



# Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution

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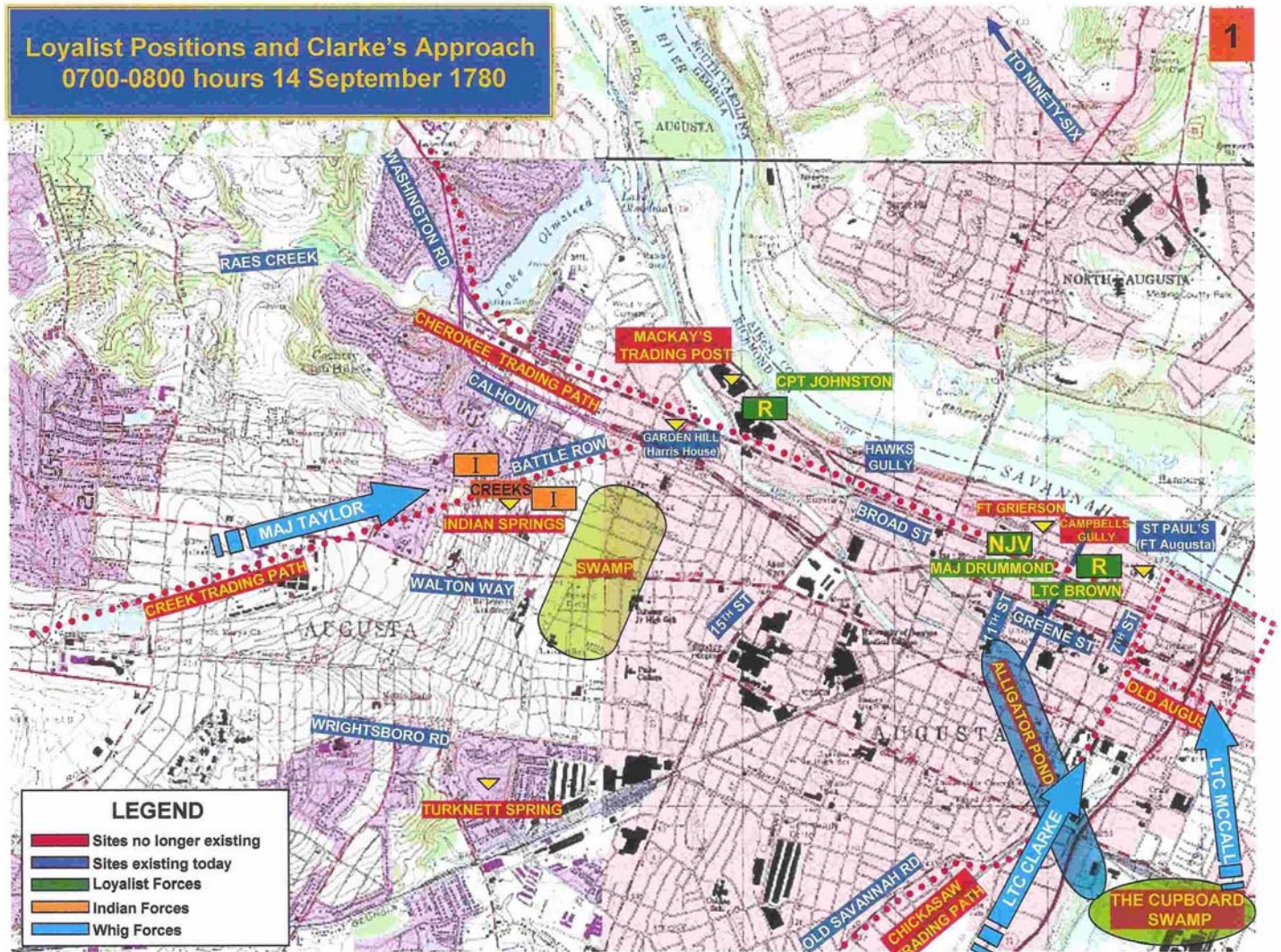
Vol. 2 No. 9

September 2005

## “An Ill-timed and Premature Insurrection”

### The First Siege at Augusta, Georgia September 14 - 18, 1780

by Steven J. Rauch



Map 1 - Downtown Augusta, Georgia showing 18<sup>th</sup> Century landmarks and initial troop dispositions for Whig Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke's attack on the Tory stronghold of Augusta. Maps by author based on USGS 7.5 minute topographic map.

