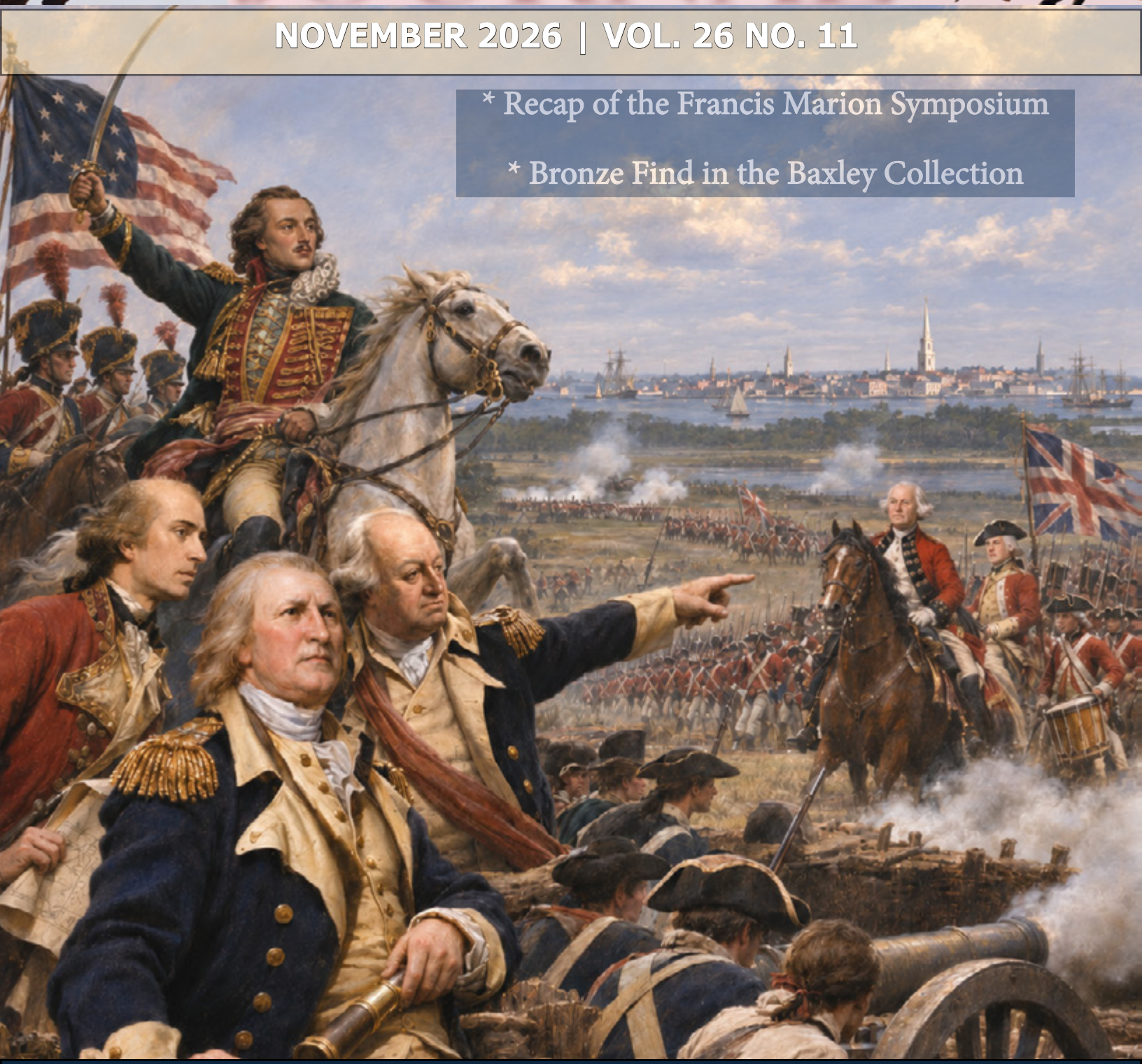
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SCART is on a mission to preserve, protect and promote (in perpetuity) the stories, artifacts and history of South Carolina's role in the American Revolution. South Carolina changed the world. The Trust's collections highlight the pivotal times, places and people that helped us win our independence and catalyze over 250 years of change.

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From the Editor

The holidays are almost upon us again. It is a time for thanksgiving, and we have the freedom to celebrate in whatever fashion we choose because of the sacrifices of our forefathers. Imagine what it must have been like in the South Carolina Backcountry of 1780, a time when no Thursday in November was set aside for turkey with all the fixin's. Thanksgiving meant giving thanks for God's mercy, usually through prayer or a gathering called for a specific purpose. But such gatherings could be problematic in the settlements along the Pacolet, Tyger, and Broad Rivers. War was never far from home.

A family gathered around the dinner table understood the importance of giving thanks. They thanked God for healing a sick child, providing a harvest sufficient to feed them through the winter, or bringing a militiaman safely home. If a turkey graced the table, it was likely the result of a successful hunt. A duck or goose would have been just as welcome during this time of great strife. In fact, Backcountry families were thankful to have food—any food.

By the autumn of 1780, Charleston had fallen, Camden had been lost, and the Patriot victory at Kings Mountain had not ended the raids and reprisals that plagued the Backcountry. John Nuckolls of Whig Hill was murdered by Loyalists on December 11, according to his grave inscription and later accounts.[1] Even a family gathering could be dangerous. An unwelcome visit from



armed men might leave a household without the provisions needed to survive the winter. Families worried about absent husbands and sons, stolen livestock, and whether their dwindling supplies would last until spring. No one knew when, or even if, peace would come.

Yet, on October 18, 1780, the Continental Congress recommended Thursday, December 7, as a day of "public THANKSGIVING and PRAYER." The proclamation gave thanks to Providence for preserving the American commander-in-chief, protecting the harvest, and sustaining the cause of Liberty. It called for worship, repentance, relief for the afflicted, and prayers for



Richard C. Meehan, Jr.

peace.[2]

Of course, this does not mean the scattered Backcountry communities ever heard of the proclamation. Even if they did, not everyone would have observed it. Whigs and Tories might live within earshot of one another, trade at the same mill, and even sit in the same pews come Sunday. But when it came to the war, they stood on opposing sides. A congressional call to give thanks for the Patriot cause would hardly have been welcomed by every Loyalist family.

Still, thankfulness for food on the table and the safety of loved ones would have been paramount, no matter which side a family supported. In 1780, gratitude might have been expressed in a meetinghouse, beside a cabin hearth, or silently while listening for the hoofbeats of approaching horsemen.

What made Thanksgiving extraordinary in the Revolutionary Backcountry was not the food on the table, but the uncertainty surrounding it. For many families, simply surviving another day was reason enough to give thanks.

HAPPY THANKSGIVING!

1 Richard C. Meehan Jr., Revolutionary War Sites: Cherokee County Historic Site Survey (2025), entries "Whig Hill Cemetery" and "McKown's Mill," drawing upon J. D. Bailey, History of Grindal Shoals and Early Adjacent Families (1927). See also "Whig Hill Historical Marker," Historical Marker Database. The murder narrative is preserved in later local accounts, not an eyewitness record.

2 Continental Congress, "Proclamation," October 18, 1780, broadside adopted and reprinted by New Hampshire on November 11, 1780, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Library of Congress. The congressional recommendation does not establish observance by any specified Backcountry congregation. https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/rbc/rbpe/rbpe08/rbpe088/08802400/08802400.pdf

THE CAMDEN FOURTEEN

Help Us Identify Camden 11A

DNA can restore a name - and a story - to a fallen American Patriot.

FHD Forensics recently announced the identification of Camden 9B as **Private John Pumphrey of the 7th Maryland Regiment**, the first of the Camden Fourteen to be identified through DNA. Inspired by this breakthrough, we are now conducting a genetic investigation of the fallen Patriot known as Camden 11A. Thanks to a generous grant from SCIAA's Archaeological Research Trust, we are **halfway to our funding goal** for this second case.

Your tax-deductible donation will help us learn everything we can about this second American hero. Like John Pumphrey's, his story should be told.



Painting: Dale Watson, *Courtesy South Carolina Battleground Preservation Trust*

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The Dragoon

by C. Leon Harris

Many women accompanied husbands or sweethearts on their marches and performed essential services, but only a few of these "camp followers" left accounts. One of them was Sarah Read Osborn, wife of Aaron Osborn. After the war Aaron Osborn took a second and then a third wife, so Sarah took a second husband, and as Sarah Benjamin in 1837 she applied for a pension as his widow (https://revwarapps.org/w4558.pdf). Her deposition describes her services mainly in the state of New York, but since this is The Journal of the Southern Campaigns, I will present only what she said about the siege of Yorktown. She was clearly an intelligent woman, and her account is so lucid that I cannot improve on it. The excerpt below describes events up to the ceasefire on October 17, 1781. Her description of events after the surrender will appear in the next issue.

[T]hey reached the place of encampment about one mile from Yorktown. Deponent was on foot, and the other females above named, and her said husband still on the Commissary's guard. Deponent's attention was arrested by the appearance of a large plain between them and Yorktown and an entrenchment thrown up. She also saw a number of dead negroes lying round their encampment whom she understood the british had driven out of the town and left to starve or were first starved and then thrown out. Deponent took her stand just back of the american tents say about a mile from the town and busied herself washing, mending and cooking for the soldiers, in which she was assisted by the other females; some men washed their own clothing. She heard the roar of the artillery for a number of days and the last night the Americans threw up entrenchments. It was a misty, foggy night, rather wet but not rainy. Every soldier threw up for himself as she understood, and she afterwards saw and went into the entrenchments. Deponent's said husband was there throwing up entrenchments and deponent cooked and carried in beef and bread, and coffee, (in a gallon pot) to the soldiers in the entrenchments. On one occasion when deponent was thus employed carrying in provisions, she met Gen'l. Washington, who asked her "if she was not afraid of the cannon balls?" She replied "no, the bullets would not cheat the gallows that it would not do for the men to fight and starve too." They dug entrenchments nearer and nearer to Yorktown every night or two till the last. While digging that, the enemy fired very heavy till about nine o clock next morning – then stopped – and the drums from the enemy beat excessively…. the drums continued beating, and all at once the officers hurra'd and swung their hats, and deponent asked them "what is the matter now." One of them replied "Are not you soldier enough to know what it means?" deponent replied "no." They then replied "the British have surrendered."



Sarah Read Osborn Benjamin (1756 – 1861)

Bronze Find in the Baxley Collection: A Bust of Baron de Kalb



One of the most interesting finds as SCART continues to organize and catalog the late Charles Baxley's extensive Revolutionary War collection is a small bronze bust of Major General Baron Johann de Kalb (also written as DeKalb). This bust is the second of a set of five cast by renowned Camden sculptor Maria Kirby-Smith.



Bronze bust of Baron de Kalb from the Charles Baxley collection.

To learn more about DeKalb, I did not have to go any farther than Baxley's library, where I found De Kalb: One of the Revolutionary War's Bravest Generals by John H. Beakes, Jr. According to Beakes, DeKalb was born into the peasantry in Germany, but received a robust education. At more than six feet tall, his stature made him a prime candidate for the French military. After joining, he spent years of military service climbing in rank and social status. In 1768, he was sent to America for several months to gather intelligence on the colonists' discontent with British rule. As France prepared for the diplomatic and military promises and consequences of the Revolution, DeKalb received both the title of baron and a commission as brigadier general "for the colonies" in November 1776. The following year, he sailed for America with the Marquis de Lafayette, among other officers. After service in the Revolution, which took him from Maryland and Delaware to the forefront of the Southern Campaign, DeKalb died in British captivity from wounds sustained at the Battle of Camden in 1780.

It's no surprise Maria Kirby-Smith was chosen to honor this hero of Camden. Her statues are on display across the country. She has depicted many notable South Carolinians. Her work is even on display at several courthouses: her depictions of General Thomas Sumter and the Honorable Ernest Finney Jr. are on the grounds of the Sumter County Courthouse;[1] her statue of the Honorable Matthew J. Perry resides in the Matthew J. Perry Jr. United States Courthouse in Columbia;[2] and her representation of Senator Strom Thurmond (which the staunch segregationist objected to) lives at the Edgefield County Courthouse.[3] She has also immortalized baseball player Larry Doby and financier Bernard Baruch in Camden. [4]

I found Kirby-Smith's choice to have the bust standing

1 https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=27904, https://www.wistv.com/2025/08/21/statue-honor-former-south-carolina-chief-supreme-court-justice/

2 https://www.onecolumbiasc.com/public-art/directory/matthew-j-perry-jr-statue/

3 https://www.upi.com/Archives/1983/12/19/A-bronze-statue-of-Sen-Strom-Thurmond-R-SC-will/1521440658000/

4 https://scliving.coop/sc-life/sc-stories/shes-a-storyteller-in-bronze/

on a tree trunk very interesting and looked for historical connections to that detail. I wonder if this is meant to represent the tree that was planted at DeKalb's grave before an official monument was commissioned. [5] Or perhaps it is a reference to the "tree of liberty," which Jefferson famously said "must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots & tyrants."[6]



Signature on the base of the bronze bust.

We are looking forward to more exciting finds as SCART continues to organize, catalog, and promote Charles Baxley's collection. As can be expected considering Baxley's decades of dedicated research, his collection of papers is vast. We are always interested in volunteers who can help us tackle our collections. If you are interested in volunteering to help us organize Baxley's work, please reach out by emailing our director, Wesley Herndon, at info@sc-art.org or through our website.



Full-length statue of Baron de Kalb, another view.

5 https://www.carolana.com/NC/Revolution/continental_army_baron_dekalb.html

6 https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/jefferson/105.html

A Recap of the 2026 Francis Marion Symposium

During the weekend of October 16–17, 2026, American Revolution scholars and enthusiasts gathered in Manning for the 24th annual Francis Marion Symposium. Pioneered by George and Carole Summers, the Symposium has grown over the years thanks to their valiant efforts and the support of many friends and colleagues. This year, the South Carolina American Revolution Trust was proud to be among those friends and to help bring the Francis Marion Symposium to life alongside the SC250 commission.



Welcome sign at the Central Carolina Technical College F.E. Dubose Campus. Owens, Elwood. "IMG_2643". Photograph. Florence, South Carolina, 2026. From Elwood Owens.

Several speakers regaled attendees with new research on the American Revolution. Elizabeth Gay opened the weekend's discussion by detailing Francis Marion's Huguenot heritage and how it shaped his ideology and actions during the Revolutionary era. Kim Stacy, a military history expert and self-declared Loyalist, offered the audience a glimpse into what life would have been like for camp followers from different backgrounds during the war. By comparing British and Continental conditions for women and children of varying backgrounds, Stacy highlighted the day-to-day experiences of non-soldiers. To close out Friday's schedule, several speakers and experts formed a panel and facilitated an audience-led discussion while dinner was served.

J.D. Lewis began Saturday's proceedings with a discussion of 1776 in South Carolina. He detailed the road to revolution, highlighted several key legislative and political events, and described 19 military engagements in South Carolina that year. Following Lewis' presentation, Peggy Picket, an avid living history presenter and researcher, recounted the lives of five specific South Carolina women involved in the Revolution. Highlighting the perspectives of women from varying backgrounds and geographic locations, Pickett aimed to provide a deeper understanding of how circumstances greatly affected one's life during the battle for independence.



Though Saturday's order of events was already packed with excellent learning and discussion, one interruption occurred. Dressed in period attire, the South Carolina American Revolution Trust's Executive Director, Wesley Herndon, rushed from the crowd to halt the proceedings. An announcement had to be made. On Saturday, October 17, 2026, at the Francis Marion Symposium, four individuals would receive South Carolina's highest civilian honor: the



Founder Carole Summers opening the 24th annual Francis Marion Symposium. Owens, Elwood. "IMG_2704". Photograph. Florence, South Carolina, 2026. From Elwood Owens.

Order of the Palmetto. The Trust's board awarded the prestigious honor to board member and longtime archaeologist John Allison, Carolana.com creator J.D. Lewis, South Carolina Revolutionary War Historical Marker project developer Bill Segars, and Francis Marion Symposium founder Carole Summers. The recipients were surprised by their families and friends, and the ceremony was a wonderful end to the Saturday morning session.



South Carolina American Revolution Trust Chairman Tom Persons with Order of the Palmetto recipients John Allison, Carole Summers, J.D. Lewis, and Bill Segars. Owens, Elwood. "IMG_2821". Photograph. Florence, South Carolina, 2026. From Elwood Owens.

