National Historic Site's "A Backcountry Holiday", from 1:00 pm until 4:00 pm. The past will come to life as you walk into the historic late 18th century Black Swan Tavern, where costumed interpreters will be demonstrating Backcountry life in the 1700s. Take a break from turkey and shopping malls to enjoy light refreshments in the park's historic Black Swan Tavern. Relax by the fire and listen to Colonial holiday music played on the hammer dulcimer. Visit the Park's Visitor Center for unique gifts. Children will be invited to help decorate the cabin and decoration cookie ornaments to take home. The event is free and visitors are invited to spend an hour or spend the day. The Park is open daily 8:00 am to 5:00 pm. The Park is located two miles south of Ninety Six on SC Highway 248. Contact the park for details at (864) 543-4068 or visit the park's website at www.nps.gov/nisi.

November 29, 2008 - Ashley River, SC at Middleton Place - the Charleston rice plantation that was home to Henry Middleton, a President of the First Continental Congress, and Arthur Middleton, signer of the Declaration of Independence. It was also the site of the encampment of the Southern Continental Army under MG Nathanael Greene between July and December of 1782. <http://www.middletonplace.org> They will have a small camp with tentage and brush arbors and a scaled down earthen camp kitchen so visitors can stop in and speak with reenactors, watch drill and tactical demonstrations, and hear music of the period. They have a number of reenactors on staff. Take a special horse drawn carriage tour of Ashley Hill, the site of the 1782 encampment, now a part of Middleton Place. Sunday morning the Middleton Hunt Club will be holding the kickoff event of their season on our greensward with their blessing of the hounds, before the start of the hunt. If you have any questions just drop an e-mail to Bob Sherman at rsherman@middletonplace.org. Open to the public, admission fees charged.

December 4, 2008 - Washington Crossing, Pa. - The David Library of the American Revolution will present a lecture by Jim Piecuch, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History at Kennesaw State University in Georgia and SCAR book review editor, entitled "Competence, Conflict, and Confusion; British Command in the Southern Campaign" at 7:30 pm. Professor Piecuch is the author of a new book, "Three Peoples One King," which explores the conjoined fates of the Loyalists, Indians and slaves who stood with the British Empire in the Deep South colonies in the American Revolution. The David Library is located at 1201 River Road (Rt. 32), Washington Crossing, 1.3 miles north of Washington Crossing Historic Park (PA). Lectures take place in Stone Hall, inside the Feinstone Conference Center at the Library. Admission is free, but seating limited. For reservations or additional information, call (215) 493-6776 ext. 100.

December 5-7, 2008 - St. Augustine, Fl. - The British Nightwatch Parade and encampment. On the 6th of December 2008 at 8:00 o'clock pm the Night Watch Parade will commence at the Governor's House at the Plaza, thence march to the City Gate and return. Loyal Citizens and Troops are asked to Partake of this Merriment, bearing Candles and Lanterns to light their way,

making merry with Music and Good Company. The Parade will conclude with a Volley of Joy and Caroling at the Plaza across from Government House. <http://www.britishnightwatch.org>

December 6 - 7, 2008 - Chesapeake, Virginia - The 14th Annual Battle of Great Bridge reenactment will take place on the actual site of the battle. There will be two battles each day; the Battle of Kemps Landing at 1:00 pm (British win!) and the Battle of Great Bridge at 3:00 pm (Patriots win!) There will be military encampments, colonial crafts and music, children's colonial activities, and a colonial fashion show. <http://www.virginia.org/site/description.asp?attrID=29789>

December 6, 2008 - Elbert County, Ga. - GASSAR and Samuel Elbert Chapter SAR invites you to the Battle of Vann's Creek anniversary commemoration ceremony in the beach area of the Russell State Park at 11:00 am. SCAR Editor **Charles B. Baxley** will present brief remarks. (Richard B. Russell State Park is north of Elberton, Ga. off GA-77 on Ruckersville Road about 9 miles east of Elberton.) This battle took place on February 11, 1779 just three days before the successful victory of the Patriots at Kettle Creek. Free event, the public is invited. For more information please contact Larry Wilson at dlwilson@elberton.net, 706-283-1627, 1216 Robinwood Lane, Elberton, GA 30635

December 6, 2008 - Simpsonville, SC - Battle of the Great Cane Break commemoration - The South Carolina Society of the Sons of the American Revolution and the Veterans Service Corps will hold a celebration of the Battle of the Great Cane Brake. The battle was the largest Revolutionary War battle fought in Greenville County, SC. The program will be held at 11:00 am at 338 S. Harrison Bridge Road in Simpsonville. There will be special music, speakers, period firing teams, color guards, and much more. To get to the Cane Brake take I-385 south from Greenville and exit on Fairview Road. Go south for 3 miles and just past the Unity Church and turn right on Hew Harrison Bridge Road. Go 2 miles and turn left on South Harrison Bridge Road and go .5 mile to Cane Brake. For more information call Charlie Porter at (864) 201-3389.

December 8, 2008 – Spartanburg, SC – Revolutionary War Roundtable of the Backcountry. Social time: 6:00 pm – 6:30 pm; Dinner: 6:30 pm – 7:15 pm; Program: 7:15 pm – 8:00 pm. East Carolina University professor and author, Dr. Larry Babits, will present "A line in the sand: Devil of a Whipping as a Starting Point." Montgomery Room, Wofford College. Members - \$20.00, non-members - \$25.00. Visitors are welcomed, but please make a reservation. Charlie Gray, Continuing Education, Wofford College, 429 N. Church St., Spartanburg, SC 29303. FAX 864-597-4219 or email to graych@wofford.edu <http://www.wofford.edu/alumni/ContinuingEducation.aspx>

Exhibits

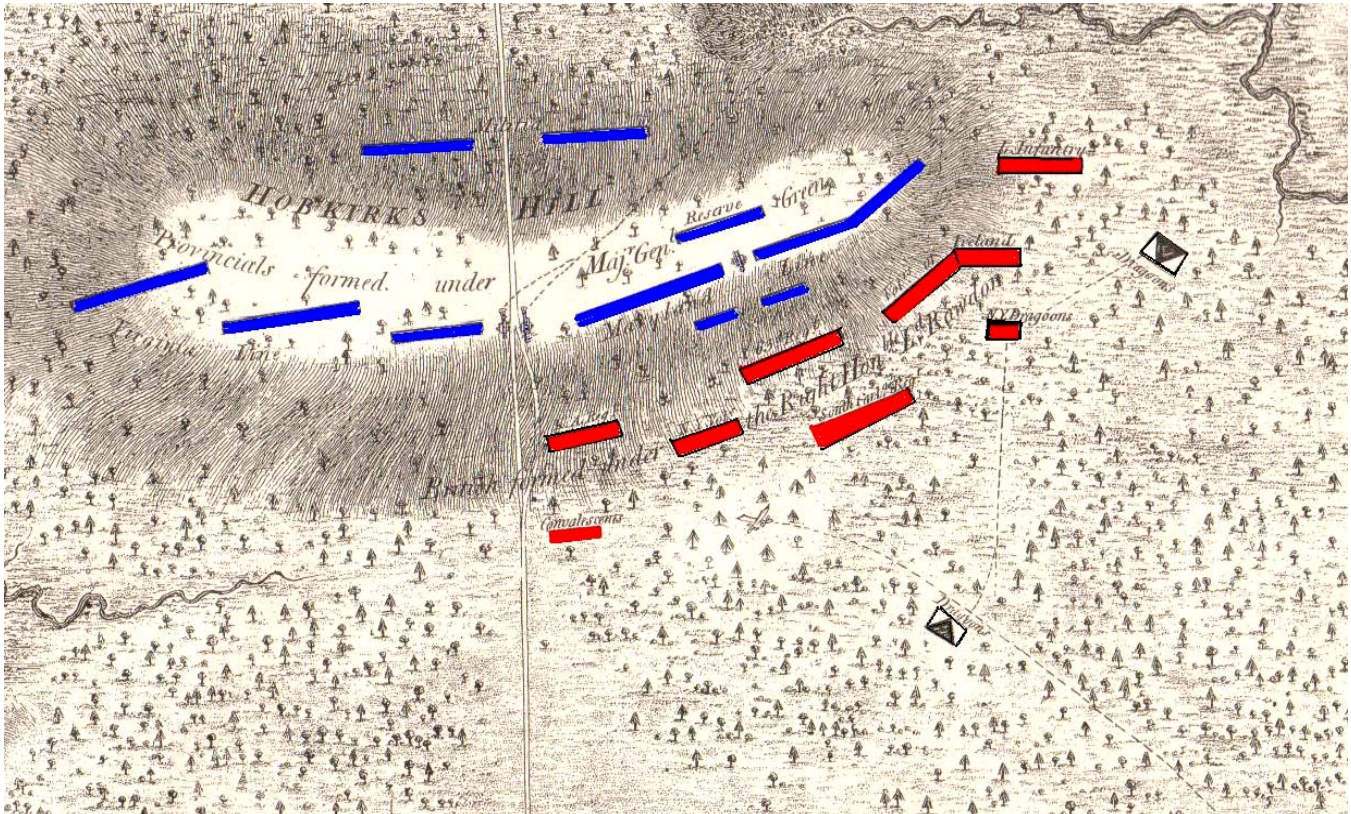
Through **January 9, 2009** - Exhibit: "Captured Colors: Four Battleflags of the American Revolution," at the DeWitt Wallace Decorative Arts Museum, accessed through the Public Hospital of 1773, 325 W. Francis St., Colonial Williamsburg, Va. ★

Cavalry Actions at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill – Remounted

by Lee F. McGee

Cavalry actions at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill(1) explored by me were two ideas that certain evidence seemed to challenge regarding the cavalry actions at the battle. These ideas are that Lieutenant Colonel William Washington's cavalry made a circuit around the western flank of the field and that Washington's actions were not effective or helpful. I also discussed these actions on the battlefield at the SCAR Nathanael Greene Symposium in April 2006.

Researcher Samuel Fore recently uncovered a letter from Gen. Greene's aide William Pierce, Jr. to North Carolina Patriot militia General John Butler, dated May 2, 1781.(2) This letter reinforces the fact that Washington traveled around the eastern flank of the battlefield. More importantly, the letter suggests that there may have been an additional clash between the American and British cavalry in the British right rear. Pierce wrote to Butler that Washington moved "round the right wing of their Army." This backs up the statements by Greene(3) and Colonel Otho H. Williams(4) as the third primary source written within one week of the battle to state that Washington's charge was around the eastern, or British right, wing.



Excerpt of British Capt. Charles Vallancey's sketch map of the April 25, 1781 "Battle of Hobkirk's Hill," undated in the cartouche, but as published in Charles Stedman's 1794 *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War* and noted "engraved February 6, 1794." This map shows the initial deployments of both sides, the cavalry action on the British east flank, and the Patriot cannon being removed to the thicket near the springs. Vallancey, an ensign in the regular British 16th Regiment of Foot, served as a captain in the Volunteers of Ireland provincial regiment, was a likely eyewitness, but published this sketch 13 years after the battle. The book's author, Charles Stedman, was a Loyalist commissary officer from Pennsylvania with Lord Cornwallis' army in Wilmington, NC and was not an eyewitness to this battle. North is up and the road through the center of the map is the Great Waxhaw Trail, modern North Broad Street (US Highways 521/601) in Camden; the springs are top center feeding the "miry branch" to the top right. The crossed sabers symbol, lower center, is captioned "Where the Enemys Picquets were Attacked." The two black cavalry symbols behind the British lines are simply marked "dragoons" whereas the small square in the center is marked as the Loyalists unit, "N. Y. Dragoons." The British front line from west to east: Kings American Regiment, 63rd Regiment of Foot, Volunteers of Ireland, and Light Infantry; the second line includes "Convalescents", NY Volunteers, South Carolina Royalists Regiment, and the Maj. John Coffin's New York Volunteers Dragoons. The Patriots' line from west to east: Virginia 2nd Regiment, Virginia 1st Regiment, two cannon, Maryland 1st Regiment, one cannon, Maryland 2nd Regiment. Vallancey's map depicts the Patriots as having an extra regiment west of the Great Road that did not exist. Light infantry as pickets under Capts. Perry Benson and Simon Morgan are shown deployed out front of the main battle line; the light infantry under Capt. John Smith is shown as "Reserve" in rear. Lt. Col. William Washington's 3rd Continental dragoons are not clearly depicted, and second line to the rear labeled "Militia" represents Col. James Read's North Carolina militia. Color added by SCAR.

After reviewing again the secondary sources written in the first quarter of the 19th century, my opinion is that this error may have originated with William Washington himself. Prior to John Marshall's biography of George Washington,(5) each description of the battle puts Washington's cavalry circuit on the eastern or British right flank.(6) To my knowledge, Marshall is the first author to place Washington's circuit around the western flank. This error was then repeated, most conspicuously by William Johnson in his *Life of Greene*.(7) At the time of Marshall's correspondence with William Washington, Washington himself admitted to John Eager Howard that he provided information to Marshall but allowed that his memory was not perfect.(8)

Based on this newly discovered third primary source we can reasonably conclude that Washington's move to the British rear was around the British right flank on the eastern side of the battlefield.

Pierce's letter also contains an additional statement of interest regarding the cavalry. "After a spirited charge upon their Cavalry and dispersing them, he fell upon the rear of their Infantry . . ." (9) Scholars initially believed that Washington made at least two charges on John Coffin's cavalry: the first was in driving them off the artillery (after Washington returned to the American rear) and the second was "at the close of the Evening" (after the morning battle) when the American cavalry and some infantry drove Coffin from the actual field of battle.(10) Pierce's letter adds an initial clash to disperse them making the afternoon skirmish their third cavalry clash.

One confusing element in interpretation of the battle is the map drawn [and published in 1794] by British Captain Charles Vallancey(11) who fought with the Volunteers of New York provincials at Hobkirk Hill. This map has notations indicating movement of cavalry in the British right rear. There are three identified cavalry unit symbols on the east flank and to the rear of the British line. One is clearly marked "NY Dragoons," and the others are simply marked "Dragoons" with arrows pointing towards each other and connected by a dashed line indicating routes of movement. This notation of Vallancey was one of the first indications that Washington's circuit was correctly placed on the British right flank. But up to this point, we have not had any source or statement that suggests a cavalry vs. cavalry *action* in the rear of the British right (eastern) flank.

Samuel Mathis, a civilian resident of Camden, in his letter of 1819 to Gen. William Richardson Davie, is the only source describing the British cavalry actions(12). He was in Camden at the time, though he did not directly witness the action; he befriended Patriot Capt. John Smith of Greene's light infantry who was in the action. While Mathis does state that Coffin advanced up the "Great Road," the Vallancey map suggests that Coffin could have advance along the main axis of the British advance and right in front of the single 6 pounder cannon posted between the two regiments of the Maryland line. If indeed Mathis was correct that Washington first encountered the reeling British cavalry, it might account for the notation of the intersection of the "NY Dragoons" and the "Dragoons" in the British rear on the Vallancey map.

Is Pierce's description of a "spirited charge"(13) upon Coffin's horse the same encounter described by Mathis as Washington having ". . . completed the rout of the [New] York Volunteers . . . ?"(14) We know that Washington did take many prisoners and did extract many paroles in the British rear. What we are left with is a

confused tangle of descriptions. A spirited charge upon their cavalry; completing the rout; encountering the British doctors; and the (in Lord Rawdon's own description) armed detachment of convalescents; this confusing tangle however may just be the point we are after.

