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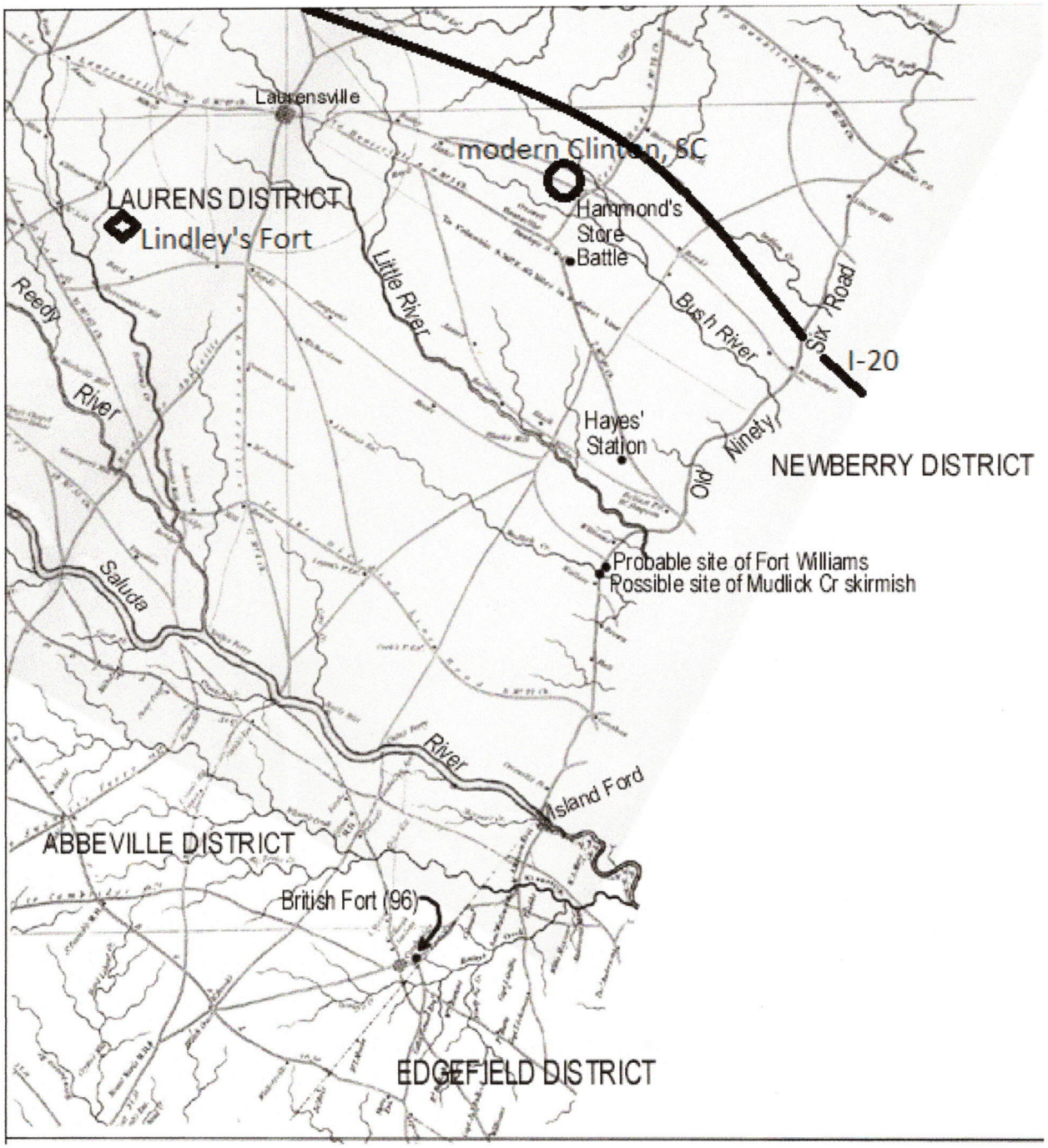

Composite map made from three Mills Atlas maps (around 1820) showing proximity of 96, Hammond's store, Fort Williams, Hayes' Station and Mudlick Creek. Fort Williams was 15 miles from Ninety Six.

Editor's Notes

In this edition we take a special look at three Revolutionary War historical sites in the old Laurens District, South Carolina recalling the excellent tour David Reuwer, Lawrence Young and Charles Baxley had with local historian, Joe Goldsmith. Joe passed away a few years ago and this edition is dedicated to Joe in honor of all of his hard work to tell the story of the South Carolina backcountry in the Revolution. Laurens County, South Carolina, was named for successful Charleston merchant, planter and politician, Henry Laurens, who served as the 4th President of the Continental Congress of the United States (yes, before George Washington). Laurens County is a portion of the old Ninety Six District, predominately settled by Scots-Irish Protestants and still very Presbyterian.

At Thornwell Home, we have historians Jim Piecuch, Jeff Dennis, Brian Robson, Jack Parker, and David Reuwer talk about these parts of the Southern Campaigns.

Jim Piecuch received his Ph.D. in history from the College of William and Mary. His book, *Three Peoples, One King: Loyalists, Indians, Slaves in the Revolutionary South*, is the first study of the Southern Campaigns undertaken from the viewpoint of the British and their supporters. His revisionist look at Buford's Massacre is in *"Blood be upon your Head"*: Tarleton, Buford and the Myth of Massacre**.** Jim has written a compendium of documents on the *Battle of Camden: A Documentary History*, and is working on a field guide to the Battle of Eutaw Springs. His biography of Revolutionary War hero Lt. Col. John Eager Howard of Maryland was co-authored with John H. Beakes. Jim is an associate history professor at Kennesaw State University in Georgia and lives in Camden, SC.

Jeff Dennis
John C. "Jack" Parker
Brian Robson

David P. Reuwer of Camden, SC earned a J.D. from Pepperdine University and a B.A. from Towson University. David is an historian and practicing attorney, emphasizing criminal defense, real estate and historic preservation law. He was an adjunct professor of historic preservation at the College of Charleston. He was the lead investigator of the initial Eutaw Springs battlefield survey and is the associate editor of the magazine, *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution.* David is an engaging Southern Campaigns battlefield tour guide who co-planned and led the Camden Campaign, Thomas Sumter and Nathanael Greene Symposia tours, for US Army staff rides, and other tours of Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War sites. He is the co-founder of the Southern Campaigns Roundtable, Corps of Discovery tour groups, the archaeological reconnaissance of the Hobkirk's Hill battlefield (ARCHH, Inc.) and is a member of the Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable.

For the Corps of Discovery we will go to the site of Lindley's Fort where David Reuwer and Jeff Dennis will explain this early Whig v. Tory battle. Next we will see the sad monument to those Americans massacred after honorably surrendering at Hayes Station, where Charles Baxley will relate that story. Finally, well see the road leading to Hammond's Store where Charles Baxley will tell of this American victory against the local Tories and those from Wilkes County, Georgia.

Loyalists living on the Fairfield County, SC Little River under Tory Col. John Phillips organized the other "Little River Regiment", which is more often called the "Jackson Creek Regiment", named for the principal tributary of the Fairfield County Little River. Both Whig and Tory Little River militia soldiers served at the siege of Ninety Six in the summer of 1781. Col. Williams was an active militia commander from 1775 until his death at the pivotal Battle of Kings Mountain in 1780 - the highest-ranking officer killed in that battle. After the fall of Charleston, the British invasion of the South Carolina backcountry, and the surrender of Williams' commander, SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Williamson, Col. Williams joined Col. Thomas Sumter embodied SC Patriot militia. According to Sumter's and Williams' peer and memoirist Col. William Hill, Williams had a "personality conflict" with Gen. Thomas Sumter over command, promotion and recognition. Luckily, Williams was not with Sumter at his defeat at the Battle of Fishing Creek (August 18, 1780). Williams was about 50 miles west, cooperating with the North Carolina and Georgia militias when they defeated the Crown's forces at Musgrove Mill.

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 want to encourage the exchange of information on the Southern Campaigns' Revolutionary War sites, their location, preservation, historic signage, interpretation, artifacts, and archaeology as well as the personalities, military tactics, units, logistics, strategy, and the political leadership of the state. We highlight professionals and amateurs actively engaged in Revolutionary War research, preservation and interpretation to encourage an active exchange of information. All are invited to submit articles, pictures, documents, events and suggestions. We feature battles and skirmishes, documents, maps, artifacts, Internet links, and other stories in each magazine. The magazine was founded in 2004 by Charles B. Baxley and David P. Reuwer, and is now published by Woodward Corporation, Charles B. Baxley, Publisher.

Not heeding my mother's unfailing advice to remain silent lest the world see your ignorance…the editor of this edition is Charles B. Baxley who may be reached at P. O. Box 10, Lugoff, South Carolina 29078-0010
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Massacre at Hayes Station

Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham's "Bloody Scout" Raid

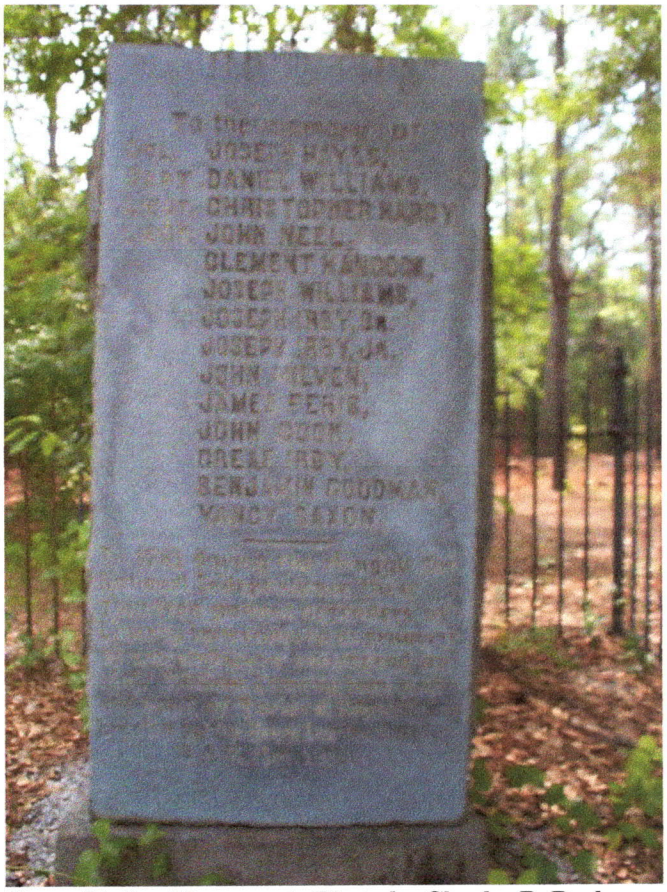
Commemorating the Massacre at Hayes Station and the Little River Regiment

Frank Wyman and Joe Goldsmith

Why are we here, out in the middle of nowhere, between a field and a forest? Why this diminutive monument? [1] Why this battle? Who were these men? Why do they make any difference?

This was the tragic yet heroic end of a valiant last chapter in the American Revolution, the Battle of Hayes Station; the final sacrificial engagement of one of the most effective and efficient fighting organizations ever to call themselves Americans. They had already come home from the war.

These men were a remnant of the Little River Regiment, which had begun nearly two decades earlier as volunteer "Rangers" of the Regulators Movement, a mutual-defense organization with a strong fraternal component. They were all volunteers who brought their own horses, weapons, blanket rolls, and three-day's portion of provisions, whenever called upon. These men were blacksmiths, and potters, and millers, and trappers, and merchants, and fur traders, an occasional Justice of the Peace or lawyer, or doctor, or minister.



Hayes Station Monument. Photo by Charles B. Baxley

But often they combined these with trapping and farming (field crops of Indian corn and oats) and most of all cattle ranching. Then as now one of South Carolina's most valuable agricultural product was beef. These men were not professional soldiers but they were highly skilled at riding, hunting, tracking, shooting, and living off the land. Many were teen-agers or younger for whom military service, dangerous and difficult as it may have been, was more adventure and Liberty than the other choice of being bound to a craftsman for six years as an apprentice or bound as a farm-hand for the same time period. Both were called "bond-servants."

They fought the Redcoats and the Tories and gave better than they got in some 23 battles and campaigns. A sample of their widely varied ages shows how universal was the deep feeling that bound them together; their ages were: 39 yrs., 10 yrs., 35 yrs., 71 yrs., 10 yrs., 35 yrs., 12 yrs., 11 yrs., 13 yrs., 26 yrs., 35 yrs., 68 yrs., and 16 yrs. old.[2] All were neighbors; many were uncles and nephews, fathers and sons, with even a grandfather mixed in here and there, and lots of "in-laws." The men in each company probably went to the same church. One man even brought his wife along to battles and campaigns: did they perhaps think she was safer in battle than at home alone among Tory neighbors? [3]

These men, young and old, were the Little River Regiment, formed and trained under the able leadership of local planter, distiller, rancher, and miller Col. James Williams. Their family names (Adair, Blakely, Blalock, Copeland, Duckett, and Young, yes even some Cunninghams) could have come straight from the Clinton telephone book or the Clinton High School Year Book. If there had been photography and we had the pictures before us now, the faces would probably seem very familiar to us. If there had been a Clinton High School, this is where they would have attended, and Clinton is where they would have come for staples and school supplies and cloth and ribbons and cookware and hunting/fishing supplies and hardware and mail and news, even the occasional piece of glass windowpane for the relatively wealthy.

They were almost entirely Presbyterians, as is much of modern Clinton, SC,[4] members of the congregations at Duncan's Creek, Little River and Liberty Spring. Each of these congregations raised an entire company of troops for the regiment. In fact they were community leaders; Col. Williams had been a founding Elder at Little River Church, while Liberty Springs Church was founded by the Sons of Liberty Chapter that had met and drilled there before and during the Revolution. General Andrew Pickens was said to be "...so Presbyterian that he would ceremoniously sit down, clamp his mouth shut, put on his hat, and fold his arms" ... rather than sing a Methodist, Anglican or Baptist Hymn. Some of these young men were Baptists, belonging to Hurrican [sic] and Bush River Meeting Houses. All of these churches and families still thrive.

Some of these men went on to fame and creativity – Thomas Hawkins moved to Kentucky where he invented the interchangeable, octagonal gun barrel, known as the Hawkins .50 caliber, but more fondly known as the Kentucky Long Rifle. His idea of standard, interchangeable parts enabled the American contribution to manufacturing known as the production line.

Presbyterian John Hewston's son, John Jr. (also in the Little River Regiment) moved to the Great Shenandoah Valley of Virginia where to him was born a son named Samuel who, changing the spelling of his last name to Houston, became famous in a little revolution in Texas known as the War of Texas Independence. Also from Little River, John Caldwell's sister married a Scot's Presbyterian planter and rancher named Calhoun in the Pendleton District and named their son for John, hence John Caldwell Calhoun, who became one of South Carolina's brightest Senators.

Why here? The trail you rode in on and the trail going through the woods behind you [pointing] is the original roadbed of the old Ninety Six Road northward to Buncombe, North Carolina probably looking much as it did then. All commerce and all settlers used this

road because it was the only one. This road, from the end of the 1760 Cherokee War, was the boundary between Cherokee's lands and English speaking settlers, … not that we honored that very much.

The Edghill "Station," a two-story log structure, was built originally on Loyalist Col. Thomas Edghill's plantation as a redoubt or safe escape for settlers during Indian attacks shooting arrows, casting darts with atlatls, and throwing spears. It was at the bottom of the hill, near where the pavement of Williams Road now ends.

Col. Joseph Hayes had been the best friend and neighbor of the then late Col. James Williams, had been co-executor of his estate, and was the namesake for his youngest son Joseph. Col. Hayes may have ridden home with these two newly orphaned boys, Joseph and Daniel Williams from Kings Mountain offering whatever comfort and support as he could. Home to right here, after their father had gallantly won the battle but then had died in their arms.

Maybe these patriots listed here had heard that the war was over, that Cornwallis had surrendered and packed up his men and sailed for home. Maybe these men yearned so deeply to get back to peaceful pursuits, to set their farms and businesses in order, to get back to "normal" that they could not imagine any further action. Remember these very same Tories also were their neighbors and members of their churches and lodges and civic groups, went to the same weddings and funerals and dances and political speeches.

Edghill Station was occupied by Col. Hayes and his men. Suddenly the rider rushed up and cried out to one and all that Loyalist Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham was on a burning, ravaging rampage. Smoke from the Williams' burning house and barns could be seen in the distance as everyone rushed into the log "station" here some probably fully aware from experience that Cunningham and his ilk had no honor whatever when it came to surrender. When the Tories arrived one was promptly shot dead by one of our trapped Patriots.

"Bloody Bill" set fire to the thatched roof of Hayes' Station. Although the women and children had already been sent away to safety before Cunningham's arrival, the men could not battle the Tories through the suffocating smoke and fire … and when Cunningham promised "safe quarter" the Patriots all surrendered and submitted to having their hands tied behind their backs, thinking they would be marched safely away as prisoners of war.

Instead, "Bloody Bill" had the Patriot officers hung from a fodder pole, which at some point broke. Those hung included Col. Hayes and seventeen-year-old Capt. Daniel Williams. His fourteen-year-old brother Joseph tearfully pleaded for his brother to be spared. Thereupon, Cunningham "ran him through", some say with a bayonet, some say with a sword.

While debate continues over the exact chronology of events that day, there is no question that the two Williams boys and their Patriot comrades that day died a horrible death at the hands of "Bloody Bill" Cunningham. During the bloody massacre that Cunningham sanctioned, the fourteen men listed here, plus two others, Lochlin Lennart and young Joseph Griffin, were stabbed, hacked, and butchered to death and left in the open field. By a miracle only, it seems, twelve of their number actually found a way to survive the ordeal.

The morning after the massacre Mrs. Lennart brought a servant girl with her to claim the remains of her husband. It was said that his and the others' remains were so disfigured and un-recognizable that she had to gather only on her best guess what she felt may have been her husband.

It is important for us to see this tragedy now, looking back, as, yes, a tragedy but more importantly as merely a tragic means to a worthy end … an end infinitely more important than the means and worth every bit of sacrifice laid down for it. And in this we should find great happiness and utter joy in remembering Hayes Station. These men, and those we will honor at each stop of our "tour" today, left us a priceless legacy, one which each member of this Little River Regiment would have recognized as the single word they valiantly fought to attain for our land. Some even may have seen that word flying high over Fort Moultrie on Sullivan's Island under Sergeant Jasper's command, that word embroidered on an indigo field under a white crescent moon. That word, that *idea*, so central to South Carolina is "**LIBERTY**." Friends, remember the tragic death paid by these brave men at Hayes Station – but even more importantly remember what their death brought for you and me: *Liberty!*

Remarks made at a commemoration ceremony at the site of the Hayes' Station Massacre in Laurens County, SC on August 21, 2004 by Dr. Frank Wyman.

[1] In no way intended as any deprecation of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. Thank God for this monument or this site would become "lost" as surely as many others in this area, which are of historical and military significance….and for the preservation and educational work done by the DAR.

[2] Age at the beginning of hostilities at Fort Lindler, July 1775. From first twelve names on roster, where birth dates are available.