Following this joyous occasion, presenter Dr. Hal Gonzales engaged the audience with his account of Bernardo de Galvez's campaign in the Bahamas and the fate of the South Carolina, a ship commanded by Alexander Gillon. He also examined how these events affected the new United States after the Revolution. Eleanor Cooper Brown followed Gonzales' presentation with her own, detailing her research on enslaved persons in Berkeley County during the American Revolution. She highlighted their lives and the difficult choices they faced as the Continental Army fought for independence and the British moved through South Carolina. Ben Burroughs also detailed the Revolutionary history of his South Carolina hometown of Conway. He discussed research pointing to Gilbert Johnstone's Horry County plantation as a "safe house" for Marion and his companions. As the final speaker of the weekend, Nancy Lindroth detailed the experiences of soldiers after the Battle of Eutaw Springs, specifically those aboard sick ships. To close out the night, a Revolutionary-themed dinner theater was held.

Several exhibitors participated in the event, bringing exciting information, updates, and books for sale. Much learning, conversation, and celebration took place during the two-day event in Manning, South Carolina. The Trust, for one, is already excited for next year!

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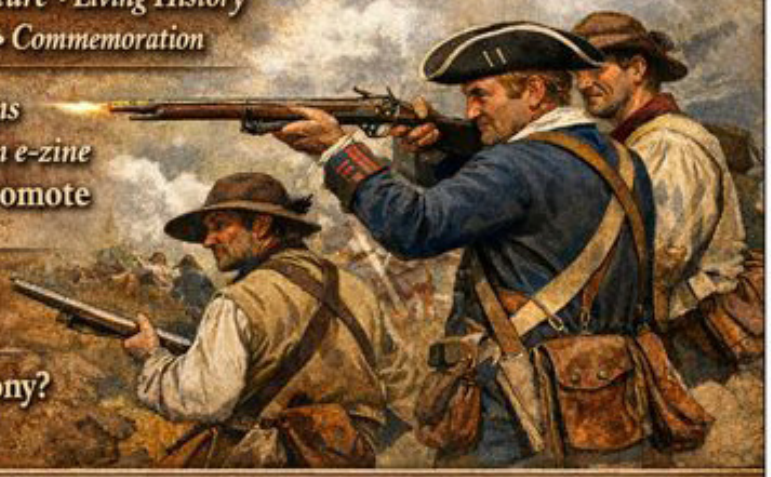
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GEORGIA JOINS THE REVOLUTION IN TIME FOR THE 250TH

by

Robert Scott Davis

The 250th Anniversary of the American Revolution commemorates, for the first time, that while Boston was the center of the conflict, each of the twelve colonies that became the thirteen United States was finding its own way to the future. Britain had lost then, before the war had hardly begun.

The Bicentennial of the American Revolution proved a watershed moment in our nation's historiography, not just in the way it was remembered. Inspired by the Civil Rights movement, new scholarship examined or reexamined all aspects of the years 1763 to 1783, revealing and celebrating many lost pasts. That work will make the 250th Anniversary so much more.[1]

A good example is Georgia, where the years 1763-1783 are missing from its history. Some articles by the famed historian E. Merton Coulter, Alexander A. Lawrence's *Storm Over Savannah: The Comte d'Estaing and the Siege of the Town in 1779* (1951), and Robert Gary Mitchell's dissertation, "Georgia Loyalists," would have almost completed a bibliography on the subject.[2]

Research material was hardly better. Almost the only available source was volume two of Hugh McCall's *History of Georgia*, published in 1816.[3] Otherwise, scholars had little else beyond the incomplete publication of period papers of prominent Georgians by Lilla Hawes in the Georgia Historical Society's *Collection*s series.[4]

Public memories of the Revolution, even when mistaken, survived, even if not in print. Savannah has statues of Revolutionary War heroes, and the Georgia Historical Society has a few relics. Augusta has a monument to the state's Signers of the Declaration of Independence and the home of one of them, George Walton. Legendary woman warrior Nancy Hart and Black patriot Austin Dabney are heroes in the small and largely ignored world of the state's folklore. The latter, as the first Black American to receive a pension for Revolutionary War service, and the only person of his race to do so for almost the first fifty years of the Republic, was not made known until recent times.[5]

Much else was forgotten. The people of Darien, having just survived two alarms of slave rebellion, declared for the freedom of African Americans in 1775. Nothing came of it, but it was two years before Vermont denounced slavery and five years before Pennsylvania, the first state to do so.[6] Savannah was the site of one of the bloodiest and most important battles of the American Revolution. Georgia was the only colony ever reduced to colonial status, including a restored colonial governor, assembly, and courts.[7]

Not surprisingly, little effort was made to acknowledge Georgia's role in the Revolution during the Bicentennial, 1975-1983. Special commemorations of battles were held at Kettle Creek and Savannah, and a state commission published a series of booklets for young readers. Carrol Proctor Scruggs authored a guide to Georgia's Revolutionary War sites.[8] Overall, the Bicentennial effort in the state largely concentrated on local celebrations of the national anniversary.

Georgia has an extensive historical marker program that includes some sites from the Revolution, although, like the Tory Pond, where Colonel John Dooly's murderers were said to have been hanged, some sites are undocumented. Among the mistakes in the state markers, one wrongly stated that the site of the significant Revolutionary War Fort Howe/Barrington had been lost.[9]

The greatest value of the Bicentennial was that it inspired new scholarship to recover Georgia's importance in the history of the Revolution. Work by Edward J. Cashin, Harold E. Davis, Hardy H. Jackson, James Michael Johnson, Heard Robertson, Gordon B. Smith, Charles O. Walker, and others has created a non-fiction history genre that largely did not exist before. Biographies of Loyalist Thomas Brown, Patriot Samuel Elbert, and James Wright, among others, would be important and gripping stories to tell anywhere in America, but all are Georgia stories. Documented works for proving individual Revolutionary War service were published by Robert S. Davis and Mary Bondurant Warren.

That history affected America and the world. Georgia's economy had exploded in the two decades before the American Revolution, largely through the efforts of James Habersham Sr., who, like many of his generation of Georgians, coincidentally passed away just as the Revolution was starting. Livestock, animal skins, and rice were making fortunes, as the British government subsidized the colony, and land was free. The province was critical to

supplying rice and beef to the highly profitable, enslaved-labor plantations of the Caribbean sugar colonies. The fighting began in Georgia in 1776 when a battle was fought over rice for British soldiers in Boston. Supporters of the Revolution had seized the government and were willing to risk Savannah's destruction to keep that foodstuff from the British, even though they could have done so without violating the Continental Association, to which they had only recently agreed. The British fleet got away with some seized rice, but also many enslaved people who escaped to freedom.[10]

The colony could hardly have been more divided. Overall, Georgia had an established class who wanted more, such as the Jones, Habersham, and Houstoun families, and newcomers who wanted to join in the success. These groups became the different political factions among the patriots, even beyond the Loyalist Americans who could not accept independence. Georgia did not have a delegation at the First Continental Congress.[11] In 1774, hundreds of Georgia frontiersmen, including some who would become important patriot leaders, signed a petition denouncing the rebels in Massachusetts and supporting the British Empire.[12] Prominent Georgia leaders such as Quaker Joseph Maddock and German Reformed Reverend John Joachim Zubly argued for American rights, even though they opposed independence to the end. (The latter even served in the Continental Congress).[13] Wealthy entrepreneur George Galphin was a pacifist who risked his reputation to promote compromise and peace as the Continental Congress's Indian commissioner. Ebenezer Smith Platt was one of the first civilians imprisoned by the British and was held in London's infamous Newgate Prison.[14]

These first shots were fired in Georgia before the state, along with eleven other colonies and Delaware, signed the Declaration of Independence and formed the United States. Captured gunpowder was sent to Boston. Samuel Elbert's Revolutionary military company marched to its song "Georgia Grenadiers March," which the British army would add to its repertoire.[15] The state, however, bordered the garrisoned British East Florida to the south, and the population of East Florida swelled from Loyalist refugees who would have starved without cattle raids into Georgia and by privateers out of St. Augustine, attacking American merchant ships. Nowhere in the sparsely populated colony was more than fifty miles from the sometimes-hostile Cherokee and Creek nations.[16]

Georgia's Sir James Wright was the most popular governor among the last colonial chief executives of the mainland colonies. No other state had a higher percentage of Americans who remained loyal to their King. As part of a grand strategy to recover the South and the West of North America for the future of the British Empire, the British



The replica of the Spring Hill Redoubt in Savannah commemorates the battle by American, British, and French armies on October 9, 1779. Image courtesy of C. Leon Harris.

army invaded and conquered the state in 1778-1779.[17] More has been published on Thomas Brown, tortured nearly to death for being a Loyalist and his mixed-race battalion of provincials, the King's Rangers, than on any other Georgian of the period.[18]

Subsequently, every part of the province would be directly affected by the fighting. In that bloody, often partisan conflict, the murder of unarmed prisoners of war came to be called granting a "Georgia Parole." One of the bloodiest

battles of the war was fought in Savannah on October 9, 1779, by American, British, and French armies, with German Hessian, Indigenous Native American warriors, and Haitian troops. A proposal was discussed to cede Georgia and South Carolina to the British Empire in exchange for independence, cutting America off from the Caribbean and much of North America.[19]

The Continental Congress, however, stood by Georgia and South Carolina. The British soldiers and their supporters finally left Georgia on July 11, 1782. Among the thousands of evacuees, Black and white, was the Johnston family, whose descendants would include many prominent Canadians. Elizabeth Lichtenstein Johnston wrote a classic and rare Loyalist memoir, even more valuable for its woman's perspective.[20] America's last battle of the Revolution was fought at Long Swamp Cherokee village, near modern-day Ball Ground, Georgia, on September 25, 1782, by Georgia and South Carolina militia pursuing Loyalists who were organizing the Cherokees against Patriot settlements.[21]

African American Reverends George Liele and David George evacuated the province with the British in 1781 and spread their pioneer Black Baptist churches and ideals of the American Revolution to Great Britain, Jamaica, Nova Scotia, and Sierra Leone. Liele never spoke out publicly against slavery, but his followers contributed to the Baptist War that ended slavery in the British Empire. Black veterans of the French forces who fought in Savannah in 1779 returned to Haiti and were leaders in its revolution.[22]

By contrast, the Revolutionary War pasts of Alabama and Florida were even less recognized than Georgia's, but South Carolina's role in those years had been celebrated, published, and studied for two centuries. Because of the



Monument to the Haitian soldiers who fought at the Siege of Savannah in 1779.

interest generated by the Bicentennial Cowpens, King's Mountain, and Ninety Six, they are now preserved as major national historic sites. Fifty years later, South Carolina's current commemoration is a model for the country.[23]

How things have changed in Georgia is more complicated than simply a matter of public awareness. The story began with Kettle Creek, a 1779 Revolutionary War battlefield near Washington, Georgia, the only such site in the state to have been continuously recognized since the war.[24] In a new program to suggest potential state parks, begun by then-Governor Jimmy Carter in 1974, Georgia history enthusiast David M. Sherman nominated Kettle Creek. Robert S. Davis (this article's author), as Georgia's first history intern (another Carter program), worked with Kenneth H. Thomas, Jr., of the state's Historic Preservation Section, to prepare a report on the site's potential as a state park.[25]

Findings from the Kettle Creek research in the summer of 1974, however, would have profound effects on what is now known of Revolutionary War Georgia. That work revealed that the "Mackay House," mistakenly believed to be the center of a Revolutionary War battle in September 1780 since at least the 1840s, was only built in 1797.[26] Other records from this related to Thomas Ansley, an ancestor of President Carter, who fought in the American Revolution and built the Rock House, Georgia's oldest stone building (ca. 1797), which was being restored.[27] Records at the North Carolina Archives, including documents in the Benjamin Lincoln Papers, related to Fort Morris in Sunbury, Georgia, where Lieutenant Colonel John McIntosh famously defied a surrender demand in 1778.[28]

A Kettle Creek state park never came to be due to the national economic downturns of the 1970s. Numerous private efforts, particularly the Kettle Creek Battlefield Association, have greatly enlarged the county park there and worked to commemorate the site's full history, including markers, the preservation of natural history, and greatly improved access by walkways. The park now has a plaque commemorating the 250th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. A recent public conference has been held with a room full of authors of books on Kettle Creek. Such an event in 1976 would have had only two people.[29]

What began at the Kettle Creek battlefield continues. The Brier Creek Revolutionary War Battlefield Association, near Sylvania, has added a gate, markers, and a hiking trail to the site of that significant American defeat on March 3, 1779. North of the battlefield and yet to be excavated is Joseph Humphries's tavern, where the first act of resistance in the Revolutionary War in Georgia occurred in 1775.[30] The Lamar Institute has conducted extensive archaeological research at Brier Creek, Ebenezer, Kettle Creek, Savannah, Sunbury, and other Revolutionary War sites. The location of Robert Carr's fort was identified during the 1974 Kettle Creek research and has since been located by the Lamar Institute.[31]



The largest of the historical markers in Georgia is at the Brier Creek Revolutionary War Battlefield, commemorating the battle of March 3, 1779, between British and Loyalist American soldiers against Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina soldiers. (Betsy Sternau)

This lost Georgia heritage has never lacked public interest; only credible information. Kettle Creek-Bicentennial-inspired research yielded hard-earned discoveries in the Telamon Cuyler Collection of the Hargett Library at the University of Georgia, the Lyman C. Draper Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the Benjamin Lincoln Papers held in repositories across the country, and other documentary materials. Major projects that extend beyond Georgia, such as the Nathanael Greene Papers, the Henry Laurens Papers, the online transcriptions of Revolutionary War pension claims and articles in the *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, and the index to the Papers of the Continental Congress, add a great deal to the available material.[32] These resources are enhanced by the National Archives and Records Administration's *Founders Online* (https://founders.archives.gov/) and National Archives Catalog (https://catalog.archives.gov/). The same can be said of the online *Journal of the American Revolution* and *the Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution*, where scholars with diverse interests—including African Americans, Indigenous Native people, Loyalist Americans, and women—publish these findings for access by all.

British material is also now available. The memoirs of officers Archibald Campbell and John Wilson from the 1778-1779 invasion have been published, and other writings have been identified.[33] The R. J. Taylor Jr. Foundation



Building mural, Sylvania, Georgia. (Betsy Sternau)

financed for Georgia the most comprehensive copying program of a state's colonial and Revolutionary War records in Great Britain for the Georgia Archives in Morrow.[34] Mary Bondurant Warren transcribed claims of the state's Loyalists, including papers never microfilmed from the originals in the National Archives of the United Kingdom, as well as related records.[35]



The first monument to African American Patriots of the American Revolution. This memorial is in Washington, Georgia, one of the first towns (1780) named for George Washington.

Georgia now has a solid foundation in its Revolutionary War past. Fifty years ago, significant work on that subject in print would not have filled a book bag; now, a bookcase would be needed. The places have been identified,

including the forgotten history of Standing Peachtree (from which Atlanta began) and Blood Mountain, where the devastating 1776 campaign against the Cherokees ended.[36] New memorials and monuments have appeared, including the first to honor African American soldiers of the Revolution (in Washington, Georgia, near Kettle Creek) and another honoring Haitian soldiers who served with the French at Savannah in 1779.

Thanks to the work of so many, Georgia has moved from among the last to remember its Revolutionary War heritage to fully appreciating its legacy. The Georgia Trust for Historic Preservation, Georgia Public Television, and the Georgia US250th Commission are highlighting the state's role in the American Revolution as they celebrate the 250th Anniversary. As in the past, these efforts should inspire anyone, anywhere, to see that local history—like great ideas such as Liberty—can begin with small—even individual—efforts to replace cultural and historical loss with great discovery. We hold that Georgia has proven that truth to be self-evident. And oh, what fun awaits in the journey that continues!

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[12] Robert S. Davis, *Georgia Citizens and Soldiers of the American Revolution*, (Easley, SC: Southern Historical Press, 1979), 11-19.