One of the questions I attempted to answer in my article was whether William Washington was effective in his move to the British rear. It was my belief at the time that he was. If the initial American surge, flanking and envelopment had succeeded, Washington was in the right place at the right time to block any retreat by the British. Added to the existing sources, Pierce's description serves to increase the confusion about what was going on the British rear. This confusion, however, may be lessened our understanding as in the actual reality of the action in the British rear. Washington arrived just in time to stir up the "confusion."

Had the Maryland 1st Regiment not broken, Washington's presence in the rear may well have completed the rout of Lord Rawdon's entire force, resulting in the capture of hundreds of British soldiers and officers. We might instead today be reading about the brilliant tactical maneuvering of the cavalry at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill under Nathanael Greene and William Washington.

(1) McGee, Lee F. "The Object was Worth the Cast: The Patriot Cavalry Reexamined at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill." *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, Vol. 3, No. 4, April 2006, pp. 13-19.

(*) For copies of the relevant maps, the primary sources including the reports of Lord Rawdon and General Greene see www.hobkirkhill.org.

(2) William Pierce, Jr. to John Butler, May 2, 1781. From the Collections of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, courtesy of Samuel K. Fore. Letter excerpt included herein below, p. 42. See www.hobkirkhill.org for complete letter.

(3) Nathanael Greene to Samuel Huntington, April 27, 1781, in Conrad, Dennis, editor, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 8: 157.

(4) Otho Holland Williams to Elie Williams, April 27, 1781, www.hobkirkhill.org accessed March 29, 2006.

(5) Marshall, John. *The Life of George Washington*. CP Wayne, Philadelphia, 1805, V IV, p. 512.

(6) see, for example, Ramsey, David. *The History of the Revolution in South Carolina*, Isaac Collins, Trenton, 1785, p. 230.

(7) Johnson, William. *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*. De Capo Press, New York, 1973, V2, pp. 77 and 83. Johnson's source was NC Patriot militia Gen. William Richardson Davie.

(8) Hobson, Charles, ed., *The Papers of John Marshall*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, NC, 1990, VI, p. 344.

(9) Pierce to Butler, May 2, 1781.

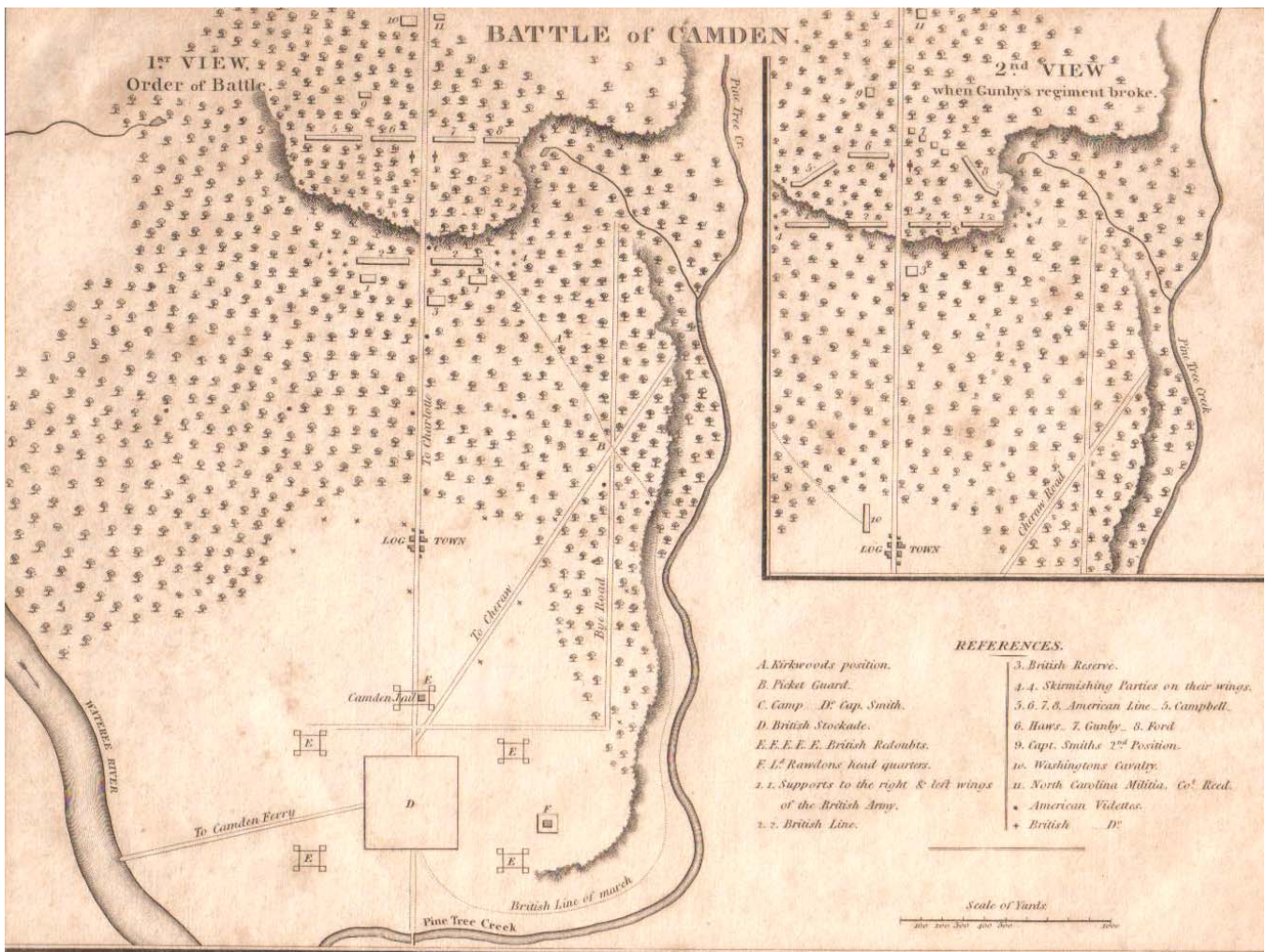
(10) Nathanael Greene to Samuel Huntington, April 27, 1781, in Conrad, Dennis, editor, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, 8: 160, fn. 11.

(11) Published in Stedman, Charles. *The History of the Origin, Progress, and Termination of the American War*, London, 1794.

(12) Samuel Mathis to Gen. William R. Davie, June 26, 1819, www.hobkirkhill.org accessed March 29, 2006. Letter included herein below, p. 38.

(13) Pierce to Butler, May 2, 1781.

(14) Mathis to Davie, June 26, 1819.



This map of the action at Hobkirk Hill was published by H. S. Tanner, Sr., a Philadelphia printer. It was again published in William Johnson's 1822 *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene*. In the large area map insert on the left, this map shows Washington's cavalry as #10, about 600 yards in the American rear. In the smaller action map "2nd View when Gunby's regiment broke" at the right, it shows Washington's cavalry circuit to the west of the British lines, to arrive near Log Town well in the British rear. It shows no cavalry action immediately in the rear of the British right (eastern) flank or explains where Maj. John Coffin's New York Volunteers dragoons were during this phase of the battle. The creek running along the right side (east) of the map is actually the Little Pine Tree Creek, a tributary of the Big Pine Tree Creek that runs south of the village of Camden.

Samuel Mathis' Account of the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill¹

Transcribed by Sam Fore
Annotated by Charles B. Baxley²

¹ Samuel Mathis, at age 21 was on parole as one of the SC militia captured by the British in Charleston, a Camden area resident in April 1781, was not an eyewitness to this battle but an acquaintance of many of the participants on both sides. Mathis' account, written 38 years after the battle, was addressed to Gen. William Richardson Davie, former Governor of North Carolina and hero of the Revolution. A copy of this letter is found in the South Caroliniana Library's collection.

² Many spellings of this letter have been changed to conform to modern standards, abbreviations written out for clarity and modern punctuation added to clarify the meanings. Words in (parenthesis)

Account of the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill as some call it, or [the 2d] Battle of Camden as called by others, though the ground on which it was fought is now [in 1819] called the Big Sand Hill above Camden.

This Hill lies one mile and three quarters from the Court House and from where the gaol [jail] then stood.³ Over this Hill runs the Great Road leading from Charlotte in North Carolina to Charleston in South Carolina. It runs in a direct line from the top of the Hill past the gaol, or where the gaol then stood, through the Town of

were originally included by Mathis, and words in [brackets] were added by the annotator.

³ This is the site of the extant Robert Mills Courthouse that was built in 1824 at 607 South Broad Street (US Highway 521) in Camden next to the post Revolution Court House and across South Broad Street from the colonial era jail.

Camden, nearby a due south course.⁴ It had been opened quite wide by Col^o Joseph Kershaw a few weeks before the British came to Camden⁵ and made to correspond with the streets of the Town⁶ that it entered to wit 90 feet wide up to the top of the Hill (which had an effect that will appear in sequel). It was woody on each side of the road & in some places (near the town) very thick near the Hill and on the Hill. And [the] south side of it [the Hill facing fortified Camden] was not so thick, but was more open.

The Hill crosses the road about at right angles and extends about 500 yards to the west and about 800 yards to the east of the Road. At the east end of the Hill is a spring of fine water, then called Martin's, now called Mortimer's Spring⁷, which formed a very miry branch that runs a Southeast course near a mile⁸ to a stream of water called Little Pine Tree Creek which has a very boggy swamp on each side of it, this runs a southern course about half a mile and empties into Big Pine Tree Creek in an impassable swamp or rather mill pond which runs about a south or southwest course until it passes the town [of Camden]. [Pine Tree Creek] having a considerable hill from 30 to 40 feet high all along between it and the town, which hill terminates and flattens down into level ground at about a parallel with the lower end of the town.⁹

Lord Rawdon's headquarters were in Col^o Joseph Kershaw's house on this side of the hill. His troops lay directly in front of him inside of a stockade of about 400 or 500 yards square, supported by four redoubts¹⁰, situate at the distance of about 200 or 300 yards from each angle of it.¹¹ One of these redoubts was round the gaol from which the British frequently fired their cannon at our officers and others who out curiosity came down the road to look at them.¹² The trees had been cut down and lay very thick on this side of the town¹³ to prevent the approach of our cavalry which of course prevented their horsemen [from] taking our people that went so near to look at them.

But this [venturing too close to the British fortifications] I apprehend had been stopped by Gen^l [Nathanael] Greene for I was informed by Col^o [John] Gunby and Cap^t [John] Smith who dined with me 5 miles below or south of Camden a few days before the battle that a cannon shot from south redoubt came very near killing

⁴ Then called the Great Waxhaw Road or Trail, which connected through central North Carolina with the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road. It was a portion of the Catawba Trading Path in pre-European times.

⁵ The British occupied Camden from June 1, 1780 to May 9, 1781.

⁶ Camden is laid out on a north-south, east-west street grid.

⁷ Now called Johnson's Spring; it forms the headwaters of the "miry branch."

⁸ This branch is now dammed into several beautiful ponds located on Johnson Lane and feeds the ponds in Kirkwood Common.

⁹ Little Pine Tree Creek flows south into Big Pine Tree Creek southeast of Camden; Big Pine Tree Creek's swamp borders the south side of Camden.

¹⁰ Small earthen forts.

¹¹ SC Patriot militia Col. Joseph Kershaw's house, used as Lord Rawdon's headquarters, has been reconstructed at modern Historic Camden. The original Kershaw house survived the Revolution but burned late in the Civil War.

¹² The gaol or jail was built across Broad Street from the extant 1826 Robert Mills Courthouse and guarded the northern approach to the colonial village of Camden, now fortified by the British.

¹³ This is the North side of colonial village; the east, south and southwest of the town were surrounded by swampland of the Big Pine Tree Creek.

some of our officers that had gone too near. It hit a small brick oven behind which they had dodged.¹⁴

While the British lay in this situation, Gen^l Greene, with the American Army, approached them; when he first came, he encamped on the north side of them on Hobkirk's Hill, stayed but a very short time, perhaps not more than two days (it was during this time that some of his officers went down in sight of the town and were fired at as above mentioned). He wheeled off with the American Army, went round the head of Little Pine Tree Creek three miles above Camden, and came round and appeared below or to the southeast and southward of Camden.¹⁵

This maneuver had an excellent effect.¹⁶ It alarmed the British very much: it threatened their mills (alias Col^o Kershaw's Merchant Mills which they had taken possession of)¹⁷ from whence most of their bread stuff was drawn; it divided their forces, prevented their sending assistance or advice to [Lt. Col. John] Watson on Black River¹⁸; to the fort on Scott's Lake¹⁹ and Fort Motte which Gen^l [Francis] Marion and [Lt.] Col^o [Henry "Light Horse Harry"] Lee were then investing and took. It insulated Lord Rawdon himself and jeopardized his retreat.

Gen^l Greene remained but a few days below Camden. But while there some of the [Patriot] militia attached to him made an attempt to burn said mills but failed in the attempt and retreated without any loss, but proceeded on to and took a stockade fort commanded by Maj^r William Downs of the Royal militia about 7 miles below Camden.²⁰ In which Downs, a skillful and brave man in a bad

¹⁴ This brick oven may have been in Log Town where Greene's Army camped on April 20, 1781, about one mile north of the British's northernmost redoubt at the jail.

¹⁵ Little Pine Tree Creek was easily forded northeast of Hobkirk Hill; Greene did not need to go all the way around the headwaters of this creek. Greene moved his army to Paint Hill, but had to cross the Big Pine Tree Creek and its swamp. It is reported that Greene built a road and bridge over Pine Tree Creek to make this crossing. He then sent a detachment to seize the blockhouse guarding the Wateree Ferry.

¹⁶ Greene determined Camden too strongly defended to directly assault. He was also searching for supplies and concerned about Col. Watson's detachment returning to Camden to further reinforce Lord Rawdon.

¹⁷ Col. Joseph Kershaw had one or two flour and gristmills on Little Pine Tree Creek and one on Big Pine Tree Creek.

¹⁸ Lord Francis Rawdon, British commandant of South Carolina, dispatched Lt. Col. John Watson Tadwell-Watson and about 500 troops from his Camden base to harass and tie-down South Carolina Patriot militia Gen. Francis Marion in the Kingstree area; Marion's so-called Bridges Campaign. At the same time, Rawdon then sent Col. Welbore Ellis Doyle to raid Marion's "secret" base on Snow's Island. A British officer, once held by Marion at Snow's Island, escaped and led Doyle to the base. This strategy worked as Doyle's raid against Marion's base on March 29, 1781 was successful, but it costs the British troops under Watson dearly and seriously weakened Rawdon's Camden garrison before Gen. Greene's arrival before Camden.

¹⁹ Fort Watson was built on a prominent Indian mound on Scott's Lake, a Santee River oxbow lake, and is now located in the Santee National Wildlife Refuge on Lake Marion (publicly accessible).

²⁰ The exact location of this stockade fort is unknown, but it is thought to be in the Boykin community probably near the intersection of the Charleston Road (SC 261 and Red Bank Road) and the road leading to the ferry or perhaps near the ferry itself. This was called English, Boykin or Ancrum's Ferry.

cause, and several of his best men were killed and the rest fled while the British light horse [cavalry] who had gone from Camden were attacking the attackers. This party [the Patriot militia] did not continue in possession of the fort but left it in the hands of the British light horse and went on down to Scott's Lake to assist [SC Patriot militia Gen. Francis] Marion.

Gen¹ Greene then or perhaps an hour or two before the capture of Down's Fort wheeled off, re-crossed Pine Tree Creek, came back again and encamped on Hobkirk's Hill, his artillery was not with him in these maneuverings it had been sent off beyond Lynches Creek under the care of Col^o [Edward] Carrington who acted Deputy Quarter Master Gen¹ in the Southern Department.