[3] Mary Rammage, Mrs. James Dillard; she, one of very few women is listed in the SAR Patriot Index, as a Patriot Soldier, Patriot's Index number 408260.

[4] Our little city of less than ten-thousand souls lists in our telephone book: twelve Presbyterian Churches (three branches), Presbyterian College (at least seventeen major buildings) Thornwell Orphanage, farm, schools, and home for children, (another eighteen substantial stone buildings) and Presbyterian Homes – retirement and nursing care, on two different local campuses with perhaps another dozen large buildings, plus nearby a large Presbyterian summer youth camp and conference center. That, kind reader, is truly a community presence in such a small town as ours.

Frank J. Wyman III, PhD - in Statistical Analysis, is married to the former Renee` Johnston and they have three children. Frank runs his own interstate internet-based business from home, is active in the All Saints Episcopal Church and Rotary Club in Clinton, SC. His hobbies are tennis, sailing, exploring old Revolutionary War sites, and helping with the children's tee-ball teams. He is direct descendant of at least six Revolutionary War Patriots, including the commander and four others from the Duncan Creek Company of the Little River Regiment of the SC Militia.

Col. LeRoy Hammond, South Carolina militia, to The Honble. Major Gen. Nathanael Greene.

Snow Hill [SC] December 2nd 1781

Dear Sir

I make no doubt but 'ere this reaches you, you will be made acquainted by Brigadr General Pickens[1] of the late progress of the Torys under Cunningham[2] and William[3] through a part of the back country. As Gov. Brownson[4] is sending an express to you I have made free to mention some of the melancholy circumstances that marked the progress of those vile miscreants. They first fell in with Capt. Turner[5] with a party of 24 men. Turner having possession of a house bravely defended himself and little party for near two hours against Cunninghams whole force said to be Four hundred but I dare say they were full half that number. At last having six men killed dead in the house and his ammunition expended, he [Turner] was obliged to surrender to the mercy of these base incendiaries. The Capt. and 14 others were most cruelly murdered and mangled. The Captain's head was cut off and one Butler, a man who had been remarkably active

was tortured alive and it is said many other cruelties committed on him shameful to repeat.[6] They next fell in with Col. Haze[7] (*sic* Hayes) who with his small command shared nearly the same fate. After burning sundry mills, houses, grain &c they went off with impunity. I think their success was in a great measure owing to the want of ammunition in this Regiment. Col. Purvis[8] had a great part of the Regt. embodyed at the time of Turner's defeat within 25 miles of the place sent me an account thereof with information that he could not face the Enemy for want of ammunition not having one round a man. I immediately sent to Governor Brownson who sent me 5 powder and 12 doz. musket cartridges. After collecting what men ware near me, I marched all night. Early the next morning I came up with the Col. near Little Saluda. We divided the little supply among the men and then followed on but this delay had given the enemy too much time. They had got out of the way and when we came near Williamses party, they dispersed and took different routes; I suppose previously agreeing on time and place for a rendezvous. I have two scouting parties, the one commanded by Capt. Ryan[9] the other by Capt. Carter which kept the Torys pretty well employed till sometime in Sept. Capt. Ryan received a dangerous wound in the shoulder in a skirmish with the enemy near Orangeburgh and Captain Carter's company having entirely exhausted their ammunition those fellows gained a little rest in their places of retirement which they have improved by collecting all their scattered forces and returning us a visit. I am happy to hear Genl. Sumpter[10] is stationed at Orangeburgh. If a strong post is continued there and we have a supply of the necessary means of defence I think we can soon hunt those people out of our country. I expect Governor Brownson will give you the news of this quarter which at present I believe is rather barren.

I have the honor to be with much Esteem & regard
Dear Sir your Obedt.
Hum. Servt.
LeRoy Hammond

[1] Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, SC patriot militia officer.
[2] Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham, a notorious SC loyalist militia officer.
[3] Col. Hezekiah Williams, a SC loyalist militia officer. He was not related to Col. James Williams, as far as is known.
[4] Governor Nathan Brownson, governor of Georgia.
[5] Captain Sterling Turner, a SC patriot militia officer.
[6] This battle description refers to the Cloud's Creek Massacre in Edgefield District on Nov. 17, 1781.
[7] Col. Joseph Hayes, the SC patriot militia officer who assumed command of the Little River Regiment following the death of Col. James Williams from wounds suffered at King's Mountain.
[8] Lt. Col. John Purvis, a SC patriot militia officer.
[9] Captain James Ryan, a SC patriot militia officer.
[10] Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter, a SC patriot militia officer (an officer in the Continental Line during the early phases of the Revolution).

Directions to Hayes' Station: From Clinton, South Carolina, go south through town to where SC Highway 56 (Jacob's Highway) bears to the left ... about five miles you will pass SC Highway 66 (notice the true Colonial two-story Carolina "I" house on your left), then drive 3.5 mile, past first Green Plain Road, and a little further past Jefferson Davis Road (notice the Lafayette Young House, another Carolina I house there - 1820s). Turn right onto Old Milton Road (S-30-46) and continue down hill, past Bishop Road, approximately one mile is Williams Road (remember the Colonel who gave his sons here? - same extended family). Turn right onto Williams Road, at end of pavement (maybe 1/4 mile) is a gate. Climb over the gate and walk to monument at the top of the hill. This small hill was called Edghill's Mountain and later Hayes' Mountain.

I have always felt the two Williams sons were buried with the group at Hayes Station although a stone was placed at the Williams grave yard and later moved to the Laurens City Cemetery with John Drayton Williams, Col. James Williams' grandson.

Also did you learn that John Drayton Williams and a friend placed a monument at the Hayes Station site but vandals destroyed it or carried it off? The DAR later replaced it. Don Witherspoon, Texas

DAR Monument at site of Hayes' Massacre at Edghill Station

This letter is from Col. LeRoy Hammond to Gen. Nathanael Greene. The Hammond brothers, Samuel, LeRoy and Charles were born in Richmond County, Virginia. Samuel saw action in the French and Indian War and served at many SC battles including Stono Ferry, Blackstock's Plantation and as a colonel under Gen. Greene; he lived in Georgia and South Carolina after the Revolution and held many prominent public positions. LeRoy served as a SC Patriot militia colonel in the Revolution. Charles, a SC Patriot militia captain, was wounded at the 1779 Siege of Savannah.

Thanks to Will Graves for this transcribed and annotated letter. See also *Gen. Nathanael Greene's Papers*, Dennis N. Conrad, ed. Vol. IX, p.652 for Conrad's notes on this letter.

"**Hayes' Station** is the name by which the battle and the subsequent massacre are subsequently known. The plantation on which these events took place was property of Col. Thomas Edghill, a very prominent local Tory, who was one of the first South Carolinians to shed his blood in the defense of King George. He was wounded in the skirmish at Ninety Six in November 1775, which was the first land battle in the state. Later in the war, he accepted commissions from both Lt. Col. Nesbit Balfour and Lord Cornwallis, which according to Edghill "so exasperated the Rebels" that they formed a scheme to surprise him in his house in the middle of the night. Edghill was wounded in three places and he was forcibly evicted from his property, along with his wife and nine children. Colonel Hayes then turned the plantation into a Patriot stronghold."

"There is an elevation close to the battlefield that was known as Edghills' Mountain, later Hayes' Mountain. From its summit neighbors watched the massacre taking place on November 19, 1781. This is apparently the place where a memorial committee decided to erect a battle monument in the nineteenth century….."

Terry W. Lipscomb, *Names in South Carolina*, Vol. XXIV, Winter 1979, p. 37.

Demonstrating that history is an imprecise art, there is evidence of differing dates for Col. Joseph Hayes' stand, surrender, and massacre at Edghill Station. The date of the massacre is engraved on the DAR monument as 1781 as shown below. On victims' tombstones at the old Little River Presbyterian Church cemetery the date of death is November 17, 1781. At the Bush River Baptist Church, a victim's tombstone list the date of death as October 17, 1781. Terry W. Lipscomb reports that the battle and massacre in *Names in South Carolina* occurred on November 19, 1781. On a tombstone erected in the Williams family cemetery by her grandsons to Mrs. James Williams (Wallace) reports that her two sons were murdered in cold blood in October 1781.

Hayes' Station DAR Monument

•To the Memory of:

•Col. Joseph Hayes
•Capt. Daniel Williams
•Lieut. Christopher Hardy
•Clement Hancock
•Joseph Williams
•Joseph Irby, Sen'r.
•Joseph Irby Jun'r.
•John Milven
•James Ferris
•John Cook
•Greaf Irby
•Benjamin Goodman
•Yancy Saxon

In 1781, during the struggle for Independence, these fourteen gallant defenders of Liberty surrendered as prisoners of war and were massacred by Maj. William Cunningham and his Tories at Hayes' Station.

Erected by the DAR Henry Laurens Chapter 1910

Patriot Colonel James Williams of the Little River Militia

Charles B. Baxley

South Carolina militia Colonel James Williams (1740-1780) was a Patriot regimental commander in the Ninety Six militia district where he led a regiment often called the "Little River Regiment". It was named for the Little River in present day Newberry-Laurens Counties, SC. Col. Williams was a wealthy planter, merchant, miller, and elected representative to the South Carolina Provincial Congress. Williams was an active militia commander from the 1775 action at Ninety Six and the 1776 "Snow Campaign" against the Cherokee until his death at the pivotal Patriots victory at Kings Mountain in 1780. Williams did not seek protection after the surrender of his superior officer, South Carolina Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Williamson at Ninety Six. Williams was the highest-ranking officer killed at the Battle of Kings Mountain.

After the fall of Charleston and the British invasion of the South Carolina backcountry, Col. Williams had a conflict with Gen. Thomas Sumter and luckily was not with Sumter at his defeat in the Battle of Fishing Creek (August 18, 1780). Williams was about 50 miles west, cooperating with the North Carolina and Georgia militias when they defeated the Crown's forces at Musgrove Mill on August 19, 1780. Charlotte researcher William T. Graves, author of *Backcountry Revolutionary*, examines the controversy raised by South Carolina Patriot militia Col. William "Billy" Hill in his Memoirs, published only after Gen. Sumter's death in 1832. As an attorney, Graves analytically examines the collateral evidence for Hill's claims that Williams: 1) improperly absconded with public property from Gen. Sumter's camp in August 1780; 2) took improper personal credit for Patriot militias' successful military results at Musgroves Mill to obtain a South Carolina Patriot militia general officers' commission under false pretense; and 3) died by fratricide by his own troops. This book closely examines Hill's motives in writing his Memoirs attacking fellow long dead Revolutionary War hero Williams almost forty years after his death. Hill explained his desire to examine why Gen. Sumter was conspicuously absent at the great Patriot victory at Kings Mountain. Additional fuel to the Sumter vs. Williams fire is the controversy over Williams' promotion to brigadier general. Hill reports that Williams obtained a commission from South Carolina Governor John Rutledge (in exile in Hillsboro, North Carolina) as a brigadier general, making Williams the ranking South Carolina militia officer in the field. Graves demonstrates that other contemporary documents do not acknowledge the existence of this promotion of Williams over Sumter casting question over Hill's anti-Williams accusations. It is no doubt that military rank, date of rank, rights to command the South Carolina Militia, and state vs. federal authority were important issues for Patriot politicians and generals to resolve. Gen. Greene addressed these problems in his Continental Army at camp on the Pee Dee River in Wallace, SC before Gen. Morgan's victory at Cowpens put him on the "race to the Dan". Modern scholars debate whether or not Williams in fact received a brigadiers' commission prior to his death as reported by Hill. Perhaps Sumter, after learning that Williams was in Hillsboro, decided to consult with the South Carolina Governor and clarify (legitimize) his rights to command.

An Account of Sundry Articles Lost at Col. Hays Station Novr. 18, 1781 the property of Capn. Daniel Williams and Joseph Williams

Two Saddles and bridles	£ 25. 0. 0
1 Rifle gun	40. 0. 0
1 pair of pistols and Holsters	16. 5. 0
3 Blankets	9.15. 0
2 Great Coats	35. 0. 0
1 pair plated spurs	3. 5. 0
2 Hatts	10. 0. 0
1 Coat Jacket and 2 pair Breeches	29. 5. 0
To 214 yds Manchaster Velvet	13. 0. 0
To 2 pair of shoe buckles	9.15. 0
To 2 pair of ? Buckles	4.17.0
To 3 pistols	12. 2. 6
To 2 pair of Shoes	4.17. 6
To 1 pair Saddle Baggs	6.10. 0
	£ 239.12. 6
To [pair of] stock Buckles	6.10. 0
To 1 large glass	20. 0. 0
To 2 Breeches	6.10. 0
	33.10. 0
	239.12. 6
	272.12. 6

Received the 22nd Sept 1785 full satisfaction for this acct No. 669 S/ Mary Williams

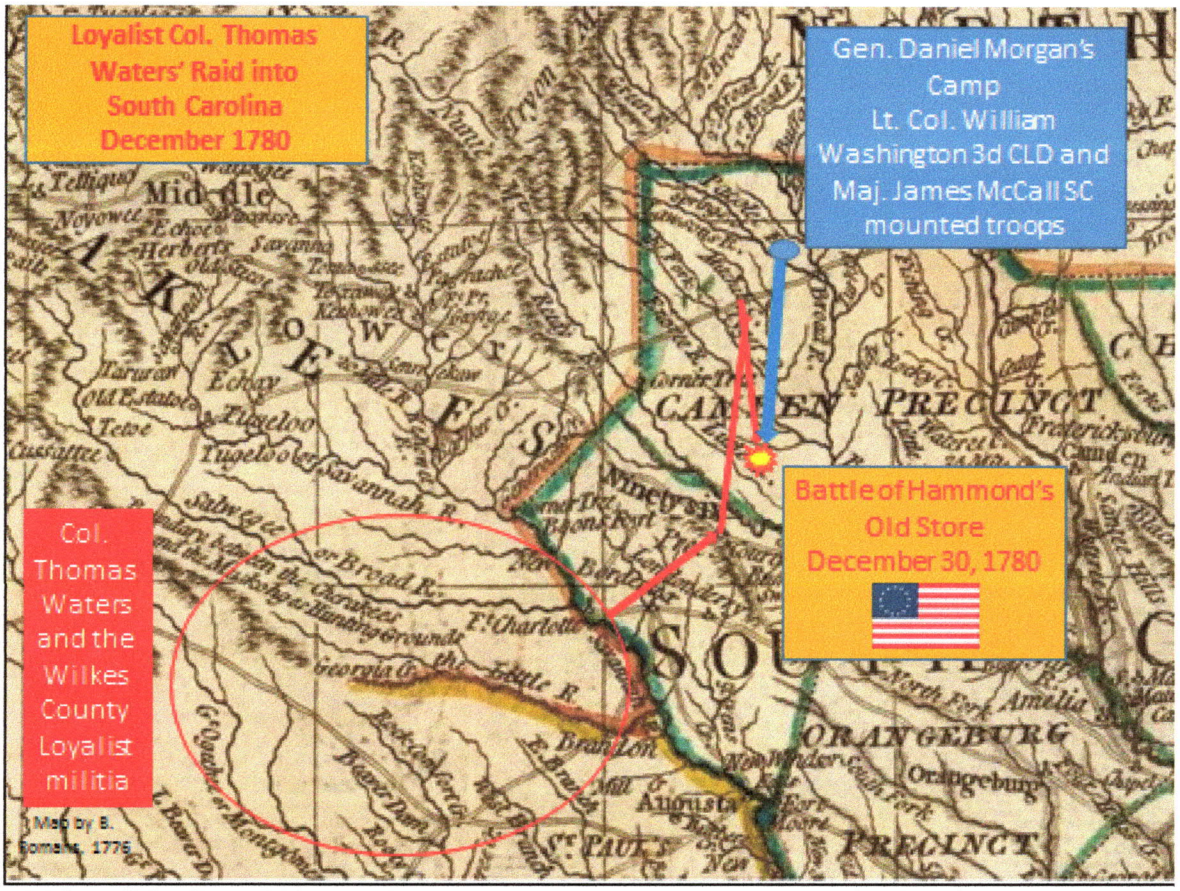
S/ John Williams

Will Graves' book is a must for understanding the backcountry in Revolutionary era South Carolina. Col. Williams was involved in a backcountry Whig – Tory political rivalry with his neighbor, SC Loyalist militia Gen. Robert Cunningham. Graves' research portrays these men's very human desires for command, recognition, recrimination, and justification. We are lucky that Williams' tender letters to his wife, legislative petitions supporting Williams' command, estate inventory, and economic accounts survive to give us insight into his personality, relationships and commercial insight.

Backcountry Revolutionary: James Williams (1740-1780) with source documents is fully referenced and may be purchased from Lulu.com on-line at http://www.lulu.com/shop/william-t-graves/backcountry-revolutionary/paperback/product-20597693.html

William T. Graves lives in Charlotte, NC where he is retired from the practice of law. Will received his undergraduate and legal education at Duke University where he authored scholarly legal articles. He served in the United States Army and serves on numerous charitable boards in the Charlotte area. Will is still researching Patriot Col. James Williams and is also interested in research on Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Williamson.

The Battle of Hammond's Store



Map excerpted from "The Seat of War in the Southern British Colonies comprehending North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, &ca." map, by Bernard Romans and published in London by Robert Sayer and John Bennett, dated Oct. 15, 1776, as annotated by your editor.

Battle of Hammond's Store December 30, 1780 Order of Battle*

American Patriot Forces		**Lt. Col. William Washington**
Continentals - 3d Regiment Continental Light Dragoons	Maj. Richard Call	75
Captains William Parsons and William Barrett		
- 1st Regiment Continental Light Dragoons	Capt. John Watts	10
South Carolina State Troops (mounted) **Maj. James McCall**		200
Maybe Capt. Joseph McJunkin		
Loyalist Forces		**Col. Thomas Waters (of Georgia)**
Loyalist Militia		
Col. Thomas Waters – Wilkes County Georgia Loyalist militia		250
Col. Thomas Pearson – Little River SC Loyalist militia		
Maj. Benjamin Wofford – Upper or Spartan Regiment SC Loyalist militia		

*Order of Battle from *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, Vol. Two 1780*, by Patrick O'Kelley; *Memoirs of Major Joseph McJunkin – Revolutionary Patriot* by Rev. James Hodge Saye; and Murtie June Clark, *Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War*, Vol. 1 (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co, 1981)

Battle of Hammond's Store

"On the second day after [Gen. Daniel] Morgan's arrival on the Pacolet [River], an opportunity for an enterprise against the enemy presented itself, which was promptly embraced. A body of Loyalist sent to check the feeling of disaffection which was growing everywhere, had advanced from the banks of the Savannah to Fair Forest Creek, and had commenced their depredations upon the inhabitants along that stream. Their number was reported to be about two hundred and fifty, and their distance from Morgan's camp was twenty-five miles, and in the direction of Ninety Six. Says a writer, "Colonel [William] Washington with his cavalry, seventy-five in number, but of very superior quality, and two hundred mounted militia under Colonel [James] McCall, were dispatched to dislodge this body of Loyalist. The latter receiving intelligence of the approach of Washington, retreated about twenty-five miles to a place called Hammond's Store, where, being covered as they supposed on their right by [Lord Charles] Cornwallis at Winnsborough, and on their left by the post at Ninety Six, they halted in mistaken security. Washington pressed the pursuit with such diligence that he overtook them early the next day after a march of forty miles and instantly ordered a charge. It was a flight and not a conflict that ensued, and we regret to state that the killed and wounded were reported at one hundred and fifty and the prisoners at forty."