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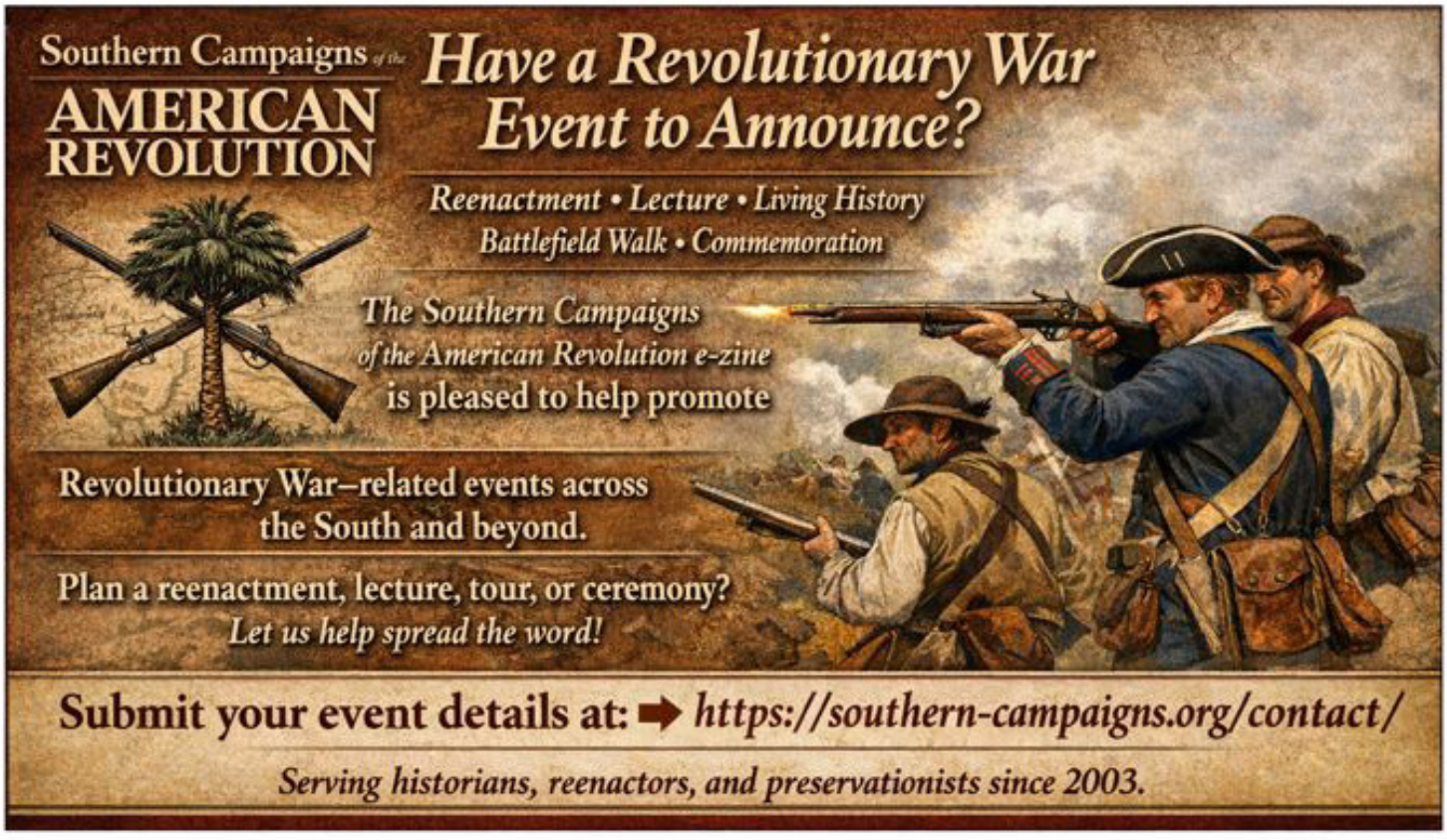
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THE LOYALIST



by
Paul Wood



Same War, Different Sides, Similar Sacrifices

Did wealth and community esteem protect Whigs and Tories during the American Revolution? The wartime actions and postwar travails of four wealthy Camden District men offer some insight.

When armed conflict erupted in South Carolina in 1775, Joseph Kershaw and Richard Richardson were undoubtedly the most prosperous and respected citizens of the Camden District. Richardson's wealth came largely from his large plantation in present-day Clarendon County and his numerous enslaved laborers. A veteran of the French and Indian War, Col. Richardson led the famously arduous yet successful 1775 Snow Campaign. In 1778, when his experience and abilities were needed again, he was appointed a brigadier general.

Born in 1704, Richardson was advanced in age when the Revolution began. He was probably the oldest participant in the Snow Campaign, yet he survived and remained actively engaged in the conflict. Richardson commanded the state militia at Purrysburg in late 1778. When Charleston fell in 1780, the British granted him parole. However, they later changed their minds and imprisoned him in St. Augustine. Because of his failing health, he was released and sent home. Sadly, he died only weeks after returning to his plantation. Though not killed in battle, Richardson gave his life for the new nation.

Joseph Kershaw operated an indigo works in Camden. He was also a merchant with stores in Camden and Granby, a brewer, a distiller, a miller of flour and corn, and a slaveholder. Until Charleston fell, Kershaw likely had more wealth than any person outside the Lowcountry. Voters elected him to the Commons House of Assembly for four terms leading up to the Revolution. Like Richardson, he was then elected to the first and second Provincial Assemblies. Kershaw accompanied Richardson and his 4,000+ man army on the Snow Campaign. An ideal quartermaster for the mission, he kept the men fed despite the challenges of bitter cold and deep snow.

Kershaw was given the rank of colonel and command of the Camden Regiment of Militia. However, he appears to have performed little military service until the Battle of Camden, where he was captured. The British deported him to British Honduras and then to Bermuda. While in Bermuda, he mortgaged significant portions of his holdings to outfit a supply vessel for South Carolina's Whigs. Royal sailors captured the vessel and claimed the goods for the King. Despite Kershaw's valiant efforts, his family incurred burdensome debts upon his passing in 1791.

The Camden District did not produce significant Loyalist leadership or as many volunteers as the Whig cause.

Still, two Tories exemplify the prosperity and subsequent adversities which were common to Revolutionary War commanders. Henry Rugeley's assets paled when compared to those of Kershaw. Yet Rugeley owned a profitable commercial business. He based his milling and commerce at the plantation he called Clermont. He transformed his home into a fort, and upon declaring his allegiance to the Crown, Lord Charles Cornwallis gave Rugeley the rank of colonel. A few months later, to Cornwallis's dismay, Rugeley surrendered his fort and all of its supplies to a false cannon (a "Quaker gun").

The South Carolina Sestercentennial (250th) Commission recently published a deeply researched biography of Henry Rugeley. The writer, Dr. Jim Piecuch, reports that the state's government banished Rugeley and confiscated all of his property. Rugeley made Jamaica his new home. However, he grappled with poverty and debt and made an unsuccessful voyage to London to restore his fortunes. Henry Rugeley died in England in late 1796. Like Kershaw, he left his heirs with many creditors.[1]

James Cary was a fourth prosperous Camden District citizen. A successful merchant, Cary also farmed hundreds of acres. When Cornwallis took Camden, the cooperative Tory built a redoubt on his own land on the west bank of the Wateree. It protected access and egress west of Camden. Sadly, for Cary and the British cause, his military ineptness matched Rugeley's. When Patriot militia Col. Thomas Taylor approached Cary's Fort on August 15, 1780, Taylor easily claimed it. How? All 37 Tories were asleep. A few hours later, Taylor tricked Tory and Red Coat wagoners into thinking his militia were fellow King's Men. In a few hours, Taylor's men had captured dozens of supply wagons and 108 Tories.[2]

Like Rugeley, Cary had to escape Camden in May 1781 and take refuge in the Charleston shantytown dubbed Rawdon Town. With his wife, limited funds, and few enslaved people, Cary took free passage to Jamaica, where he started a small farm. Ventures to Nova Scotia, London, and Bath, plus numerous letters to Cornwallis and the assistance of an attorney and a factor yielded almost no compensation for his many losses. Cary died in London while still trying to be reimbursed.

All four of the Camden District leaders endured the privations of the war. Their troubles continued unabated after the war. Across the Eastern seaboard, the Revolution brought similar tribulation to tens of thousands of other Americans. The four Camden District men's wealth could not shield them from the hardships of the hostilities or the subsequent peace.

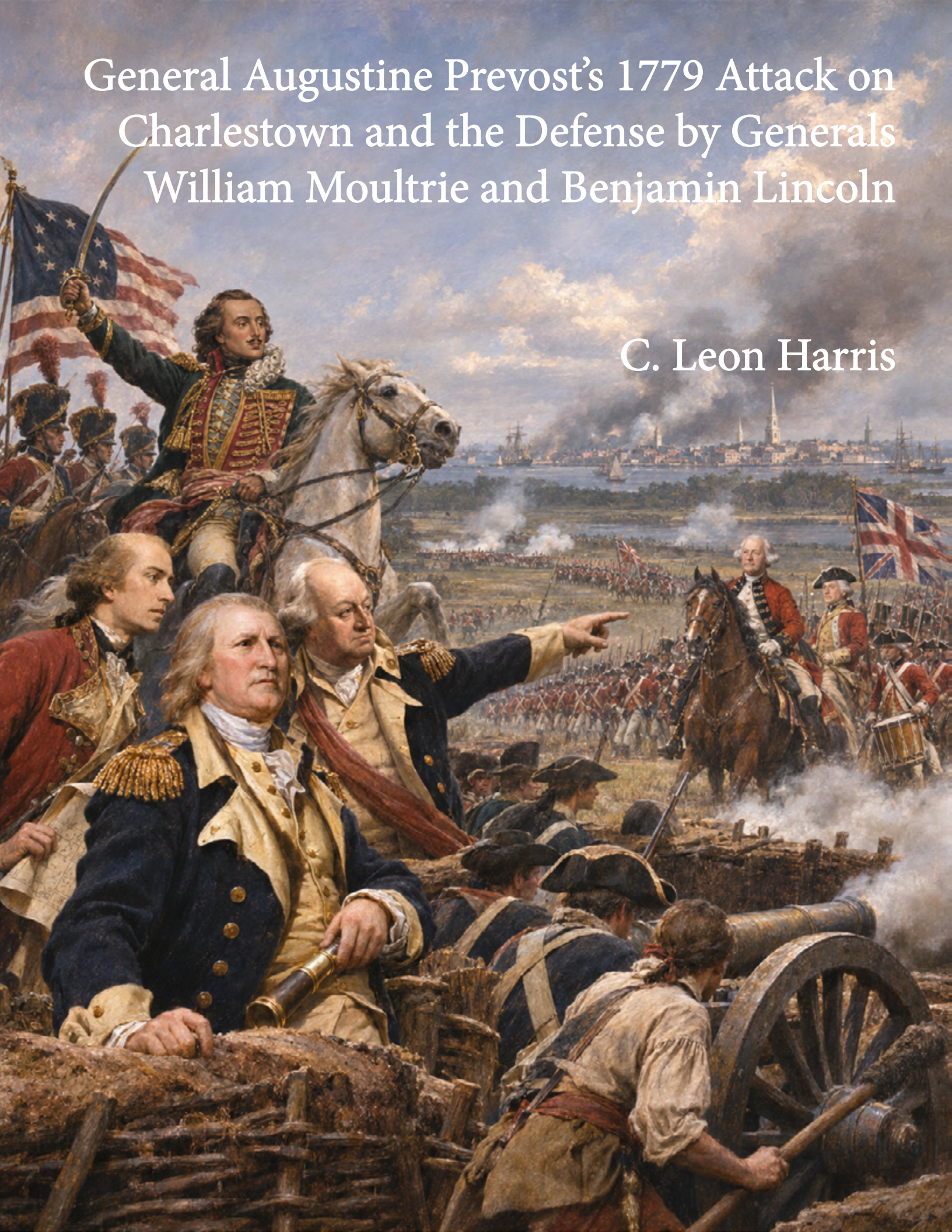


1 Find Dr. Piecuch's article, "More a Gentleman Than a Fighter: Henry Rugeley Camden District Loyalist" in the Publications section of the website of the SC Commission on the Sestercentennial (SC250.com.)

2 In the late 1970s, Mr. Glen Inabinet carried out in-depth research on James Cary. He graciously shared his findings with the author.

General Augustine Prevost's 1779 Attack on Charlestown and the Defense by Generals William Moultrie and Benjamin Lincoln

C. Leon Harris



It took the British three tries to subdue the vital town of Charlestown. The first attempt was on June 28, 1776, when Americans under Colonel William Moultrie fought off a combined land and naval battle at Sullivan's Island. The third attempt succeeded in forcing General Benjamin Lincoln to surrender the city on May 12, 1780. Gen. Augustine Prevost would have captured the city one year earlier had it not been for Moultrie, Lincoln and a few other stalwart Patriots who fought off Prevost in a series of skirmishes now seldom noted. (Fig. 1)



Figure 1. Portraits of William Moultrie (1730-1805) by Charles Willson Peale and of Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810) by Henry Sargent.

Moultrie was born in Charlestown on November 23, 1730, about two years after his father, a prominent physician, had immigrated from England. Like so many Revolutionary leaders from South Carolina, young Moultrie gained his first military experience in the Cherokee expedition of 1761 and was soon commissioned a captain of militia. Soon after receiving news that the Revolutionary War had begun at Lexington and Concord, Moultrie joined other leading men of Charlestown in breaking into the armory and powder magazines to take 1200 guns and 3000 pounds of powder to begin the rebellion in South Carolina. In June 1775 Moultrie was commissioned colonel of the 2nd South Carolina Regiment.[1] Moultrie's first action against the British occurred on June 28, 1776, when he led the defense of Sullivans Island at the mouth of Charleston Harbor. Moultrie was

[1] Mark M. Boatner, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution* (Mechanicsburg PA: Stackpole Books, 1996), 750. William Moultrie, *Memoirs of the American Revolution* Vol. 1 (New York: David Longworth, 1802), 58-59. "William Moultrie," https://www.battlefields.org/learn/biographies/william-moultrie, accessed April 18, 2026.

rewarded with a promotion to general in the South Carolina Continental Army, and the fort where he had commanded was renamed in his honor.[2]

Lincoln, born in Hingham, Massachusetts on January 24, 1833, was a successful farmer and civil servant. He rose through the ranks of the local militia to become a lieutenant colonel by 1772, and as the revolution erupted he served in the local committee of correspondence and the provincial congress. By 1776 he was a major general of militia in command of troops around Boston. As the war shifted to New York, Lincoln attracted the notice of Gen. Washington, and in 1777 Congress commissioned him a major general in the Continental Line. Lincoln performed ably at several battles, including the Battle of Saratoga, where he received a wound in the leg that required a ten-months convalescence at home. Although he was lame, Congress in September of 1778 appointed him commander of the Southern Department of the Continental Army to replace Gen. Robert Howe.[3]

Gen. Augustine Prevost's March to Charlestown

Prevost's attempt to take Charlestown resulted from Gen. George Washington's having fought the Revolutionary War to a stalemate in the north. The British decided to make a second attempt in the South, this time beginning in Georgia. On December 29, 1778 at Savannah, Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell defeated Gen. Howe. Five days later at Purysburg on the other side of Savannah River, Howe transferred his command to Lincoln. Campbell then left Gen. Augustine Prevost in command at Savannah and marched northward to Augusta. Campbell captured Augusta from Gen. Andrew Williamson's militia on January 29, 1779, effectively bringing all of Georgia under British rule. South Carolina was the obvious next objective. On February 3 a British detachment penetrated as far as Port Royal Island until Continental and militia forces commanded by Gen. Moultrie drove them back. Gen. Williamson, posted on Savannah River across from Augusta, kept the British from crossing there. On February 13 Williamson was reinforced by North Carolinians under Gen. John Ashe, and Campbell soon abandoned Augusta. Several engagements occurred in the weeks that followed, the most significant being the devastating defeat of Ashe's North Carolinians at Brier Creek on March 3 by Lt. Col. Mark Prevost, brother of Gen. Prevost.