Gen¹ Greene arrived at Hobkirk's at night and encamped on it in Battle Order, his right extending a short distance to the west of the Great Road and his left reaching to the east end of the Hill near Martin's Spring. Here the Hill is of very easy ascent and this spring and the branch that runs from it contained the only water that was to be found near the American troops. From this end of the Hill a road led off southeast towards the mill (then Kershaw's out of use) [on Little Pine Tree Creek]²¹ now Carter's and another old obscure road directly towards the town parallel to the Great Road.²² Cap¹ [Robert] Kirkwood [of the Delaware Continentals] with his Light Infantry (40 excellent men)²³ on the right and two strong pickets were placed in front of the army but the woods were so thick that a man could not be seen at 100 yards distance at noon day.²⁴

It was late in the evening on the 24th of April that Gen¹ Greene pitched his camp there, without artillery and apparently without cavalry or militia; for [Lt.] Col^o [William] Washington with his cavalry and about 250 North Carolina militia under Col^o [James] Reade were encamped about 2 or 3 miles in the rear. In the night or early morning a deserter from the Americans went to the enemy and informed Lord Rawdon of Gen¹ Greene's situation.

This deserter did not know of Washington and the militia being in the rear. His Lordship immediately had the redoubts all manned with Negroes and Tories. Every man of his whole army, in the most silent and secret manner, without any drum, fife, horn or any noise or general parade, all went off as they got ready. The cavalry first, the men and officers all on foot leading their horses, the infantry following in open order and trailed arms. Taking down the valley on in the southeast corner of the town, in the opposite direction from where the Americans troops lay, lest some of them may happen down and discover them marching out, this was about ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 25th April. The weather had been dry and it was a beautiful clear sunshiny day, rather warm for the season of the year.

The British were soon behind the hill on which their headquarters stood. And of course well concealed, they proceeded up along the side of the [Little Pine Tree Creek] swamp until they arrived at Col^o Kershaw's upper mill (now Carter's) and thence along the road or along the miry branch up to Martin's Spring at the east end of Hobkirk's Hill. They had no doubt got in close order before this time and their cavalry (about 200 called the [New] York Volunteers

under Maj^r [John] Coffin) detached off their left so as to fall into the Great Road a short distance in front of Hobkirk's Hill so as to attack our right [flank] while their main [British] Army turned our left.

The British marched on until discovered by [Capt. Robert] Kirkwood [advanced light infantry] who attacked and fought them with great resolution until overwhelmed, the British displayed to the left [west], which brought them upon our pickets by whom they were attacked in turn. The British did not fire but pressed directly forward with charged bayonets and drove our pickets in.

Kirkwood's muskets gave the first alarm to the Americans, several of whom were at the spring cooking and washing, and had to run a considerable distance before they got to their arms, which were stacked in the very line they had to form. However the most, if not all of them did get to their arms and were regularly formed in battle array - the Virginia Brigade with Gen¹ [Isaac] Huger at its head, having under him Lieut. Colonels [Richard] Campbell and [Samuel] Hawes took the right [west flank]; the Maryland Brigade, led by Col^o [Otho Holland] Williams, seconded by Col^o [John] Gunby and Lieut. Col^{os} [Benjamin] Ford and [John Eager] Howard, occupied the left [east flank]. Thus all the Continentals consisting of four regiments, much reduced in strength, were disposed in one line, with the artillery (which had just come up) under Col^o [Charles] Harrision on the road in the centre. The reserve consisted of the cavalry under Col^o Washington (who being on parade, started at the firing of the first of Kirkwood's muskets) and the North Carolina militia, under Col^o Reade, who also came up at the same time.

Gen¹ Greene having his men now formed was much pleased with the opportunity so unexpectedly offered of a battle with the enemy not doubting that he would in a few hours be in Camden. He directed Col^{oa} Campbell and Ford to turn the enemy's flanks and ordered the center regiments to advance with fixed bayonets, upon him ascending the Hill, **and detached Col^o Washington's cavalry to gain the rear.** [Emphasis added.]

The British, when they first attacked near the spring, pressed directly forward and succeeded in turning our left. Their left had displayed towards our right under cover of thick woods and could scarcely be seen except by our pickets until they began to rise the Hill (which is about 150 or 60 yards from bottom to top). Their cavalry had reached the Great Road and advanced in close order and slow step up the Hill directly in front of [the Patriot's] cannon which had just arrived and opened up on them in the broad road. A well-directed fire with canister and grape²⁵ did great execution and soon cleared the road so that all their doctors were sent to take care of the wounded. **Washington's cavalry coming up at this moment completed the rout of the [New] York Volunteers, took all the British doctors or surgeons and a great many others (alas too many) prisoners; more than one third of Washington's men were encumbered with prisoners, who hindered their acting when necessary.** [Emphasis added.]

Here the battle was equal or rather in our favour and only one word a single word and that only because it was spoken out of season turned the fate of the day.²⁶

²¹ Located downstream of the present Kendall Mill pond, about the location of Haile Street.

²² This was probably about where Mill Street runs today.

²³ The remnants of the Delaware Regiment of the Continental Line.

²⁴ These pickets are probably the two light infantry companies under Captains Perry Benson and Simon Morgan sent forward and to the southeast of Hobkirk's Hill.

²⁵ Antipersonnel rounds fired from Greene's three 6 pounder cannon consist of a collection of iron balls, about one inch in diameter and lead balls placed sometimes in a metal can to shoot at troops at long range and in a cloth bag for close-in shotgun effect.

²⁶ This opinion was strongly shared by Gen. Greene who blamed the defeat on Col. Gunby and had him courtmartialled for his performance at Hobkirk Hill.

Our left [east] was somewhat turned or yielding, our Col^o there (Ford) was wounded but the men were neither killed or prisoners. The left of the British at least their cavalry were routed, many killed and many prisoners. Lord Rawdon, hearing the cannon and seeing his horse dispersed, was stunned and astonished beyond measure; [he] ordered the deserter to be hung and, ~~galloped~~ galloping up to the scene of disaster, was quickly surrounded by Washington's horse and his sword demanded. One of his aides received a severe wound from the sword of a [Continental] dragoon. Lord Rawdon is a man of uncommon address. This was a critical moment – although our left was ~~somewhat turned~~ giving way, yet Gen^l Huger on our right [west] was gaining ground and was beginning to advance upon the enemy. And Col^o Gunby's Regiment of brave soldiers, veterans of the Maryland Line, had all got to their arms, were well formed and in good order, but too impatient waiting the word of command some of them began to fire in violation of orders and [upon] seeing the British infantry coming up the Hill in front of them. Col^o Gunby suffered them to come up within a few paces and then ordered his men to charge without firing, those ~~in the Centre~~ near him hearing the word first rushed forward, whereby the Regiment was moving forward in the form of a bow, Col^o Gunby ordered a "halt" until the wings should become straight. This [order] turned the fate of the day. Previously being ordered not to fire and now ordered to halt, which the British were coming up with charged bayonets, before the Col^o could be understood and repeat the charge, the enemy were in among them and made them give away.

Lord Rawdon was surrounded near the head of this Regiment and saw the scene, and also that some of his cavalry had rallied and with infantry were coming to his relief. While he very politely bowed and seemed to acquiesce with the demand of the [Continental] dragoons around him, pretended that his sword was hard to get out of the scabbard, feigned to endeavor to draw or unhook it for the surrender required until the party that took him were attacked and had to fly. Whether it was from that unbounded humanity that generally prevailed in the American Army (and although amiable and praiseworthy as it is yet lost us man a battle) or whether it was from a respect they felt for a person of his appearance, whether he amused them by manners or why they offered him no personal violence or did not take him immediately off, is not known; perhaps they thought the day their own or they might have intended to parole him on the spot in which case a surrender of the sword (I suppose) would have been necessary. Whatever passed in their minds they had not long to consider or ruminate on it perhaps not two minutes. **The scene was quickly changed Washington's Dragoons were now attacked by horse and foot and the very prisoners that they had mounted behind them seized the arms of their captors and over came them.** [Emphasis added.] Gen^l Greene now ordered a retreat and pushed on Washington's cavalry to Saunders [Sanders] Creek which lay 4 miles in the rear to halt the troops and stop the stragglers should there be any either from the militia or regulars attempting to make off. In this he succeeded; ~~having carried~~ carrying off with him all the British surgeons and several officers.

As above mentioned the artillery had just come up as the battle began. The guns were merely unhooked from the limbers or fore-wheels and let down to fire on the enemy. The horses were not unharnessed, nor had the boys that drove them dismounted, but only removed a short distance from the cannon and now seeing a general retreat of the American Army attempted to get through the woods without going out into and along the road. They soon got them entangled among the trees and could not get along, but cut their horses and fled leaving the limbers of both pieces of cannon in the woods where they were found by the British and taken. Under the circumstances Gen^l Greene galloped up to Cap^t John Smith and

ordered him to fall into the rear and save the cannon. Smith instantly came and found the artillerymen hauling off the pieces with the drag-ropes; he and his men laid hold and off they went in a trot, but had not gone far until he discovered that the British cavalry were in pursuit. He formed his men across the road, gave them a full fire at a short distance and fled with the guns as before. This volley checked the horses and threw many of the riders; but they after some time remounted and pushed on again. Smith formed his men gave them another fire with the same effect and proceeded as before this he repeated several times until they had got 2 or 3 miles from the field of action. Here, one of Smith's men fired or his gun went off by accident before the word was given which produced a scattering fire, on which the cavalry rushed in among them and cut them all to pieces. They fought like bull dogs and were ~~all~~ killed or taken.²⁷ This took up some time, during which the artillery escaped. Smith had a stout heavy cuts and thrust and a very strong arm; with which he did great execution, both in single and double combat i.e. 2 or more on him at once, at length having not a man to support him being overwhelmed with numbers he surrendered. He was taken prisoner and striped of everything he had on him except his shirt and his commission which hung around his neck in his Bosom. In this situation he was taken to the British main guard where he found Lieutenant Trueman, one of our officers who had been wounded in the foot and taken prisoner. Lord Rawdon sent to enquire of them at what time our artillery and cavalry had come up, and their information saved the life of the deserter.

On the next day, Cap^t Smith was put in close confinement, locked up in a gaol without being informed what it was for. After lying there 24 hours it was announced to him by the gaoler that he should be hung the next morning at 8 o'clock. He desired to know his crime and accuser but was not gratified. That night a deserter went out and informed Gen^l Greene of his situation. Gen^l Greene immediately sent in a flag [of truce, a messenger] to know the truth of the tale, threatening retaliation.²⁸ Lord Rawdon informed the officer bearing the flag that 2 or 3 women of the British Army had come from Guilford [Court House], North Carolina since the battle there and related that Cap^t Smith had killed Col^o [James] Stewart of the King's Guards in cold blood two hours after the battle on his knees begging for mercy. This was found to be false.

In the heat and midst of the Battle at Guilford, while the Americans and British Troops were intermixed with a charge of bayonets, Smith and his men were in the throng killing the Guards²⁹ and Grenadiers like so many furies. Col^o Stewart, seeing the mischief was doing, made up to him through the crowd, dust and smoke unperceived and made a violent lunge at him with his small sword. The first that Smith saw was the shiny metal like lightning at his bosom. He only had time to lean a little to the right, and left up his left arm so that so as to let the polished steel pass under it when the hilt struck his breast. It would have been through his body but for the haste of the Col^o and happening to set his arm of a man Smith had just cut down, his unsteady step, his violent lunge and missing his aim brought him with one knee upon the dead man. The Guards came rushing up very strong. Smith had no alternative but to wheel around to the right and gave Stewart a back handed blow over or across the head on which he fell; his Orderly Sergeant attacked Smith, but Smith's Sergeant dispatched him, a 2^d attacked him Smith heaved him down, a 3^d behind him threw down. A cartridge and shot him in the back of the head. Smith now fell among the slain but was taken up by his men and brought off, it

²⁷ Only 17 of Capt. John Smith's 40 "Irish Light Infantry" survived. Capt. Smith was captured by the British.

²⁸ *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, Vol., VIII, p. 169.

²⁹ Famous British regiment, often called "the Guards."

was found to be only a buck shot lodged against the skull and had only stunned him.

Upon these facts being stated and proved to the British, they liberated Captain Smith from gaol and soon afterwards in their leaving Camden they left him, and left in his care several of their officers who had been wounded in the late action with Gen^l Greene.

Since drawing the rough sketch of my letter, I have seen Col^o "Lee's Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department" (to which I would beg leave to refer you) I have made one and only one quotation from it which you'll find duly marked in p. 6 & 7 of the letter. I differ with him in a few particulars and but very few.

It sums [?] to be necessary, that I should inform you how I came by my knowledge in the premises.

I was born and raised in Camden and I am therefore well acquainted with the ground.

When the British appeared before Charleston in the latter end of 1780 or beginning of 1781³⁰, I with others went as a volunteer to assist in the defense of the City, was there during the Siege and until the town surrendered by capitulation and under one of the Articles, I was paroled to Camden, resided in the family of Col^o Joseph Kershaw, and with them continued in Camden until the British made it a garrison post.

At Gen^l Greene's defeat, a number of American officers were quartered on us in our house and family, whereby I became acquainted with Cap^t Smith (afterward Col^o Smith) and several other of the officers. I also found it necessary to cultivate an acquaintance with several of the British officers. After they had made Camden a garrison town, they ordered all the families out. I went and resided on a plantation 5 miles below Camden being allowed to come up often into the town on business, but had always to go to headquarters for a pass to go out. It continued so until the British left Camden. I then removed up into Camden again, where I found Cap^t Smith, Lieut. Trueman of our Army wounded and several British wounded officers and doctors that the British had left. Now Sir it was from officers, doctors, Cap^t Smith, the wounded soldiers of both parties, the British officers after the battle and before they went away, several of the inhabitants about the place and several of Gen^l Greene's officers whom I conversed with that I received my information. I went over the field of battle a few days after it on purpose to look over the ground. And besides, at the end of the War, Cap^t Smith and myself entered into a copartnership and were concerned and lived together building saw mills on low down on Lynch's Creek and varying on the sawing and rafting of lumber to Georgetown. And we often talked over these matters. So that I apprehend the above is correct as far as my Memory serves me.

I herewith hand a little rough map though it is a very imperfect one, yet it may give you a better Idea of the situation and of the places than you could have without

I am with great Respect yours & c.

Samuel Mathis

26 June 1819

To
Gen^l W.R. Davie

³⁰ Mathis has his dates incorrect here; the siege of Charleston, SC was from mid-April to May 12, 1780.

Sam Fore is the librarian at the Harlan Crow Library in Dallas, Texas and is researching Lt. Col. William Washington and Capt. (Maj.) William Pierce, Jr.
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**Excerpts from a Letter of Continental
Maj. William Pierce, Jr.³¹ to NC Patriot militia
Gen. John Butler³²**

Rugeleys' Mill³³.

May 2^d, 1781

Sir,

.....

When the piquets and light infantry began to retire, after doing most astonishing execution for the numbers engaged, two regiments were ordered to charge, one under the command of Col^o Gunby [1st Maryland], the other under command of Lieut^t Col^o Haws [1st Virginia]; at the same time Lieut^t Col^o Campbell & Lieut^t Col^o Ford were ordered to flank the Enemy, **whilst Col^o Washington with his dragoons moved round the right wing of their [the British] Army to charge them in the rear.** [Emphasis added.] The troops advanced with confidence and the Enemy felt the force of their impression. They were staggered and much galled by the fire of the artillery and infantry and actually had began to retreat, but some of the 1st Maryland Regiment broke and occasioned an unfortunate order by Col^o Gunby threw us into disorder and lost us the honor of a victory. **Lieut^t Col^o Washington was uncommonly active in the rear and never upon any occasion exhibited a more brilliant instance of heroism and firmness. After a spirited charge upon their cavalry and dispersing them, he fell upon the rear of their infantry cut down a number of them on the field, and took upwards of two hundred prisoners, all of which he would have brought off had we maintained the field but as we retreated he only secured about fifty and paroled eight or ten officers and surgeons.** [Emphasis added.] The conflict was smart, we lost about 200 killed, wounded and taken but the Enemy suffered from the best information infinitely more. We retired about two or three miles, collected our force, and sent a small party of infantry and horse down to move the Enemy from the ground, who upon their approach retired into town.