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown, commander of the Provincial King's Carolina Rangers, led his men on June 8, 1780 into Augusta, Georgia, the scene of his torment, torture and disfigurement at the hands of Whigs in August 1775.<sup>1</sup> Brown's triumphal return at the

head of Crown forces was made possible by the successful British capture of Charleston, South Carolina on May 12, 1780 where Major General Benjamin Lincoln surrendered his Continental forces to a

<sup>1</sup>Thomas Brown was hit in the head with a rifle, which fractured his skull, tied to a tree and had burning pieces of wood stuck under his feet. His hair was scalped from his head in three or four places and he lost two toes due to the burning suffered when he was tarred and

feathered. He was then paraded through Augusta in a cart where ridicule was heaped upon him by Whig supporters. The definitive book on Brown is Edward J. Cashin, *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989.

powerful British land and naval force commanded by Lieutenant General Henry Clinton. The British immediately sought to capitalize on their success by sending forces to fan out from the coast into South Carolina and along the Savannah River into Georgia. The commanders of the British units sought to destroy any remnants of rebel forces and encourage those Loyalists who had been oppressed by the Whigs, like Thomas Brown, to once again bask in the ray of Crown rule. However, that hope quickly faded as the summer of 1780 in the backcountry witnessed some of the most brutal and savage fighting of the Revolutionary War.

## COLLAPSE OF WHIG RESISTANCE IN THE BACK COUNTRY

Brown's move to occupy Augusta was not contested by any Whig force as he led his veteran *Kings Carolina Rangers*, Major James Wright, Jr.'s *Georgia Loyalists*, and men from other provincial units north from Savannah along the South Carolina side of the Savannah river.<sup>2</sup> On June 9, 1780 Royal Georgia Governor James Wright reported to Lord George Germain that Whig forces in Augusta commanded by South Carolina Militia General Andrew Williamson had evacuated the town.<sup>3</sup> On June 18<sup>th</sup>, Brown reported to Lt. Gen. Charles Earl Cornwallis that he had taken Augusta and had initiated efforts to restore royal authority to the backcountry. He made public notice that he would hang anyone, regardless of who they were, who attempted to disturb the peace or harassed any former rebels who had decided to accept royal authority.<sup>4</sup> On the same day, Lieutenant Colonel Nisbet Balfour moved to possess the post at Ninety-Six. Lord Cornwallis had occupied Georgetown and Camden since June 1<sup>st</sup>. There was no Whig resistance to these operations and the British believed that organized opposition had been defeated.<sup>5</sup>

On June 28, 1780 Brown and other loyalist officers received the surrenders of various Whig units. A well known Augusta merchant and loyalist, William Manson received the surrender of Georgia Patriot militia Col. John Dooly's command of about 500 men and sent over 210 stands of arms to Augusta.<sup>6</sup> Brown accepted the surrender of SC Patriot militia Col. Benjamin Garden and Georgia Patriot militia Lt. Col. Robert Middleton's regiments who were ordered to return to their homes without any penalties. The terms for the officers and men were to surrender arms and return to their homes as prisoners on parole.<sup>7</sup> However, others, such as Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke of Wilkes County, remained in the field determined to continue armed opposition to disrupt the occupation.

The British consolidated their gains in the backcountry by establishing a series of interconnected posts along key lines of communication such as rivers and roads. These posts began at the coast and included Charleston and Georgetown, through Cheraws, Camden, Hanging Rock, Rocky Mount and Ninety Six to Augusta. The post at Augusta was critical because it secured the British left flank along the

Savannah River and it served as the gateway to trade and communication with the Cherokee and Creek nations.