Dr. J. B. O. Landrum does not indicate whom he was quoting in his *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina*, pp. 267-268 (Greenville, SC: Shannon & Co., 1897).

Tory Command at Hammond's Store from *Memoirs of Major Joseph McJunkin - Revolutionary Patriot*, by Reverend James Hodge Saye

"While engaged in these preparations for action a body of Tories making Hammond's Store their headquarters advanced as far as Fairforest Creek to embarrass these operations. Morgan immediately dispatched Cols. [William] Washington and McCall with a command of some three hundred men to drive them from the country. Major McJunkin and some others familiar with the country were sent as pilots.

Washington came suddenly upon the Tories at Hammond's Store and a general rout ensued. It was said Washington reported 100 killed and wounded, with forty prisoners. The whole party of Tories amounted to something over 200, so that but few escaped. They were commanded by a Col. [Thomas] Pearson and Major Ben Wofford.

A detachment from Washington's command then proceeded to a fort on Mudlick Creek commanded by Gen. [Robert] Cunningham, but the Tories then made their escape to the garrison at Ninety Six, which was not far distant. The effect of these movements was that [Lt. Gen. Lord Charles] Cornwallis immediately dispatched [Lt.] Col. [Banastre] Tarleton to Ninety Six."

Phil Norfleet:
http://sc_tories.tripod.com/battle_of_hammond's_store.htm

Excerpt from Maj. Thomas Young's Narrative on the Battle at Hammond's Store

"The next engagement I was in was at Hammond's Store, on Bush River, somewhere near 96. Gen. Morgan was encamped at Grindal Shoals [of the Pacolet River] to keep the Tories in check. He dispatched Col. Washington with a detachment of militia, and about seventy dragoons, to attack a body of Tories, who had been plundering the Whigs. We came up with them at Hammond's store; in fact, we picked up several scattering ones, within about three miles of the place, from whom we learned all about their position. When we came in sight, we perceived that the Tories had formed in line on the brow of the hill opposite to us. We had a long hill to descend and another to rise. Col. Washington and his dragoons gave a shout, drew swords, and charged down the hill like madmen. The Tories fled In every direction without firing a gun. We took a great many prisoners and killed a few. Here I must relate an incident which occurred on this occasion. In Washington's corps there was a boy of fourteen or fifteen, a mere lad, who in crossing Tiger River was ducked by a blunder of his horse. The men laughed and jeered at him very much, at which he got very mad, and swore that boy or no boy, he would kill a man that day or die. He accomplished the former. I remember very well being highly amused at the little fellow charging round a crib after a Tory, cutting and slashing away with his puny arm, till he brought him down."

Revolutionary Reminiscences related by Maj. Thomas Young of Union District, S. C., Draper Papers

Recollections of Patriot Maj. Joseph Williams from the Draper Manuscripts, Sumter Papers, 16VV376 from Phil Norfleet's website:
http://sc_tories.tripod.com/john_mayfield.htm

"I was at the Battle of Hammond's Store. There was a Tory Colonel came from Georgia [who] camped there with 400 men or Tories with him. [Loyalist Maj. "Bloody"] Bill Cunningham, [John] Mayfield and ... came and joined his troops. At that time I was under [Gen. Daniel] Morgan at Grindal Shoals. The next morning after we got word, Col. [William] Washington and Col. [Joseph] Hayes with their troops were sent on down there. We marched all that day and the next day until about 10 O'clock. We made a charge upon them. The battle was not of long duration. There were 40 Tories killed and one or two hundred taken prisoner. Bill Cunningham, in making his escape, ran a very fine mare to death."

For more Hammond's Store location, see cartographer John A. Robertson's collection at:
http://jrshelby.com/sc-links/sc-sites.htm#h

William Washington
Cavalryman in the Southern Campaign

by Scott Withrow

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

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

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

Born in Stafford County, Virginia, on 28 February 1752, William Washington was the son of Bailey and Catherine Storke Washington. Family genealogy placed him as a second cousin, once removed,[2] of George Washington -- one generation younger than the future president. The two were related through William's great grandfather, John Washington,[3] and George's grandfather, Lawrence Washington,[4] who were brothers. William Washington's genealogy is confusing because there were at least three William Washingtons[5] in the early Washington family, including George Washington's younger brother.

Washington in the Northern Theater of War

Little is known of William Washington's life before 1775. It is known that he first studied for the ministry, but this study ended with the beginning of the Revolution. Perhaps a soldier was more to his character anyway. He was often described as a large, broad-shouldered, imposing man, six feet tall, a man of action rather than contemplation, cherub-faced, good-humored, and amiable. In 1775 he was commissioned captain in the 3rd Virginia Infantry. Severely wounded at Brooklyn Heights on Long Island,[6] he retreated with General Washington through New Jersey.[7] At Trenton,[8] where future President James Monroe served as his lieutenant, he again distinguished himself in a heroic charge to prevent Hessian[9] placement of a battery into position. Again, he was wounded, this time by a musket

[2] Once removed denotes one-generation removed. Bailey Washington's (William's father) and George Washington's great-grandfathers were brothers, making their famous descendants second cousins. William Washington, one generation removed, would, therefore, have been George Washington's second cousin once removed. Had George and Martha Washington had children those children would have been third cousins to William and Jane Washington's son and daughter.

[3] Captain John Washington (b. ca. 1663, m. Ann (Wycliffe?)) was the great grandfather of William Washington and brother to General George Washington's grandfather, Major Lawrence Washington (b. Sept. 1659?, m. Mildred Warner)

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

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

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

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

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

[9] Hessians was an incorrect title for German mercenaries. The term was used generically. Many but not all German mercenaries were from the state of Hesse in Germany.

ball to a hand – actually a nick to his hand. The battle of Trenton helped establish Washington as a brave and capable officer. His superiors took even more notice of his abilities.

Washington Moves South

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

William Washington engaged forces under Tarleton[13] many times on numerous battlefields. Washington met Tarleton on 27 March 1780 for the first time at Rantowles[14] on a tributary of the Stono River[15] southwest of Charleston. Washington had been scouting British movements in the area when first he came across and routed Tory infantry under Colonel John Hamilton.[16] When Tarleton arrived to assist Hamilton, Washington's cavalry drove back his British Legion. Washington, however, lacked infantry support to pursue the retreating Tarleton and subsequently withdrew. Otherwise, he could possibly have captured Henry Clinton,[17] then commander of British forces in America - indeed a valuable prize.

It was a close call for the British; nevertheless, Tarleton sought his revenge. He surprised Washington at Middleton's Plantation[18] on 5 April 1780. But Washington slipped away only to return the next morning to attack Tarleton's rear detachment. Washington was well schooled in hit-and-run warfare.

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

On 6 May, Tarleton attacked the remnants of the cavalry as they waited to cross the Santee[20] at Lenud's Ferry.[21] There is some question as to whether Washington was present at this engagement; however, British documentation indicated he was. He might have been among those who swam across the Santee

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

to escape Tarleton. In any event, this defeat and the fall of Charleston to the British on 10 May effectively ended Patriot cavalry operations in the South for two months. Washington was among those who retreated to Hillsborough, North Carolina.[22] He would subsequently offer his services to General Horatio Gates prior to the Battle of Camden, but Gates spurned Washington's offer believing cavalry could not be used effectively in the Southern field of battle.[23] The British took Camden on August 16, 1780 and left the Southern Continental Army in shambles. The Patriot cause seemed hopeless. Only Partisan [24] leaders Marion[25] and Sumter[26] in the field and Patriot victories at Musgrove's Mill[27] and Kings Mountain[28] kept the British from consolidating their victories at Charleston and Camden.

After the Patriot militia's victory at Kings Mountain, General Cornwallis,[29] British commander in the South, retreated south from Charlotte (where he had moved earlier, believing South Carolina had been subdued), crossed the Catawba River and established his winter headquarters at Winnsboro, South Carolina.[30] Although his immediate situation was not good (his army low on food and he, sick with fever), he now had a chain of posts from Georgetown, South Carolina, to Savannah in the east, forming an arc including Ninety-Six, Winnsboro, and Camden, South Carolina, to the west. This was the extent of British control when General Nathanael Greene[31] was appointed commander of the Southern Continental Army in October, 1780.[32]

Even before Greene arrived to take command, General Gates learned that Loyalist soldiers were moving out of Winnsboro and Camden. In response, he dispatched Brigadier General Daniel Morgan and his light corps toward Camden to protect wagons that were to procure pork and corn in the area of Lynches Creek.[33] Hearing that a body of Tories was quartered at Henry Rugeley's[34] mill and plantation alongside Grannies Quarter Creek,[35] only twelve miles north of Camden, Morgan gave Washington an order to reconnoiter the area. Washington was pleased with the assignment, but approached with so little caution that all of Rugeley's militia scrambled to safety to the plantation's fortified barn. Lacking artillery,[36] Washington devised an ingenious plan. Fashioning a pine log to resemble a cannon,[37] he positioned it at a distance pointed toward

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

[23] John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: The American Revolution in the Carolinas*. (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1997), 155, referencing Paul David Nelson, *General Horatio Gates: A Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Press, 1976), 229-30. See also http://battleofcamden.org/index.htm, Documents by Participants and Contemporaries –Original Documents of the Southern Campaign, 1780; Letters of Major General Gates From 21st June to 31st August, (Letter no. 11: 20th of July 1780 from Horatio Gates to Sam Huntington Esquire, President of Congress), communicated by Thomas Addis Emmet, M. D., Letter No. 11 (accessed 10 December 2004) where Gates writes "I look up to the Cavalry for many services, in a Campaign, which from our domestic management as well as the supposed energetic operations of the Enemy, must be a Campaign of much hazard and some enterprise on our part. The Practicality however of mounting all your Dragoons, is I fear questionable…." This letter, taken at face value, makes it appear that Gates wanted cavalry assistance at Camden. Perhaps the impracticality of "mounting all your Dragoons" (finding horses for the Dragoons) was an intended qualifying statement. [SCAR editor believes that the quoted letter has often been misconstrued to represent Gates' disdain for cavalry, but cavalry, unmounted, untrained or unequipped were too expensive a resource and could not be supported by Gates' meager supply chain.]

[24] The name "Partisan" has been applied to Marion and to other strong Whig leaders.

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

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

[27] A Patriot victory in the South Carolina backcountry on the Enoree River on 19 August 1780.

[28] A Patriot victory over Patrick Ferguson and his Loyalist army, 7 October 1781.

[29] General (Lord Charles) Cornwallis was commander of all British forces in the South.

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

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

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

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

[34] Colonel Henry Rugeley, a wealthy Loyalist, commanded the Loyalist militia in the Camden District. His farm included a millpond and gristmill, its water source, Grannies Quarter Creek. It was located in what is today Kershaw County, South Carolina. For a good account of Morgan's foraging expedition and Rugeley's defeat see Hugh F. Rankin, *Greene and Cornwallis: The Campaign in the Carolinas* (Raleigh, North Carolina: Office of Archives and History, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 2003), 9-10.

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

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

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

Rugeley's fortification, with a demand for Rugeley's surrender before his fortification was reduced to shambles. Taking one look at the American "artillery," Rugeley surrendered his entire force on the first of December, a surrender that spelled the end of his career.[38] Feelings of victory and glee prevailed as news of Washington's bloodless victory spread through Greene's camp. Other decisions were in order; decisions, in effect, that would set the stage for the battle of Cowpens.

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

Operating in South Carolina below the Broad River in late December, Morgan soon discovered that Loyalists sent from Savannah were attacking upcountry Patriot settlements in the vicinity of Fair Forest Creek 20 or so miles south of his own forces. The assignment to dispatch them again went to Washington. Detached again from the main army, Washington, now bolstered with 200 militia under Lt. Col. James McCall, set out after the Loyalists. They fell back further south about 26 miles to Hammond's Store[40] upon learning of Washington's advance, as a safe haven between the British post at Ninety Six and Cornwallis' forces at Winnsboro. After a hard forty-mile ride, Washington caught up with the Loyalists there and immediately charged from all sides, cutting them down as they fled.[41] More than 150 Loyalists were killed and 40 captured. Victory at Hammond's store and other Whig successes alarmed Cornwallis. He was especially fearful of an attack on the British post at Ninety-Six.[42] Acting on his fear, Lord Cornwallis ordered Banastre Tarleton after Morgan's forces[43] on 1 January 1781. Cornwallis, himself, was to intercept Morgan north of the Broad.

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

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[38] Suffice to say, Rugeley was never promoted and never again given command over soldiers. See Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-178* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1902), 12. McCrady wrote that, before his defeat, Rugeley was about to be appointed Brigadier General of Loyalists militia. Also, McCrady termed Washington's victory a "bloodless success" and indicated that Washington, in his use of a "Quaker" cannon, was repeating what Gillespie had done in the capture of Mills' militia at Hunt's Bluff the previous summer. Also, see Daniel W. Barefoot, *Touring South Carolina's Revolutionary War Sites* (Winston-Salem, North Carolina: John F. Blair Publisher, 1999), 254-255. Barefoot writes that it was Major Tristram Thomas who employed the "Old Quaker Cannon Trick" to trick Colonel Henry Mills' flotilla into submission on the Pee Dee River at Hunt's Bluff. Hunt's Bluff is near the town of Blenheim and nearby Blenheim Springs.

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

[40] Hammond's Store (battle of Hammond's Store, 30 Dec. 1780) is a lost site, historically located in what is now Laurens County, South Carolina, somewhere near the town of Clinton. (Historians, history buffs, and map enthusiasts differ on what is believed to be the approximate location.) The battle at Hammond's Store was the beginning of operations that led to the battle of Cowpens, 17 January 1781.

[41] Some historians have suggested that Hammond's Store was a slaughter comparable to Tarleton's slaughter of Buford's soldiers at the Waxhaws. See, for example, John S. Pancake, *This Destructive War: The British Campaign in the Carolinas, 1780-1782* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1992), 132. Pancake writes, "Washington's attack was as ruthless as Tarleton's." Historian McCrady (37) termed Washington's attack a "slaughter." Dr. J. B. O. Landrum, *Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina* (Spartanburg, South Carolina: The Reprint Company, Publishers, 1977. Reproduced from an 1897 Edition in the Spartanburg County Public Library), 268, states that "men who had been in the habit of giving no quarters expected none..." However termed, it was a fierce engagement. It is important to note that there is no record of William Washington offering an apologia for his actions. Tarleton, in his *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America* (North Stratford, New Hampshire: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc., Reprint Edition, 2001), 30-31, tried to sugarcoat and justify his actions against Continental forces at the Waxhaws. The term "massacre" has often been used to describe Tarleton's actions at the Waxhaws, however, if such a word were used, the term "slaughter" appears to be more appropriate.

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

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

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

At Cowpens, Washington's 80 Continental dragoons, together with strong Lieutenant Colonel James McCall's 45 mounted infantry were in the thick of the fighting. Stationed to the rear of Morgan's Flying Army, his cavalry was apparently well hidden from the British as they approached from the east on the Green River Road.[45] As the militia line retreated as planned and Tarleton's dragoons bore down on them, Washington and his Continental dragoons came as if out-of-nowhere to chase the British cavalry off the field, allowing the militia to retreat successfully.[46] Cutting back across the field to the American right flank, Washington scattered Ogilvie's horsemen who were leading the 71st Highlanders into battle. From his vantage point on the right, Washington informed Daniel Morgan that the British were "coming on like a mob."[47] As hand-to-hand fighting ensued between Tarleton's infantry and Morgan's third line, and the tide of battle turned, Washington's dragoons came around, with the regrouped militia to execute a double envelopment[48] and take British prisoners. Tarleton's panicked cavalry, believing the battle essentially over, refused to reenter the fight. Washington's horsemen, scattered British horsemen in covering the retreating militia. Playing a role in the double envelopment, Washington had ensured the victory. Washington, in unorthodox manner, had committed all his horsemen in each foray against the British and taking them by surprise. His superior use of cavalry was the factor that tipped the scale at Cowpens. It was a victory over British regulars, over 100 of whom were killed and nearly 600 taken prisoner.

The battle was essentially over, but Washington remained engaged. Racing ahead of his own men, the impetuous cavalry leader pursued the retreating Tarleton and his remaining 50 Dragoons. Out in front of his men by about 30 yards, Washington, finding himself surrounded by three British officers,[49] fought to defend himself and breaking his saber off at the hilt in the initial clash. As one British officer rose in his stirrups to strike a perhaps fatal blow, Washington's young bugler fired his pistol, mortally wounding the officer[50] and sparing Washington's life. At that point a British dragoon shot at Washington but missed, wounding his horse.[51] As Washington's men joined him, the now outnumbered Tarleton and his horsemen continued their hasty retreat east on the Green River Road from whence they had come. Washington, on a new horse and rejoined by his own horsemen, gave chase but eventually lost the trail.[52]

The Patriot retreat from Cowpens was a hurried one. Morgan figured correctly that Cornwallis would pursue him in an effort to retake his men held as prisoners. Washington and his horsemen were again detached from the main army this time to escort the British prisoners north beyond the Broad and Catawba Rivers with the intent of putting obstacles between them and Cornwallis. Washington rejoined Morgan on 23

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[45] Perhaps more accurately described as the road to the Green River. Some accounts state that Washington and his cavalry could stand in their stirrups and see the approach of the British. See James Graham, *The Life of General Daniel Morgan* (Bloomingburg, New York: Zebrowski Historical Services Publishing Company, 1993, originally published 1856), 299, wherein Graham states "Orders were dispatched to colonel Washington whose corps of cavalry was held in reserve upon the eminence in the rear, to assist in rallying the militia should they fly, and to protect them should they be pursued. He was likewise directed to protect the horses of the militia, and to hold himself in readiness to act as the emergencies of the day might require. The position occupied by the cavalry was admirably chosen. The eminence in their front, and the gradual descent beyond it, secured them from the enemy's fire, without withholding from them a horseback view of the field of battle, for some distance in front of the main line…"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

January after Virginia militia took the prisoners north to Salisbury.[53] On 31 January, Green arrived in Morgan's camp,[54] his army following later. The race to the Dan[55] was on. Cornwallis and his forces fought their way across the Catawba at Cowan's Ford, slowed by heroic resistance from local militia.[56] Cornwallis almost caught up with Greene's army at the Yadkin River; Greene with Washington and his men as rear guard had crossed the river by flatboats in the early evening. Arriving at midnight and finding no boats, Cornwallis traveled upstream to find a suitable crossing, but it delayed him.[57]

Masking his real moves by sending soldiers under Continental Col. Otho Holland Williams and Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee in a direction different from his own, Greene beat the British to the Dan River and took already-prepared and waiting boats across. Safely across, Greene and his army found food and hospitality in Halifax, Virginia.[58] Short on soldiers`[59] but believing he had to confront Cornwallis, Greene re-crossed the Dan, moved southward, and chose the familiar landscape at Guilford Courthouse to battle Cornwallis. Using tactics similar to those used by Morgan at Cowpens but on different terrain, he was less successful than Morgan. The British managed to keep the battlefield but with the loss of much-needed officers and soldiers. Washington's role was a heroic one as before. His horsemen's furious charge against Cornwallis' Guards recaptured American artillery and saved Greene's army from being routed. Knifing their way through the Guards a second time, Washington and his cavalry almost captured Cornwallis, himself.[60] Hand-to-hand fighting ensued between the two armies, with great slaughter to Cornwallis' Guards. The British general's order to direct grapeshot volley into the melee, even though it killed some of his own guards, stopped the American impetus and caused Greene to withdraw. It was a Pyrrhic[61] victory for the British, one that Greene believed he should have won outright. He had great praise for Washington, saying that the militia could not operate effectively without his cavalry.