On April 19 generals Lincoln, Moultrie, Isaac Huger of South Carolina, and Jethro Sumner of North Carolina met at Black Swamp and resolved to assemble a force of 5000 men near Augusta to "take some strong ground in Georgia; prevent, if possible, the enemy receiving supplies from the back part of the country, circumscribe their limits, prevent their junction with the unfriendly [Loyalists], and savages [Indians] in Georgia."[4] Lincoln thought this could be done easily, especially since he expected to be joined by a new force of North Carolina Continentals and militiamen who had been drafted for nine months under Sumner, and by cavalry and infantry in the legion of Gen. Casimir Pulaski.[5] Lincoln found the climate so unhealthy that Congress soon afterwards granted his request to return to the North, but he nevertheless marched on the next day with about 2000 men up the eastern side of Savannah River. Gen. Moultrie with 1200 men remained at Black Swamp with orders that "if the enemy should discover an inclination to attempt you in force, and to move towards Charlestown; you will please as soon as possible to possess yourself of the several passes, and delay them as much as is in your power, and give time for us to come up."[6] Lincoln's army camped at Silver Bluff 13 miles below Augusta to wait for the reinforcements. Lincoln himself rode another 60 miles northward to Gen. Williamson's home, White Hall, apparently in a successful attempt to get Williamson to send some of his Ninety Six District Militia to join him.7 (Fig. 2)

[2] For concise accounts of the Battle of Sullivans Island and other major actions in this paper, see the following: Patrick O'Kelley, *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter*, Vol. 1 (Lillington NC: Booklocker.com, 2004); John C. Parker, Jr., *Parker's Guide to the Revolutionary War in South Carolina*, 4th Ed. (Sumter, SC: harrelsonpress.net, 2022); J. D. Lewis, Carolana.com.
[3] Boatner, *Encyclopedia*, 635-636.
[4] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 374-375. Huger is a French name pronounced like the letters U and G in English.
[5] Moultrie to Col. Charles Pinckney, April 16, 1779, *Memoirs*, 367.
[6] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 367, 377-378.

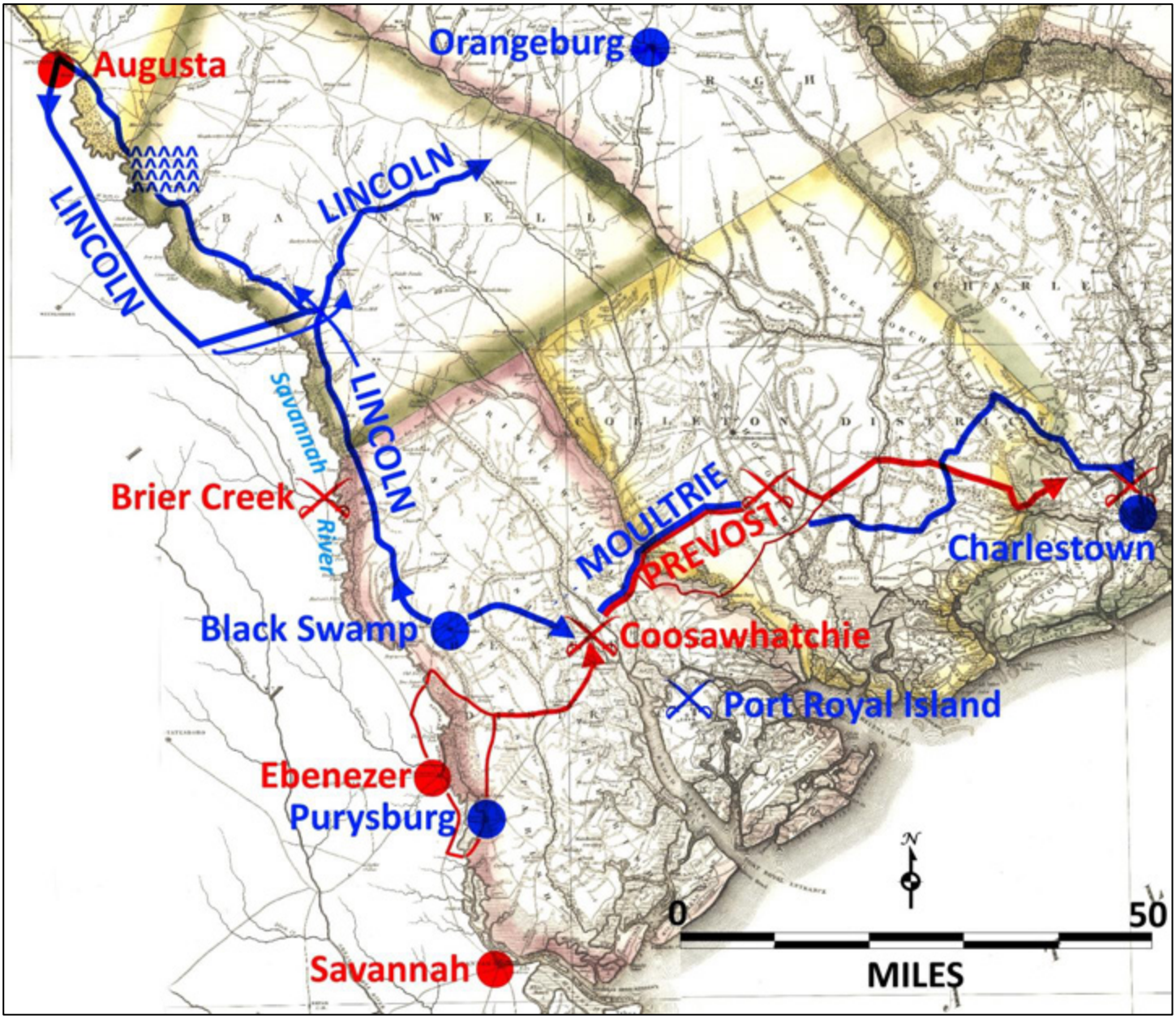


Figure 2. Possible routes of Lincoln from Black Swamp to his camp near Augusta (April 20 - 30), Prevost's march against Charlestown (April 28 - May 11) with Moultrie in advance (April 30 – May 11), and the first part of Lincoln's march to join Moultrie (May 3 – 11). The three pairs of crossed swords show the locations of skirmishes with Prevost's troops at Coosawhatchie River on May 3, Fish Pond Bridge on May 7 and Charlestown on May 11. Routes are depicted on roads on an 1822 map by John Wilson.

On April 28 Gen. Prevost, together with Lt. Col. John Maitland, took advantage of Lincoln's absence to invade South Carolina, crossing Savannah River with 1500 men in two divisions.[8] It was a daring move. If Lincoln somehow managed to capture Savannah, Prevost would be trapped in South Carolina. If Lincoln did

[7] C. F. W. Coker, "Journal of John Graham, South Carolina Militia, 1779," *Military Collector & Historian* 19 No. 2 (Summer 1967), 42.

[8] Charles C. Jones, Jr., "Original Documents: Demonstration against Charleston, South Carolina, in 1779: Journal of Brigade Major F. Skelly." *Magazine of American History* 26, No. 2 (August 1891), 152. A version of Francis Skelly's journal annotated by John A. Robertson was published in the SCAR Journal Vol. 3 No. 12.3 in December 2006, pages 24-27, https://southern-campaigns.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/v3n12.pdf.

give up his plans for Georgia and returned to South Carolina, Prevost might be caught between his army and Moultrie's. Prevost with one division left Ebenezer and marched northward to cross Savannah River at Two Sisters Ferry. Moultrie withdrew from Black Swamp to the east to take a stand in order to slow the British advance, as Lincoln had ordered.[9] (Fig. 2) The division under Lt. Col. Maitland crossed the river on flatboats and landed about 4 miles south of Purysburg. After marching through swamps all night his men reached dry ground around sunrise and attacked the town, forcing a hundred men under Lt. Col. Alexander McIntosh of the 5th South Carolina Regiment to retreat eastward to join Moultrie at Coosawhatchie River.[10] Maitland then marched northward 13 miles to Turkey Hill, where his division joined Prevost's. Moultrie reported that along the way "the enemy with parties of horse and Indians, are ravaging the country in a barbarous manner, killing people and burning a number of houses as they go on."[11] Among the houses burned was one about 7 miles north of Purysburg belonging to Maj. Pierce Butler, a later signer of the US Constitution.[12] (Fig. 3)



Figure 3. Portraits of Gen. Augustine Prevost (1723-1786) by Mather Brown and of Lt. Col. John Maitland (1733-1779) by Joshua Reynolds. The scar on Prevost's forehead was from a bullet wound at the Battle of Quebec on September 13, 1759.

Skirmishes at Coosawhatchie Bridge and Fish Pond Bridge

On the night of April 30 Moultrie arrived at Coosawhatchie River and immediately wrote to Lincoln: "we are informed the enemy have 1500 men at Purisburgh, and it is said they are to have as many as will make 2,000; we have very few men in arms in this part of the country, and I fear if we are not strongly reinforced they will get to Charlestown; I hope you will consider the situation of this state, and repair to Charlestown with your army as

[9] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 388.
[10] Jones, Skelly Journal, 152.
[11] Moultrie to Rutledge, May 3, 1779, *Memoirs*, 397.
[12] Parker, *Guide*, 264.

soon as possible."[13] Lincoln did not think Prevost meant to attack Charlestown "with the few troops they have thrown over the Savannah," assuming, perhaps correctly, that Prevost was simply making a feint to draw Lincoln away from Georgia. Nevertheless Lincoln sent some of his Continentals to join Moultrie, and he asked Gov. John Rutledge to send Moultrie more militia."[14] Moultrie crossed Coosawhatchie and Tullifinny rivers and took a stand on Tullifinny Hill.

With Moultrie was John Laurens, the twenty-four-year-old son of Henry Laurens, who had made a fortune largely from the slave trade and was until recently the President of the Continental Congress. The younger Laurens had studied in Switzerland and then law in England before returning to America in January 1777, leaving a wife and infant daughter in England. He joined Gen. Washington's staff as a volunteer secretary, translator and courier. He fought at the battles of Brandywine, at Germantown, where he was seriously wounded in the shoulder, and at Monmouth, the last major battle in the North. In addition to fighting the British, Laurens also fought fellow Americans in duels, one of which was with Gen. Charles Lee brought on by Lee's verbal attacks on Washington. Honor was satisfied when Laurens wounded Lee. In March 1779 Congress commissioned Laurens as a lieutenant colonel and endorsed his plan to return to South Carolina to raise a regiment of three thousand slaves by promising them freedom. Laurens argued that "we Americans at least in the Southern col[onie]s cannot contend with a good grace, for liberty, until we shall have enfranchised our slaves." Planters in South Carolina were terrified by the idea of placing guns in the hands of slaves, and the plan died in the state legislature.[15] (Fig. 4).



Figure 4. Portrait of John Laurens by Charles Willson Peale.

[13] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 388-389.
[14] Lincoln to Moultrie, May 3, 1779, *Memoirs*, 396-397.
[15] David Duncan Wallace, *The Life of Henry Laurens: With a Sketch of the Life of Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915), 463-494. Gregory D. Massey, "John Laurens's Black Regiment Proposal," *Archiving Early America*, https://web.archive.org/web/20150216222608/http://www.earlyamerica.com/early-america-review/volume-1/slavery-liberty-american-revolution/, archived February 16, 2015. Gregory D. Massey, *John Laurens and the American Revolution* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2015).
Laurens took an active part in the siege of Savannah in October 1779, then went to the North to recruit. He was captured at Charlestown and released on parole. He was sent to France as a diplomat in spring 1781 where he would have been reunited with his wife and daughter, but his wife died in late summer or early fall of 1781. Laurens returned as an aide to Washington and was one of the negotiators of the British surrender at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. He was killed in a minor skirmish at Tar Bluff in South Carolina—one of the last casualties of the war.

Lt. Col. Laurens joined Moultrie shortly before May 3, the day that Prevost and Maitland left Turkey Hill and marched to Coosawhatchie River. Laurens volunteered to retrieve Moultrie's rear guard from the approaching British.

> *As the enemy was so near, I was desiring one of my aids to go and bring off our rear guard from Coosohatchie to join us immediately; but Col. John Laurens (who joined me two days before) being present, he requested me to permit him to go on that service; which I readily consented to, thinking him to be a brave and experienced officer; I told him at the same time, that I would send 150 good riflemen to cover his flanks, lest the enemy should be too close upon him; I accordingly sent Capt. [John] James with one hundred and fifty picked men, and 100 men of the out picquet to join him; these altogether made a body of 350 men, which was one fourth of my little army.*[16]

Instead of bringing back Moultrie's rear guard, however, Laurens with the 350 men chose to oppose Prevost's two thousand men, who had the advantages of artillery and the cover of houses. Laurens's men, "shooting their rifles from behind trees with aim killed a number of the enemy."[17] Several of Moultrie's men were killed, and Laurens was shot through the right wrist and had to evacuate to Charlestown.[18] Others were also wounded, including Charles Miller, who was "Knocked down by the limb of a Tree supposed to be cut off by a Cannon Ball of the enemy and was carried off the ground much damaged."[19] British Maj. Francis Skelley called Laurens's effort "a trifling stand," although "they killed and wounded four of our men."[20] Prevost took only about fifteen minutes to dislodge the Americans.[21] Moultrie, who had intended only to slow Prevost without engaging his much larger force, was not pleased. (Fig. 5)

> *instead of Col. Laurens' bringing off the guard, as he was desired, he very imprudently crossed the river to the east side; and drew them up on the opposite bank of the river, taking those 150 who were sent to cover his flanks, and the 100 men of the out picquet and joined them to the guard; while he left the houses on the hill for the British to occupy: in this situation did he expose his men to their fire, without the least chance of doing them any injury; after remaining some time he got a number of the men killed and wounded; and was wounded himself; he desired Capt. [Richard] Shubrick, who commanded after he left the field, to stay a little longer and then to bring off the men: had not Capt. Shubrick moved off at the very instant that he did, his party would have been cut off from their retreat and every man of them would either have been killed or taken prisoner: we heard the firing very distinctly at Tullifiny, and supposed it was our retreating guard coming in: but presently Col. Laurens came up to me, wounded in the arm: I said to him; 'well Colonel what do you think of it?' 'why sir, said he, your men won't stand,' upon which I said; 'if that be the case I will retreat;' and immediately after our rear guard came in, I ordered the bridge to be broken up; and begun my retreat, about 12 o'clock.*[22]

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[16] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 402.
[17] David McCance federal pension application S16464. Robert Kirkpatrick R5993. These and other pension applications mentioned in this paper are transcribed mainly by Will Graves at revwarapps.org.
[18] Jones, Skelly Journal, 152.
[19] Audited account of Charles Miller transcribed by Will Graves, https://revwarapps.org/sc1975.pdf.
[20] Jones, Skelly Journal, 152. This entry in Skelly's journal is dated May 4, 1779. An archeological survey found no evidence of fighting at the site. Steven D. Smith, "Report of Findings: The Search for Fort Balfour and Coosawhatchie Battlefield," *South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina* (January 5, 2005), 7.
[21] Jonathan Prestwood S8977.
[22] Moultrie to Rutledge, May 3, 1779, *Memoirs*, 402-403.