.....

I have the honor to be & c.
W^m Pierce, Jr.

To
Gen^l Butler

From the Collections of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. ★

³¹ Maj. William Pierce was one of Gen. Greene's aides-de-camp at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill. William Pierce, Jr., is sometimes referred to as William Leigh Pierce; however, no one but his wife and only surviving son called him that. He was born, simply William Pierce and added the "Jr." to distinguish him from an uncle later in life.

³² John Butler of Orange County was a North Carolina Patriot militia brigadier general who fought at the Battle of Camden and to control the Tories in North Carolina in 1781.

³³ Located at the crossing of the Great Waxhaws Road and Grannies Quarter Creek about 13 miles north of Camden.

The Alarm of War: Religion and the American Revolution in South Carolina 1774-1783

Daniel J. Tortora¹

Rev. John Lewis delivered a rousing sermon as he stood in front of his congregation at the Anglican Church of St. Paul's Parish, Stono, and a few weeks later at St. Philip's in Charleston, in June 1777. He asked his listeners to imagine "a fertile country turned into a desert...villages and towns on fire, and the miserable inhabitants...exposed to all the horrors of want, cold and famine...to the brutal violence of unprincipled and incensed barbarians." He continued, "This let us do, and then determine, whether the tyrant of Britain deserves the character already delineated for him, or whether or no we ought to repel his insults, or tamely submit to them." Like other Patriot ministers, Lewis roused support for the effort against the British; no doubt he inspired his congregation to act. Lewis also offered hope at a difficult time: The Lord was "still mighty to stay the winds, and to arrest the oppressor's arm," he insisted. God would "soon dispel the storms that are now gathered about our heads, and will restore his own people once more to peace and happiness..."² While this would happen in time, as the parson spoke in 1777, however, the worst was yet to come. The war deeply touched religious life in South Carolina and drew ministers, their families, their congregations, and churches into difficult and sometimes disastrous circumstances. Recovery came slowly after nearly a decade of crisis.

Taxes supported the established Anglican Church in an era before the separation of church and state. The majority of white South Carolinians—at least fifty percent—identified as Anglicans. Most lived near the coast and were organized in twenty-four parishes. For more than two decades, white non-Anglican "dissenters" had rapidly settled the backcountry. By 1775, "Regular" and "Separate" Baptist³ and Presbyterian churches were scattered

¹ The author wishes to thank Jane Aldrich, Bob Barrett, Dr. J. Glenwood Clayton, Robin Copp, Jason Farr, Brent Holcomb, Erick Nason, Sandra Poulnot, Dr. Dale Rosengarten, Harold Stuckey, Dr. Joseph T. Stukes, George and Carole Summers, Marlene Walker, and all those who have so generously aided him with this project.

² John Lewis, *Naboth's Vineyard: A Sermon preached at the Parish Church of St. Paul, Stono, on the last general fast day; and at St. Philip's Church in Charles-Town, on Sunday the first of June 1777, by the Reverend John Lewis, Rector of St. Paul, Stono, and Chaplain to Capt. John Huger's Company of Volunteers* (Charles-Town: Peter Timothy, 1777), pp. 20, 21 and 23.

³ Baptist scholars continue to debate the theological differences between these groups. In general, Regular Baptists in South Carolina united in the Charleston Association, adhered to the Philadelphia Confession of Faith, believed in salvation of the elect, and practiced two rites: that of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. South Carolina's Separate Baptists had their origins in the Great Awakening of New England and arrived in South Carolina in 1760. United in the Congaree Association, they avoided confessions of faith and observed up to nine rites, including Baptism, the Lord's Supper, love feasts, laying on of hands, washing feet, anointing the sick, right hand of fellowship, kiss of charity, and devoting children. They disapproved of formal education for ministers. In many churches, women preached or supervised female church discipline. Separate Baptists tended to express emotions freely in church services. Regulars, led by Oliver Hart, and Separates, led by Philip Mulkey (who left the state in 1775 or 1776), had made strides to resolve their differences in 1773 and 1775, and Rev. Richard Furman of the High Hills of the Santee, a Separate church,

throughout every settled region of South Carolina. Combined, Baptists and Presbyterians numbered about fifteen percent of the total white population, but formed a majority in the backcountry.⁴ A number of other Protestant sects—German Lutherans or Reformed Calvinists,⁵ Methodists, Quakers and others worshipped in South Carolina, but few relevant records survive of the Revolutionary years. South Carolina also had a small yet growing Jewish population.⁶ Sifting through obscure, sketchy, and sometimes contradictory evidence, this essay focuses on the Presbyterian, Baptist, Anglican, Lutheran, and Jewish churches. Congregational churches, which contained Presbyterian members, will be considered with the Presbyterians. After exploring the ways in which religion took on ideological and political significance in the early stages of the war, the focus shifts to detail the experiences of the churches, ministers, and congregants of each denomination during the armed conflict.

also pushed reconciliation. During the Revolution, the number of Regular and Separate Churches was roughly equal, but Regular churches had slightly more members. A Seventh-Day Baptist congregation met along the Broad River, marked by their strict adherence to Saturday as the Sabbath. Three congregations of German-speaking "Tunkers," also known as "Dunkers" or "Brethren" met at Beaver Creek, Cloud's Creek and Edisto. They believed in universal salvation and practiced immersion while kneeling. Joe M. King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists* (Columbia, S.C.: The R. L. Bryan Company, 1964), pp. 69-71, 73, 81, 89-93, 140-143, and 148; Michael E. Williams, Sr., "The Influence of Calvinism on Colonial Baptists," *Baptist History and Heritage* 39:2 (Spring 2004): pp. 26-39.

⁴ Thomas J. Little, "'Adding to the church such as shall be saved': The Growth in Influence of Evangelicalism in Colonial South Carolina, 1740-1775," in Jack P. Greene, Rosemary Brana-Shute, and Randy J. Sparks, eds., *Money, Trade, and Power: The Evolution of Colonial South Carolina's Plantation Society* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001), p. 368.

⁵ Little, "'Adding to the church such as shall be saved,'" 369. On Lutheranism in early South Carolina, see G.D. Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina* (Philadelphia: Lutheran Book Store, 1872) and *A History of the Lutheran Church in South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: The South Carolina Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, 1971).

⁶ Methodism in South Carolina had just begun and increased rapidly in the 1780s. Only nine Methodist ministers came to South Carolina before the Revolution. During the war, they opted for neutrality. There were no formally organized churches and no records survive. There were no more than 1,000 Methodists in 1783. Durward T. Stokes, "The Baptist and Methodist Clergy in South Carolina and the American Revolution," *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 73:2 (April 1972): pp. 93-94. South Carolina had French-speaking Protestant churches in the Lowcountry; many had absorbed into Anglican parish churches. Charleston included a small Jewish population. Quakers met in Charleston, Camden, Union, and Newberry Counties, but almost nothing is known of their wartime experiences. For more on the Quakers (Society of Friends), see Jo Anne McCormick, "The Quakers of Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1807," (Ph.D. diss., University of South Carolina, 1984). Historic immigration patterns and public policies on the encouragement (Germanic Lutherans) or discouragement (such as Roman Catholics) greatly impacted the distributions of religious beliefs in South Carolina. The scope of this article does not cover the smaller denominations or the intact African religious systems imported with slaves from West Africa and the Caribbean Islands.

Ideology and Politics in the Low Country, 1774-1777

The early years of the war brought about a desperate struggle to win the hearts and minds of church members. Patriot factions within Lowcountry Anglican churches often ousted pro-British ministers, most notably at St. Michael's, Charleston. Following the Boston Tea Party, the British passed the Coercive Acts to punish Boston. South Carolina sent delegates to the First Continental Congress and Charleston stirred with revolutionary discontent. In this charged atmosphere, controversy began at St. Michael's. "The affair grew so serious," John Drayton later recalled, "it was feared blows would ensue." Word of the episode spread as far as New England.⁷

On Sunday, August 14, 1774, assistant minister Rev. John Bullman, a stout, pock-marked but otherwise good-looking man delivered a sermon entitled "The Christian Duty of Peaceableness." Using elitist rhetoric written by others, he chastised the "Silly Clown[s]" and "iliterate Mechanic[s]" who had denounced British policy. As William Ryan insists, Bullman demanded that every man keep "his own rank" and remain firmly within "his own station." The angry voices of incensed Patriot listeners in St. Michael's began to drown out the service. Word spread rapidly through the city that Bullman had "inculcated passive obedience" and had "censured popular proceedings."⁸ The vestry convened an emergency meeting on Monday morning and forced Bullman to hand over a written copy of his remarks. At an ad-hoc general meeting of the congregation, the mixed crowd of Whig and Tory church members condemned the sermon but split on what to do about it. Eventually, an altercation ensued and the more "mild men" walked out. Bullman's critics took over the meeting and called a vote. The results, 42 in favor, and 38 against, according to John Drayton, were met with loud huzzahs and cries of victory. The Patriot faction had prevailed, and the next day, Bullman was dismissed.⁹

Still stinging from the words of Bullman, Patriots published editorials in the *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal* to keep public opinion on their side. In a letter "To the Mechanicks of Charles-Town," "Crispin Heeltap" skewered Bullman. The elitist parson, he alleged, was "a Monster" and a tyrant.¹⁰ Several weeks later, another scathing editorial by "Philo Clericus" appeared in the *Gazette and Country Journal*. The author labeled Bullman "vicious and immoral," alleged that he had "hoard[ed] up Riches," and claimed that he preferred "the Bottle and Pipe" to his pastoral duties. Citing personal experience, Clericus even alleged that the minister had openly discriminated against the poor and had refused to give final prayers at a funeral when the author's family arrived late. Bullman boarded a vessel bound for England on Saturday,

⁷ John Drayton, *Memoirs of the American Revolution: From its Commencement to the Year 1776, Inclusive, as Relating to the State of South-Carolina, and Occasionally Referring to the States of North-Carolina and Georgia*, Vol. I (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1821), p. 144; papers of the author's father, William Henry Drayton.

⁸ William R. Ryan, "The World of Thomas Jeremiah: Charles Town on the Eve of the American Revolution," (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 2007), pp. 17-22; Drayton, *Memoirs*, I: p. 142.

⁹ Drayton, *Memoirs*, I: pp. 142-143; George W. Williams, *St. Michaels, Charleston, 1751-1951* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), pp. 29-37.

¹⁰ *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, August 16, 1774; *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, September 6, 1774.

March 25, 1775, though his supporters continued to lobby for his reinstatement.¹¹

On June 28, 1776, Patriots successfully repulsed a British attack on Fort Sullivan. Scandal returned to St. Michael's the next day when Bullman's former colleague, Rev. Robert Cooper, took the pulpit. A mere four weeks earlier, he refused to sign the Whig association, declined a call to join the ranks of the Patriot militia, and would not take an oath of allegiance to South Carolina. Now, Cooper prayed that the Lord would "strengthen [King George III] that he may vanquish all his enemies."¹² The vestrymen again met with churchgoers the following Tuesday at the urgent request of Patriot parishioners, and terminated the tenure of Robert Cooper. As George Williams asserts, both Cooper and Bullman like other Anglican ministers in the colonies and unlike dissenting ministers, had taken an oath of the King's supremacy. The oath forbade their toleration of any power, spiritual or temporal, contrary to that of the King. They refused to renounce this oath.¹³ Likewise, by the end of 1777, three other Loyalist Anglican preachers had fled South Carolina (in order): Robert Purcell of St. Philip's, missionary Samuel Frederic Lucius, and James Stuart, rector of St. George's Parish, Winyah.¹⁴ St. Michael's secured a temporary rector after two years of substitutes, but the British bombardment of the city cut his tenure short. After the British occupied the city, a Loyalist minister named Edward Jenkins preached at the church for a few months; upon evacuation Rev. Henry Purcell, formerly of Christ Church Parish in Mt. Pleasant, and a former Patriot chaplain, took over.¹⁵

Patriots were vigilant against the ideological threat of loyalist ministers. They also feared that pro-British ministers would try to incite their slaves to revolt in the British interest or to defect en masse to the British ranks. David Margate, a visiting black Methodist preacher, who claimed to be from England but may have originally been a runaway slave, addressed an audience of white and black listeners in May 1775. He allegedly saw himself as "a second Moses," and insisted that "God would send Deliverance to the Negroes, from the power of their Masters, as he freed the Children of Israel from Egyptian Bondage." Listeners interpreted Margate's words "as tho' he meant to raise rebellion amongst the negroes." After the incident James Habersham reported that the gentlemen of Charleston "are so possessed with an opinion that his Designs are bad, that they are determined to pursue, and hang him, if they can lay hold of him." As Ryan asserts, Margate escaped the province under a cloud of suspicion.¹⁶

Rector Robert Smith of St. Philip's, however, remained committed to supporting his community. Some in the congregation may have questioned his actions in 1775 when he stood by the innocence of a free black man named Thomas Jeremiah. Patriots accused the harbor boat pilot of plotting a slave conspiracy and later executed him on doubtful evidence. Smith's doubts about Jeremiah's guilt proved to be justified. Smith's intense patriotism and leadership

¹¹ Drayton, *Memoirs*, I: 144; *South Carolina General Gazette*, March 27, 1775; Ryan, "The World of Thomas Jeremiah," pp. 17-23 and 42.

¹² Williams, *St. Michael's, Charleston*, pp. 37-39.

¹³ Ryan, "The World of Thomas Jeremiah," pp. 42 and 222-223.

¹⁴ Frederick Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina from the First Settlement of the Province to the War of the Revolution* (Charleston, S.C.: E. Thayer, 1820), pp. 206 and 434-435.

¹⁵ Williams, *St. Michael's, Charleston*, pp. 39-40.