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

Greene's efforts to dismantle the British posts one by one began near Camden. Too weak to attack the British there, he waited for reinforcements as he camped at nearby Hobkirk's Hill on 19 April, about one-half mile north of British lines. Washington led two foraging[62] expeditions: one around Camden and the other along the Wateree.[63] Meanwhile, Lieutenant Colonel Francis Lord Rawdon, now the commander of all British forces in South Carolina, in fear for his army at Camden, chose to make a surprise attack against the Americans. His urgency was heightened by the fact that Greene's forces had sent away baggage and artillery in shifting their position. On 25 April, Rawdon, acting on information from a deserter who was unaware the baggage and artillery had

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

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

[55] See William S. Powell, *The North Carolina Gazetteer: A Dictionary of Tar Heel Places* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), 134. Powell writes, "Dan River rises in S Patrick County, Virginia and flows SE into Stokes County (NC). It flows SE and NE into Rockingham County and back into Virginia. It dips back into North Carolina on the Caswell-Rockingham County Line and into northern Caswell County after which it flows NE in Virginia into the Kerr Reservoir on Roanoke River." Also, see the *Virginia Atlas and Gazetteer.* (Freeport, Maine: DeLorme Mapping, 1989), 24-29. Greene outdistanced Cornwallis on what historians have termed "a race to the Dan." Still well south of the Dan, Cornwallis had come close to catching up with Greene at Torrence's Tavern, north of the Catawba, and at the Yadkin River, north of Salisbury.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

been recalled, marched out to attack Greene. Perceiving an advantage, Greene attacked first.

At that point, Washington made a wide flanking movement, under Greene's orders, too wide to come up behind the enemy as they broke. Finding only remnants of the British army, he began taking prisoners, eventually taking over 200.[64] Greene's army, in an effort to reform their line, lost momentum and some soldiers panicked and broke in the face of the on-coming British.[65] Having no choice, Greene ordered a retreat. Washington retained some of his prisoners and led his horsemen toward the fighting. His daring advance saved the American artillery and provided cover for Greene's withdrawal. Ordered back onto the field, he entrapped a British corps of cavalry under British Major Coffin, killing, capturing, or wounding over 20 men. With the field cleared, Washington brought the American wounded to safety.

Although Washington in a sense saved the day, some later historians have blamed him for Greene's defeat by his stopping to take prisoners rather than first attacking the rear of the British still fighting.[66] Some have written that perhaps his only instructions were to cut off those retreating to Camden. Whatever happened, Greene and his adjutant general, Colonel Otho Holland Williams[67] of Maryland, praised Washington for his heroics.

Greene's presence around Camden and Francis Marion's successful siege of Fort Watson[68] made it difficult for the British to hold Camden. On May 10, 1781, British forces evacuated Camden to march in relief of Fort Motte. About the same time, British forts fell, one by one, in siege by the Americans. Forts Motte[69] and Granby[70] fell to Light Horse Harry Lee.[71] Ninety Six and Augusta [72] remained the only British outposts in the Carolina and Georgia backcountry. It was during this slow British retreat that Washington was detached numerous times, often battling successfully against British and Tories.

On 22 May, Greene began an almost month long siege of the British post at Ninety Six, reinforced by "Light Horse Harry" Lee and his legion, fresh from taking Augusta. The siege culminated in a direct and bloody assault on 18 June. The heroic effort was abandoned on 19 June when Lord Rawdon's forces arrived to relieve the besieged fort. There is scant information on Washington's role in the siege, if indeed he was even present for much of the time.[73]
Lee's legion formed the rear guard as Greene and his army retreated in a northeasterly direction away from Rawdon's forces. However, Rawdon turned back to Ninety Six, perhaps reluctant to face the combined cavalry of Lee and Washington. Soon, Lord Rawdon made a decision to return to England for his health's sake. He left Colonel Alexander Stewart in command of the British army in South Carolina.

As the summer wore on, both Greene's army and British forces rested, Greene in the High Hills of the Santee[74] and British forces in Orangeburg, each at times maneuvering for position, sometimes only fifteen miles from each other. Washington, as ever, was busy – often detached from the main army, patrolling the Wateree-Congaree area, foraging, making raids, and taking prisoners.

On 22 August, Greene broke camp at High Hills of the Santee and crossed the flooded Wateree and Congaree, moving toward the British. Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart, now in command, countered by taking up a defensive position at Eutaw Springs.[75]

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[64] Christopher Hibbert, *Redcoats and Rebels: The American Revolution Through British Eyes* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2002), 309. Washington's cavalrymen temporarily surrounded and almost captured Rawdon, himself. Commanded to give up his sword, Rawdon delayed until his own infantry came up to drive off Washington's men.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[75] Eutaw Springs was located near Nelson's Ferry on the south side of the Santee River. Today, the waters of Lake Marion cover the springs and the gorge from the springs to the lake. Since the battle was fought on the high ground above the creek very little of the battlefield is

On 8 September, Greene attacked, in an effort to surprise Stewart.

The fighting began when Greene's army surprised and routed about one hundred men that had been sent out to dig potatoes. The men were taken en masse, however, about the same time, Greene's army clashed with a British cavalry patrol, most of whom escaped to alert Stewart of Greene's approach. Stewart made a line of defense across the road, but anchored Major John Marjoribanks in a dense thicket near Eutaw Creek, to his right flank. Greene advanced, throwing in first his militia, then his reserves -- Maryland, Delaware, and Virginia Continentals. The British had been driven back with the exception of their right flank under Marjoribanks. It appeared the victory belonged to Greene. Marjoribanks remained in the thicket, however, which was to be Greene's undoing. It was Washingon's horsemen, likely already in the thick of battle, who were instructed to dislodge Marjoribanks. Trying to penetrate the thicket but failing, Washington tried to maneuver his men to Marjoribanks rear, but, in doing so, exposed his men to deadly fire from the thicket. Washington, his horse shot out from under him, fell. Pinned by his horse, he received a bayonet wound to the chest[76] before he could extricate himself. Taken prisoner almost immediately, his life was spared.

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

Eutaw. Sept. 8th, 1781

Sir

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

I have the Honor to be yrs.

Very H. Servt.,
W. Washington

Washington's fearlessness and lack of caution had helped win victories but at Eutaw Springs they proved his undoing. Washington's capture and a subsequent breakdown in troop discipline[79] made for a less than clear-cut America victory. Byrd wrote that "Eutaw Springs was thus to be both the end and the beginning for Washington. It was the end of his life as an active participant in the Revolution, but marked the beginning of a life for which he appeared to be equally well-suited—that of a Southern planter and gentleman."[80]

Post-War Career

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

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

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under water. Markers and monuments commemorate the battle on a preserved section of land along the north side of South Carolina Highway 6 in present-day Eutawville. The road was the middle of the battle line (Highway 6 apparently follows the original roadbed at that point), however, and, unfortunately, the portion of the battlefield on the south side has not been preserved.

[76] Evidently, it was not a severe wound.

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

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

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

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

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

Like many lowcountry plantation owners, William Washington was, in politics, a Federalist[82] He voted with those lowcountry aristocrats who controlled the state until the turn of the century.

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

Relationship to George Washington

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

President Washington toured the South in 1791.[83] William Washington and a party advanced northward toward the state line to welcome his cousin, meeting him near Georgetown Ferry. The visit included a week-long celebration in Charleston, complete with dinners, balls and banquets. Although President Washington had avoided staying in private homes on his tour, he accepted an invitation to Sandy Hill and visited with Jane and William Washington May 9 and 10, 1791. Perhaps concerned about charges of favoritism, he identified his visit as one deriving from "motives of friendship and relationship." Likely agriculture was the main topic of discussion between the two Washingtons.[84]

Memorials to Washington

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

Congressional silver medal given to William Washington for his pivotal role at Cowpens.

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

[84] President Washington sent a jack, Royal Gift (a gift from the King of Spain), to Charleston so that William Washington would breed him with mares for mules. But Royal Gift sired few offspring and President Washington was greatly disappointed. James Thomas Flexner in *Washington, the Indispensable Man* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974), 191-92, describes the saga of Royal Gift, but makes no mention of the role of William Washington.

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

[86] The Washington Light Infantry was organized in 1807.

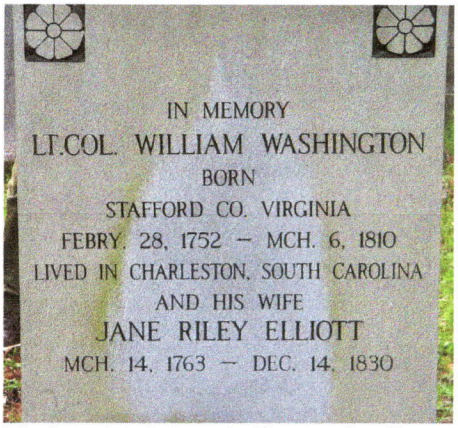
[87] Although not numerous, some transcripts of Washington's letters are available. See for example the Greene Collection, Clements Library; Ella Basset Washington, "William Washington, Lieut-Colonel Third Light Dragoons, Continental Army. *"The Magazine of American History*, IX (February, 1983), Syrett,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

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

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

William Washington and his legion deserve a place in history with Casmir Pulaski[88] and Light Horse Harry Lee's[89] legions, some of the best of the Revolution. Washington, individually, was one of the most heroic personages of the Revolution.

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



Modern tombstone in Rantowles Cemetery. CBB

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

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Scott Withrow, now living in Greer, South Carolina, the hometown of his wife, Ann, is originally from the small town of Ellenboro in Rutherford County, North Carolina. He has traced his Scotch-Irish ancestors down the Great Wagon Road from Pennsylvania to the Valley of Virginia to Rowan County, North Carolina, and to Cane Creek in Rutherford County. His great, great, great, great grandfather, Captain James Withrow, fought at Stono, Blackstock's, and Kings Mountain. Scott graduated from Appalachian State University in 1966 with a degree in history and has completed graduate degrees at Appalachian and Clemson. His career has included teaching at the high school and university levels and Living History Farm Specialist/Park Interpreter at Kings Mountain State Park and Living History Specialist at Roper Mountain Science Center, Greenville. In recent years, he has worked as a park ranger at Cowpens National Battlefield, and presently teaches colonial and Appalachian history at North Greenville University. His interests include the Revolution, early frontier history, Francis Marion, Appalachian history, and the Cherokee.

American Commander – SC State Troops

Presentation on Lt. Col. James McCall

Given at Musgrove's Mill State Historic Site, Clinton, South Carolina, on December 17, 2005 by Sam Fore.

Good morning. Thank you for allowing me the opportunity to speak with you today. Brian Robson has designated my talk as "James M^{c}Call: A Backcountry Patriot." However, I have added the subtitle of "Problems in Historical Research." You will see why as we go along. I was approached to write a few entries on Revolutionary War subjects for the upcoming *South Carolina Encyclopedia* a few years ago and among the list of potential subjects offered me was James M^{c}Call. I must admit here that my initial interest in M^{c}Call was self-serving in that I was curious to explore his role only so much as he acted with William Washington during late December 1780 through early March 1781. But as I looked in to the records for information, I came to respect and admire him.

This is not going to be a straight lecture for many reasons. Firstly, I want to focus on examining as many primary sources relating to the subject as possible. If there is one thing with which I want you to come away from my presentation today, it is to seek out the primary documentation – that is, manuscripts written during the subject at hand. As you can imagine, this takes lots of time, but it is well worth it. Secondly, look at secondary works with a doubtful eye. Consider the authors' motives and points of view before accepting their story. Judge Johnson's *Life of Greene* is a good example of this. True, he wrote of the southern campaigns with many primary sources at his disposal, as well as interviews with Greene's associates during the war and his memories of the times. But, there is just as much a political message for the times in which he wrote the book as there is history of a portion of the Revolutionary War. Lastly, I feel that history should be collaborative. We are all laborers in the fields of history and we're tilling the same gardens to the same end. So why not cooperate? With that in mind, I'd like to open the floor to discussion at the end of my ramblings and we can all gain a better understanding of this man and his remarkable life.

Now back to the subject. First problem: I have yet to see any manuscript materials written by M^{c}Call. At all. Second problem: there are very few items written during the revolutionary period that mention M^{c}Call specifically. The earliest is a listing of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina militia, dated June 7, 1766.[90] He appears in the ranks with his father, James M^{c}Call, Sr. Next, he is mentioned in a report of the Reverend William Tennent during his tour of the South Carolina interior in the late Summer of 1775. Tennent writes to the Council of Safety in Charleston from the Long Canes that "three volunteer companies are formed" there with Captain James M^{c}Call as the third commander.[91] He next appears a few months later in a listing of volunteers and militia before the "Fortified Camp" at Ninety Six in November 1775.[92] It is important to notice that M^{c}Call has the largest company of the 25 present; with 54 soldiers above average number of 21. He undoubtedly had to have been a charismatic leader. Jewish Patriot Francis Salvador writes to William Henry Drayton in July 1776 that M^{c}Call and a party of 20 men had been dispatched by Andrew Williamson to Seneca "to make prisoners of some white men" and that the detachment had been ambushed. Seven men, including M^{c}Call, were captured.[93] The next is an interesting Virginia connection that I have tracked down during my time at the Rockefeller Library. In a letter from Colonel William Christian to Patrick Henry, dated October 14, 1776, Colonel Christian reports on the Cherokee Expedition from East Tennessee and adds a note at the end "Cap^{t} Ja^{s} M^{c}Call of South Carolina who was taken prisoner by the Cherokees is now with me and a brave man. He has a wife and five children and wishes it to be published in the *Gazette* that he is here and well, by this means it will get in the Carolina paper and reach his family."[94] Sure enough, Purdie's *Virginia Gazette* of November 1, 1776 reads: "Cap^{t} Ja^{s} M^{c}Call, of South Carolina" is in Colonel Christian's camp "in good health; and desires this piece of intelligence to be made publick, for the satisfaction of his family."[95] Not much appears about our hero until the autumn of 1780. On November 8th, 1780, Colonel Benjamin Few of Georgia informs Major General Horatio Gates from the Tyger River that he has detached Colonel Twiggs and Colonel M^{c}Call to the southward in order to "keep the spirits of the people" until he can follow with the rest of the Army.[96] There are several primary sources that clearly document his involvement with the Battle of Cowpens and the Race to the Dan.[97] Unfortunately, the last document I have to share is one from M^{c}Call's friend Andrew Pickens to General Nathanael Greene referring to the "late Col^{o} M^{c}Call" on May 3, 1781.[98]

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90 Walter Clark, ed. *The State Records of North Carolina*: Vol. 22. (Goldsboro: Nash Brothers, Printers, 1907), 395-396.

91 William Tennent to the South Carolina Council of Safety, Sept. 1, 1775, Robert W. Gibbes Collection of Revolutionary War Manuscripts, S213089, South Carolina Department of Archives & History.

92 "A Report of the Militia and Volunteers on Duty in the Fortified Camp ay Ninety Six…", Nov. 19, 1775, Robert W. Gibbes Collection of Revolutionary War Manuscripts, S213089, South Carolina Department of Archives & History.

93 Francis Salvador to William Henry Drayton, July 19, 1776, in Gibbes, Robert W., ed. Documentary History of the American Revolution: Vol. II, 1776-1782. (New York, D. Appleton & co. [etc.], 1855), 26.

94 Colonel William Christian to Governor Patrick Henry, Oct. 14, 1776, in "Reports of Colonels Christian and Lewis During the Cherokee Expedition, 1776" Virginia Magazine of History & Biography, Vol. 17 No. 1 (Jan. 1909), 56-58.

95 *Virginia Gazette*, Nov. 1, 1776.

96 Walter Clark, ed. *The State Records of North Carolina*: Vol.14. (Goldsboro: Nash Brothers, Printers, 1896), 763-764.

97 See Richard K. Showman and Dennis M. Conrad, eds. *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*: Volume VII ,26 December 1780 – 29 March 1781. (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 153-158 & 405.

98 Andrew Pickens to Nathanael Greene, May 3, 1781, MSS 89.1.150, The Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, D.C.

Not a lot, is there? I'm certain there is more; it just has to be fleshed out. Now let us move on to the secondary sources. First, and most importantly, is the two volume *The History of Georgia* by Hugh M^{c}Call.[99] The son of James M^{c}Call, Major Hugh M^{c}Call published the first volume in 1811. It is the second volume published five years later, however, that deals almost exclusively with the Revolutionary War. In the narrative of the second volume Major Hugh M^{c}Call tells of his father's involvement with the Loyalists at Ninety Six in late 1775. He then tells of his father's mission to capture British Indian agent Alexander Cameron in the summer of 1776. He tells of his capture and ultimate escape weeks later. After the loss of his command and his capture and torture, he goes on to say that M^{c}Call convinced Colonel Christian to give him several men from his command to return to the place of his confinement to complete the initial mission. M^{c}Call returned to the Indian encampment only to find that Cameron had fled. The narrative relates M^{c}Call's role in the battles of Kettle Creek in 1779; Musgrove's Mill, Augusta, Fishdam Ford, Blackstock's, Long Cane, and Hammond's Store in 1780; and Cowpens and Beattie's Mill in 1781. He also tells of Clarke and M^{c}Call contracting smallpox in April and of his father's untimely death.

More importantly is the foreword to the 1909 reprint of this work by the noted Georgia historian, Otis Ashemore. Ashemore quotes the notes of another son: Thomas M^{c}Call. Thomas tells of the family's Scottish roots, from two subsequent generations in Northern Ireland, and then the move to Pennsylvania. He relates the senior James M^{c}Call marrying Janet Harris and settling into a farm on Canaconcheque Creek in southeastern Pennsylvania, giving the date of August 11, 1741 for James M^{c}Call, Jr.'s birth. He conveys the family's move to western Virginia and, after attacks by Indians, to Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. Here he mentions his father's service "as an advisor" during the Regulator movement in North Carolina and his father's move to Long Cane in 1771 or 1772. He then credits his father as being a captain of minute men in South Carolina as early as 1774 and dying of smallpox and a wound in April 1781. Lastly, he states that his father was in seventeen engagements with the enemy during the Revolutionary War.