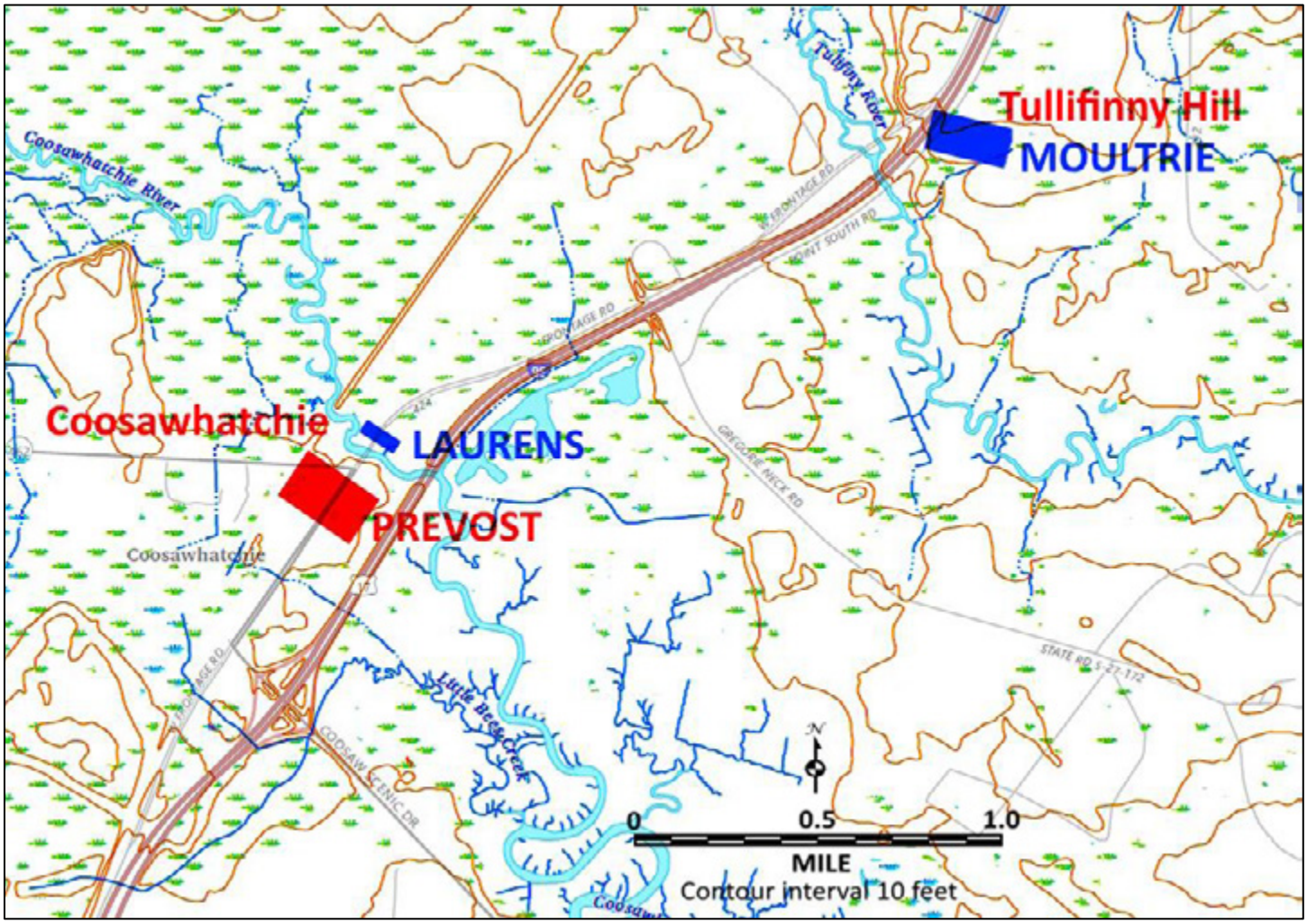


Figure 5. Positions of Prevost, Laurens and Moultrie during the skirmish at Coosawhatchie Bridge on May 3, shown on the current USGS map (Coosawhatchie quadrangle). Modern roads are shown faintly for reference. Present Frontage Road corresponds approximately to the road at the time of the skirmish.

On the day after the skirmish Moultrie wrote to Lincoln, "it seems absolutely necessary for you to make a speedy march to save this country."[23] Moultrie wrote to Lincoln again on May 5, describing the skirmish at Coosawhatchie and stating that he "soon after found myself under the necessity of retreating" and urging Lincoln to "hasten to our assistance, or I fear the town is in danger…. I am retiring from them as fast as possible, pray follow them."[24] Lincoln had already crossed Savannah River on flatboats at Galphin's on May 3 and was marching southward to recross into South Carolina.[25] What Prevost may have begun as a feint turned into an invasion as he pushed Moultrie toward Charlestown. On May 6, Moultrie reached Jacksonboro, 30 miles from Charlestown. He advised Lincoln, "in the march downward you must not take the route I came; as I have destroyed all the bridges," and to Governor Rutledge he wrote, "the people are very much alarmed in town."[26]

Prevost divided his force, sending Maitland toward Salkehatchie Bridge while he went by Combahee Ferry. (Fig. 6) Along the way Prevost burned Sheldon Church, which the Patriots were said to have used to store arms and as a meeting place.[27] (Fig. 7) On May 7 after repairing the Salkehatchie Bridge on Combahee River and

[23] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 405.
[24] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 407.
[25] Coker, Graham Journal, 43. Alexander Smith S16530. Solomon Jackson S16424. James Johnson R5607. Samuel Hammond (S21807) "was put in charge of a fatigue party & Boat builders to prepare Flats for the Passage of Genl. Lincoln's army across Savannah River."
[26] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 409, 410.
[27] National Register of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form, Sheldon Church Ruins.

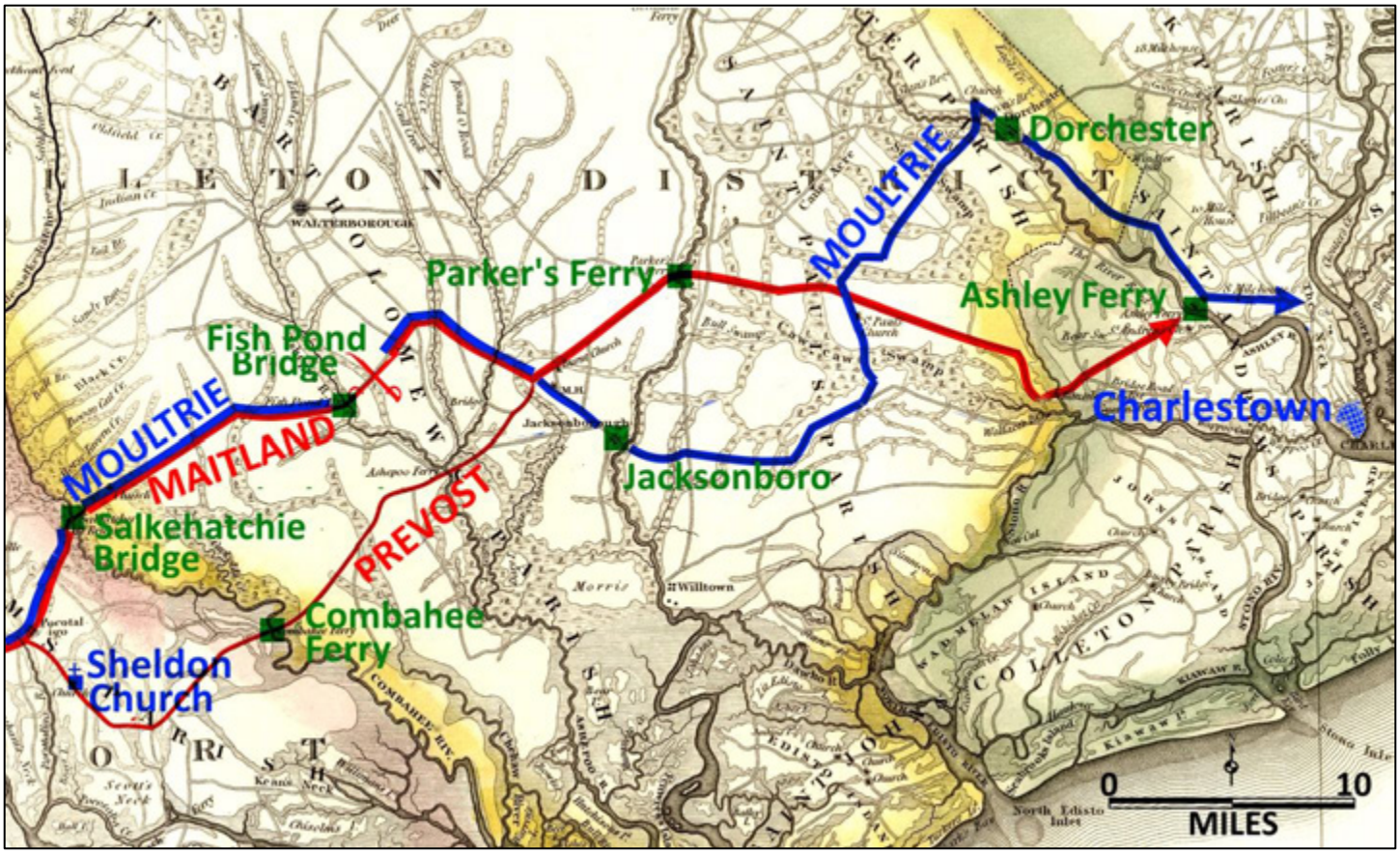


Figure 6. Possible routes of Moultrie and Prevost toward Charlestown, May 7-10, 1779 on roads shown on Wilson's 1822 map.

Fish Pond Bridge on Ashepoo River, Maitland's division skirmished with some Patriots, as noted by Skelly: "Repaired the Bridge. Colo Maitland's column marched,—halted two miles beyond fish pond Bridge which we were likewise obliged to repair. A party of Rebel horse fired at some of our Scouts, wounded an Indian and two others, and then rode off."[28] Prevost's division rejoined Maitland after dark. Perhaps tired of bridge-repair, they chose to continue toward Charlestown by Parker's Ferry on Edisto River instead of following Moultrie to Jacksonboro. Patriots had slaves fell trees and break up the road to impede Prevost's progress, but Capt. James Moncrief, the British chief engineer, with a small party of horse made the slaves clear the road again.[29]

Preparing for Prevost's Attack

On May 8 Moultrie crossed Ashley River at Bacon's Bridge. After arranging for gunpowder to be transported from the magazine at nearby Dorchester down the Ashley River to Charlestown,[30] he and a few aides proceeded to Charlestown. He found "a strange consternation in town: people frightened out of their wits." Moultrie then had only 600 men, having lost about half to desertion during the long march. He expected Rutledge to arrive from Orangeburg soon with 600 replacements, and also Lt. Col. James Harris with 250 Camden District militiamen.[31] On May 9 Moultrie ordered Lt. Col. Francis Marion to bring almost all of his 2nd South Carolina Continental Regiment from Fort Moultrie and Fort Johnson and join him.[32] Moultrie's numbers soon grew to more than three thousand men. Among them was Gen. Count Casimir Pulaski's Legion.[33]

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http://www.nationalregister.sc.gov/beaufort/S10817707005/S10817707005.pdf.
[28] Jones, Skelly Journal, 153.
[29] Jones, Skelly Journal 153.
[30] Thomas Broughton (Braughton) W897.
[31] Moultrie to Lincoln, May 8, 1779, *Memoirs*, 412.
[32] Patrick O'Kelley, *Be Cool and Do Mischief: Francis Marion's Orderly Book* (Fayetteville NC: Blacksmith Publishing, 2006), 542.
[33] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 423.

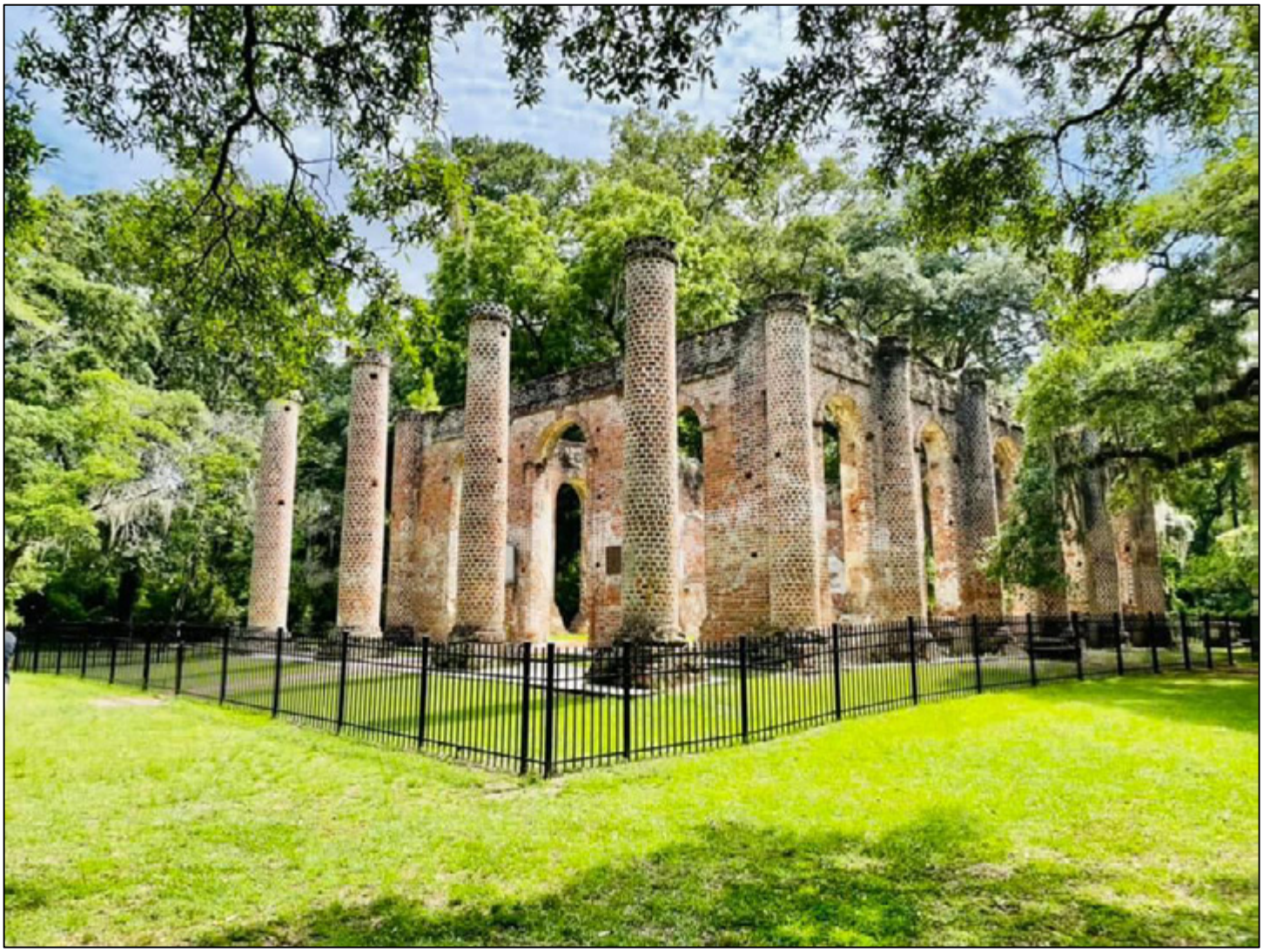


Figure 7. The ruins of Sheldon Church. The church was rebuilt after Prevost burned it but was finally destroyed during Sherman's march in 1865.

Count Casimir (or Kazimierz) Pulaski, born in Poland on Mar 4, 1747, engaged in relatively few battles, but he is one of the most celebrated figures of the American Revolutionary War. (Fig. 8) Benjamin Franklin recruited him in Paris. After arriving at Boston in July 1777 and serving as Gen. Washington's Aide-de-Camp at the Battle of Brandywine, he quickly won the attention of Congress, which commissioned him a Brigadier General and Commander of the Horse. On March 28, 1778 Congress authorized Pulaski to raise an independent legion of cavalry and infantry. Pulaski recruited first in New Jersey, Pennsylvania and New York and then filled out the ranks in Baltimore with many Hessian prisoners and British deserters. On October 5, 1778 at Little Egg Harbor in New Jersey, fifty of his sleeping men were surprised and slaughtered by troops under Capt. Patrick Ferguson. In early February Congress attached Pulaski's Legion to Lincoln's Southern Department.[34]

[34] C. Leon Harris, "Enlistments, Muster Rolls, and Pay Rolls of Gen. Pulaski's Legion: March 1779 to November 1780," *Southern Campaigns American Revolution Pension Statements and Rosters* (September 30, 2024), https://revwarapps.org/b222.pdf.



Figure 8. Portrait of Gen. Casimir Pulaski (1745-1779) by Jan Styka.

On May 9 Prevost forded Edisto River in a "Violent Thunder storm with heavy rain,"[35] while Moultrie moved his men from Dorchester down to Charlestown. On the following day Prevost's troops crossed over to the Charlestown peninsula at Ashley Ferry. In order to deprive them of accommodations and cover, Rutledge had several houses on Charlestown Neck burned.[36] Moultrie deployed his men in preparation for the attack, digging earthworks, constructing three redoubts, and laying abattis (sharpened tree limbs) in front. The earthworks were on each side of the Horn Work that served as the town gate on King Street north of present Calhoun Street.[37] The Horn Work was a high wall with a bastion at each end, constructed of a type of concrete called tabby, made from sand, lime and shells.[38] (Fig. 9) The Horn Work would shield Moultrie's troops if they needed to retreat, and inlets from Ashley and Cooper rivers would protect their left and right flanks, respectively. (This is also the position Lincoln chose during the British siege a year later.)

[35] Skelly Journal 0153.