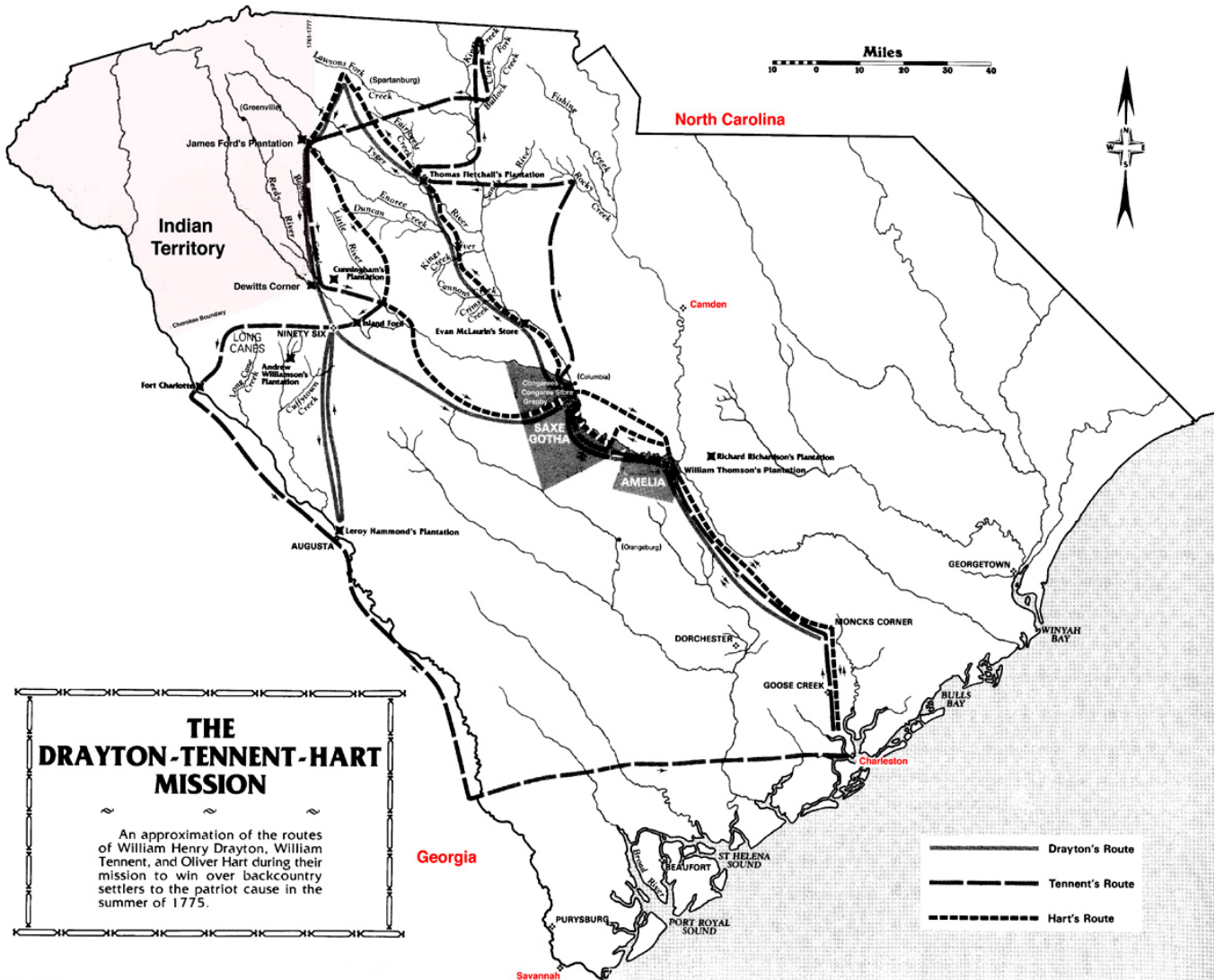
¹⁶ Quoted in Ryan, "The World of Thomas Jeremiah," pp. 27-29.

throughout the war years eliminated any doubts of his allegiance to the Patriot cause.¹⁷

Ideology and Politics in the Backcountry, 1775-1778

As they drove out Rev. John Bullman (and would soon go after Rev. Robert Cooper), determined Patriots hoped to sway public

the Battle of Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts, the Committee of Public Safety commissioned Rev. William Tennent of the Independent Meeting (now Circular Church, on Meeting Street in Charleston) and the Rev. Mr. Oliver Hart of the Charleston Baptist Church to journey into the backcountry to win support for the Patriots. According to historian Jason Farr, the



opinion among churchgoers in the backcountry where dissenters comprised such a sizable minority. Dissenters distrusted the Anglican establishment and resented their disproportionate share of representation in the Assembly. Committed Patriot leaders shrewdly attempted to gain their support in two ways: they launched a backcountry speaking tour and brought about the disestablishment of the Anglican Church.¹⁸ Following the news of

Council deliberately appealed to the religious and denominational identity of backcountry inhabitants to achieve their fundamentally political objective. Farr dubs this “denominational diplomacy.” While the journey was not extremely successful, it started a dialogue and laid the groundwork for a swell in Patriot enthusiasm in the backcountry.¹⁹ The diaries of Tennent and Hart provide tremendous detail on the expedition and on the people they met and the opinions they encountered along the way.²⁰

¹⁷ Ryan, “The World of Thomas Jeremiah,” pp. 78-79. For more on Smith, particularly his political views, see Charles Willbanks, ed., *The American Revolution and Righteous Community: Selected Sermons of Bishop Robert Smith* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2007).

¹⁸ For an outstanding account of the expedition, well-grounded in the historiography, see, Jason Farr, “An Errand Into the Backcountry: The Denominational Diplomacy of William Tennent and Oliver Hart’s Mission to the South Carolina Backcountry, 1775,” (M.A. Thesis, College of Charleston, 2007), ch. 3. In addition to the men of the cloth, Oliver Hart, William Tenant and

Joseph Reese, the political-military commission, which was led by rebel Justice William Henry Drayton also included Patriot merchant and militia Col. Joseph Kershaw of Camden, an Anglican, and Santee planter and militia colonel Richard Richardson.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, introduction.

²⁰ William T. Graves, ed., “Reverend Oliver Hart’s Diary of the Journey to the Backcountry,” *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* [hereafter *SCAR*] 2:4 (April 2005): pp. 26-31; J. Glenwood Clayton and Loulie Latimer Owens, eds., “Oliver Hart’s

Joseph Reese, Separate Baptist preacher at Congaree Baptist Church in present-day lower Richland County, joined Hart for parts of his journey. At times, William Henry Drayton and Colonel Richard Richardson, then of the Camden militia regiment, joined the pastors. Only on three occasions were they all together. For nearly six weeks, the men traversed the upper country in different combinations. Hart, Reese, Drayton, and Tennent diffused a mutiny of rangers at the Congarees (near present-day West Columbia). Tennent went northward through present-day Fairfield and through the New Acquisition District (present-day York County) while Hart and Drayton went northwest through modern Richland, Newberry, and Laurens Counties. During his time on the frontier Hart missed the birth of an infant son, who died shortly after his return. The men met with nine Presbyterian congregations, six Baptist churches and one Lutheran church.²¹ They prayed and gave speeches, attended barbeques, organized volunteer companies, and secured signatures for the Continental Association. The Germans they encountered and many of the Separate Baptists in the Fairforest area of Union County stood firmly opposed to the Patriot cause. The leaders of armed bands, still Loyal to the King, Colonel Thomas Fletchall with Captains Moses Kirkland, Thomas Brown, and brothers Richard and Patrick Cunningham subverted the expedition's efforts with separate remonstrations, rallies, and letters.²² Rev. Philip Mulkey, Separate Baptist pastor at Fairforest, stood by Fletchall at the signing of the Treaty of Ninety Six, and with his family moved to Tennessee during or shortly after Colonel Richard Richardson launched the "Snow Campaign" to break the Loyalist resistance in the backcountry in late 1775.²³

When armed conflict commenced, many people from different denominations called for the disestablishment of the Anglican Church as the State's official tax-supported church. Some Anglicans, disenchanted with the Crown for political reasons, were stung by and resentful of the 1774 British proposal to appoint an Anglican Bishop in America to exercise greater control and the fear

of the levy of a tax to support him.²⁴ Disestablishment had obvious appeal to Baptists and Presbyterians, who upon hearing a message of "liberty" decided to mobilize their efforts. The Crown prosecuted Dissenters before coming to America and their tax money went to support a church that they did not like and did not attend. Though some Patriot leaders were somewhat reluctant, they pushed disestablishment in the hopes of further garnering the support of dissenters within the state and perhaps thought it would give them more control over their own administration.

Baptists met at the High Hills of the Santee Church (three miles north of Stateburg in present-day Sumter County) on April 27, 1776 to plan their efforts. Delegates drafted a petition supporting disestablishment, and spread the word throughout South Carolina. They selected William Tennent, the well-spoken minister from Charleston, to present the dissenters' cause before the General Assembly. The following January 11th, Christopher Gadsden introduced the petition on the House floor, and Tennent followed with a stirring and persuasive speech he entitled "Equality or Nothing." Dissenters' efforts came to fulfillment in the state constitution of March 19, 1778. It granted all Protestant Christians full freedom of religion and disestablished the state church. It offered any church with 15 male members the chance to incorporate.²⁵ Disestablishment laid the foundation for the future growth of evangelical Protestantism in the state. It garnered support for the Patriot cause as skeptical backcountry evangelicals saw the move by lowcountry elites as a gesture of good will. Though dissenters were still underrepresented in both houses of the Assembly, the 1776 and 1778 constitutions gradually yielded more and more representation to the backcountry and their support continued to increase.²⁶

Military Conflict: Presbyterians

Diary of the Journey to the Backcountry," *Journal of South Carolina Baptist History* [hereinafter *JSCBHS*] 1 (November 1975): pp. 18-30; William Tennent, "Fragment of a Journal Kept by the Rev. William Tennent, describing his Journey in 1775 to Upper South Carolina at the Request of the Council of Safety," *Yearbook, City of Charleston* (Charleston: News and Courier Book Presses, 1894); *William Tennent Papers*, South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, SC.

²¹ For a detailed summary of the trip and for a list of the congregations visited, see Loulie Latimer Owens, "Oliver Hart and the American Revolution," *Journal of the South Carolina Baptist Historical Society* [hereafter *JSCBHS*] 1 (November 1975): pp. 2-17; on Hart's son, see Loulie Latimer Owens, "A Copy of the Diary of Rev. Oliver Hart," South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, SC, p. 9.

²² Owens, "Oliver Hart and the American Revolution," 11; R. W. Gibbes, M.D., ed., *Documentary History of the American Revolution: Letters and Papers Relating to the Contest for Liberty, Chiefly in South Carolina, from the Originals in Possession of the Editor, and Other Sources, 1774-1776, Vol. I* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1855), pp. 105-107, 128-154, 156-157, 162-169, 171-175, 177-194, and 196-198.

²³ Loulie Latimer Owens, *Taproot of the South Carolina Baptist Back Country: Fairforest Baptist Church* (Greenville, S.C.: A Press, 1980), pp. 40-42. The Snow Campaign resulted in the capture of 136 Loyalists and Col. Thomas Fletchall. See Walter Edgar, *Partisans and Redcoats: The Southern Conflict That Turned the Tide in the American Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins, 2001), pp. 32-33.

²⁴ A North American Bishop would assert more direct Crown control over church operations as only bishops could ordain, confirm and exercise discipline through ecclesiastical courts. So important was the question over bishops that it focused the attention of the colonial population to the questions of parliamentary rights and fundamental liberties. John Adams reported that the debate caught the attention of the common people and made them aware of the basic questions. The Bishop's Tax traditionally supported the Bishop's lifestyle and administration.

²⁵ Leah Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists, 1670-1805* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1974), pp. 273-278. Townsend notes that the Welsh Neck Baptists were among the most politically-active of any Baptist congregation during or after the war; Edward McCrady, *History of South Carolina in the Revolution, Vol. I* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902), pp. 212-213. On Tennent's speech, see Loulie Latimer Owens, "South Carolina Baptists and the American Revolution," *JSCBHS* 1 (November 1975): pp. 36-38; Thomas Cooper, ed., *Statutes at Large of South Carolina, Vol. I* (Columbia: A.S. Johnston, 1836), p. 191. In 1790, the State Constitution granted religious freedom to Jews, Roman Catholics, and non-believers.

²⁶ James Lowell Underwood and William Lewis Burke, eds., *The Dawn of Religious Freedom in South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2006); Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1997), pp. 327 and 333. In 1776, the backcountry made up 60 percent of the population but 33 percent of the legislators; in 1778 this number had risen to 40 percent. Only in 1808 did the backcountry control a majority of both houses of legislature.

The Cherokee and their white Tory allies launched attacks on July 1, 1776 in the backcountry and devastated Ninety Six and the surrounding region. The raids scattered the congregation of Rev. James Creswell at Little River Church in present-day Laurens County near the Newberry County line along the Old Ninety Six Road. Panicked residents fled the area or holed up in nearby forts. Contrary to some historical accounts, Creswell survived the July 15 raid. He died during the war but genealogists, local historians and church historians disagree on when or how.²⁷

About 50 Presbyterian congregations existed in South Carolina on the eve of the Revolution.²⁸ Most people assume that “the name of Tory was unknown” among them. For the most part, that holds true. The majority of the members of the Scots Meeting House in Charleston supported the British. Pastor Alexander Hewatt left Charleston in 1776 and the rest of the congregation evacuated with the British in 1783; the church fell into disrepair upon their departure.²⁹ Rev. William Ranoldson (sometimes spelled Donaldson), an Irishman in the Abbeville District, was a hot-tempered alcoholic. He “turned Tory and went off with the British.”³⁰ Despite these notable exceptions, the vast majority of Presbyterian congregations, mainly Scots and Scots-Irish, drew on generations of resentment against Crown persecution, taxation and elite rule, and offered considerable support for the Patriot effort. Outspoken ministers kept morale high and elders became officers in Sumter’s and Marion’s armies. Both British troops and bands of Tories “had sown vengeance against the Presbyterian clergy.” Atrocities committed by Tory gangs and British troops led more and more men to join the Patriot military effort and the vast majority of these churches experienced difficult times after 1778.

²⁷ Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, pp. 429 and 435. Rev. Ja. [James] Creswell to W[illiam] H[enry] Drayton, Ninety-Six, 27 July 1776 in R.W. Gibbes, M.D., *Documentary History of the American Revolution: Consisting of Letters and Papers Relating to the Contest for Liberty, Chiefly in South Carolina, from Originals in the Possession of the Editor, and Other Sources, Vol. II* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1857), pp. 30-31. Some accounts have Creswell killed in mid-July 1776, others claim he died in a nearby fort (Howe), and some family histories insist that he died in 1779. The lack of available archival material and by the existence of other Rev. James Creswells in the Southeast compounds the confusion. Two of Creswell’s sons went on to become colonels. For more on the Cherokee War and Native American warfare in South Carolina, see Jeff W. Dennis, “Native Americans and the Southern Revolution, Part I,” *SCAR* 3:6-8 (June-August 2005): pp. 27-31; Dennis, “Native Americans and the Southern Revolution, Part II,” *SCAR* 4:7-9 (July-September 2006): pp. 21-27; Dennis, “Southern Campaigns against the Cherokees: A Brief Compilation,” *SCAR* 2:10 (October 2004): pp. 17-36; James R. Piecuch, “Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, slaves and the American Revolution in the deep south, 1775-1782,” (Ph.D. diss., College of William and Mary, 2005) and book (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2008).

²⁸ Little, ““Adding to the church such as shall be saved,”” places the number at 48 in 1775 (368); Ernest Trice Thompson, *Presbyterians in the South, 1607-1865*, Vol. 1 (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1963) puts the number at 50 in 1776 (270).

²⁹ For more on the Loyalism of the First Scots Church, see Erskine Clarke, *Our Southern Zion: A History of Calvinism in the South Carolina Low Country, 1690-1990* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1996), pp. 89-91.

³⁰ Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, pp. 474 and 443.