Another important source is the notes and pension narrative of Samuel Hammond. In his notes, which seemed to be published in the *Charleston Courier* for several dates in the late 1850's[100] and abstracted in Joseph Johnson' *Traditions...*, Hammond tells of General Andrew Williamson visiting the camp of Andrew Pickens in the late spring of 1780 to read the terms of surrender of the American Army in Charleston and to call for continued resistance. Of Pickens' command, only five chose to persevere – two officers and three privates. Naturally, M^{c}Call was one of those five. (It is regrettable that Hammond does not give the numbers of the rest of Pickens' command.) He goes on to tell of M^{c}Call being called upon to approach Pickens, due to their close friendship, and implore him to re-enter the fight.[101] In his pension narrative, Hammond tells of being promoted to the rank of Major in M^{c}Call's regiment before Cowpens, M^{c}Call having been promoted to the command of a regiment of cavalry, and of McCall's subsequent involvement at Cowpens thereafter.[102]

From this we can see that there are problems with my brief investigation. Can Thomas McCall's notes be fully trusted - especially coming from a second-hand source? What of the years 1777 and 1778? Was M^{c}Call at King's Mountain? If not, why not? Note that one son said that he died of wounds and smallpox, and the other son said just smallpox. I could go on, but the bottom line is that more research needs to be conducted to gain a more complete picture of this patriot. We all see different resources and, moreover, some see them differently. We can only gain a better picture of James M^{c}Call through collaboration. But before we discuss the details and analyze what we have heard, I want to refocus a moment and use this biography as an example of why we study history. When I was a soldier, I attended a brigade staff exercise once where a retired four-star general oversaw our performance. I recall that he had served in the Second World War, and the Korean and Viet Nam conflicts, so he was more than familiar with the skills of soldiery. At the end of the exercise and his evaluation, he asked each of us what one trait the U.S. Army requires in their leaders more than any other. After several suggestions, he gave us the answer: Tenacity. To me, there is no better example of that attribute in the War for American Independence than as seen in Lieutenant Colonel James M^{c}Call. When nearly everyone else around him submitted, he persisted and continued the fight until the bitter end. Every single citizen should learn from his example.

Sam Fore, a native of Union, SC, and formerly with the manuscript division of the South Caroliniana Library, and the Special Collections Librarian at the John D. Rockefeller Library at Colonial Williamsburg, he is the director of the Harlan Crow Library in Dallas , Texas. He is researching Lt. Col. William Washington.

99 McCall, Hugh. *The History of Georgia: Containing Brief Sketches of the Most Remarkable Events, Up to the Present Day.* 2 Volumes. (Savannah : Seymour & Williams, 1811-1816).

100 See State Historical Society of Wisconsin, comp. Calendar of the Tennessee and King's Mountain Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts. (Madison, The Society, 1929), 391-395.

101 Johnson, Joseph. *Traditions and Reminiscences, Chiefly of the American Revolution in the South...* (Charleston: Walker & James, 1851), 149-154 & 508-515.

102 Pension of Samuel Hammond, S.21807. Revolutionary War Pension and Bounty-Land Warrant Application Files. National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

Loyalists Commander

Colonel Thomas Waters - Georgia Loyalist

by Robert S. Davis

The story of Thomas Waters of Georgia presents an excellent example of an historical character whose name appears frequently in the records of the American Revolution in such a way as to invite further exploration of his life. In the last years of the American Revolution, he represented the best and the worst of British plans to restore the rebelling southern colonies by "Americanizing" the war. Waters also left an important son among the Cherokees and living descendants today who have made extensive efforts at research about him.

More should be known about Thomas Waters. He clearly came from a background of wealth and prominence. In the 1783 Spanish census of East Florida, he appears as born in England and as having in his household a wife, two children, and an orphan girl. A descendent believes that he was the son of a Richard and Mary Morgan Waters. James Wright found Thomas Waters as a quartermaster of the Second Troop of colonial rangers when Wright arrived in Georgia in 1760 to become Royal governor. The rangers maintained civil order, patrolled for escaped slaves, and scouted for marauding whites and Indians. Most of that troop had been recruited on the then northwest Georgia frontier, near Augusta. Thanks to having rangers, Wright made Georgia the only one of the thirteen colonies that would later rebel but which also issued stamped paper during the Stamp Act Crisis of 1766. Because of public sentiment against the stamps, the governor had not dared to call out the militia from fear of arming more men against him than for the King. Paying for this colonial equivalent of the modern Georgia Highway Patrol had always been a problem, however, and Gen. Thomas Gage finally ordered them disbanded in 1767.

Hardly much more information survives about Thomas Waters before 1773. He acquired a great deal of property in Georgia and South Carolina. In 1765, he became a commissioner for building a public fort and barracks in Augusta; and won election from frontier St. Paul Parish to the colonial Georgia House of Assembly. The following year, he became a justice of the peace for the same and, in 1767, he joined his neighbors in warning the governor of the potential for trouble when settlers on the Little River [Georgia] burned the village of alleged Indian horse thieves.

Royal Governor James Wright led a project in 1773 that would exasperate such situations in the future. Through his efforts, Georgia acquired some 1.6 million acres of territory from the Cherokee and Creek Indians to the northwest of Augusta and St. Paul Parish that became known as the Ceded Lands, today's Wilkes and surrounding counties. Thomas Waters became a major player, even from the beginning, in the history of this new acquisition. Wright created a new troop of rangers, to be paid from sales of the new lands. Waters served as first lieutenant in this unit first under Edward Barnard (who died June 6, 1775), formerly second lieutenant, and then under James Edward Powell, formerly captain, of the old Second Troop of the 1760s rangers. As an officer in the new troop of horse rangers, he also received a commission as justice of the peace, as the rangers served both as a civilian and military unit. The rangers operated out of Fort James at the fork of the Savannah and Broad Rivers in the northeast and a stockade on the north fork of the Ogeechee River near Wrightsborough, in the southwest. Each ranger wore a blue coat faced in red, with a red coat, blue cloth boots (trimmed in red with a black straps and buckles), and blue or buckskin pants. The rangers attended the formal treaty negotiations at Augusta, accompanied the survey of the area, and served with the St. Paul Parish militia in 1774 when hostile Creek Indians, upset by the loss of these lands, attacked settlements along the Little River. The militia and rangers suffered defeat but now Sir James Wright ended the crisis through negotiations that resulted in the assassinations of the leaders of the war parties.

Thomas Waters, however, had ambitions that went far beyond serving as a ranger. Around the mouth of the Broad River and along the Savannah River, as well as near Wrightsborough, he established plantations of some 4,500 acres where he and his eleven slaves raised Indian corn, oats, peas, wheat, indigo, sheep, hogs, horses, and cattle. His operations included a large two-story house, three mills, a blacksmith shop, and a fort. Additionally, he loaned money to many of the some 200 families who settled in the Ceded Lands with which they could make their initial land payments.

The American Revolution began as the Ceded lands opened. Waters and his neighbors, some of whom would later join the Patriots (Whigs), signed public protests against the rebellion in 1775. The resistance proved stronger, however, and, that same year, Georgia Patriot militia Captains Pannel and Walton arrived at Fort James to demand that the rangers surrender that post. Captain Powell and Lieutenant Waters refused but their men defected and would serve as a company in the Georgia Continentals until later ambushed and destroyed by Indians on the southern frontier.

Thomas Waters would not join the rebels although he had every encouragement to do so. Loyalist leader Thomas Brown, exiled to British East Florida, could not learn Waters' politics in 1776. In 1777, the rebel Georgia Executive Council tried to commission him as a justice of the peace but local Patriot leaders insisted, for reasons not known, to commission someone else. The new State of Georgia insisted that all known supporters of the King promise not to work against the Revolution in 1778 and Waters took an oath not to fight against the Revolution. At that time, John Coleman, commander of the new state Patriot militia in what the Georgia constitution of 1777 designated as Wilkes County, considered Waters as his trusted friend.

By February 1779, however, British soldiers occupied Augusta, Savannah, and all of European settled Georgia except the Ceded lands. Even there, Loyalist horsemen made a circuit to obtain the submission of all men and forts. They visited Waters' plantation. Thomas Waters then finally and clearly

determined for the King's cause and became one of Georgia's most important Tories. A Wilkes County court in August 1779 reported him as having joined the British army. As the British reestablished control over Georgia in 1779 and British Gen. Augustine Prevost made an abortive attack on Charleston, SC while Gen. Lincoln's Continental Army marched to attack Augusta in May 1779. By the fall of 1779 the allied Patriots and French unsuccessfully attacked Savannah.

After the third British attack, the southern colonies' largest city, Charleston, South Carolina, surrendered along with the American army that defended it in May 1780. British regulars and Loyalists swept across the Georgia borders and into most of South Carolina. Georgia Patriot militia Col. John Dooly of Wilkes County surrendered what remained of Georgia's state militia.

Guerrilla bands under such men as Georgia Patriot militia Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke remained in the field but the situation had become pacified enough that British leaders could now implement a new southern strategy, an experiment to restore colonial authority in Georgia. Sir James Wright returned as Royal colonial governor and, with the reestablishment of the assembly, Georgia became the only American state reduced to colony status. Thomas Waters became colonel of the Fifth Colonial Militia Regiment (Ceded Lands) and a magistrate. Stephen Heard, the state Patriot governor in exile, regarded Waters as one of the Patriots' greatest enemies at the same time that Wright wrote of Waters as a man of property and character.

Sir James Wright and many other loyal American leaders, however, feared that the revolution in Georgia and South Carolina only smoldered and that it could rekindle at any time. Sir Henry Clinton, British commander in North America, made matters worse on June 3, 1780 by ordering almost all male citizens in Georgia and South Carolina to join the colonial militia. Wright's restored colonial assembly banned from public office men who had been Whigs.

Under these circumstances, these same Loyalists readily believed that the war had begun again when, in September 1780, Elijah Clarke led some 400 partisans in almost capturing the Loyalist and Indian garrison in Augusta. Rescued and reinforced by South Carolina Loyalist provincials, the King's men, white and red, took their revenge on the families of Wilkes County, the source of most of Clarke's following. Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger, the leader of the relief column from Ninety Six, South Carolina, dispatched Col. Thomas Waters and his militia to destroy the forts, courthouse, and settlements of the Whigs in Wilkes County. They and their allies destroyed at least 100 homes. Men who did not join Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke in exile became prisoners in Augusta.

The Loyalists had actually created rather than suppressed a widespread uprising. Reportedly Clarke's band had largely come from an apolitical class of frontier brigands that had been fighting civil authority long before the war. Other members of his party had consisted of individuals who only came along under threats to their lives and property. Now those men and other Georgians who had retired from the war were driven back into it and on the side of the rebellion. Royal Lt. Gov. John Graham took a census of Wilkes County and came away anything but encouraged. He found that of 723 men, only 255 could be counted on for the King's militia and that at least 411 had at least now joined the rebels.

Even that number of Waters' men would soon after severely decline. Cruger, who now took command of both the Georgia and South Carolina frontier, ordered those Georgians to the Ninety Six region to meet out punishment to suspected supporters of the Revolution in the Fair Forest Creek area of South Carolina. At Hammond's Store, near South Carolina's Bush River, on December 28, 1780, Lt. Col. William Washington with seventy-five Continental horsemen and 200 dragoons under SC State troops Lt. Col. James McCall, and Georgia Patriot militia Major James Cunningham of Wilkes County, attacked Col. Waters and his 250 member Georgia Loyalist militia regiment. The two sides lined up across from each other but, in the face of a cavalry charge by Washington and his men, the Loyalists fled without firing a gun. Waters left 150 of his men dead on the ground. Wilkes County neighbors had thus fought each other and men must have died as Loyalists at Hammond's Store who had been Georgia Whigs almost two years earlier when they had defeated South Carolina Loyalists from Raeburn Creek (near Hammond's Store) at the Battle of Kettle Creek in Wilkes County, Georgia.

The situation turned worse for the King's men. Clarke, Cunningham, McCall, and many other Whig partisans returned to Georgia to win back the state from British control. Captains Cane and Tillett of what remained of Waters' regiment won some local victories but saving the area for the King became a lost cause. Local killings became so famous that in the South the murder of prisoners came to be cynically called "granting a Georgia parole." By February 1781, Waters reported that eleven of his neighbors had so died. Two months later, Thomas Waters provided slaves to help in the building of a massive new fortification at Augusta called Fort Cornwallis. He would be among the Loyalists who surrendered there on June 1, 1781 to Continental Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Henry Lee, SC Patriot militia Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, and Georgia Patriot militia Col. Elijah Clarke. With Col. Thomas Brown and the other prisoners, Waters was transported under guard to Savannah but not before Col. James Grierson and NC Loyalist militia Major Henry Williams was seriously wounded in an assassination attempt by one of Clarke's men.

Thomas Waters took on entirely new duties shortly afterwards. Gen. Clinton appointed him as deputy superintendent to the Cherokees in January 1782. He moved to the Indian village of Long Swamp, near present day Ball Ground, Georgia, where he organized the warriors there for the King's cause. At one point, he led 1,000 Indians. Waters took as his wife Sally, a half Cherokee, by whom he fathered later Indian leader George Morgan Waters and Mary Waters (later wife of Alexander McQueen Netherclift). In September 1782, Pickens with 400 men and Clarke with 100 men invaded the Cherokee territory in search of Col. Waters. They destroyed Long Swamp but, after a long chase, Waters and his Cherokees escaped to St. Augustine, Florida.

The British had completely evacuated Georgia by then and South Carolina soon followed; Florida was returned to Spain in the following year. Thomas Waters first moved to New Providence in the Bahamas and then to England in 1786. He took one child with him and left the other with his wife in America. He filed a claim with the British government for his losses that came to £9,111, of which he eventually received £4,824 and a £60 per annum pension. Some of his kinsmen believe that he returned to South Carolina for a time. Waters died in England between 1812 and 1815. The State of Georgia not only attained him of treason and confiscated his property but it also gave his extensive Savannah River plantation to Elijah Clarke as a gift. (Clarke had already occupied the property.)

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Robert Scott Davis is a professor of history at Wallace State College in Hanceville, Alabama. He has written and lectured extensively about the Revolutionary War in Georgia.

Locating Hammond's Store Battleground. As no modern roadside historic marker presently commemorates this important action, I asked Joe Goldsmith about his proofs of its location at 1244 Green Plain Road. Joe reports that his "proofs" for this residence being the location of the main ambush in the Battle of Hammond's Store:

1) This is where the now abandoned Ninety Six to Buncombe Road crosses the Bush River – Lt. Col. Joel Rexford tracing the abandoned roadbed from extant Duncan Creek Presbyterian Church, to the extant Hurrican Baptist Church crossed the Bush River and followed the old road bed to cross the Green Plain Roads there.

2) Maj. Thomas Young describes the Tories atop a hill just past crossing the Bush River. The only area along that road that has a hill is the homes' front yard.

3) This is where the foremost Southern Campaigns cartographer, John A. Robertson, has placed Hammond's Store based on his research. Huntsville can be accurately plotted at this location from the 1825 Mills' Atlas map of Laurens District.

4) Historical/eye-witness recall of a large wooden billboard type sign beside there, stating this was the "Site of the Battle of Hammond's Store" plus an old "Liberty Tour" sign.

5) The homeowner, who has put in the lawn, is convinced that the store itself was within the circular "turnaround" at the end of his driveway.

6) The homeowner believes that there are sixty to seventy bodies of unclaimed Tories buried (head to toe) along his driveway, under and southwest of the modern paved Green Plane Road.

7) Revolutionary War scholar Terry W. Lipscomb reported in *Names in South Carolina* that Hammond's Store was near Huntsville. The extant old Huntsville Cemetery is about 1,000 feet west of this site.

Two missing pieces of evidence we are pretty certain are still there:

1) The brick "fire-box" from the smithy shop that was part of the store operation - a smithy would naturally be near the river and the road. It was last seen a dozen years ago - overgrown with vines and moss.

2) A small granite marker with the words "Battle of Hammond's Store" was last seen at the same time.

Lindley's Fort played a small but significant role in the Revolutionary history of the Saluda River in the old Ninety Six district.

As yet, the fort's actual construction date has not been determined; however, there are indications that it was considered an "old fort" in 1776. Since no public record has been found, it is believed that the fort was constructed by a private individual for needed protection in the backcountry. It is possible that the fort was built during the early 1760s since there were Indian disturbances in the area during that time.

Captain James Lindley, owner of the fort at the time of the Revolution, was a Loyalist. He was in Colonel Thomas Fletchall's regiment and held at least one meeting of Loyalists at his home.

Part of the British plan of attack was to encourage Indian uprisings in the backcountry. At this point, Lindley's fort became very important to the area residents. In Drayton's Memoirs of the American Revolution it is reported:

> ...the inhabitants along Saluda River and Rayborn's Creek, had taken refuge in an old fort called Lyndley's [Lindley's], near [redacted] where, on the morning of the 15th of July, they were attacked, by eighty-eight Indians, and one hundred and two white men; many of them painted, and dressed as Indians. Their object, was to surprize the fort; for which purpose, their attack was commenced about one o'clock in the morning. Fortunately, Major Downes [Downs], with one hundred and fifty men, had arrived at the fort the evening before, in his way, to join Major Williamson; and whose assistance effected the preservation of the fort. Not calculating on this accession of strength, the enemy fought fiercely; expecting every moment, an opportunity of storming the fort. The fire of rifles and musketry was so well delivered from it, that at daylight the enemy gave way, retreating with precipitation: leaving two of their Chief Warriors, and several men, dead upon the field. The garrison, immediately pursued; and took thirteen white men prisoners: some of whom, were painted and dressed after the Indian manner; and they were immediately sent to Ninety-Sox gaol, for safe keeping.[1]

[1] John Drayton, Memoirs of the American Revolution (Charleston, S.C.: A. E. Miller, 1821), p. 342.

If excavated, Lindley's Fort may supply a ground plan of a frontier fort of this period. It can also provide an archeological site that may yield artifacts and clues of the people that lived, worked and died in the area.

There is a great deal of local interest in this site. On July 25, 1976, a marker dedication was sponsored by the Laurens County Historical Society and the Laurens County Bicentennial Commission in order to commemorate the battle of Lindley's Fort.

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NRHP nomination

One of Laurens County's oldest yet least known about landmarks has been listed in the National Register of Historic Places, located west of Laurens near Rabun Creek , was a Revolutionary War period outpost . Notification of its listing was given by the Department of the Interior last moneth to the south Carolina Department of Archives and history the register program in the state. Following the Revolutionary War, the fort fell into ruins and its location was forgotten for almost a century. Then in the fall of 1973, Hickory Tavern businesssman and historian Roy Christie was reading a periodical which mentioned a Lindley's Fort located in Laurens County.

The article aroused Christie's curiosity and he set out to find the site. His search took him to Sara Nash, a retired history teacher who had a tattered old Laurens County (Kyzer-Helliams map) "was a sort of like a Chamber of Commerce thing, he noted It featured the minerals in the ground ,the -----,the rivers, the type of things needed to draw industries and mills into the area"

Christi continued his search , returning to the Nash home time and time again to re-examine the map for identifiable points. He questioned the longtime residents of the area but had a hard time finding anyone who knew anything of the Fort (sentence blurred) believed to be the location in early 1975 , the history buff found someone who could verify his finding He met J.W. Tinsley who in his boyhood had lived nearby and played at the site. Now in his 80's , Tinsley recalled finding old coins and artifacts as he played there with friends.