[36] Inhabitants Of Charleston Neck, Petition Concerning Their Houses Being Burned When The State Was Invaded By Gen. Prevost, And Asking The House To Grant Them Relief. (4 Pages; Oversize) Date: 1784; Gamble, John, Petition Asking The House To Consider His Case For Damages To His Property Which Happened During Gen. Prevosts Invasion Of The State. (4 Pages) Date: 2/6/1787, South Carolina Department of Archives and History, https://www.archivesindex.sc.gov/.

[37] "a kind of Breast work thro which was a large entrance." Skelley, Journal, 153.

[38] Carl P. Borick, "The Horn Work: Marion Square's Tabby Fortress," *Charleston County Public Library*, https://www.ccpl.org/charleston-time-machine/horn-work-marion-squares-tabby-fortress, accessed April 8, 2026. Carl P. Borick, "Archaeology and the Siege of Charleston," *The Charleston Museum*, https://www.charlestonmuseum.org/news-events/archaeology-and-the-siege-of-charleston/, accessed April 8, 2026.



Figure 9. Remnant of the Horn Work in present Marion Square, Charleston.

Moultrie deployed his forces as follows: (Fig. 10)

The country militia are to occupy the left wing.
The cannon upon the right wing to be manned by the Charlestown artillery; those upon the left by Col. [Owen] Robert's artillery.
Col. [Alexander] McIntosh will take post with the 5th regiment in the redoubt on the right side of the line.
The redoubt on the left to be occupied by 100 men from the 2d regiment under the command of Col. [Francis] Marion.
The advanced redoubt on the left to be occupied by Col. Harris's detachment (250.)
The remainder of the 2d regiment, with General Paulaski's infantry, to occupy the half moon in the center as a corps de reserve; and to sally out upon the enemy from time to time, as the service may require, without breaking the line.[39]

[39] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 413-414.

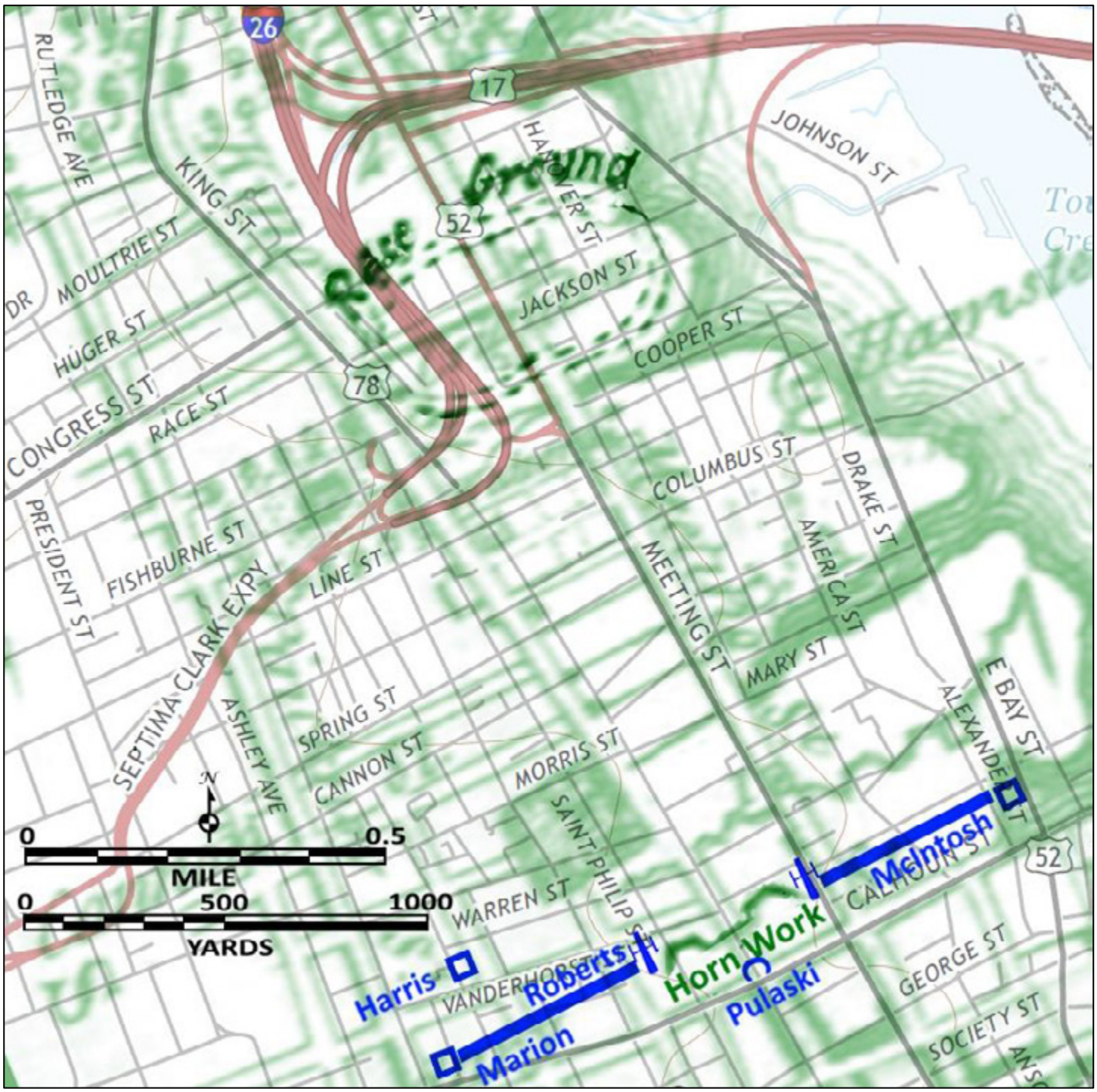


Figure 10. Suggested position of Moultrie's line shown on the current USGS map (Charleston quadrangle). Overlaid in green is part of a 1787 "Specimen of an Intended Travelling Map of the Roads of the State of South Carolina," scaled and positioned for best fit of King and Meeting streets and the position of the Horn Work. The overlay has been dimmed except for the Horn Work and Race Ground, both significant landmarks.

Skirmishing Near the Race Ground and an Unfortunate Incident of Friendly Fire

On May 11 Prevost sent dragoons under Capt. Thomas Tawse, light infantry under Maj. Valentine Gardner, and cavalry under Capt. Moncrief to reconnoiter the American position. They neared the Race Ground, probably along King Street at the streets now named Race, Moultrie, Huger and Rutledge. There Pulaski's Legion had a major skirmish with them but was driven back into the Horn Work with losses, including Col. Michael de Kovats killed in the action. Skelley described the skirmish as follows:

Polaskey with his horse, (the best Cavalry the rebels ever had) advanced towards our Dragoons. Capt Tawse charged them, intirely routed them, pursued them thro' the Breast work, attacked their Foot, and drove them to the woods. The L't Col who comm'd the foot was killed and fifteen or sixteen of his men. A Cap'tn and a Sub [subaltern officer] of the Cavalry were taken and several of their privates killed and taken. In all they loss'd between forty and fifty men. Our loss was three Dragoons Killed and three wounded. Capt'n Moncrief distinguished himself much in this charge.[40]

Moultrie gave the following description of the fighting and a later appearance by Prevost.

We this morning had advice that the enemy were near our lines. Gen. Count Paulaski, paraded his legion about (one hundred and twenty, and some militia) and attacked the advance of the British troops a little beyond the old race ground in sight of our advance guard; but he was soon overpowered; in this skirmish he lost his Col. (Kowatch) killed and most of his infantry, killed, and wounded, and prisoners; and it was with difficulty, the remainder got in, with our advance guard. Gen. Provost's army soon appeared before the town gates, at the distance of about a mile, the advance of his army being about Watson's house, in the afternoon; when I ordered the cannon at the gate to begin to fire, which stoped their progress.[41]

Moultrie's men waited nervously through the moonless night expecting Prevost to attack again. Some of McIntosh's men mistook an American detail for the enemy and killed some of them, including Maj. Benjamin Huger of the 5th South Carolina Continental Regiment.

We continued at the lines, standing to our arms, all night, and serving out ammunition to the country militia; who only came in the day before, with the governor; we were in expectation of their attacking us that night. About 10 o'clock, or sooner, (it being very dark) some of the people on the right, imagined they saw the enemy near the lines, upon which a few hopping shots were fired; and immediately after, the firing run almost through the lines; with cannon, field-pieces, and musketry: by which unfortunate mistake, Major Benjamin Huger, and 12 others, were either killed or wounded. by the death of Major Huger, his country lost a brave and active officer, an able statesman, and a virtuous citizen.[42]

Skelley gave a slightly different number of casualties: "A false alarm in Town. Fired a great many cannon. Discharged a volley of Musquetry at thir own patroles. Killed a Major Ugee and twenty of their own people."[43] Samuel Morrow, one of the soldiers who mistakenly fired, stated that Huger's party was sent out to light tar barrels, probably for illumination. "One night while they lay before town an alarm rose that the were comng to storm us, and our fier comenced, and before it ceased I fired five rounds and the said that we kiled one of our own Coln's I think huge [Huger] who was out with a party seting tare barels afier in our frunt."[44] Moultrie blamed the accident on confusion about who was in command. He considered himself in command, but he was informed that either Gov. Rutledge or his Council had sent Huger's party to close a gap in the abattis without telling him.[45]

Charlestown on the Precipice

Moultrie's troops, and indeed the entire town, spent an uneasy night, expecting to be stormed at first light. Lincoln's army was still several hard day's march away having just crossed Salkehatchie River toward Orangeburg.[46] Lincoln is sometimes faulted for being so slow, but conditions were difficult. Two of his men had died on the very hot day of May 11 from fatigue and bad water.[47] At around three o'clock in the morning of May

[40] Jones, Skelley Journal, 153. The captured captain was Paul Louis Celoron, and the captured subaltern was a Lt. De la Close. Both were exchanged on May 21 as prisoners on parole. Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 450.
[41] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 423-424.
[42] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 424.
[43] Jones, Skelley Journal, 153-154.
[44] Samuel Morrow W21825.
[45] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 424-426.
[46] Alexander Smith S16530. Bailey Owen (Owens) W3711.
[47] Coker, Graham Journal, 43.

12, Gov. Rutledge sent for Moultrie and asked him "whether we had not best have a parly with the enemy" about surrendering, stating that "should they force the lines, a great number of the citizens would be put to death."[48] "Some busy persons in town" had told Rutledge that the enemy numbered seven or eight thousand, which was at least a thousand more than the entire white population of Charlestown, who were also outnumbered by slaves who might be inclined to join the British. The American engineer, Col. Johann Christian Senf, judged the lines to be "in a really weak state," with the Horn Work on the left being only "3 or 4 feet thick…. The parapets were not completed."[49]

Moultrie reluctantly agreed to have the following note sent to Prevost:

> *Gen. Moultrie perceiving from the motions of your army, that your intention is to besiege the town, would be glad to know on what terms you would be disposed to grant a capitulation, should he be inclined to capitulate.*[50]

Around 11 in the morning of May 12 Moultrie received a reply from Prevost offering "peace and protection" to those who submitted as British subjects, with all others being taken as prisoners of war. The letter also included the implied threat of the "horrors attending the event of a storm, (which cannot fail to be successful)." In fact, however, it was by no means clear that Prevost would have been successful in storming the city. During the skirmish with Pulaski the British had seen Moultrie's defenses, and according to Maj. Skelley, they "found them impregnable without heavy artillery. We had none."[51] Prevost must have been overjoyed at the prospect of Charlestown surrendering so easily. He gave Moultrie four hours to decide.[52] Moultrie, together with Pulaski and John Laurens met with the Governor and his Council at Rutledge's house to consider their options. In the meantime Moultrie ordered the left of the Horn Work to be strengthened, but he soon had to stop the work after Prevost objected to it while negotiations were ongoing.

Moultrie corrected Rutledge's information about the numbers of troops, stating that the American side had at least 3180 men and that "a gentleman" who had seen Prevost's force around Parker's Ferry estimated their number as only 3620, plus many Tories from North and South Carolina who had since joined him. (See Appendix A.) Among the Tories from South Carolina was Col. Daniel McGirtt in command of "the most infamous banditti and horse-thieves," in the opinion of the local newspaper.[53] Rutledge and the Council agreed to let Moultrie send a letter informing Prevost that he "cannot possibly agree to so dishonorable a proposal" but was willing to negotiate.[54] Rutledge and his Council then adjourned to a tent on the line where they proposed a surrender of Charlestown on condition that it could remain neutral during the war. Col. Laurens was asked to deliver the offer to Prevost, and he refused. Moultrie then prevailed on Col. McIntosh and Lt. Col. Roger Smith to deliver the message. Prevost rejected the offer, stating that "he had nothing to do with the governor, that his business was with General Moultrie, and as the garrison was in arms, they must surrender prisoners of war."[55]

Rutledge and the Council received the news gravely, looking at Moultrie to see what he would say.

> *After a little pause, I said to the governor and council, "gentlemen, you see how the matter stands, the point is this, I am to deliver you up prisoners of war, or not," some replied "yes:" I then said, "I am determined not to deliver you up prisoners of war,… WE WILL FIGHT IT OUT." upon my saying this, Colonel Laurens who was in the tent, jumped up, and said, "thank God! we are upon our legs again."*[56]

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[48] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 426.
[49] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 427.
[50] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 427.
[51] Jones, Skelley Journal, 153.
[52] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 428. Prevost's reply as transcribed in Moultrie's *Memoirs* is dated May 11, apparently in error.
[53] *The Gazette of the State of South-Carolina*, July 9, 1779, page 1. For more on McGirtt see Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy, *Historic Camden: Part One: Colonial and Revolutionary* (Columbia SC: The State Company, 1905), 297-305, copied at https://www.carolana.com/SC/Revolution/loyalist_leaders_sc_daniel_mcgirtt.html.
[54] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 431.
[55] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 433-434.
[56] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 434.

Moultrie ordered a flag to be waved at the gate of the Horn Work to signal to the British that deliberations were at an end. The citizens of Charlestown had apparently recovered their composure and prepared for the worst. "They knew nothing of what was going forward in the council: they all seemed firm, calm, and determined to stand to the lines and defend their country."[57]

Prevost Abandons the Attack, but Skirmishing Continues

Anyone in Charlestown who managed to fall asleep on the night of May 12 must have expected to be awakened the next morning by musket and artillery fire. Instead they heard cries of joy. "The next morning at day-light, to the great joy of the citizens; it was cried out, along the line, 'the enemy is gone.'"[58] Gen. Pulaski rode out at full speed to search for them and returned to report their absence. He then collected his cavalry to follow Prevost's troops, but they had recrossed at Ashley Ferry and burned the boats. Not quite having mastered written English, he reported to Lincoln, "I just know Larnt the Enimy has cros,d over to James Island and has Burnt at ashly ferry several boats and a house."[59] Prevost may have realized that he had no chance of capturing the city without artillery. In addition, as Moultrie noted, the British had intercepted a copy of a letter sent by Lincoln on May 10 stating that he was coming to Charlestown's relief. "Had they staid two or three days longer on the town-neck, they would have been in a very unpleasant situation," pinned between Lincoln and Moultrie.[60]

Charlestown had escaped a big battle, but maneuvering and skirmishing continued for another month. While Prevost remained on the west side of Ashley Ferry with a rear guard, the rest of the British troops under Maitland marched down to James Island, driving some American troops across Stono River to Johns Island.[61]. On May 17 Prevost's detachment camped near Rantowles Bridge.[62] Lincoln was less than 20 miles away, having marched down from Orangeburg to Parker's Ferry. He reached Bacon's Bridge early the next morning.[63] To avoid an encounter with Lincoln, Prevost planned to cross over to Johns Island at Stono Ferry and commandeer boats to retreat back to Savannah along the coast. (Fig. 11)

Some of Prevost's men had stayed behind at Charlestown Neck, including a Hessian sergeant, who was captured, and Daniel McGirtt's band of Loyalists. By 3 AM on May 18 Lincoln had crossed Ashley River on Bacon's Bridge, where "Daniel McGirt with some of his Rabble attacked our Picquet in the Night, had a smart Skirmish, without considerable Damage on either Side."[64] On the same day a detachment of British light infantry from James Island "cross'd to John's Island, surprized a party of about sixty Rebels, killed, wounded, and took most of them." [65] This was probably the same skirmish in which "the Company, being then under the orders of Captain James Doharty, was surprised by the british at the plantation of Mr. Mathews on John's Island, near Charleston, and the whole party either killed or taken prisoners."[66] (Fig. 11) On May 23 the schooner *Rattlesnake* of the South Carolina Navy was fired upon in Stono River and became grounded. "Heavy Firing heard towards

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[57] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 435.
[58] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 435.
[59] Pulaski to Lincoln, May 15, 1779, transcribed by the author from a photocopy of the original housed in the Rare Book, Manuscript, and Special Collections Library, Duke University. See also Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 435; Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[60] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 437.
[61] Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[62] Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[63] Coker, Graham Journal, 43. Aaron Guyton W21237. Nathan King S7105.
[64] Lincoln to Moultrie, May 18, 1779, *Memoirs*, 453. Coker, Graham Journal, 43. Isaac Johnson S5645. James Holmes R5170. James H. Kidd S16436. Matthew Patton S18153. "A number of men were killed on both sides," according to John Mills (alias John Ripley) S9024.
[65] Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[66] Pension application W8352 by the widow of Edward Barnwell, who gave the date as May 20, 1779. Mathews was Capt. John Raven Mathews, later Governor of South Carolina in 1782. The location of his plantation is from "A Sketch of the Environs of Charlestown in South Carolina" by Capt. George Sproule, June 1, 1780, https://www.loc.gov/item/gm71000637/.