To avoid capture, some preachers fled their congregations. Rev. Thomas Reese of the Salem Church (Salem Black River), near Mayesville in Sumter County, moved to his father’s home in Mecklenburg, North Carolina. In self-imposed exile, he continued to exhort the Patriots in his congregation. The Harrison brothers’ Tory militia murdered and pillaged members of his population.³¹ Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, the newly appointed pastor at Waxhaw also fled during the war. Without their pastors’ guidance, leadership and prayers at such trying times, the worries of congregants must have increased.³²

A few ministers weighed their options and decided to stay, despite the dangers. Rev. James Gourlay of Stoney Creek, in present-day Yemassee, hid out at a member’s plantation. The zealous and opinionated Rev. John Harris, of the Long Canes Church in modern Abbeville County (the church where Andrew Pickens was an elder) was an ardent Patriot. Harris had been a delegate at the Second Continental Congress. He was known for his ramrod-straight posture and his stuttering condition. On several occasions while out on errands or house visits, he narrowly escaped capture by Tories, but the British plundered his belongings while his son was seriously ill and brought his slaves to Florida. Harris preached with his gun in the pulpit beside him and wore his ammunition around his neck.³³ Rev. Joseph Alexander at Bullock’s Creek Church in southwestern York County, also an ardent and outspoken Patriot, remained with his congregation; elderly men guarded the church with rifles in hand as he preached.³⁴

The British captured some ministers and imprisoned them for their outspoken comments. In December 1778, the British took 30-year-old Rev. Moses Allen prisoner in Georgia. Allen, formerly of Wappetaw Congregational Church in present-day Awendaw (a church that included some Presbyterians) had fled to Georgia and served the army as a chaplain. He attempted to escape by jumping from the prison ship upon which the British confined him but drowned on February 8, 1779. His friends discovered that his body had washed up on a neighboring island but the British denied their request for boards with which to build a coffin.³⁵

The British imprisoned Rev. William Martin of Lebanon Church, Jackson’s Creek (modern Fairfield County), held him at Rocky Mount and Camden, and brought him in front of General Charles Cornwallis at Winnsboro.³⁶ Though he disagreed on politics with

³¹ The infamous Harrison brothers of Lynch River included Loyalist Maj. John Harrison of the provincial corps called the South Carolina Rangers, and his two Loyalist brothers, Samuel and Robert. Robert was murdered in his sick bed in October 1780. They were often associated with the excess of 1780 and 1781. Even their comrades-in-arms did not think much of the Rangers as British Maj. James Wemyss wrote Lord Cornwallis during his infamous punitive burning raid through the Pee Dee in September 1780: “Harrison’s corps are not worth anything. There is but 50 of them, irregulars and plunderers.”

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 492-493, 421 and 511; Durward T. Stokes, “The Presbyterian Clergy in South Carolina and the American Revolution,” *South Carolina Historical Magazine* 71:4 (October 1970): p. 277; On Rev. Thomas B. Craighead, see Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, p. 536.

³³ Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, pp. 466 and 439-443; Stokes, “The Presbyterian Clergy,” p. 281.

³⁴ Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, p. 431.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 376-377.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 501-502. Martin was a Reformed Presbyterian “covenanter.”

the British commander, the gray-haired Martin did so with courtesy. When a band of Tories captured a member of his congregation, SC Patriot militia Colonel Minor Winn, the Tories remembered Martin's discretion: they spared Winn's life and instead pardoned and banished him. The British captured Rev. James Edmonds and 71 year-old Rev. Josiah Smith of the Independent Meeting after the fall of Charleston in 1780. They imprisoned Edmonds on the *Torbay* prison ship and exiled Smith to Philadelphia, where he died of old age just after the Battle of Yorktown.³⁷

Some Presbyterians avoided capture despite the odds. Rev. John Simpson, pastor at Upper and Lower Fishing Creek (in modern Chester County) also occasionally preached at nearby Bethesda, near modern Brattonsville. As his grandson remembered, the a stout 5'6" tall ardent Patriot, spoke with vigor and spontaneous bursts of emotion. As Captain Christian Huck's army scoured the Chester area in 1780, rounded up Patriots and destroyed property, Simpson who had previously led a militia unit at Beckhamville and Mobley's Meeting House, joined Sumter's army and served under Captain John McClure.



Modern monument to Rev. John Simpson at Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church in Chester County, SC. SCAR photo.

On Sunday morning June 11, 1780, the enemy approached the vacant Fishing Creek Church expecting to find Simpson and the congregation assembled. The men were in camp with Sumter. The British burned down the church. Simpson's wife Mary and their four children hid in an adjacent orchard while the soldiers ransacked the family home, ripped apart four feather beds, and burned the residence and Simpson's library to the ground. Mary

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 448 and 452-454.

ran back inside as they rode off but managed to save only two apron-fulls of belongings from the blaze.

Thereafter, Tories occasionally stopped by the home in which Mary Simpson and her children were staying. Wearing John Simpson's clothes, they "asked if they were not better looking men than her husband," and "strut[ed] before her." They promised to return some day with a present for her: Rev. Simpson's scalp. McClure's riflemen, comprised of many men from Simpson's congregation, attacked Captain Huck's camp at dawn on July 12, 1780, shot and killed Huck and a number of his men, and captured many others. The Battle of Williamson's Plantation (Huck's Defeat) and word that Huck's men had harassed their families, had killed William Strong while he read his Bible, and had torched Simpson's home, office and church, drove even more Presbyterian men into Sumter's army. Two days after the Battle of Camden just two months later, Banastre Tarleton's men accosted Sumter's encamped army. Simpson, mending a bridle at the time, narrowly escaped capture on his trusty mare when it made a few amazing leaps. Miraculously, the Simpson family reunited after the war.³⁸ But in 1780, troubles continued for his community. In a twist of bad luck, a forest fire consumed Bethesda Congregation in 1780, leaving many Presbyterians in present-day Chester County with no place nearby to worship.³⁹

The military leadership of Irish Presbyterian men from the Williamsburg area was decisive but the cost was great. The Williamsburg Presbyterian Church in Kingstree harbored refugee Patriots from all parts of South Carolina. A large contingent had gathered there for prayer and to organize prior to the Battle of Sampit Bridge.⁴⁰ Like many of the churches in the area, Indiantown Congregation provided valuable leadership for Marion's Patriot militia.⁴¹ British Major James Wemyss labeled Indiantown a "Sedition Shop." His men burned the church, flung every copy of the Bible and of the Scottish Psalms they could find

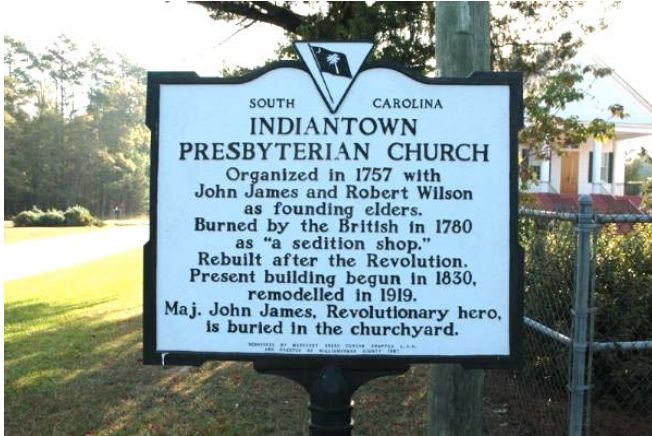
³⁸ Ibid., pp. 511-512; Henry Alexander White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders* (New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1911), pp. 144-149. The men in Simpson's congregations served under Captain John McClure and Colonel William Bratton in Sumter's army. For more on Huck's Defeat, see Edgar, *Partisans and Redcoats*; Michael C. Scoggins, *The Day It Rained Militia: Huck's Defeat and the Revolution in the South Carolina Backcountry, May-July 1780* (Charleston, S.C. and London: The History Press, 2005). Men in the region were incensed when Huck took the Lord's name in vain: Erick Nason, "Huck's Defeat and Unconventional Warfare," *The Continental Line* (Fall 2006): <http://www.continentalline.org/articles/article.php?date=0602&article=060201>. New Jersey-born, Simpson graduated from the College of New Jersey (Princeton) and arrived in South Carolina in the early 1770s. He resumed his preaching career, rebuilt his home and church and in 1790, moved to southwestern Pendleton County to serve the Roberts and Good Hope congregations. He died in 1808. Simpson's visitation log of 1774-1775 was saved from the house fire. Brent Holcomb and Elmer O. Parker, eds., *Early Records of Fishing Creek Presbyterian Church, Chester County, South Carolina, 1799-1859, with Appendices of the Visitation List of Rev. John Simpson, 1774-1776, and the Cemetery Roster, 1762-1979* (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 1991).

³⁹ Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, p. 515.

⁴⁰ Ibid., pp. 540, 481 and 484.

⁴¹ Local and religious histories clash on which churches Marion's men attended and when. John and Gavin Witherspoon and John James were elders at Indian Town.

into the flames, and destroyed SC Patriot militia Major John James' home (James was an elder of the church).⁴²



Roadside marker at the site of the Indian Town Presbyterian Church, burned by British Maj. James Wemyss in September 1780. SCAR photo.

The destruction of Fishing Creek and Indiantown churches was not an isolated incident. The British established a post at the Wappataw Congregational Church, which included some Presbyterians, located near the head of the Wando River near Awendaw. As they evacuated, British troops burned down the house of worship, destroyed its books and records, torched several homes, and ruined the rice in stacks. The church could not rebuild until 1800.⁴³



The Old White Meeting House was located .5 mile northwest of the Dorchester Fort on the Dorchester Road (SC Highway 642). It was a brick structure, covered with plaster, finally demolished by the violent 1886 “Charleston” earthquake. Its cemetery is extant.

⁴² Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, pp. 376-377, 461-464 and 515; White, *Southern Presbyterian Leaders*, pp. 154-155. One wonders how Wemyss felt as he carried out these orders; he was a Presbyterian. See John Parker’s article on the location of Maj. John James’ home in the Indian Town community in *SCAR* (January – March 2008), Vol. 5, No. 1-3, pp. 51 - 54.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 461-462. Wappataw is just west of US 17 on Fifteen Mile Landing Road near the head of the Wando River, about 15 miles north of Charleston. It was the site of a British camp and several raids in 1780-1781.

The Congregation of Dorchester and Beech Hill (in modern Summerville) also suffered. British troops occupied the Old White Meetinghouse after the Battle of Eutaw Springs in September 1781. They burnt the interior of the church and it remained like this until about 1800.⁴⁴

Similarly, the struggles of the Independent Meeting compounded. William Tennent died in 1777. During the British bombardment of Charleston in the spring of 1780, a bombshell fell in the churchyard during Sunday service and dispersed the congregation. When the city fell in 1780, the British had not only captured pastors James Edmonds and Josiah Smith, they also commandeered the Independent Meeting and used it as a hospital and storehouse. They removed the pews and pulpit and prevented grieving families from accessing the cemetery. They also seized the congregation’s new, second meeting house on Archdale Street. Because the church’s members had played prominent roles in the Patriot political leadership, the British imprisoned 38 men from the congregation and took them to St. Augustine or Philadelphia. The Congregation was temporarily disbanded. After the war, the church struggled to recover and was without a settled minister for six years.⁴⁵

Without the guidance of Rev. Craighead, 1780 got even worse for the Waxhaw Congregation. At the Battle of the Waxhaws (Buford’s Defeat), 113 Patriots were slain, 150 seriously wounded (many of whom would soon die), and 53 captured. The wounded were taken over 10 miles to Waxhaw Church. Women and children tended to the injured, among them Robert and Andrew Jackson (future victor of the War of 1812 Battle of New Orleans and President of the United States) and their mother Elizabeth. The wounded at Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock were also taken to Waxhaw Church.⁴⁶ As Peter Moore has written, the Waxhaw Massacre mobilized the region. Andrew and Robert joined the cavalry under North Carolina Patriot militia Major William Richardson Davie (himself the nephew and adopted son of the late Rev. William Richardson), and 13-year-old Andrew served as a messenger. The devastation at the Waxhaws, as elsewhere, threw communities and their spiritual life into a state of disarray that took years to overcome.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 479-480.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 451-452. At the time, the church was known by a number of names, including “The White Meeting,” “The Independent Meeting,” “The Independent Presbyterian Meeting,” the “Society of Dissenters”, and others. The congregation had grown so rapidly that it had begun to build a second meeting house on Archdale Street. During the war, the American militia used the church as a barracks and destroyed the pews. When the British occupied the city, they too quartered troops there. The congregation split in the 1800s and the church at 6 Archdale Street is now the Unitarian Universalist Church in Charleston. Many congregations were temporarily disbanded. All of the churches on James Island were broken up and Salketcher (Salkehatchie) Church in present-day Yemassee stood vacant on Sabbath days. Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, p. 463.

⁴⁶ See James Piecuch, “Massacre or Myth?: Banastre Tarleton at the Waxhaws, May 29, 1780,” *SCAR* 1:2 (October 2004): pp. 4-10, appendices 11-19; Charles B. Baxley, ed., “Compendium of Research Materials on the Battle of the Waxhaws, May 29, 1780,” South Caroliniana Library, Columbia, SC.

⁴⁷ Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, pp. 538-540; Peter N. Moore, *World of Toil and Strife: Community Transformation in Backcountry South Carolina, 1750-1805* (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 2007), pp. 60-75. Andrew’s brother Hugh died of heat exhaustion at the Battle of

Baptists

Baptists suffer a paucity of available material, especially on the backcountry churches. The Baptist Church was in just as much crisis as the Presbyterian Church, if not more.⁴⁸ On the verge of the war by 1774 the Charleston Baptist Association was suffering from a crisis of leadership. In 1774 alone, Ashley River (about 14 miles northwest of Charleston) had yet to replace the minister they had dismissed five years earlier for alcoholism: Rev. John Stephens. Welch Baptists, mainly resettled from Delaware, dominated the Welsh Tract settlements in modern Marlboro and Darlington Counties. The Baptist Church of Christ was established near modern Society Hill west of the Pee Dee River the Welsh Neck community in 1738. The congregation grieved Rev. Nicholas Bedgegood who died in 1774. A third Baptist minister, Francis Pelot, pastor for over twenty years at Euhaw Church in present-day Grahamville, also died in 1774.⁴⁹ In 1776, 1780, and 1781, the Association could not meet.

Baptists were more divided in their loyalties than the Presbyterians. It is difficult to say with certainty where Baptist Loyalists were located by 1780 or 1781, but sources suggest that in several areas Loyalist sentiment remained strong. Baptist Loyalists lived in the Pee Dee region, in the middle of the state between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, and in Ninety Six District. Captain Robert Cunningham's men worshipped at Little River (of Saluda) in present-day Due West. Loyalist Colonel Thomas Fletchall had many supporters and sympathizers in Fairforest (modern Union County) and in the Chester area Baptist churches, and including those in the Mobley's settlement in modern Fairfield County. He raised the Jackson Creek Loyalist militia. Historians may have overestimated the number of Baptist Loyalists. Some Separate Baptists were pacifists such as Padgett's Creek, in present-day Union.⁸⁰ Areas containing Loyalist-leaning German-speaking Baptists and Lutherans, with few, if any, English speaking Loyalist-leaning Regular or Separate Baptists, may have been misidentified as areas of strong Loyalist sentiments.⁵⁰

Rev. Evan Pugh's position is difficult to gauge. Pastor at Long Bluff, in the present-day Society Hill community of Darlington

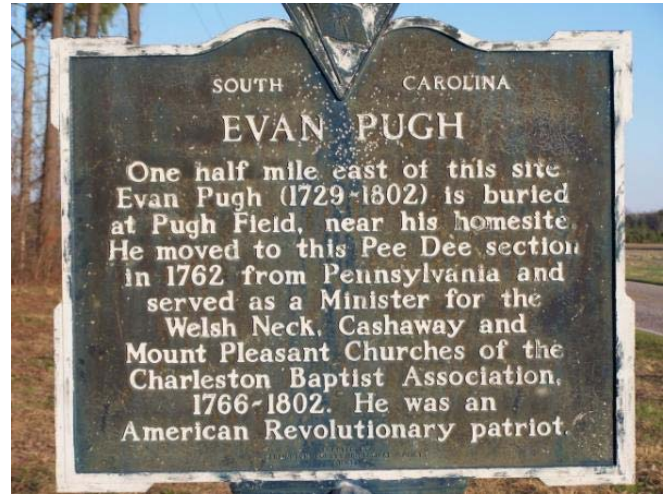
Stono Ferry on June 20, 1779. After the Waxhaw Massacre, Andrew and his brother Robert served under NC Patriot militia Maj. William Richardson Davie. Some biographers claim that while defending the home of Colonel Sands, Jackson was wounded when he refused to shine a British officer's boots. The boys were captured and imprisoned in Camden. Elizabeth Jackson secured her sons' release, but Robert died soon after and Andy suffered with smallpox. She subsequently went to Charleston with some friends to nurse injured Patriot prisoners; she sickened and died in November of 1781. Elizabeth Jackson is buried on the grounds of the College of Charleston. Hendrik Booraem, *Young Hickory: The Making of Andrew Jackson* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Co., 2001), pp. 108 – 109.