Richard Carrillo , an archaeologist from the University of South Carolina was then called in to inspect the site. He analyzed the documentary availabe and also visited the site. The archaeologist agreed with Christie , the location of Lindley's Fort was not longer a mystery.

According to Christie, "the fort was one of a number of fortified-type plantation homes in the area. " A whole string of boundary forts ran in Greenville County," he explained. In those days, the Laurens County-Greenville county line served as border between the settlers and Cherokee Indian Nation . Whenever there was an Indian uprising, settlers would leave their home and take shelter in the fort"

When was the fort built / Christie said records from 1776 refer to it as an "old fort: therefore , It likely it served as place of Defense in the colonial times that preceded the Revolution.

It was probably built to meet the needs such as that of Feb. 8, 1761 , when it was reported that 27 persons on Rabun Creek had been killed in an Indian uprising. The property of Lindley, a Loyalist, the fort was taken over by the Patriots in 1775 for use as a defensive stronghold against Tory and Indian attack. One year later , it was to the site of a famous battle.

In July of 1776 , an Indian attack was expected and the inhabitants along the Saluda river and Rabun Creek took refuge in the fortress. About 1 A. M. on July 15, they were stormed by 88 Indians and 102 white men, many of whom were painted and dressed as Indians.

What the attackers did not know was that Major Jonathan Downs, along with 150 men , had arrived at the fort the previous evening. A fierce battle ensued, but the fire of rifles and musketry proved too much for the aggressors.

By daylight was .(sentence omitted in copy.) the garrison immediately pursued and captured 12 of the white attackers. They were transported to Ninety Six for imprisonment.

Today the fort site if part of a cattle ranch owned by Raymond Williams of Mountville. Located on a knoll one and one half miles northeast of Dirty Creek and Rabun Creek, the site looks a lot different than it did 200 years ago.

A slight indentation around the top of the knoll marks where the trench in the which the stakes for the stockade were placed upright. Piles of stone in the area mark where the fort's corners once stood

The archaeologist who inspected the finding discovered a hole in the ground which either a root cellar or a powder magazine. And three evenly spaced stones there could mark the graves of three Cherokee chiefs killed in the skirmish.

The Laurens County Advertiser December 4, 1979

David Fanning had been born in Virginia but his mother moved to Johnston County, North Carolina shortly after his birth. During his childhood he lost his hair to a scalp condition giving him a scarred "scald head." He always wore a silk cap to hide the scars, but he was not the disfigured monster described by some historians. Jonas Howe described him as "a man of fine physique, small in stature, but very muscular and in early manhood very athletic. His complexion was florid or sandy and he wore a wig."

Fanning became a trader to the Cherokee Indians, learning many of their ways during his time among them. He prospered in this trade, owning twenty horses and six head of cattle. During this time he built a cabin on Raeburns Creek and used it as a place of refuge in the years to come. He could have ended up on either side during the war, but in 1775 a party of Whigs robbed him of his possessions. He "swore vengeance on the whole of the Whig party." Like most of the other partisan leaders in the backcountry, revenge was the motive for fighting in the war, not love of liberty or of the King.

Fanning started his military career as a sergeant in Captain James Lindley's company of the Upper Saluda Militia Regiment. He was caught up in the flight of the Loyalists after the Battle of the Great Cane Brake, and fled to the mountains for safety. In January 1776 he was captured by Captain John Burns and was held for four days. He refused to take a Loyalty Oath in exchange for his freedom, but he was eventually released.

In May 1776 Fanning received word that the Whigs were giving amnesty to any Loyalists who would return to their homes and remain neutral. He took them up on their offer and returned to Raeburns Creek. In June of 1776 Captain William Ritchie told the authorities that Fanning was organizing a Loyalist force to lead a raid with the Cherokees against the settlements. This proved to be false, but Fanning was still arrested and thrown into jail. When the Cherokees did strike against the frontier Fanning made his escape.

The Indian attacks of 1776 continued across the frontier and throughout the backcountry forts were being built and backwoods militias were being raised. Francis Salvador and Major Andrew Williamson raised 80 men and marched towards the home of Captain Smith. Smith and his family had been attacked, killing him and wounding both his sons. Williamson gathered 500 more men along the way and marched towards Lyndley's Fort. Some of the Loyalists who fought against Williamson at Ninety Six were with him on the expedition against the Indians. The Loyalists did not switch to the

Lindley's Fort, South Carolina [157]
15 July 1776

Patriot cause, but were united with them against the Cherokees, because the Indians killed Whigs and Loyalists alike.

Fanning had returned to his home on Raeburns Creek, gathered about 25 men, and then marched to the burned out home of Captain Richard Pearis. A band of Loyalists and Indians were gathering there and their target was the fort on Raeburns Creek in Laurens County, South Carolina.[158] This fort was an old log stockade known as Lindley's Fort, which had been owned by Fanning's former commander, James Lindley.

At 1:00 in the morning on July 15th eighty-eight Indians and 102 Loyalists, painted as Indians, attacked Lyndley's Fort. The fort, which normally housed settlers, had been reinforced the night before by 150 backwoods militia under the command of Captain John Downs. They had been marching to join Williamson's army.

The firing continued until 4:00 a.m. when the Indians learned that Williamson's army was approaching. They departed leaving behind "several dead, including two of their Chief Warriors." As they left the Patriots sallied from the fort and captured thirteen of the Loyalists. The prisoners were sent to the jail at Ninety-Six. David Fanning was not captured and he was able to flee into North Carolina. The next day Captain Downs was reinforced by 430 men of Colonel James Williams and Lieutenant Colonel John Lisle and two companies of Colonel Richard Richardson's regiment. On July 17th Major Williamson and his force united with the other militiamen at Lyndley's Fort.

There were numerous majors and colonels in the combined force. Williamson had one of the largest units, but he was having a problem with the militia not wanting to be commanded by just a Major. Francis Salvador wrote to Henry Drayton and asked him to use his influence to get Williamson promoted to Colonel.[159]

Island Flats, Tennessee [160] **Battle**
20 July 1776

Dragging Canoe had returned home after the Sycamore Shoals Treaty and he was determined to drive the white settlers from

James Lindley, Tory

James Lindley, son of Thomas Lindley,(son of James Lindley and Eleanor Parke) and Ruth Hadley was born 22 Sept 1735 London Grove, Chester County, Pa. and married Mary Cox in Kennett, Chester County, Pennsylvania. He is named in the will of his grandfather, Simon Hadley, who left will in New Castle County, Delaware and names all his grandchildren. He is named in the will of his father, Thomas Lindley, of Lindley's Mill,Orange County, N.C. Bk. A, p.22 who mentions Thomas Lindley, son of James Lindley, Sr., dec'd (will dated 15 March 1780 Aug. Ct.1782.

James Lindley married in 5-5- 1753 Mary Cox, the daughter of William Cox of Cox's Mill and Catherine Kanky/Kenky of the present Randolph County, N.C. James came to Orange County, N.C. by 1753-55 and had several land transactions. (OrangeCounty, N.C. Deeds.) An article by Lindley Butler states he had 1170 acres in Granville Grants in Orange County (Now Chatham County) on Terrel's Creek. From 1753 to 1766 he is mentioned in the county court minutes, and he was licensed to keep an ordinary in his home.

Deed Records in S.C. show he was there by 1767 when Peter Allen had 100 acres in Berkley County on a small branch of Reedy River, called the Reedy fork, bounded by vacant land. Survey cert. 9-367 granted 7-15 1768 Rec. 9-28-1768 James Lindley for the memorialist, Jno Caldwell, D.S. Butler states he acquired 200 acres in 1768 and another 200 in 1773.

On the 4-28-1768, Lindley was named as having land bounding W on Charles Quails received on a branch of Raybournes Creek which was also bounded by George Hollingsworth, S.E. on John Williams, w on JL granted 4-28-1768 Re. 9-30-1768, Ralph Humphrey-for the memoralist, Quit Rent begins in two years.

On the 21st August 1769 and rec. 1 May 1790, Jno. Box., planter sold Francis Moore, both of Berkley Co., S.C. 150 acres in Berkley Co. Probate made by Magneese Good 30 April 1769 before James Lindly, one of his majesty's justices to keep the peace. On 2 Dec. 1768 he was commissioned a crown Justice-of -the-peace for Granville County, and until the Revolution, he held crown commissions for Craven county, Ninety-Six District, and the Cheraws district. The State General Assembly appointed him a justice for Ninety-Six District in 1776, but Butler states that considering his loyalist sympathies, it is unlikely that he served the revolutionary government..

On 7&8 Sept 1772, James Lindley of Craven County, Esqr, and Mary, his wife, to John Williams merchant of same for 112 lbs. SC money land granted 12 Sept 1768 to Robert Briggs, on a branch of Rabins Creek adj. land of John Turk. Said Robert Briggs did convey to Ralph Humphries and said Ralph sold to James Linley, Esqr. 31 Jan. 1772. James Lindley(LS) MaryLindley (LS) Wit: Thos Cohune, Randal Hennesley, Rec. 15 Jan.1774.

On 15 Sept 1775, James Lindley, Esq, J.P., Lewis Dutarque, and John Boyd, witnessed deed of Ralph Humphreys Surveyor of Craven Co., Province of S.C. to John Williams planter for 300 lbs 100 ac on Durbin's Creek originally granted 15 July 1768 to John Humphreys & conveyed to Ralph Humphreys bounded on John Boyd's land (Laurens Co., Deeds).

Notice his land bounded John Boyd which was also the name of the Tory leader of the Battle of Kettle Creek.

Lindley was a captain in the Upper Saluda Regiment of the provincial militia. In 1775 a majority of the South Carolina backcounty settlers were loyal to the crown wnd were forcibly subdued by the Revolutionary forces under Charleston leadership. The regiment was mustered by the commanding officer in 1775, Colonel Thomas Fletchall of Fair Forest, for the purpose of determining the regiment's loyalty which unanimously supported the crown. None other than David Fanning, who later became a noted loyalist leader and led the Tories at Lindley's Mill in N.C., was a sergeant in Captain Lindley's company. In Fanning's Narrative, recorded in the North Carolina State records, he writes,"' the first day Of May,(1775), Capt James Lindley of Rabern's Creek,sent to me as I was a Sergeant of the said company, to have his company warned to meet at his house 15 of said month. I did accordingly, and presented two papers; there were 118 men signed in favour of the King, also declared to defend the same , at the risk of lives and property, in July 1775."

In November, civil strife began between the Whigs and Loyalists. Major Joseph Robinson,now commander of the Upper Saluda regiment defeated a Whig force force at Ninety-six on November 19-20 of 1775. A fort known as Lindley's fort, which the property was taken over by the Patriots in 1775 was used as a stronghold against Indian and Tory attacks.The Whig Militia with help from the North Carolina Militia cornered the heavily outnumbered Loyalists under Patrick Cunningham at the Great Cane Brake on December 22. Captain Lindley was among 130 Tory prisoners captured at this skirmish and sent to Charleston where they were soon released. (It is interesting to note that this writers's DAR Ancestor, Alexander Douglas from Lancaster County,was at the Battle of the Great Cane Brake also.)

On July 15 1776 a Loyalist-Cherokee party attacked Lindley's Fort in which the inhabitants along the Saluda and Rabun had taken refuge About 88 Indians and 102 white men painted and dressed as Indians made the attack. Major Jonathan Downs with about 150 men arrived the night before and and drove off the attackers. It is not known whether Lindley was there. After several hours they withdrew. James Lindley remained an active loyalist until his capture at The Battle of Kettle Creek. A letter from Governor John Rutledge dated Aug 30 1777 refers to Lindley participating in a raid and escaping capture.

Colonel John Boyd marched into the Georgia backcountry early in 1779 with a group of 600 loyalists to cooperate with the British invasion there. On 14 February 1779 at Kettle Creek in Wilkes County, Georgia, they were surprised and defeated by the Whigs commanded by Colonels Andrew Pickens, John Dooley and Elijah Clarke. James Lindley, John Anderson, Aquilla Hall, Samuel Clegg and Charles Draper were five, among those captured, who were fined 86.4.0 each and sentenced to hang.Also tried at a a special court held February 22 1779 were others, including George Hollingsworth and William Lindley, probably the son of James. Also the names of William Cunningham (Bloody Bill) and James Cunningham, all probably neighbors of Lindley. The Sheriff of Ninety-Sixth District compiled a list as part of his claim for money owed to him by S.C. State Government Audited Accounts # 5335.

"To the gaol fees on commitment of Las LinleyJohn Anderson Aquilla Hall Sm. Clegg and Charles Draper who were hanged &c ...L 86 : 4: 0 each"

In Laurens County, South Carolins Wills, p. 3, Will A Estate Records, p. 16-17: An account of the appraisement of the estate of Jas. Lindley , Dec. 200 acres at 60 lbs. , 100 acres at 30 lbs. Jas. Abercrombie, George Hollingsworth, Thos. Cunningham, sold 12 Jan 1790. Thomas Lindley.

Southern Campaign American Revolution Pension Statements

Pension App of Jonathan Downs W21000 Sarah fn36SC
Transcribed by Will Graves rev'd 2/11/10

[Methodology: Spelling, punctuation and/or grammar have been corrected in some instances for ease of reading and to facilitate searches of the database. Also, the handwriting of the original scribes often lends itself to varying interpretations. Users of this database are urged to view the original and to make their own decision as to how to decipher what the original scribe actually wrote. Blanks appearing in the transcripts reflect blanks in the original. Folks are free to make non-commercial use this transcript in any manner they may see fit, but please extend the courtesy of acknowledging the transcriber—besides, if it turns out the transcript contains mistakes, the resulting embarrassment will fall on the transcriber.]

State of South Carolina, Laurens District

On the 10th day of December eighteen hundred & thirty eight personally appeared before the Judge of the Court of Ordinary for Laurens District, Sarah Downs, a resident of Laurens District & State of South Carolina, aged 82 years, who being first duly sworn according to Law, doth, on her oath, make the following declaration in order to obtain the benefit of the provision made by the Act of Congress passed July 4, 1836: That her husband the said Jonathan Downs resided in Ninety-Six District & State of South Carolina when he entered the service. That he took up arms and joined the Whigs in the month of November 1775 immediately after Patrick Cunningham and his party captured some Powder near Ninety-Six. That he was then first Lieutenant under Capt. James Williams (who was afterwards killed at King's Mountain as Col. Williams) and Major Andrew Williamson. That his company was surrounded by a party of the Tories commanded by Patrick Cunningham at Ninety-Six, when the first gun was fired by the Whigs for Liberty and Independence in Ninety-Six District. That in the month of January 1776, he served in the expedition called the Snow Camps, when the above named Patrick Cunningham made his escape, but was taken in in a few days by the said Jonathan Downs, & by him carried to Charleston and delivered to the proper authority. That on the 15th day of July 1776, he commanded as Major at the Battle of Lindley's fort, against the Indians and Tories, in Ninety-Six District, So. Ca. See 1, Edition of Ramsey's History of So. Ca. Vol. 1, page 280. That in the same month of 1776 he was engaged in the Battle of Senake (sic, Seneca) old Town at Oosmore [sic, Oconee?] Creek in the Cherokee country, now Pendleton District, commanded by Col. Williamson where Col. Williamson's horse was shot under him. That in the latter part of the same month of 1776 he commanded as Major at the Battle called the Ring Fight in the Cherokee country So. Ca. which he was wounded in the abdomen and in the hands; the ball that entered his body he carried with him to his grave. See History of So. Ca. by Robert Mills page 609. That his wound rendered him unfit for service, and he was brought home. That although he was incapacitated by his wounds from performing active services, he acted the part of a decided Whig, & sustained the cause of Liberty by rendering such services as he was able to do, up to the close of the Revolution. That in the year of 1781, he was one of the number taken prisoner by Major William Cunningham and his party, at Hayes' defeat, a station commanded by Col. Hayes in Ninety-Six District for the particulars see Ramsey's History of So. Ca. Vol. 1, page 450. That the said Jonathan Downs from the time he

volunteered in November 1775 performed a regular tour of service. That he performed service in that tour, as Major not less than six months—and as first Lieutenant three months. That all the services performed by him after he was wounded was such as above stated—She further declares that she was married to the said Jonathan Downs on the 8th day of July 1772 in the year seventeen hundred & seventy two, that her husband the aforesaid Jonathan Downs died on the 18th day of October 1818, and that she has remained a widow ever since that period, as will more fully appear by reference to the proof hereto annexed. That she is not able to attend personally in court by reason of old age and bodily disability.

Sworn to and subscribed on this day and year above written before

S/ Sarah Downs, her mark

W.D. Watts, J.C.O.L.D.

I Robert Long[1] who was a soldier in the Revolutionary War, residing in Laurens District South Carolina hereby certify that I am well acquainted [with] Sarah Downs who has subscribed and sworn to the above declaration: that I believe her to be 82 years of age. That I was also well acquainted with Jonathan Downs who was a Major in the Revolutionary War and concur in the opinion that he performed service as stated in the foregoing declaration. That the said Sarah Downs is the widow of the said Jonathan Downs. That they were married previous to the commencement of the Revolutionary War. That the said Jonathan Downs died in the year 1818 and that the said Sarah Downs has remained a widow ever since that period.

Sworn and subscribed this 15th day of December 1838

S/ W. D. Watts, JCOLD S/ Robt Long

I William Dunlap[2] residing in Laurens District South Carolina a soldier in the Army of the Revolution hereby certify that I am well acquainted with Sarah Downs who has subscribed and sworn to the above declaration: that she is the widow of Jonathan Downs who was a Major in the Army of the Revolution, that I believe her to be 82 years of age. That I was well acquainted with her husband Jonathan Downs and was present with him in the expedition called the snow camps in the winter of 1776 that the said Jonathan Downs then commanded as a Captain. That I am of opinion that he performed service as stated in the foregoing declaration. That the said Jonathan Downs and Sarah Downs were married previous to the year 1776. That the said Johnson Downs died in the year 1818, and that the said Sarah Downs has remained a widow ever since that period.

Sworn to and subscribed this 17th day of December 1838

S/ W. D. Watts, JCOLD S/ William Dunlap

I William Millwee[3] residing in Anderson District and State of South Carolina do hereby certify that I am well acquainted with Sarah Towns residing in Laurens District and State aforesaid. That she is the widow of Major Jonathan Downs deceased. That the said Jonathan Downs volunteered in the service of the revolutionary war in the month of October in the year 1775 as first Lieutenant under Captain James Williams. That in the month of November in the year of 1775 we served together in an engagement with the

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[1] **Robert Long S7157**

[2] **William Dunlap W2723**

[3] sic, **William Milwee W9200**

Tories at Ninety Six in Ninety Six district and State of South Carolina and were commanded by Major Andrew Williamson, the Tories by Patrick Cunningham. That in the latter part of the month of December in the year of 1775 we served together in the expedition called the Snow Camps, in the upper part of South Carolina and had an engagement with the Tories, where many of them were taken prisoners, we were commanded by Captain James Williams. That in the month of January in the year of 1776 the said Jonathan Downs was commissioned a Major, and had command of the regulars who were raised to defend the country against the Cherokee Indians. That in the month of July in the year of 1776 we served together at the Battle of Seneca old town, in the Cherokee Country, and were commanded by General Andrew Williamson. That in the same month and in the same year we served together at an engagement with the Indians and Tories at Tugaloo River, in the Cherokee Country. That in the month of August in the year of 1776 we served together at the battle of the ring fight with the Cherokee Indians, in the Cherokee Country, where Major Johnson Downs had the command, and where he received a ball in the abdomen which he carried with him to his grave. That Major Downs loan rendered him unfit for active service and that he returned home. That in the year of 1781 we were taken prisoners at Hayes station in Ninety Six District South Carolina, by the Tories commanded by Major William Cunningham. That the said Jonathan Downs performed a regular tour of service from the time he volunteered in October 1775 to the time he was wounded in August 1776 of 10 months, viz., 3 months as first Lieutenant and 7 months as Major.