Stono, between the Rattle Snake Schooner and the Enemy. The Schooner being grounded they were obliged to evacuate, & blow her up."[67]

At camp near Bacon's Bridge Lincoln prepared to attack Prevost. He had his men clean their guns and make cartridges. "Orders were issued that every Musket-Man should be provided with 24, & every Rifle Man with 50 Rounds."[68] Moultrie reinforced Lincoln with 600 of his own Continentals and four field pieces. Forty-five Catawba Indians were also marching to join Lincoln.[69] The main British force under Maitland readied for

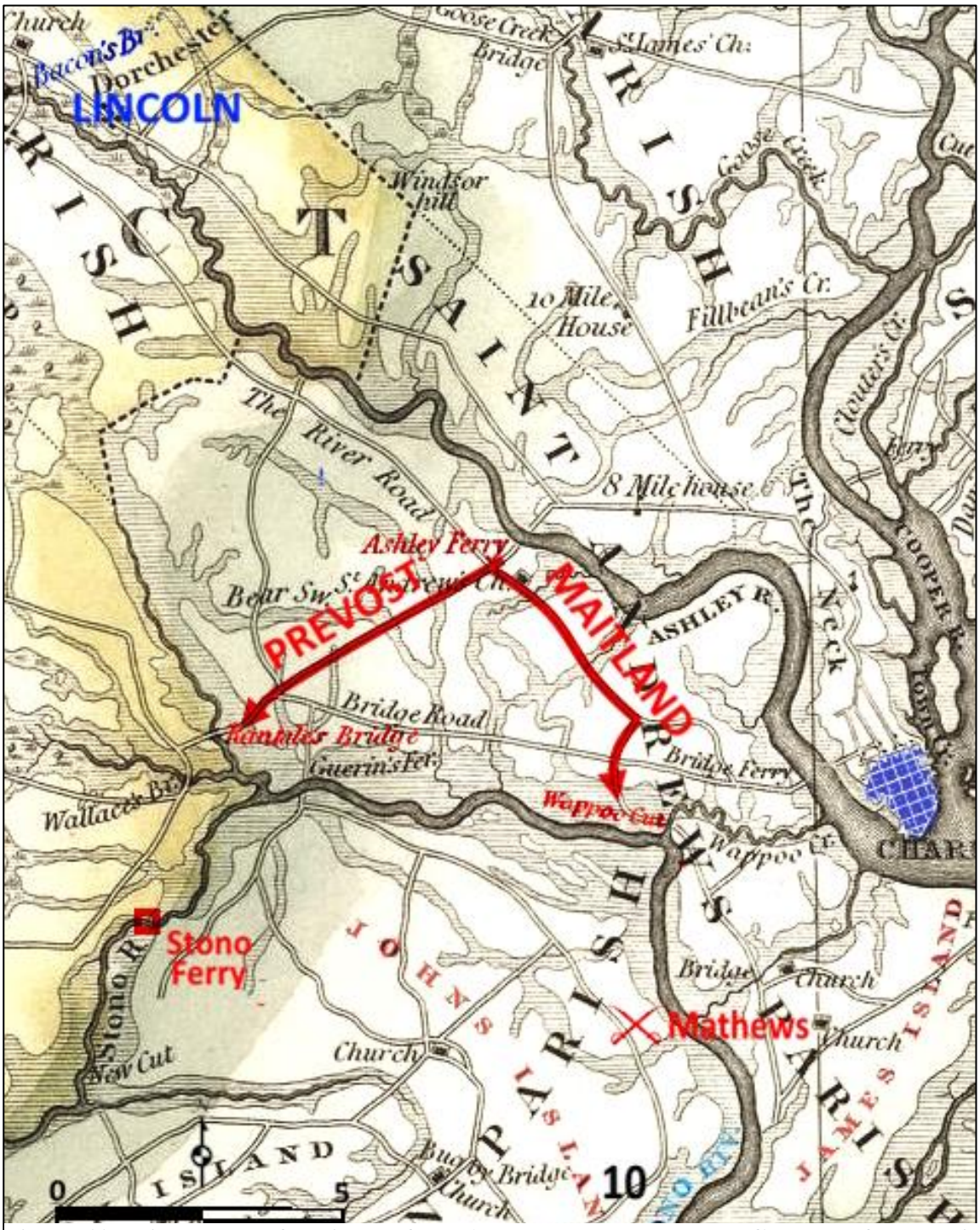


Figure 11. Withdrawal of Maitland from Ashley Ferry to Wappoo Cut and of Prevost's detachment to Rantowles Bridge.

[67] Coker, Graham Journal, 44.
[68] Coker, Graham Journal, 43.
[69] Moultrie to Lincoln, May 21, 1779, *Memoirs*, 455. By prior arrangement with Moultrie, troop numbers were doubled in Lincoln's letter "to perplex the enemy, should they take our letters."

Lincoln's attack, building three redoubts on the south side of Wappoo Cut on May 19.[70] On May 24 Lincoln marched his army back across Bacon's Bridge and down the River Road on the west side of Ashely River to camp near Ashley Ferry, where he was joined by Moultrie's men.[71] On the same day Prevost's detachment joined Maitland at Wappoo Cut.[72]

On May 25 "Pulaski had a Skirmish with the Enemy, & killed 8 or 10 of 'em."[73] On the following day "most of the [British] Army moved and took a position on the Main to defend the Redoubts, an attack being hourly expected. Some skirmishing with advanced parties. A man or two killed on both sides."[74] That evening of May 26 most of Lincoln's men "marched to the English Lines near Wappoo Cut, but found them so situated y't [that] Lincoln did not think it prudent to attack them."[75]

On the day after giving up that attack Lincoln camped near the head of Caw Caw Swamp west of Ashley Ferry.[76] On the same day, May 27, British "Grenadiers and Carolinians crossed to John's Island—from thence to the main by Stono ferry—took post there—three Redoubts constructed."[77] The three redoubts were raised earthworks that would serve as a retreat if needed. (Two of the redoubts remained for 77 years until they were destroyed to build a railroad bed, and the northeastern redoubt survived for nearly 110 years until it was leveled to create the twelfth fairway of The Links at Stono Ferry.)[78] (Fig. 12) On May 28 most of the British crossed over Stono River from James to Johns Island and began commandeering boats for the retreat to Savannah.[79] They also took smaller vessels to build a floating bridge as a faster means of crossing the river.[80] Most of the troops under Prevost then destroyed Rantowles Bridge and set up a base at the three redoubts at the north landing of Stono Ferry. Lincoln was still looking for a chance to attack Prevost, who was in a risky situation with Stono River at his back. On May 30 Lincoln wrote the following to Moultrie, who had returned to Charlestown: "The enemy are throwing up some works at Stono-ferry, where they are collecting their schooners and boats. I hope our armed vessels will keep them from getting to sea in their craft, while we watch their motions on the land."[81]

On May 31 Lincoln sent a thousand troops against Prevost at the redoubts. Some of Gen. Andrew Williamson's Ninety Six District militia were to start the action toward Prevost's left redoubt. Gen. John Butler's North Carolina militiamen were to attack toward the round redout on the British right. Gen. Isaac Huger with two South Carolina Continental regiments and four cannons were to attack the middle. Gen. Pulaski and Col. Daniel Horry of South Carolina led the cavalry. The attack was aborted when Pulaski reported to Lincoln in the rear that Prevost was too strongly situated, as Huger related in a letter to Moultrie:

> *Yesterday morning I was detached with one thousand foot to attack a post of the enemy's, at Stono-ferry (this side of the river) with Count Paulaski and Horry's horse; the light infantry and a party of Williamson's foot, to begin the attack on their right flank; General Butler, with a party of his Brigade on their left; the 1st and 6th Carolina continentals, with four field-pieces with me; I was to charge them in front, and endeavor to force their lines, supported by General Lincoln, and the remainder of the army a mile in our rear. Count Paulaski on reconnoitering their works, found them entrenched with a line on their front, and flanked by batteries completely manned, with very large reinforcements from General Provost, too strong*

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[70] Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[71] Coker, Graham Journal, 44. Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[72] Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[73] Coker, Graham Journal, 44.
[74] Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[75] Coker, Graham Journal, 44.
[76] Coker, Graham Journal, 44. Robert Bryant S6700. Stephen Neal W6837. Joshua Palmer S21912.
[77] Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[78] C. Leon Harris, "The Battle of Stono Ferry June 20, 1779," *Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution* 1, No. 4 (December 200), 7-20. http://www.southern-campaigns.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/v1n4.pdf.
[79] Coker, Graham Journal, 44. Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[80] Terry W. Lipscomb and George Fenwick Jones, "A Hessian Map of the Stono Battlefield," *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 82, no. 4 (1981), 373, 378. Edward Bevill S16638. Benjamin Cox S2146.
[81] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 464.

for us to attempt, therefore ordered me to retreat. A deserter shortly afterwards joined us, and said Colonel Provost was strongly posted at the ferry, with fifteen hundred ready to receive us.[82]

Skirmishing continued as Lincoln sent Pulaski out to probe the enemy for another opportunity to attack. On June 2 Pulaski sent a letter to Moultrie stating: "On reconnoitering the enemy we have had a skirmish. Two of my officers are wounded, and the enemy retired near a thick wood. We had determined to re-attack them in their lines, which were formed near the ferry; but on their receiving reinforcements made us change our intention."[83] Pulaski's encounter may have been the same one noted in Isaac Johnson's pension application, written by the court clerk as follows:

Jeneral Pulaska were sent with Collonal Johnsons Ridgmt [Col. Jonas Johnston's Edgecombe County NC militia regiment] Below the the British works where a part of the British was Burning two Large houses and Pelaska Endeaverd to draw them out of the field into the woods where we were stationd by the Rode

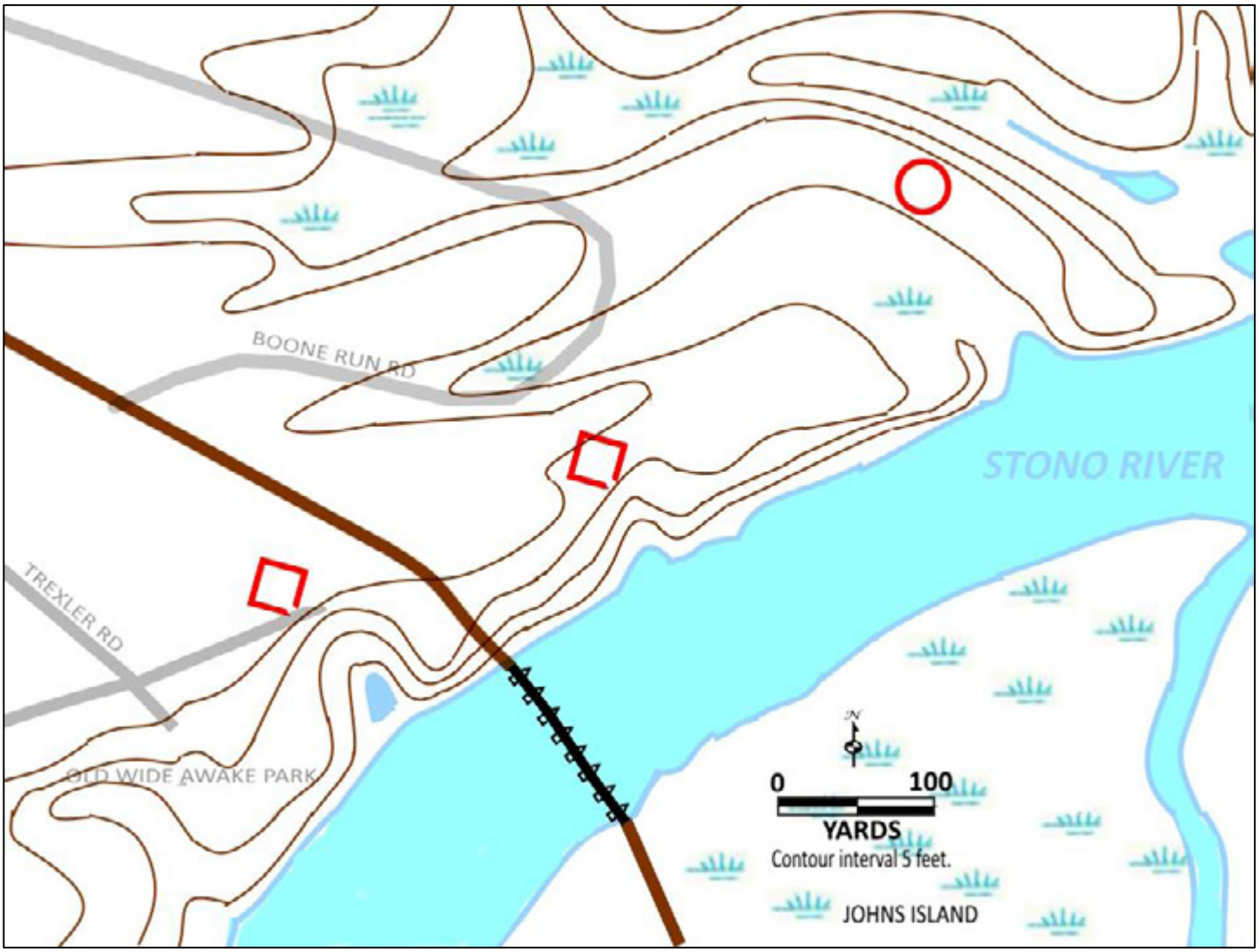


Figure 12. Prevost's three redoubts (outlined in red) in the present community of Hollywood, and the floating bridge at Stono Ferry. The original road is shown in brown, and modern roads are shown faintly in gray. Original contours were reconstructed from the 1960 USGS Ravenel and Wadmalaw Island quadrangles to show the probable terrain before a railroad was constructed through the two square redoubts and the round redoubt was leveled for a golf course.