⁴⁸ Owens, *Taproot of the South Carolina Baptist Back Country*, p. 45.

⁴⁹ On Pelot, see David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and in Other Parts of the World* (New York: Lewis Colby and Co., 1848), p. 704; Owens, "A Copy of the Diary of Rev. Oliver Hart," pp. 7-9. Bedgegood, suspected of abandoning his wife to come to America in 1751, had been unpopular since his attempt to wrest control of the Charleston Church from Oliver Hart a decade earlier.

⁵⁰ King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists*, pp. 92-93. Few records survive; members in most German-speaking churches spoke no English and kept few records; many were illiterate.

County and a branch of the Welsh Neck settlements, he gave a sermon in 1779 celebrating the slow advance of the British, surrendered in June, 1780 to the British, received parole the next day, and returned home. He soon "felt heavy," however, and "went to ye Court house in order to give up my parole but cod not do it." He then took an oath of Allegiance to the King. Seen by many as a flip-flopper, Pugh garnered the suspicion of both Patriots and Tories thereafter, but his diaries express support for the Patriot cause. Contrary to popular belief, he was not a chaplain but did preach to Patriot Lt. Col. Peter Horry's dragoons.⁵¹



Roadside historic marker to Rev. Evan Pugh.

Like their Presbyterian counterparts, Baptist preachers, often those with large families, also fled their congregations to avoid capture, imprisonment, or worse. Rev. Joseph Cook of Euhaw Church lost everything as a result. Rev. Richard Furman, who garnered support for the Patriot cause from the onset of the war, took an oath of allegiance administered by SC Patriot militia General Richard Richardson in the summer of 1776. He went to Charleston with the volunteer company under the command of his brother, Captain Josiah Furman, but Governor John Rutledge requested that he return to the High Hills to rally Patriot followers. Biographer James A. Rogers, citing oral history, notes that General Cornwallis labeled Furman as a major threat and placed a £1,000 bounty on his head. Facing imminent capture in August 1780, Furman fled with his family into North Carolina. He settled along the Mayo River near the Virginia line, about thirty miles north of Greensboro. During his stay, he befriended Virginian Patrick Henry and preached to troops before the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. He returned home to the High Hills of the Santee in late 1782.⁵²

The war years were no less chaotic for Rev. Edmund Botsford, pastor at a newly constituted church about 25 miles south of Augusta in Burke County, Georgia. When the British captured Savannah, Botsford, his wife, a slave, and three children under the age of four fled to Edgefield, South Carolina. The family had only a single bed, one blanket and a sheet in their cart. Botsford served in 1779 briefly as a chaplain in South Carolina Patriot militia General Andrew Williamson's brigade. He then replaced Elhanan

⁵¹ Evan Pugh, *The Diaries of Evan Pugh, 1762-1801*, transcribed by Horace Fraser Rudisill (Florence, S.C.: St. David's Society, 1993), vii-viii, pp. 196-197 and 210. A number of Pugh's congregation at Long Bluff served under Marion; he expresses an interest in the men encamped at Snow's Island (xviii); Stokes, "The Baptist and Methodist Clergy in South Carolina," p. 91.

⁵² James A. Rogers, *Richard Furman: Life and Legacy* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1985), pp. 29-42 and 46-47.

Winchester at Welsh Neck.⁵³ During the British bombardment of Charleston in 1780, Hart, chased by a detachment of British troops, left his friend's house where he was recuperating from the fever, met up with Botsford at Welsh Neck, and the two pastors traveled northward. They stayed briefly in Rockingham County, Virginia with Hart's brother. Botsford stopped in northern Virginia, but Hart continued to Philadelphia. Botsford returned to Welsh Neck on New Year's Eve, 1781. Hart took a position in Hopewell, New Jersey, where he remained for the rest of his life.⁵⁴

Many Baptist preachers served as Patriot chaplains. Botsford, Rev. James Smart of Beech Branch Church (Coosawhatchie) in Allendale County, Thacker Vivian (who served Separate Baptist churches in present-day Spartanburg County), and the man who had converted Richard Furman, Rev. Joseph Reese, are examples.⁵⁵ Like the Presbyterians, Baptist ministers risked their lives; some stayed behind despite the dangers.⁵⁶

Like the Presbyterians, some Baptist congregations suffered the uncertainties and the ravages of war. For example, almost-constant fighting continued near the Fairforest Church. Raiders broke up a worship service at Cashaway Neck (now the Mechanicsville Baptist Church in modern Darlington County) and stole several horses.⁵⁷ The British



took over Charleston's two Baptist meetinghouses during the occupation and used them as

storehouses for salt, beef, and forage. They took "the old book kept by the Trustees of the Church, and also all the indents, acts, papers, &c of the church" from Col. Thomas Screven, the acting trustee of the church. Indeed, the records predating the Revolution only survived for three congregations: Ashley River, Cashaway and Welsh Neck. As Leah Townsend lamented, constructing the pre-Revolutionary history of the church from a "complete historical blank" has proven a difficult task.⁵⁸

The war also struck a serious blow to South Carolina's two black Baptist churches. With the blessing of their master, George Galphin, eight slaves organized the first such Church in the state at Silver Bluff, about twelve miles south of Augusta in Aiken County. When the war broke out and the black ministers from Georgia that served the congregation could no longer visit, a slave named David George assumed the preaching duties. George and his congregation fled to the British lines in Savannah in late 1778 when their Patriot master fled to avoid capture. He contracted smallpox and nearly died. His wife Phillis washed clothes for General Clinton during the siege of Savannah. George and his congregation evacuated Savannah with the British and, after a brief stay in Charleston, joined 500 whites on the exodus to Nova Scotia. George preached for ten years in Canada and later migrated to Sierra Leone.⁵⁹

Rev. Elhanan Winchester at Welsh Neck, converted and baptized many slaves: 100 alone in 1779. He organized a Baptist Church for slaves there but soon after went to New England for a visit and never returned full-time to Welsh Neck. Perhaps under pressure from the white congregation, Winchester's successor Edmund Botsford disbanded the church. Botsford questioned his predecessor's Arminian tendencies, it appears that he did not wish to preside over both churches, and he did not share his predecessor's zeal for black church membership.⁶⁰

Wracked by division and ravaged by war, many congregations disbanded and the rapid growth of the denomination in South Carolina slowed significantly; few new churches were constituted. Few new churches were constituted. The Congaree Association of

⁵³ Botsford's days as a chaplain were brief but memorable. While preaching in a field, the barrel upon which he stood collapsed and he fell to the ground. On another occasion, a goat attacked a man who was sleeping through his sermon. Charles D. Mallary, *The Memoirs of Elder Edmund Botsford*, 2nd ed., (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2004); *Minutes of the Welsh Neck Baptist Church*, Society Hill, South Carolina (Nashville: Historical Commission, Southern Baptist Convention, n.d.), (microfilm), September 5, 1780; J. Glenwood Clayton, "Elder Edmund Botsford of South Carolina," *JSCBHS* 2 (November 1976): pp. 28-29; Andrew Lee Feight, "Edmund Botsford and Richard Furman: Slavery in the South Carolina Lowcountry, 1766-1825," *JSCBHS* 19 (November 1993): pp. 2-22.

⁵⁴ Loulie Latimer Owens, "A Copy of the Diary of Rev. Oliver Hart," pp. 13-14. For Hart's decision to stay in Philadelphia, see Owens, *Oliver Hart: A Biography* (Greenville: South Carolina Baptist Historical Society), p. 20. Botsford's wife and children attempted to find him during his absence, and had a traumatic time of it: Mallary, *The Memoirs of Elder Edmund Botsford*, 2nd ed.

⁵⁵ Robert C. Mulkey, "Joseph Reese," *JSCBHS* 2 (November 1976): p. 23; Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists*, p. 178 and King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists*, p. 92 contain a complete list of prominent Baptist preachers and laymen who served in the Revolution in various capacities.

⁵⁶ Owens, "South Carolina Baptists and the American Revolution," pp. 39-40; Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists*, p. 177.

⁵⁷ King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists*, p. 93; Pugh, *The Diaries of Evan Pugh*, p. 197.

⁵⁸ Owens, "South Carolina Baptists and the American Revolution," 39; Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists*, 178; Owens, "Oliver Hart and the American Revolution," p. 5. A rift had developed in the Charleston Baptist Church between Free Will and Regular Baptist groups, thus the two meeting houses. Much Presbyterian records have also been lost or destroyed, as were all the records of the Presbytery of Charleston. Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, p. 475.

⁵⁹ On David George, see Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves, and the American Revolution* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006); Grant Gordon, *From Slavery to Freedom: The Life of David George, Pioneer Black Baptist Minister* (Hansport, Nova Scotia: Published by Lancelot Press for Acadia Divinity College and the Baptist Historical Committee of the United Baptist Convention of the Atlantic Provinces, 1992).

⁶⁰ Botsford examined the blacks, admitted some into the white communication, but excommunicated others whom he considered "very ignorant of the true nature of religion." King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists*, p. 44. For more on Botsford, see Mallary, *The Memoirs of Elder Edmund Botsford*, 2nd ed. The precise circumstances surrounding Winchester's departure remain open to debate. Perhaps he simply left on a vacation and never came back. Maybe he resigned to pursue other opportunities. Other sources suggest that Winchester's congregation forced him out because of his belief in Universal Salvation.

Separate Baptists quickly went extinct.⁶¹ With the crisis in leadership, many people seemed to be losing faith altogether. In 1777, the Charleston Association fretted over the “Declension and Disregard shewn” by its members. It mandated that four days in 1778 be observed as Days of Fasting, Prayer, and Thanksgiving.⁶² A year later, Rev. Oliver Hart redelivered and published a sermon he had shelved for twenty years: “Dancing exploded: A sermon, shewing the unlawfulness, sinfulness, and bad consequences of balls, assemblies, and dances in general.” In it, he rebuked his audience for participating in balls and dances and lashed out at parents for putting their children through dance lessons. “The judgments of God are now spread over our land,” Hart warned: “The alarm of war—the clangor of arms—the garments rolled in blood, the sufferings of our brethren in the Northern States, and of others in a state of captivity.” A recent fire had even swept through Charleston. And yet, “Instead of repentance, reformation of life, and prayer,” he had observed a disturbing increase in the “sinful” and “profane” activity of dancing lessons, balls, and other “diversions, which were so pleasing to the carnal mind.”⁶³

As the war drew to a close, the long road to recovery for the Baptist Churches in the state of South Carolina got underway. Representatives met at Welsh Neck in 1782, appointed a day of thanksgiving, and designated prominent ministers to visit and assist destitute and war-ravaged churches. Edmund Botsford returned after the war to Welsh Neck and he and young Richard Furman emerged as the Church’s leaders in the late-1780s. They filled the void left by Hart, who, at 63, elected to remain in New Jersey but did return to Charleston for a visit. The Charleston Association began to thrive as dozens of new churches were constituted and incorporated statewide and new Associations were created in Georgia and South Carolina.⁶⁴

Anglicans

Patriot-leaning Anglican ministers faced difficult times like their evangelical counterparts. Five Loyalist preachers had fled by 1777. A member of the Provincial Congresses and the First General Assembly, the Patriot Rev. Paul Turquand of St. Matthew’s Parish, went to New Orleans and remained there until 1785. Most parsons remained and provided valuable leadership for their congregations. Rev. Samuel Fenner Warren actually returned from England to St. James, Santee during the war!⁶⁵

⁶¹ There were a few new churches organized during the war such as Langston Baptist Church (Duncan’s Creek) in Laurens County, and Ebenezer Baptist Church in Florence. Churches in Union and Spartanburg counties also fragmented and from the remnants people formed new congregations. Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination*, p. 711 lists Congaree, Fairforest, Stephen’s Creek, Burch River, Mine Creek, and two churches at Little River as members of the Congaree Association. The Flat Creek Baptist Church in modern eastern Lancaster County was fortuitously founded on July 4, 1776.

⁶² *Minutes of the Charlestown [Baptist] Association, Charlestown, February 3, 1777* (Charlestown: [publisher unknown], 1777), 3.

⁶³ Oliver Hart, *Dancing Exploded. A Sermon shewing the unlawfulness, sinfulness, and bad consequences of balls, assemblies, and dances in general* (Charleston, S.C.: David Bruce, 1778), pp. 3, 13 and 19.

⁶⁴ Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination*, 321; on Hart’s decision to stay in Philadelphia, see Townsend, *Oliver Hart: A Biography*, p. 20; Pugh, *The Diaries of Evan Pugh*, p. 214.

⁶⁵ Suzanne Cameron Linder, *Anglican Churches in Colonial South Carolina: Their History and Architecture* (Charleston, S.C.: Wyrick & Company, 2000) pp. 125 and 54; Dalcho, *An Historical*

Some, like Turquand, played an active role in politics. Rev. Henry Purcell, rector of Christ Church Parish, served briefly as a chaplain to Colonel William Moultrie and in 1778 became the Deputy Judge Advocate General. In late 1782, after the British burned his church, he took over at St. Michael’s. Samuel Hart of St. John’s, Berkeley, also served as a chaplain—to the 1st Regiment, South Carolina Continental Line. Others delivered rousing sermons to inspire their Patriot listeners. Unfortunately their outspokenness and the fact that they had violated their oaths subjected them to capture and imprisonment. St. Philip’s Rev. Robert Smith frequently expounded on the Patriot cause, served at the 1776 defense of Fort Sullivan, buried soldiers who had died in Charleston’s general hospital, and in 1780 returned to the fighting lines as a common soldier. Rev. John Lewis of St. Paul’s Parish, Stono, greatly offended the British with his sermon “Naboth’s Vineyard” and with another on 1 Kings 21.3: “The Lord forbid it me, that I should give the inheritance of my fathers unto thee.” Targeted by the British as a public enemy, like other prominent Patriots, he was seized from his bed on August 27, 1780, and sent to St. Augustine on a prison ship. According to Frederick Dalcho, Rev. Lewis preached so passionately aboard the ship from Genesis 43.14— “If I be bereaved of my children, I am bereaved”—that they confined him in the Castillo de San Marcos. Smith, captured and banished to Philadelphia, remarried and made his way back to Charleston in 1783 after a brief stint at a parish on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. He later became a founder of the College of Charleston, its president, and the Bishop of the Diocese of South Carolina.⁶⁶

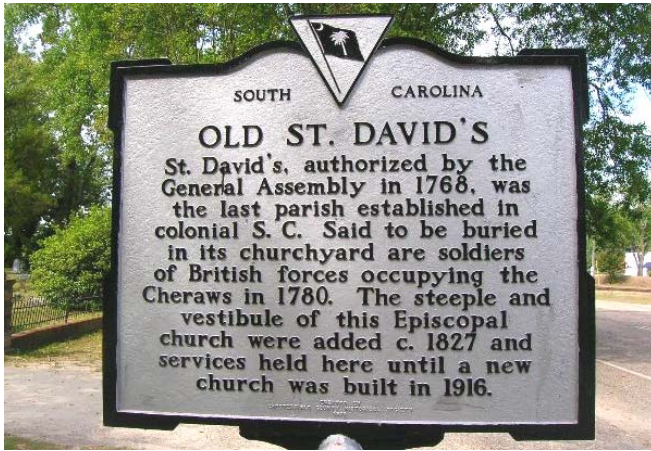
The British commandeered many Anglican churches and their resources. On John’s Island, Anglican minister Rev. Dr. William Percy fed the scattered remnants of Lieutenant Colonel William Washington’s army after its attack by Tarleton and Webster in mid-April 1780. British troops rode up a few days later and took all the edible food they could find. Percy and his family fled to Charleston. When the city fell to the British, he delivered a rousing public address; in response Lieutenant Colonel Nisbet Balfour prohibited him from preaching on pain of imprisonment.⁶⁷

The British used some churches as hospitals or stables. The 71st Regiment of Highlanders seized St. David’s church (now called Old St. David’s), in Cheraw, in the summer of 1780. About 50 British soldiers and officers of the 71st Regiment of Foot are buried there.

Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, pp. 206, 300-301 and 333-334. Turquand had come to South Carolina as a teen, against his parents’ wishes, worked as a teacher in Georgetown, then returned to England for religious training. He came back to South Carolina in the 1760s and preached at St. George’s Winyah and St. Matthew’s Parish. Warren took parole and protection. Warren may have returned to prevent Patriots from seizing his property.

⁶⁶ Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, pp. 357-358, 216 and 219. For more on Smith, see Wilbanks, ed., *The American Revolution and Righteous Community*, pp. 4, 26-36 and 56-57. For Purcell, see Williams, *St. Michael’s, Charleston*, pp. 48-50 and 311-312.

⁶⁷ Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, 470-71; Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, p. 206.



Roadside historic marker at the Old St. David's Church, which is extant in the Town of Cheraw, SC.

The British stabled their horses at the Church of Prince George's Winyah, in Georgetown. St. Helena's Parish Church in Beaufort also became a British stable and hospital. Despite the divisions brought by the war, when two British soldiers died, Patriots buried them in the churchyard after a proper funeral.⁶⁸



St. Helena Parish Anglican Church in Beaufort, SC.

British troops burned and destroyed many churches, usually for strategic reasons. St. Mark's Parish Church, south of Pinewood in present-day Sumter County, lay on the Old River Road between Charleston and Camden; it was destroyed. In 1779 on his march from Savannah to Charlestown, troops under Gen. Augustine Prévost burned the Sheldon Church near McPhersonville in Beaufort County. According to legend, a bronze equestrian statue of the church's Royal patron, Prince William, once stood above the portico, but Patriots had taken it down before the war. British Lieutenant Colonel James Coates burned St. John's, Berkeley, called Biggin Church, upon his retreat in the early morning hours of July 17, 1781.

The church is located at an elevated point at a strategic crossroads in St. John's Parish on Biggin Creek, one of the headwaters of the western branch of the Cooper River. The British also burned St. George's Parish Church, currently within Dorchester State Park in

⁶⁸ Hazel Crowson Sellers, *Old South Carolina Churches* (Columbia, S.C.: Crowson Printing Company, 1941), plate 1, plate 4, plate 20; Linder, *Anglican Churches in Colonial South Carolina*, pp. 71 and 116.

Summerville and, upon retreat in 1782, burned the Christ Church Parish Church, in Mt. Pleasant.⁶⁹



The ruins of St. John's, Berkeley parish church, often called the "Biggin" Church, near Moncks Corner, SC. Blown up and burned by British troops evacuating in the face of Gen. Thomas Sumter's Dog Days of Summer Campaign on July 16, 1781. SCAR photo.

St. Michael's, Charleston, became a conspicuous target in 1780 during the British bombardment of Charleston. A shell glanced off of its steeple which had been painted black and sheared off one of the arms of the statue of William Pitt at the nearby intersection of Broad and Meeting Streets.⁷⁰

On July 15, 1781 during Sunday services, Patriot Lt. Col. Wade Hampton led a raid on St. James Church in Goose Creek. His men surrounded the church and captured some Loyalists in the congregation. Legend suggests that the prominently displayed British coat of arms saved the church from being burned, but its Loyalist-leaning parishioners may have played a role in saving the church from destruction.⁷¹

The British also pilfered Anglican churches of their records and other valuable items. Soldiers stole the folio Bible from the St. James Santee "Brick Church". After the war, a friend of its donor Rebecca Brewton Motte discovered the Bible at a London bookstore and returned it to the church. Prior to burning the vestry house and the house of worship, British troops also stole the books, vestments, and plate of the Christ Church Parish Church. Likewise, a British officer took the bells of St. Michael's to England, though they too were returned after the war. A merchant formerly from

⁶⁹ Linder, *Anglican Churches in Colonial South Carolina*, 60; Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, pp. 273 and 282.

⁷⁰ This statue commissioned by the South Carolina Royal Assembly after the repeal of the Stamp Act, reported to be the first public memorial in British North America. The much-weathered William Pitt statue (1770) by Joseph Wilton now resides in the Charleston County Judicial Center's entrance hall with Pitt's quotation carved in stone above: "Where Law Ends, Tyranny Begins."

⁷¹ Sellers, *Old South Carolina Churches*, Plate 25; Howe, *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina*, p. 463; Sellers, *Old South Carolina Churches*, Plate 19; Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, p. 273; Williams, *St. Michael's, Charleston*, pp. 29 and 44.

Charleston purchased the bells then sold them back to St. Michael's.⁷²



St. James, Goose Creek parish Anglican Church, established November 30, 1706, was the site of Patriot Lt. Col. Wade Hampton's raid. This jerkinhead roof 1713 church building has survived wars and many natural disasters and reflects the early wealth of the area.

Lutherans

Few records survive; thus much remains unknown about the Lutheran Church in South Carolina during the Revolution. By 1775, German-speaking settlers, an estimated ten percent of the total white population, were concentrated mainly in Charleston and on land that had been granted to them by the Crown in the Orangeburg and St. Matthews regions and in the area between the Broad and Saluda Rivers, west and northwest of present-day Columbia.⁷³ In Charleston, most Lutherans eagerly sided with the Patriots. One hundred and thirty-seven men from St. John's Lutheran formed the German Füsilier Company and fought at the Siege of Savannah. During the British bombardment of Charleston in 1780, Patriot troops twice burned the home of Rev. John Nicholas Martin to keep it from providing cover for British invaders. During the occupation of the city, British troops arrested and exiled Martin when he refused to deliver prayers for the King. They also arrested Rev. Christian Streitt. Streitt had served as a Patriot chaplain in Virginia before coming to South Carolina in 1778. Rev. Frederick Daser, a Loyalist, remained in the pastorate of the church through the war years.⁷⁴

The situation differed greatly in the backcountry. As historian Edward McCrady has noted, and the records of the Drayton-Tennent-Hart backcountry expedition in 1775 suggest, few German

⁷² Linder, *Anglican Churches in Colonial South Carolina*, p. 54 and 134; Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, 282. See also Williams, *St. Michael's, Charleston*, pp. 44-45 and 257-268. The bells returned in 1783 to a jubilant congregation; two had to be recast.

⁷³ *A History of the Lutheran Church in South Carolina*, p. 97; Little, "'Adding to the church such as shall be saved,'" p. 369. The Amelia Township at the confluence of the Congaree and Wateree Rivers and the "Dutch Fork" (a local corruption of "Deutsch") was the area between the confluence of the Saluda and Broad Rivers which was named Saxe Gotha Township, were heavily settled by Germanic Lutherans. Some German speaking Swiss settled in Purrysburg on the lower Savannah River near modern Hardeeville, SC.

⁷⁴ Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements*, pp. 222-224; *A History of the Lutheran Church in South Carolina*, pp. 97-99.

settlers in the backcountry were Patriots. Some feared they would lose their lands if they fought on the wrong side and lost. Others felt that they had nothing in common with other white settlers and believed that the war did not concern them. Most probably hoped for a British victory or remained neutral. They looked to preserve their culture and religion while the world around them fell apart. Moravian sources suggest that some may have even fled to North Carolina. Whether in Charleston or elsewhere, the war cut off Lutherans from news, aid, support, and ministers from their parent church in Europe. New German immigrants still arrived, though: small numbers of Hessian deserters made their way from the British Army during the siege of Charleston to German communities in South Carolina. One of them, John Yost Mütze (also spelled Meetze or Metze) became a pastor in Saxe Gotha Township, now Lexington County, and provided valuable leadership to the Lutheran Church in South Carolina well into the nineteenth century.⁷⁵

South Carolina's Jews

South Carolina had a small but thriving Jewish population in the eighteenth century and the war touched their lives as it did every one else's. The story of Francis Salvador, the first Jewish-American to hold public office, and also the first to die in the Revolution is well known. A Sephardic Jew of Portuguese descent who had lived in London, Salvador arrived in South Carolina in late 1773.



Diorama depicting the ambush of Francis Salvador at the Seneca's camp on August 1, 1776 by Robert N. S. Whitelaw of Charleston, S.C., (1970, restored in 2002). Mixed media in the Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim Synagogue. Photo from the UNC Libraries.

He purchased land in present-day Coronica community of Greenwood County and served as a delegate to the First and Second Provincial Congresses. He returned to the backcountry in the spring of 1776 after the Congress adjourned, and worked with Major Andrew Williamson to raise sufficient men to counterattack the Cherokee raids that began that summer. While the men planned a surprise attack, the Cherokees and their Tory allies ambushed them near the Seneca towns (modern Clemson, SC) on August 1, 1776. Shortly after 1 am, Salvador was wounded three times and was scalped. He shook Maj. Williamson's hand and wished him well, then died 45 minutes later. The loss dealt a blow to the backcountry and to Patriot leaders, as Salvador had won the respect of many Jews and Protestants alike.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ Bernheim, *History of the German Settlements*, pp. 171-174 and 273; *A History of the Lutheran Church in South Carolina*, pp. 93-97 and 880.

⁷⁶ Solomon Breibart, *Explorations in Charleston's Jewish History* (Charleston, S.C.: History Press, 2005), pp. 35-38; Colonel

Charleston's Jews served in the military effort and the war touched their lives as well. Extrapolating from 1790 figures, it appears that perhaps 200 Jews lived in the city during the war years, employed mainly as shopkeepers and merchants. This number increased as refugees from Savannah including Frances Sheftall and four of her children and Hessian deserters such as Samuel Levy and Levy Solomon joined the ranks of Charleston's Jews. Many men fought in the Patriot militia. Militias were organized by address and many Jews lived above their shops on King Street and in the surrounding area. These men served together in the "Jews' Company" under Captain Richard Lushington at Beaufort, during the attempted Patriot recapture of Savannah in 1779 and in the defense of Charleston in 1780.⁷⁷ During that siege, a Jewish girl, Rachel Moses, and her nurse were killed by a British cannonball. While a few Jews signed their name to a petition pledging allegiance to General Clinton, most Charleston Jews appear to have been Patriots. Several of them were exiled or held on prison ships. The service and sacrifices of Charleston's Jews to the Patriot cause won them their increased respect in the eyes of Protestants, as James Hagy asserts. In a 1783 letter to the *South Carolina Gazette and General Advertiser*, "A Well-Wisher to the State" observed that "The Jews have had a considerable share in our late Revolution," and deserved to be a part of the future of the state.⁷⁸

During the chaotic war years Charleston's Jews were divided, not unlike Protestant congregations in the city. A longstanding rift between Ashkenazim and Sephardic Jews came to a head by 1775 and the two groups split sometime during the war. The Sephardim hoped to build their own synagogue but the war thwarted these plans. The two groups worshipped separately for a few years but in 1790 reconciled their differences. A new synagogue opened for the reunited congregation the following year. By 1800, Beth Elohim was the largest congregation in America. The congregation transitioned from Orthodox to Reform Judaism in the nineteenth century. Charleston's Jewish community, now able to legally vote and hold office under the 1790 state constitution, expanded and prospered as it looked forward to a new era.⁷⁹

Conclusion

Patriots won the battle for the hearts and minds of South Carolinians in the early stages of the American Revolution. Though the First Scots Presbyterian Church remained Loyalist and some Baptist and German-speaking churches stayed Loyalist or neutral, Patriots won dissenter support through the backcountry expedition of Drayton, Tennent and Hart and through

[William] Thomson to W[illiam] H[enry] Drayton, Camp Two Miles Below Keowee, 4 August 1776 in Gibbes, ed., *Documentary History of the American Revolution*, I:125-127; "Francis Salvador of Coronaca Plantations, SC," *SCAR* 4:1-3 (January-March 2007): p. 15.

⁷⁷ James William Hagy, *This Happy Land: The Jews of Colonial and Antebellum Charleston* (Tuscaloosa and London: University of Alabama Press, 1993), pp. 14, 33 and 113-119; Barnett Abraham Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1905), pp. 68-107 includes much more on Salvador and on South Carolina's Jews during the war years. The experiences of the Sheftalls are chronicled in the *Sheftall Family Collection, 1733-1827*, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, GA.

⁷⁸ Hagy, *This Happy Land*, pp. 113-119. Tables 13 and 14 (pp. 117-188) record the stories of Jews during the war; Elzas, *The Jews of South Carolina*, pp. 68-107.

⁷⁹ Breibart, *Explorations in Charleston's Jewish History*, pp. 114-115 and 139.

disestablishment. During the war, many men were driven to the Patriot ranks. Religion remained an important part of South Carolinians' identity and played a vital role in their lives during the war time years. Churches were essential gathering places for support and fellowship as the centers of community life. Some ministers fled, others escaped capture, others were imprisoned, and some died far from home. Some congregations divided; others were disbanded. Some people lost faith altogether and stopped going to services. Other churches were commandeered, burned and destroyed.

Eventually, most congregations got over the disruptions of the war. The disestablishment of the Anglican Church and the growing white population of South Carolina encouraged the founding of many new congregations. It stimulated the reorganization and the creation of new Baptist Associations and Presbyteries throughout the Southeast. Disestablishment encouraged the rapid growth of the Methodists and the number of Baptist churches had nearly doubled by 1790 from its pre-war figures. Regular and Separate Baptists mended their differences. New churches in Georgia and North Carolina also proliferated. Dozens of new Presbyterian churches dotted the landscape and growth proceeded especially rapidly in Laurens County.⁸⁰ The Anglican Church lost much of its leadership and its tax base during the war. Many of its churches, already in need of repair before the Revolution, had been destroyed. The church reorganized nationally in 1785 as the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America. Under the leadership of Rev. Robert Smith, rebuilding and recovery came slowly yet steadily. The Episcopal Church, hit hard by the Revolutionary crisis, continued to lose parishioners. The Lutheran church organized a synod and continued to slowly expand with help from the Germanic states. South Carolina's Jewish population thrived, boosted by increased acceptance and by new arrivals. By 1800, it was the largest congregation in the United States.

As they battled to rebuild their congregations, the men, women and pastors of South Carolina's churches encountered difficult memories of the war years: of internal divisions within their communities, of the sacrifices of ministers and of families, of the destruction of their neighborhoods and their churches. Every time they went to services, they saw the empty pews that their friends and family had once occupied. As the war came to an end, they recommitted themselves to a new struggle that would also shape the future of South Carolina in a dramatic and lasting way by rebuilding their churches and communities, founding new congregations, and expanding their denominations throughout the southeast. ★

For biographical information on the author, Daniel J. Tortora, see page 17.

⁸⁰ Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination* places the number at 66 (701), while Townsend, *South Carolina Baptists*, claims there were 67 (272). Rock Springs Presbyterian in Laurens County formed in 1780, was one of several new Presbyterian churches in the northwestern part of the state.