Sworn to and subscribed this 18th day of May 1839 before me

S/ Alexander Evins, NP S/ Wm Millwee

State of South Carolina Laurens district: I James Brewster of the District of Laurens & State aforesaid do hereby certify that I am well acquainted with the handwriting of Major Jonathan Downs, deceased, and that the family record hereunto attached showing the date of the marriage of Jonathan Downs & Sarah Gary is in the handwriting of the said Jonathan Downes.

Sworn and subscribed before me this 2nd day of February 1839

S/ W. D. Watts, JCOLD S/ James Bruster

Jonathan Downs and Sary Gary was married July the 8th 1772 by John Caldwell Esquire
Jane Daughter of the same was born July ye 6th 1774
Milley Daughter of the same was born April 5th 1776
Frances Daughter of the same was born April the 10th 1784
William Son of the same was born January the 10th 1787
Pheobe Daughter of the same was born April the 7th 1791
Louisa Daughter of the same was born May the 15th 1790
&c

 JIM PIECUCH

slaves.[180] In June, Boykin gathered about fifty Catawbas to help defend Charleston against the impending British attack. The Indians were promised "Colony pay."[181] These Catawbas comprised part of the defensive force at the northern end of Sullivan's Island.[182]

The Whigs could manage the Catawbas easily enough, but they knew that Stuart's influence with the other Indian nations would have to be countered. They decided to strike directly at the superintendent by circulating rumors that Stuart had received orders to lead Indian attacks and incite slave insurrections in South Carolina.[183] As the rebel leaders intended, Stuart quickly found himself facing the "Fury of a merciless and ungovernable Mob."[184] At the end of May 1775 he fled Charleston for the comparative safety of Savannah. Not content with having driven Stuart from South Carolina, Whig leaders in Charleston circulated handbills in Beaufort and Savannah repeating the allegation that the superintendent planned to order Indian attacks on the frontier. This, along with emissaries from South Carolina who proclaimed Stuart's villainy, inflamed the Georgians as well.[185]

Stuart met with some of Georgia's Whig leaders and tried to convince them that "no steps had ever been taken to interest the Indians in the Dispute between Great Brittain and the Colonies, but at the same time I told them that I had constantly considered it as my principal Duty to Dispose the Indians to confide in His Majesty's Justice and Protection, and to act for His Service if required." This statement did not reassure the rebels, who warned Stuart that it was dangerous for him to remain in Savannah. He then escaped in a canoe to a British warship, barely escaping the boatloads of armed and angry men who pursued him. Stuart then sailed to St. Augustine, where he found refuge but no respite from the Whigs' slanderous assaults. He learned that the rebels continued to spread "the Greatest falsehoods . . . in order to inflame the people against me."[186]

In what was undoubtedly a ruse intended to lure Stuart back to South Carolina so that the Whigs could place him in custody, the Committee of Intelligence wrote to the superintendent suggesting that he could demonstrate his good intentions by returning to Charleston, where the provincial congress would happily vindicate him if he could prove his innocence. Meanwhile, the committee declared, his property "stands as a Security for the good Behaviour of the Indians in the Southern Department."[187] Stuart, knowing the risks involved if he returned to Charleston, replied that he had no intention of inciting an Indian war. He added that it was ironic that his property was held as security for the Indians' good behavior, since their actions depended not on his instructions but "upon the Conduct of the inhabitants of the Provinces."[188]

Not content with having driven Stuart to East Florida and threatening to seize his property, the Whigs proceeded to take punitive measures against his wife and married daughter. On February 3, 1776, the provincial congress ordered that the two women be confined to their home in Charleston "as hostages for

his [Stuart's] good behavior." Two days later the congress allowed Stuart's daughter to leave Charleston with her husband, on condition that she not leave the province, and permitted Mrs. Stuart to leave her house if accompanied by an officer. However, Stuart's wife could not receive visitors without written permission from rebel officials.[189] Henry Laurens believed that the measure was effective, writing that "nothing but Mr. Stuarts family has for Some time past been a barrier against the massacre & butchery of hundreds of Innocent families in Georgia and Carolina."[190] Stuart took a dimmer view of the matter, writing that his wife had been detained, "insulted and threatened."[191] Despite rebel precautions, Mrs. Stuart eventually escaped, and her son-in-law was immediately jailed "on suspicion of aiding and assisting her."[192]

With Stuart gone, the Whigs focused their attention on Alexander Cameron, his deputy to the Cherokees. Like Stuart, Cameron fled to avoid capture. On July 14 Cameron's friend and Whig colonel Andrew Williamson reported that Cameron had "gone to the Cherokee Nation" and that "at this Time there is a good deal of Confusion" in the backcountry "on Acct. of the expected Danger from the Cherokees." Williamson promised to quiet these fears, as he had received assurances from Cameron that the latter had no intention of ordering the Indians to attack the province.[193]

The Whigs then tried to convince Cameron to join them. When that failed, they resorted as usual to threats and violence. On July 23 the Council of Safety asked Williamson to offer Cameron a position as the Whigs' agent to the Cherokees, with the same salary he received from the British.[194] William Henry Drayton wrote Cameron that the rebels "look upon you as an object dangerous to our welfare" and would not be satisfied until Cameron had moved a sufficient distance from the Cherokees to be unable to exercise his duties as Stuart's representative. Drayton suggested St. Augustine or Pensacola as acceptable destinations. In case Cameron misunderstood the nature of the request, Drayton noted that it "carries all the force of a command."[195]

Replying to Drayton's threats in mid-October, Cameron politely stated that he could not comply with Whig demands. He also said that he found it strange that he was "threatened with condign punishment" when all his efforts had been directed "to cultivate peace and friendship between the Indians" and the South Carolinians.[196]

The Whigs did not even wait for Cameron's reply before sending their militia to seize him. Col. William Thomson set out with some troops in late July to find the agent and learned on July 31 that Cameron was at Oconee Creek with a dozen white men and several Indians. Thomson immediately marched to surprise his quarry, but on entering the town of Seneca he was ambushed by a party he estimated at thirty whites and thirty Cherokees. After driving off the defenders, Thomson burnt the village and six thousand bushels of corn. He then ordered other Whig units to burn nearby Cherokee towns. Captured whites informed

Thomson that Cameron was about thirty miles away, with "about one hundred and fifty white men and Indians."[197]

Cameron finally reached safety in the Cherokee town of Keowee in mid-August. He noted that the Cherokees were "very cross about the usage their father [Stuart] met with in Charles Town, and me at Long Canes being obliged to leave our houses. That they see plainly that the white people mean a war with them," a conclusion that was not surprising after Thomson's attack on Seneca. The Cherokees, Cameron believed, preferred war sooner rather than later and "are to a man resolved to stand for the great King and his warriors." He wanted ammunition for them and wanted to know Stuart's whereabouts. Despite the uncertain situation, Cameron took comfort in the Cherokees' loyalty both to him and to the king. They were "the most faithful Indians on the main," he wrote. The rebels intercepted this letter, which helped convince them that quick action was essential to forestall a Cherokee attack.[198]

Ominous reports of Cherokee intentions had been coming from the backcountry throughout the summer. Robert Goudey swore a deposition at Ninety Six on July 10 that earlier in the day Man Killer of Keowee, a Cherokee, told him that "Some Few Days ago, a Certain John Vann told the Indians in the Cherokee Nation that they must fall upon the White people on This Side Savannah River and kill them (Meaning the people of South Carolina)" but that the Georgians were not to be molested. According to Man Killer, the Cherokees had replied that "they Could not go to War, that they had no Ammunition."[199]

On August 20 the Reverend William Tennent informed Henry Laurens that the Loyalists were preparing to strike and that he had heard that "Cameron is among the over hill Cherokees and will soon join them with 3,000 gun men."[200] In a subsequent letter Tennent asserted that the Loyalists were too few to challenge the Whigs alone and that "their Dependance is upon the Savages to join their Army. & that the rest of the Inhabitants will be forced to join them, to save their Families from a Massacre."[201] Jonathan Clark of the Ninety Six district told Drayton that John Garwick, a friend of Cameron, had warned Clark that when British troops arrived in South Carolina, Clark should "remove from the frontiers." Garwick added that three weeks earlier Cameron had met with four hundred Cherokees and urged them to support the king's troops, and that the Indians, after being assured that Cameron would supply them with ammunition, signified with gunshots and war whoops their willingness to attack the colonists.[202]

Other accounts, however, contradicted these reports, leaving the Whigs uncertain as to how they should proceed. "Our Cherokee Indians according to advices which we have just received . . . are well disposed towards us," Henry Laurens wrote on August 20. He added that the Cherokees "pathetically lament the Scarcity of Gunn Powder & Bullets" but thought that "it would not be consistent with Sound policy if we were just now to Supply them with those articles."[203]

With the affairs of the British Indian department apparently in disarray, rebel leaders saw an opportunity to keep the Indians peaceful by assuming management of Indian affairs. In early August, South Carolina Whigs learned that Congress had created three Indian departments, divided geographically, and allocated ten thousand dollars to the southern department for presents and other expenses. South Carolina appointed George Galphin, an Indian trader with a Creek wife and several mixed-race children, to act as one of three agents to the Creeks. Andrew Williamson, the backcountry militia colonel, was named one of three representatives to the Cherokees.[204]

William Henry Drayton, still in the backcountry after his failed mission to convert Loyalists, took it upon himself to deal with the Cherokees as well. In September he met with some Cherokee leaders at the Congarees and attempted to explain the political situation. Drayton said that the Whigs were in part fighting to preserve the deerskin trade. He asserted that since the British abused fellow white men, the Indians should not expect better treatment.[205]

Yet, while Whig leaders courted the Cherokees, other whites undermined their efforts. In late September four Georgians murdered a Cherokee man and wounded two others "in cold blood." Although rebel officials claimed that the assault was "a contrivance by our Enemies to set those barbarians upon us," the crime increased their fears of an Indian attack.[206] Colonel Thomson sent some of his Whig militia to apprehend the culprits in order to conciliate the Cherokees.[207]

To further placate the Cherokees, in October the Whigs finally relented and agreed to provide them with gunpowder and lead. When the Loyalists seized the wagon carrying munitions, the rebels sent an emissary to the Cherokees with a promise that the ammunition would be sent as soon as the Whigs had recaptured it.[208]

While the Whigs attempted to gain the Indians' goodwill, Stuart and his deputies, whose activities had not been disrupted to the extent the rebels believed, continued to exercise their influence with the southern nations. As he had repeatedly told the Whigs, Stuart's goal was to keep the Indians neutral. He informed David Taitt, his representative to the Creeks, that in spite of the persecution he had suffered, he was "so far inclined to retaliate good for evil, that I wish to maintain peace." Stuart told Taitt to avoid any statements that might incite the Creeks to war and instead to try "to preserve peace, and attach the Indians to his Majesty's interest." Taitt's most important duty, Stuart declared, was "to frustrate the machinations of Mr. Galphin and his associates."[209] Stuart also sent talks to the Creeks and Cherokees in which he emphasized his desire that the Indians remain at peace. The "difference between the people in England and the white people in America . . . does not concern you," he told the Cherokees; "they will decide it between themselves." Stuart promised to do his best to provide supplies to both nations and urged them to follow the advice of his agents.[210]

Cameron worked particularly hard to keep the Cherokees neutral because of his own aversion to an Indian war. In November he told Stuart that if the Indians attacked the colonists, "the Issue of it would be terrible, as they could not be restrained from Committing the most inhuman barbarities on Women and Children." Cameron added that he thought himself unable to lead the Indians "against Friends, Neighbours and fellow Subjects . . . altho the behaviour of the people would almost justify me in doing it."[211]

In September, Gage finally sent Stuart instructions "to make [the Indians] take arms against His Majesty's enemies" if an opportunity arose.[212] Stuart, however, was reluctant to do so until the ministry confirmed the orders. The superintendent replied only that he would work to keep the Indians firmly attached to the king. He also advised his brother and deputy Henry Stuart to go among the Upper Creeks, try to obtain their commitment to assist the British, and then consult with Taitt as to how the Indians could be used to distress the rebels. After that, Henry Stuart was to visit the Cherokees and urge them to expel rebel agents and traders from their nation. John Stuart understood that it was more important to eliminate rebel influence and secure the Indians' allegiance than to launch a premature war.[213]

When Stuart learned in December that fighting had broken out between Loyalists and rebels in the South Carolina backcountry, he ordered Cameron to bring the Cherokees to aid the Loyalists but not to launch indiscriminate attacks on the frontier. Stuart's plan was foiled because Cameron did not receive the letter until six months later.[214] Many Loyalists, however, did take refuge among the Cherokees after their defeat. Whig colonel Richard Richardson believed that those Loyalists had actually "gone to bring the Indians Down" to attack the rebels. If so, Richardson declared, "it Cou'd not be in a better time," since the Whig militia was assembled and ready.[215]

The expected Indian attack did not come, but many Whigs believed that war was imminent. News reached Charleston on February 22, 1776, that the Cherokees had scalped two whites and "danced the War Dance." Other reports alleged that Stuart was in Boston discussing plans with British officers for an attack on the southern colonies. "Lord Dartmouth's Indian Engines will probably now begin their pious play of Butchering Women & Children," Henry Laurens wrote.[216] Some Whigs, however, believed that an Indian war would benefit them by uniting the backcountry people. Pierce Butler declared that "if the Indians are prevail'd on to attack us," the men in the frontier districts would unite to protect their homes.[217]

The Cherokees were, in fact, considering war. The militant faction in the nation saw conflict among the whites as an opportunity to strike back against those who had taken their land. Dragging Canoe, the militant leader, visited Henry Stuart at Mobile during the spring of 1776 to announce his support for the British. Henry Stuart provided Dragging Canoe with a large quantity of ammunition, which the latter brought to the Cherokee town of Chota. There

Stuart and Cameron conferred with leaders from all parts of the nation. The British agents urged the Cherokees to remain at peace, but they could not sway Dragging Canoe or other militants, who paid more attention to the Shawnee and Mohawk emissaries who favored war. Nor could accommodationist Cherokee leaders such as Oconostota or Attakulla Kulla dissuade Dragging Canoe. Stuart gave up his effort to argue for peace, contenting himself with obtaining a promise from the militants that they would not cross the Indian boundary or kill women, children, or Loyalists when they went to war.[218]

The Cherokees began their attacks on July 1, targeting frontier settlements from Georgia to Virginia and catching the Whigs by surprise.[219] Rebel leaders had been lulled to some degree; "the Cherokees had amused us by the most flattering Talks, full of assurances of friendship," Henry Laurens wrote. Then, "very suddenly, without any pretence to Provocation those treacherous Devils in various Parties headed by White Men" struck the frontiers, killing an estimated sixty South Carolinians.[220]

The attacks threw the South Carolina backcountry into confusion. "The whole country was flying," one Whig reported, "some to make forts, others as low as Orangeburgh." Officers tried to muster the militia, "but the panic was so great" that few men turned out at first.[221] The Cherokees "spread great desolation all along the frontiers" of the province, a Whig wrote; "Plantations lie desolate, and hopeful crops are going to ruin."[222] In North Carolina, William Sharpe wrote that people for fifty miles along the frontier in Rowan and Tryon counties had abandoned their homes and taken refuge in garrisons, and that four men and six children had been killed and a militia officer mortally wounded. "About thirty houses burned and plantations destroyed hundreds of fields loaded with A plentiful harvest laid waste and destroyed, many Cattle killed and horses taken away," he reported.[223]

As Henry Laurens had observed, many of the initial Cherokee attacks were conducted jointly by Indians and white Loyalists. On July 15 the Whigs repulsed an attack on a militia camp, after which the Indians fled and thirteen whites were captured. By July 19, however, reports began to arrive that "the white people in general had quitted the Indians" after an estimated 88 Cherokees and 102 whites made an unsuccessful attack on Lindley's Fort. Some whites who abandoned the Cherokees turned themselves in to rebel militia officers and were imprisoned at Ninety Six.[224]

Many Whigs believed that, before the attacks, the Cherokees and Loyalists had devised signals so that the Indians could identify and spare Loyalists. The Cherokees were said to have "observed sacredly" these signs, except in a few instances.[225] It is possible that some Loyalists received warnings from friends who had escaped to the Indians, but there is scant evidence that most Loyalists had advance notice of the Cherokee attack. One person who insisted that there had been collusion, the Reverend James Creswell, asserted that the Loyalists in the Ninety Six district

"were really elated with the prospect" of Cherokee intervention. He accused Loyalist militiamen of failing to appear at musters in the weeks preceding the attack, which he considered proof that the Loyalists had made a secret compact "to assist the savages to ruin the country." Yet, Creswell also wrote that the Cherokees "killed the disaffected in common, without distinction of party," which, he said, caused many Loyalists to abandon their plans to cooperate with the Indians.[226]

Fulfilling Pierce Butler's prediction, the Cherokee attacks promoted unity among most backcountry inhabitants, regardless of their political principles. Loyalist Alexander Chesney "marched against the Indians, to which I had no objection," and seemed proud of the fact that he "helped destroy 32 of their towns."[227] Robert Cunningham, "would not at first believe that the British Administration were so wicked as to Instigate the Savages to War against us." When he realized it was true, Cunningham and other Loyalists imprisoned in Charleston offered to serve against the Cherokees, and the Council of Safety released them from confinement.[228] Cunningham and Richard Pearis reported to Andrew Williamson's camp as volunteers. Although suspicious of Pearis, Williamson was certain of Cunningham's reliability. Even so, Williamson decided that "it would be improper to confer any public trust" on Cunningham because the backcountry people were "so much exasperated" by the sight of Loyalists, some "painted as Indians," cooperating with the Cherokees.[229]

Most backcountry Loyalists did not see any contradiction between their support for royal authority and serving against the Cherokees. The Indians' presence blocked settlers' access to new lands and thus to potential economic advancement, and conflict between whites and Indians was endemic to the frontier. Neither Governor Campbell nor Stuart's agents had given the backcountry Loyalists any indication that the king's supporters and the Cherokees were now allies in a common cause. Without such instructions, the Loyalists followed their usual behavior and acted to protect their homes and families from the Indian threat. As a result, the king's white supporters who assisted the Whigs found themselves pitted against other Loyalists and their erstwhile Indian allies, so that Britain's supporters ended up weakening each other while simultaneously strengthening the Whig position in the backcountry.