[82] Isaac Huger at camp Stono to Moultrie. June 1, 1779, Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 466-467.
[83] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 467.

side our men killed one Britan and took one a Prisoner of their Centenals this alarmed the British and they were soon under armes but would not venter out.[84]

In his letter of June 2 Pulaski stated that he was "informed that there are some of the enemy's gallies in the river. I cannot find a favorable opportunity to act." According to Johnson's pension application a favorable opportunity did occur on June 18:

a part of the Regulars and two peaces of artillery and three men out of Each Millitia Company was sent on an Expedition which I was one to take three British vessels on ther way up the River as was said to be after negrows But on fiering on a Barge that were a head of these vessals they turnd down the River again and we lost our Prizes.[85]

On the following day a scouting party had more luck, taking two small vessels on Stono River.[86] While planning to attack the British, Lincoln also had to worry about being attacked by them, and he frequently moved his camp from one rice field to another in Caw Caw Swamp.[87] On June 7 John Graham wrote, "we scarcely continued 2 Nights at the same Place. In Order to prevent being surprised, for the Enemy were not more than 3 Miles distant."[88] On that day Gen. Andrew Williamson, who had been camping near Augusta, left with an unknown number of his Ninety Six District Militia to join Lincoln. Not all were as willing. Moultrie noted on June 8 that a captain, a subaltern and 27 privates from Col. Joseph Kershaw's Camden District regiment had deserted their post.[89] On June 10 observers in the steeple of St. Michael's Church in the heart of Charlestown saw activity around Wappoo Cut, which they took to be a feint toward Marion at Fort Moultrie to draw Lincoln back into town. Moultrie sent Marion 40 men, bringing his force to 300.[90]

Conflicts in Command and Plans for a Major Battle

While all the skirmishing and maneuvering was going on, Lincoln was subjected to a different kind of attack, as described by Moultrie:

At about this time, Gen. Lincoln was very much displeased, because some ill natured persons had been casting reflections on him, for his having marched up to Augusta with the main body of his army; and leaving the low country exposed to the enemy; and putting Charlestown in such imminent danger: these reflections were thrown out by persons who were not acquainted with Gen. Lincoln's motives for taking that step, in which he was perfectly justifiable; as the council of general officers, held at Black-swamp on the 19th of April, advised the measures as being rational and proper. Gen. Lincoln was a brave, active, and very vigilant officer.[91]

Lincoln's request to be transferred to the North for his health had been approved, and on June 9 he sent Moultrie copies of two acts of Congress, one dated March 17 permitting him to return northward and the other dated March 18 appointing Moultrie as his replacement.[92] On the following day Lincoln, feeling that he had "lost the confidence of the people; whether justly or not," wrote again to transfer his command to Moultrie.[93] For some reason the transfer of command did not occur. Instead Lincoln began planning for a major battle.

"About the 15th of June, General Lincoln came to town from his camp at Stono, to consult with the governor and council, upon a plan of operation to attack the British lines at Stono-ferry, with his troops and a

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[84] Isaac Johnson S5645.
[85] Isaac Johnson S5645.
[86] Ansel Cunningham S31636.
[87] James Meritt [Merritt] S21883.
[88] Coker, Graham Journal, 45. Jones, Skelly Journal, 154.
[89] Moultrie, Memoirs, 474.
[90] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 476.
[91] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 476.
[92] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 475.
[93] Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 477.

strong detachment from Charlestown, to go over to James'-Island, to co-operate with occasionally."[94] The "strong detachment from Charlestown" under Moultrie would prevent any British troops on Johns Island from coming to the aid of the redoubts at Stono Ferry, which were by then under the command of Maitland. Lincoln thought the redoubts would now be vulnerable with fewer British there. He was eager to make the attempt before all of Prevost's troops got away, the nine-months enlistments of Sumner's North Carolinians expired, and the summer heat made serious fighting unbearable. Lincoln may also have been encouraged by a June 19 report about the state of Prevost's troops, then camped on Johns Island about 7 miles from the ferry: "provisions was Very Scarce… they are very sickly I pas at the Hospatal yesterday and as Nigh as I Could gess their was five Hundred sick & wounded." (Appendix B) On the next day Lincoln attacked Maitland in the Battle of Stono Ferry, which will be described in a future article.

APPENDIX A: Order of Battle During Prevost's Attempt at Charlestown.[95]

Americans under Gen. William Moultrie

Charlestown militia, Lt. Col. Roger Smith	780
Capt. Thomas Grimball's artillery	150
Col. Marquis de Britigney French volunteers	50
Gen. Stephen Bull's brigade of militia	400
Col. Andrew Neal's regiment	150
1st and 2nd (Gen. Francis Marion's) Continental regiments	300
Col. James Harris's detachment	250
Col. Bernard Beeckman's artillery	60
Col. Alexander McIntosh's 5th regiment	190
Gen. Casimir Pulaski's, and Capt. John Allston's Racoon riflemen (Indians)	200
Col. Maurice Simon's Charlestown District militia brigade	600
South Carolina State Navy	50
	3180

British under Gen. Augustine Prevost

Lt. Col. John Maitland, Royal Scotch Highlanders	1300 or 1500
Hessians	500 or 700
Royal Americans	200
Delancey's 1st and 16th	200
Troops from Augustine	900
Maj. Henry Sheridan, New York Volunteers	
Light-horse	400
Capt. William McIntosh, Creek Indians	120
	3620

Plus unknown number of Tories from North and South Carolina, including Col. Daniel McGirtt.

APPENDIX B: June 19, 1779 letter from an unnamed informant to Gen. Lincoln.

June 8th at night Left Camp and after walking all Night arrived at Stono ferry thursday Morning being Examind by the offisers Carred to Colonl provost the then Commanding offers at the ferry was sent over on Johns iland to head Quarters about seven miles from the ferry to the general being Verry stricktly Examend of the State of our army was suspected for being a Spie & Enduced by General Provost Not to Leave Head Quarters on any pretence

[94] Moultrie, *Memoirs,* 479.
[95] Adapted from Moultrie, *Memoirs*, 429-430 and O'Kelley, *Nothing*, 277-282.

whatever and I continued their Seven Days and in my stay their I made all the observations possable provisions was Very Scarce I Got but one Meal pr day and as for them they Had None untill the 15th one Small Boat Came from Savannah Brought seven punchens they had great humor in Camp about General Mathews a Rival [arrival] at North Carolina as to their army they are very sickly I pas at the Hospatal yesterday and as Nigh as I Gould gess their was five Hundred sick & wounded—their Sationge [?] are as follows Colonl Metlin & the 2d Battallion of helanders and two Companys of Hesseions & Colonl Mcgirt & Georgia Militia Consisting of about Six hundred men in all on this side of the ferry and three[?] field pecese & one Hoit [howitzer?] the first battallion helanders and Light Infantry at at Mr Gibbs a bout seven miles on the Iland at head Quarters the Light Draggoons & two Companys of Hesseines at the Hospatal two Miles below

~~and as to par~~
Returned Last Night as to perticulars I am able to Inform you
June 19 1779[96]

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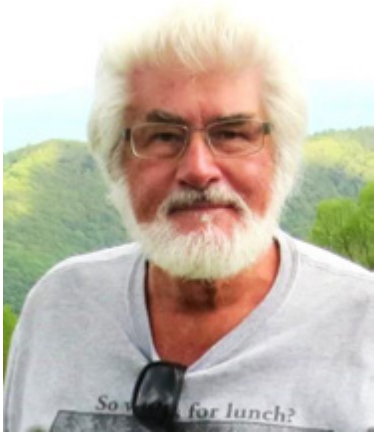
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C. Leon Harris attended public schools in Henry County VA and earned a degree in physics at Virginia Tech and graduate degrees in biophysics at Penn State. He taught biology, wrote textbooks, and did neurobiological research at the State University of New York, Plattsburgh for more than three decades. After retiring to Mount Pleasant SC and Adamant VT he was inspired by the late Charles B. Baxley to research the Revolutionary War in the South, and he has helped Will Graves transcribe more than thirty thousand Revolutionary War pension and bounty-land applications, rosters, and other documents at revwarapps.org.

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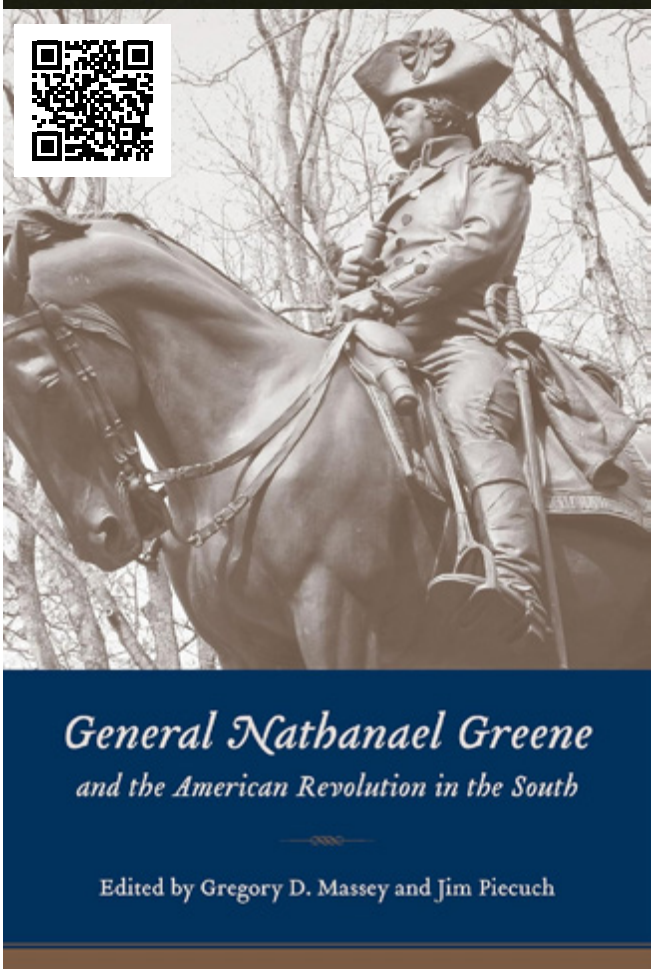
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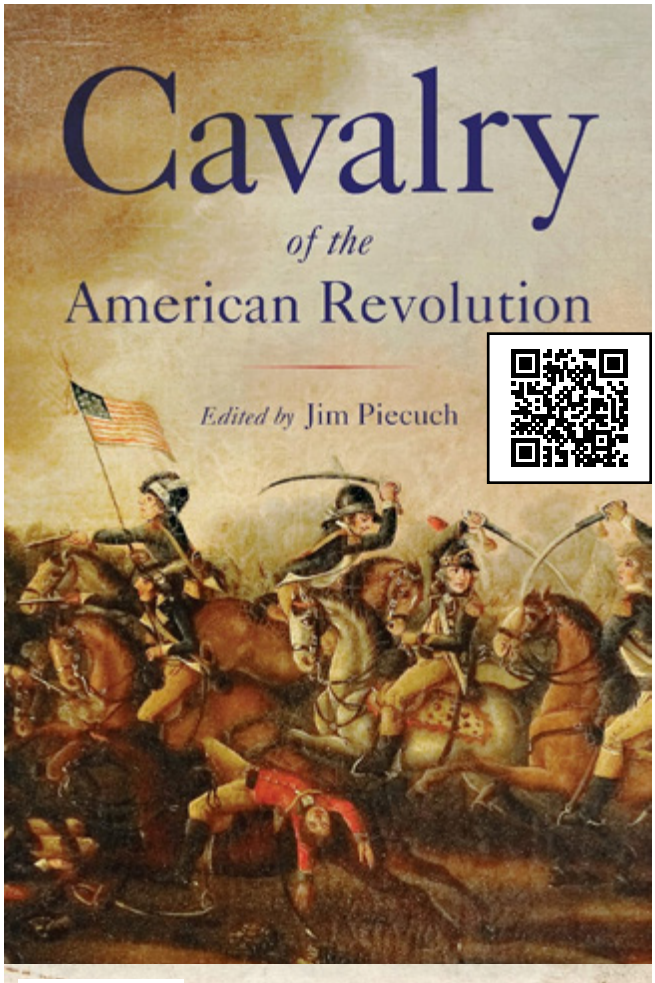
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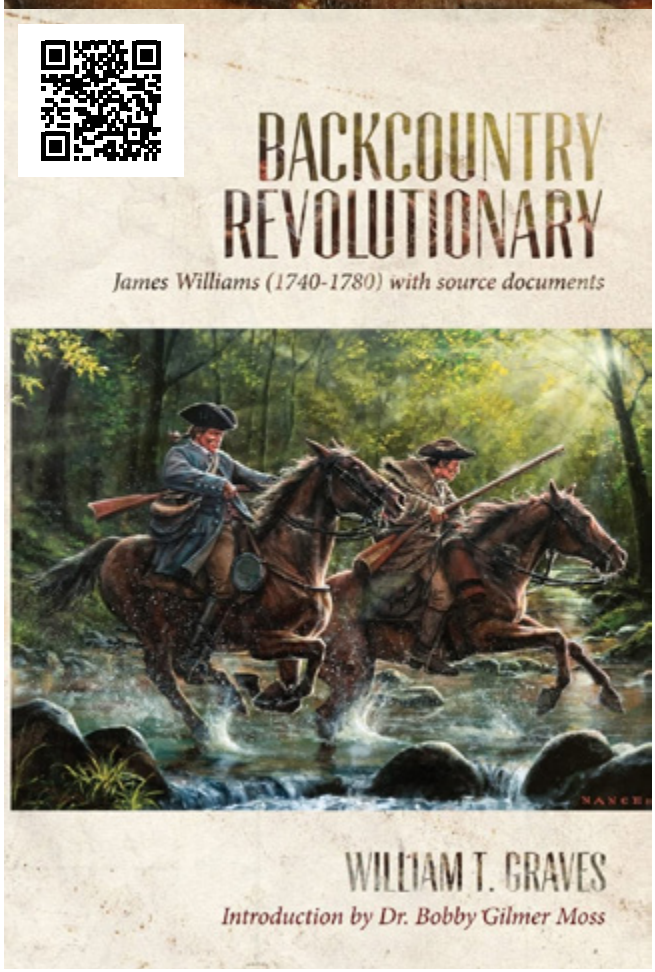
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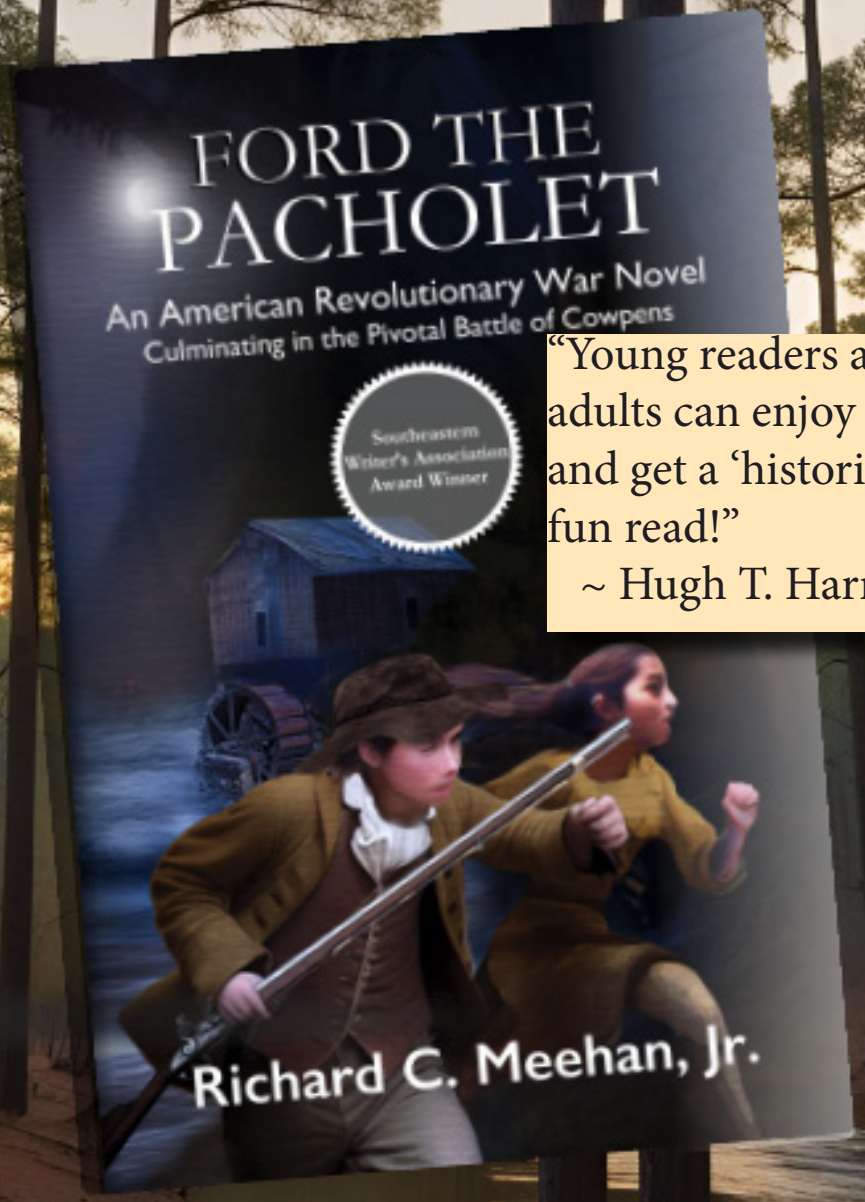
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