Other Loyalists who had been victims of Whig persecution took advantage of the confusion that resulted from the Cherokee attacks to escape to Indian territory. David Fanning of Raebern's Creek, South Carolina, had first fled to the Cherokees in late 1775 when the Whigs subdued the backcountry Loyalists. Captured in January 1776, Fanning was briefly imprisoned and then was jailed a second time on suspicion of conspiring to assist the Cherokees. Amid the chaos caused by the Indian attacks, Fanning escaped to his home, where he found that "a number of my friends had already gone to the Indians, and more disposed so for to do." Fanning assembled twenty-five men and joined a Cherokee party of over two hundred warriors on Reedy River. After finding that Whig posts in the area were too strong

to be attacked, Fanning left the Indians and went to North Carolina.[230] Other Loyalists as well took the opportunity to escape to the Cherokees; at least fifteen were later captured in the rebel offensive against the Cherokee towns.[231]

By July 22 the Whigs had recovered from the first shock of the Cherokee attack, and Williamson had assembled seven hundred militiamen to punish the "treachery and faithless behavior" of that nation.[232] Some Catawbas joined the Whig forces and served as scouts during the invasion of Cherokee territory.[233] Williamson began his advance on July 31. In the early morning hours of August 1, a large party of Cherokees ambushed the militia but were driven off. The rebels found one Indian dead and three seriously wounded on the field; their own losses were three killed and fourteen wounded. Williamson resumed his march and over the next several days burned many towns. On August 12 some Cherokees ambushed a Whig detachment commanded by Andrew Pickens. The encircled rebels managed to fight off their attackers and claimed to have killed or wounded eighty-three Indians. The militia then continued their march, burning towns and crops while most of the Cherokees fled to the mountains.[234] "I have now burnt down every town, and destroyed all the corn, from the Cherokee line to the middle settlements," Williamson reported on August 22. He spared only the town of Little Chota, which was on land claimed by the Creeks.[235]

Other Whig parties encountered few Indians and carried out their work of destruction with little opposition. Lt. William Lenoir of North Carolina served in a fifty-man militia unit that set out on August 17 to invade the Cherokee lands. After uniting with other militia units, the force grew to thirty-five hundred. Lenoir did not see any Cherokees until September 6, when a party of militia encountered five Indians. The next day twenty Cherokees attacked Lenoir's detachment, which had separated from the larger unit and numbered one thousand men. One North Carolinian was wounded before the Indians withdrew. The Cherokees killed one man on September 12 after a Whig party had killed and scalped a Cherokee woman.[236] The expedition reached the Cherokees' Valley towns on September 19 and on that day and the next killed eight Indians and took several prisoners while destroying the towns and cornfields. Two militiamen were killed by Indians on September 22, and on the same day John Roberson "killed an old Indian prisoner & was put under Guard Tyed for it." Two days later a detachment brought in two white prisoners with their Indian wives and mixed-blood children, plus four blacks and "some other prisoners." The party had also taken between seventy and eighty horses, some cattle, and a quantity of deerskins. The plunder was sold the next day at high prices; the captured Indians and blacks were probably sold as well.[237]

The North Carolinians met Williamson's militia at the town of Hiwassee on September 26 after both forces had destroyed every Indian town within their reach. The combined force completed its work of destruction, which in addition to the burned towns and provisions, claimed the lives of an estimated two thousand

Cherokee men, women, and children. South Carolina reported a loss of ninety-nine men killed in the campaign; the casualties of the other southern states were lower. It had been a small price to pay to break Cherokee power.[238]

Some militia units continued to launch raids against the Cherokees until late in the year. Brig. Gen. Griffith Rutherford of North Carolina sent nearly one hundred men on a march deep into Cherokee territory in mid-October. They killed and scalped a few Indians, captured three others, and burned a small town of twenty-five houses. At an abandoned Cherokee camp the Whigs found an "Abundance of plunder, of Horses And Other Goods, to the Amount of Seven Hundred Pounds." When the raiders returned, they sold their plunder and divided the proceeds. The fate of the three captives, however, caused a dispute between Capt. William Moore, who wanted to keep the women and boy as prisoners until they could be properly questioned, and the other officers and men, who "Swore Bloodily that if they were not Sold for Slaves upon the Spot, they would kill and Scalp them Immediately." Moore relented to save the Indians' lives, and they were sold. Eager to procure more slaves and plunder, Moore's troops announced that they were "Very Desirous" to undertake another expedition against the Cherokees.[239]

The Whigs had to limit their actions against the Cherokees in order to end the war quickly and avoid the risk of being assailed on two fronts should British forces return to the South. Rebel officials therefore halted the militia raids. When a Captain Robinson of the Watauga settlement sought permission in mid-November to invade the Overhill Cherokee lands to get horses, he received a stern refusal from William Christian, who ordered that no one be permitted to enter Cherokee territory.[240]

The rebels' victory over the Cherokees had far-reaching consequences. Devastated by the Whig counteroffensive, the Cherokees sued for peace. Only Dragging Canoe remained intransigent, taking his followers farther west rather than surrender.[241] By making skillful use of the fact that some Loyalists had fought alongside the Cherokees, the Whigs also managed "to score a propaganda victory . . . by tapping deep-seated anti-tribal fears among the backcountry farmers." The rebels manipulated the Indian issue so well that they emerged from the Cherokee war "as the opponents of alliance with the Cherokees, even though they had themselves courted the tribe."[242] Drayton articulated the new Whig position, declaring that "the public would have received an essential piece of service" if the whites who had aided the Cherokees had "been all instantly hanged." In addition, he believed that the war provided an opportunity to eliminate the Cherokees once and for all. Drayton advised militia officers to "cut up every Indian corn-field, and burn every Indian town" and suggested "that every Indian taken shall be the slave and property of the taker; that the nation be extirpated, and the lands become the property of the public."[243]

The timing of the Cherokee attack, which had begun just three days after the British attacked Charleston, provided more propaganda for the Whigs, since it

appeared to confirm their allegations that the British government had instigated the Indian war. Henry Laurens thought that the Cherokees "probably acted in a concerted Plan with the Ships & Troops,"[244] while the Reverend Creswell wrote that it was "quite evident that the savages were made acquainted with the designs of the British fleet against Charlestown, and that there was a concerted scheme between them against our country."[245]

Another consequence of the Cherokees' defeat was that it made the Creeks reluctant to assist the British. When the rebels launched their counterattack, Charles Lee stated that one of their objectives was "striking a necessary terror into the minds of the other Nations."[246] Henry Laurens likewise hoped that a Whig victory would make other southern Indians "simple Spectators of our contest" with Britain.[247] The results of the war met these expectations; Stuart failed to convince the Creeks to assist the Cherokees and later reported that "all the Southern Tribes are greatly dispirited, by the unopposed successes of the Rebells, and no appearance of any Support from Government." Whig Indian agent George Galphin contributed to Creek inactivity by circulating reports of the devastation inflicted on the Cherokees.[248]

Whig leaders had been working to undermine Stuart's influence with the Creeks since the summer of 1775, although they remained more wary of that nation than of the Cherokees. Thus, the South Carolina Council of Safety advised the Georgians to reject Creek demands for gunpowder, warning that complying might "be putting Arms into their Hands, which they might be influenced to use against the Colonies." Instead, the South Carolinians suggested giving some Creek leaders a small quantity of powder, which might be enough to satisfy them.[249] Galphin, however, warned the council that unless they could supply the Creeks, the Indians would think that the Whigs had lied to them about their friendly intentions, as Stuart's agents had told the Creeks that the rebels were deceiving them. Galphin noted that "about half the uper Towns" of the Creeks were aligned with the British because of the Whigs' inability to provide supplies and were using "all there Interest to bringe the rest of the nattion to there way of thinking," albeit without success.[250] This report convinced members of the council to promise Galphin that they would provide the Creeks with clothing and ammunition. However, two months later the council informed Galphin that they were unable to deliver the two thousand pounds of gunpowder he had requested for the Indians.[251]

The Georgians also took steps to maintain peace with the Creeks. Upon learning in January 1776 of "some disturbances that have lately happened between an Indian and some white people," the Council of Safety ordered Whig committees in the frontier counties to arrest any whites who disturbed "Indian amity with this Province."[252] This failed to satisfy Galphin, who worried in early February that the disruption of trade made war with the Creeks imminent. Aware that "it is the Trade with them that keeps them in our Intrest," Galphin warned that action was

superior Edward Wilkinson.[33] Wilkinson, a British Indian agent turned rebel, was at Major Williamson's plantation at the time. Had he been at his home in Keowee, Wilkinson "would undoubtedly have been killed by the Indians," Shettroe testified.[34]

The Glass gave Shettroe two deerskins and ordered him "to make shoes for himself, to walk over the hills to Mr. Cameron's." At next day's dawn, the Glass and the Tarapin forced their captives to march up the Keowee River. Along the way, Ratcliff, a white man riding with the Indians, kept "laughing and scoffing at the prisoners." Two hours before sundown, the Glass sent Shettroe "to hunt a horse," and he escaped.[35]

Several miles to the east of Keowee, an armed and painted war party descended on Jacob Hite's farm. Cherokee warriors reportedly tortured and killed Hite by "cutting him to pieces a joint at a time."[36] Reports that Hite had been "murdered at his house by Savages with most of his slaves," and his wife and children carried off, quickly spread through frontier settlements. Jacob Hite's son, James, elsewhere in Cherokee country, was also killed.[37]

Further to the east, on the north bank of the Pacolet River, a Mr. Hannon looked up from his work planting corn to see a war party approaching his farm, but was unable to escape. Warriors killed and scalped Hannon and several of his family. In fright, his children ran, but warriors caught up with and killed Hannon's son John.[38] Eight-year-old Winnie hid with her younger brother in a dense canebrake until the war party left. Warriors also attacked a Mr. Anderson in a nearby settlement and "split his head with a tomahawk." His son David was at Prince's Fort on Tyger River with his family when warriors burned his home.[39]

On June 30, a Cherokee war party appeared at the farm of Anthony Hampton (Preston and Edward's father); it had been built on the Cherokee side of the boundary line on the Enoree River. Warriors plunged a tomahawk through Anthony's skull.

His wife was also bludgeoned to death with a tomahawk.[41] Hampton's infant grandson "was dashed against the wall of the house, which was spattered with its blood and brains." After the killings, Cherokees set the house on fire. Hampton's daughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Harrison (the infant's mother), had been visiting neighbors when the sound of gunfire alerted her. One account claims she returned home and witnessed part of the massacre then fled. Settlers found her wandering in Beaver Dam Swamp and took her to Wood's Fort on Beaver Dam Creek. Mrs. Harrison reportedly never recovered from the trauma.[42]

The day after the Hampton massacre, Aaron Smith, son of Capt. Aaron Smith of Little River, reported that at daybreak, about ten Cherokees "came to his father's house and killed him and Lorick Smith his son." Aaron and his brother escaped, but the rest of their family was believed killed.[43] On July 1, Aaron came to Francis Salvador's farm "with two of his fingers shot off," heralding accounts "of the shocking catastrophe at his father's."[44] Salvador "immediately galloped" to Williamson's plantation, only to find "another of Smith's sons there, who had made his escape and alarmed the settlement."

Salvador observed that "the whole country was flying," and Williamson was working day and night "sending expresses to raise the Militia." Although men were hesitant to muster without assurances of "security for their families," within a few days, Williamson had raised eighty men.[45]

According to reports pouring into Charleston, South Carolina's political center, Cherokee war parties had "murdered about 60 persons, chiefly women and children."[46] Rebel Gen. Charles Lee declared that the "outrages committed by the Cherokees" must be construed as an initiation of war. Without a moment's delay, the North Carolina council must send forth "a body of Rifle Men" to coordinate militia forces with South Carolina and Virginia.

A DEMAND OF BLOOD
NADIA DEAN

Lee furiously vowed to make "a severe, lasting and salutary example" of the Cherokees.[47]

On Monday, July 8, rebel Capt. Francis Ross gathered with his company at Capt. Peter Clinton's near Ellison's Creek then marched to Wafford's Fort on Lawson's Fork of the Pacolet River.[48] Upon hearing news of Cherokee warriors nearing Prince's Fort, the men pressed on. After a four-day, seventy-two mile march, they reached the fort on Friday, July 12.[49]

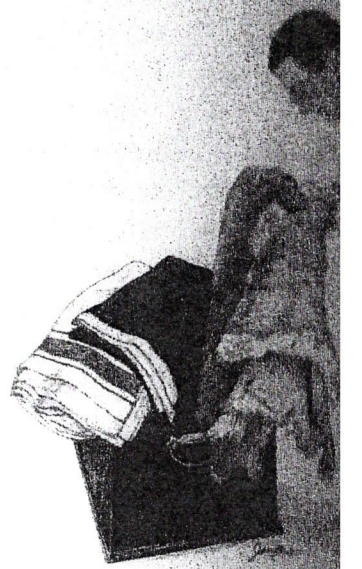
Other rebel troops, led by Capt. Benjamin Kilgore with Col. James Williams and Maj. Jonathan Downs were riding toward the Cherokee towns. On July 14, an express rider caught up to them roughly thirty miles from Rabun Creek with news that a war party was on its way to capture Lindley's Fort. Kilgore, Williams, and Downs swiftly rode thirty miles to warn the garrison at the Fort. When they arrived, they "found many of the troops intoxicated and not expecting an attack." Major Downs ordered the men to stop drinking and "for the Companies that were around the Fort to come in."

Soon afterward, Lt. Colonel Beard arrived at the fort with 300 men who had been on their way from a place called the Dutch Forks to join Williamson.[50] Around midnight, the garrison at Lindley's Fort came under attack by 90 Cherokees and 150 Scophilites who had surrounded the fort.[51] In the opening skirmish, two loyalists were shot at the fort entry and one rebel at the hands of warriors, "unfortunately suffered a cruel death." As the garrison pushed out from the fort, the war party retreated in great haste. The rebels discovered "plenty of blood . . . [and] . . . ten stands of Indian Colours."[52] After following the war party's trail three miles, they came to "an acre of ground all Scattered over with Bags of parched Corn meal . . . [and] Thirty Horses, Saddles, Saddlebags, and Blankets," including Colonel Lindley's saddle and saddlebags. The following day, militia scouts seized thirteen Scophilites still painted like Indians and took them to the Ninety-Six jail.[53] William Henry Drayton heard the news of Lindley's Fort and scoffed that the Scophilites should have been "all instantly hanged."[54]

Ross's company was still at Prince's Fort when scouts brought intelligence indicating that Richard Pearis, a Cherokee trader had "harbored and encouraged" Cherokees at his plantation near the Reedy River Falls.[55]

Peter Clinton's company joined Col. Thomas Neel's regiment of 300 men to launch an assault on the suspected loyalist haven.[56] On the night of July 14, Neel and Clinton's men camped on a hill overlooking Pearis's place "in order to attack the house and inhabitants there in the morning." At daybreak, they surrounded the house but were surprised to find no Indians. The militia barged into Pearis's home and "beat and abused" his daughters.[57] The soldiers rummaged through the house, grabbing personal belongings and household goods "as free plunder."[58] Soldiers forcibly removed Pearis's wife and children, made them prisoners and set the house on fire.[59] The militia also burned the outbuildings, "mills, grain, and furniture."[60] Neel's men loaded wagons with their booty and drove Pearis's cows, steers, and horses, and headed for Prince's Fort.

The soldiers forced Pearis's wife, two daughters, and son to march twenty-five miles that day "thro' Rivers and Creeks on foot" without food, "or any thing to cover their heads from the Sun."[61] For the next three days, their confiscated possessions were sold at auction, bringing the army "seven thousand, seven hundred and thirty-three pounds, South currency."[62] The militia's cruelty "extended so far as to strip Mrs. Pearis and family, leaving them with only part of their apparel."[63] After this humiliation, they were sent off "in an open Wagon



100 Miles and turned them out to shift for themselves amongst a parcel of Rebels without money or Provisions."[64]

This occurred within days of Richard Pearis being released from jail. Pearis had been in the Charleston jail awaiting the outcome of his petition to be released. Pearis had urged Drayton to grant him a hearing while favorable witnesses were in Charleston. He pleaded, "I have Bin Confind in Goal Sometime Past and wated with Patiance Expecting a hairing at which Time I made no doubt of aquitting myself with Honour."[65]

Months earlier, on November 8, 1775, Drayton had sent word to Pearis about the council's resolve to supply Lower Cherokees with "a considerable quantity of ammunition."[66] Drayton had directed Pearis to escort the ammunition and see it delivered to the Cherokees. The thousand pounds of gunpowder with bags of lead, under Lieutenant Charlton's guard, had reached as far as Ninety-Six. Suddenly, Patrick Cunningham and sixty loyalists held up the convoy and seized the ammunition. Upon hearing of this, the Congress ordered Colonel Richard Richardson's Rangers to immediately "apprehend the King's mad people concerned in this daring act."

Patrick Cunningham, Henry O'Neal, Hugh Brown, David Reese, Nathaniel Howard, Henry Green, and Jacob Bochman were arrested and delivered to the authority of Congress for trial.[67] After months of confinement, the loyalists were released after swearing "an Oath of fidelity to the United Colonies." Henry Laurens of the Council of Safety said of Cunningham that his "Conscience fettered him in the Oath of allegiance," and Laurens remained vexed at many of the freed loyalists who had broken parole and found sanctuary among the Cherokees.[68]

Drayton asked Pearis to inform the Cherokees about the seizure, so that they would know that "the headmen of South-Carolina are faithful to their engagements, and that they will not suffer their lawful authority to be trampled upon with

impunity." Drayton wanted the Cherokees to be assured that as soon as the powder and lead were reclaimed, it would be "forwarded to them without delay."[69]

Backcountry rebels accused Pearis of planning to deliver gunpowder to the Cherokees "to Inable Them to Come against the Country," so they arrested him and took him to the Charleston jail. In his petition, he asked for the opportunity to appear before council, so he could prove the accusations "to be Faulce and Groundless." Pearis said he "never acted aneythin Contrary to the Intrest of Liberty or the Trust Reposd" in him and pleaded for the right to exculpate himself. If Drayton and the council were not convinced of his innocence, he should be returned "to Confinement and Punish me as you think Propper." He begged, "for god Sake, Let me Come to the Test."[70] Pearis was released on July 12, just three days before rebels burned his plantation.[71]

On July 17, while Col. Neel's men were auctioning off Pearis's goods at Prince's Fort, Williamson was encamped at DeWitt's Corner with 500 men. When news arrived in camp that Robert Cunningham and his loyalist cohorts had been set at liberty, Williamson was "very near having a mutiny in camp."[72] Williamson's Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. James Creswell observed, "The release of the prisoners at Charlestown at this critical juncture very much alarmed us. We really dread that party. I cannot express our distress."[72] Within days, Robert Cunningham and Richard Pearis appeared at Williamson's camp.[74] Cunningham told Williamson he had come "to stand and fall" with him and his army.[75] Although "treated politely, but with reserve," Williamson told him "to go home and mind his private business," at which Cunningham seemed chagrined.[76]