Augusta had been established in 1737 as a center for trade with the various Indian tribes of backcountry Georgia and to facilitate commerce along the Savannah River. The town was named for Augusta of Saxe-Gotha, the wife of Frederick, Prince of Wales and the mother of the future King George III. The best contemporary description of the town comes from British Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell who had first occupied the town in February 1779. (*Note: I have added further description of current locations or other names in italics within the text*)

Augusta consisted of a Number of stragling Houses arranged in a long Street [*Broad Street*] lying parallel to the River; at the Distance of 100 Yards. The great Road [*Old Savannah Road*] leading from the lower Country entered the South end of the Town at Right Angles to this Street, and after passing it, extended to the Ferry, which goes across to South Carolina. [*5<sup>th</sup> Street or US 25*]. The Savannah River was not less than 200 Yards in Breadth, 10 feet deep, and the Stream moderately quick. The plain to the Southward of the Ferry Road, extended four Miles in Length, and terminated in a Swamp [*Known as Cupboard Swamp, presently wetlands between Gordon Highway and Bobby Jones Expressway*] at the Bend of the River, a little below Moore's Bluff. [*Site of old Fort Moore, Beech Island, SC.*] To the Northward of the Ferry Road, this Plain was about two Miles in length, and terminated in a Ravine, [*Hawk's Gully near 15<sup>th</sup> Street and River Watch Parkway*] from whence the Country began to rise gradually. [*Known today as the Hill or Summerville.*] From the Savannah River, this Plain was about 3 Miles in Breadth; one thousand yards of which from the Banks of the River had been cleared of Wood, and tolerably well cultivated. From the Ferry Road, Alligator Pond [*known as the lagoon, parts of which were incorporated into the Augusta Canal system*] of about 80 feet in breadth, and 10 feet depth, extended One Mile and a half in parallel Direction with the River, at the Distance of One thousand Yards; from the Side of which Pond, a small Rill of Water [*Campbell's Gully*] with deep Banks, emptied itself into the River; [*near 9<sup>th</sup> Street*] on the South Side of which Rill, close to the Bank of the River, stood a Church; [*St. Paul's*] and about half Way from this Rill to the Ravine at the upper Extremity, Fort Grierson, [*near 11<sup>th</sup> and Reynolds*] a stockaded Work with four Bastions and eight small Pieces of Cannon had been erected, about 60 Yards from the West Side of the principal Street.<sup>8</sup>

## RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF BRITISH - INDIAN RELATIONS ALONG THE SAVANNAH

Thomas Brown now found himself serving in a dual capacity as military commandant of Augusta and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the eastern division of the Southern Indian Department. This position gave him jurisdiction over Crown relations with the Creek and Cherokee nations. He immediately demonstrated his authority by sending a Ranger raiding force to capture Fort Rutledge, a small fort occupied by the rebels in Pickens County, South Carolina that had been a base for white raids into Indian lands. Brown also issued orders for all white squatters who had seized Creek and Cherokee land to move and return it to the Indians.

<sup>8</sup>Campbell, Colin, ed. *Journal of an Expedition against the Rebels of Georgia in North America under the Orders of Archibald Campbell Esquire Lieut. Colol. Of His Majesty's 71<sup>st</sup> Regimt. 1778.* (Darien, Ga.: Ashantilly Press, 1981), 54-55. See also the description provided by Edward Cashin, *The Story of Augusta* (Augusta, Ga.: Richmond County Board of Education, 1980), 22.

<sup>2</sup>Brown to Cornwallis, June 18, 1780, British Public Records Office, Kew Gardens (BPRO), Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/2, 166-168.

<sup>3</sup>General Williamson was later accused of collaborating with the British to give up Augusta. See William T. Graves annotations in "Letter and Report South Carolina Militia Gen. Andrew Williamson to Nathanael Greene after the British Evacuation of Charleston," *Southern Campaigns* (May 2005): 12-13; Williamson to Greene, January 28, 1783, Greene Papers, Duke University Library.

<sup>4</sup>Brown to Cornwallis, June 18, 1780, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/2, 166-168.

<sup>5</sup>Henry Lee, *Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States.* (New York: University Publishing Company, 1869; Reprint New York: Arno Press, Inc., 1969), 163-164.

<sup>6</sup>Cashin, *The Kings Ranger*, 108.

<sup>7</sup>Edward J. Cashin and Heard Robertson. *Augusta and the American Revolution.* (Darien, Ga.: Ashantilly Press, 1975), 42.



By these measures, Brown sought to reestablish the British and Indian relationships that had been severed for almost five years due to Whig control of Georgia. Brown invited the Creeks and Cherokees to Augusta to receive presents of cloth, metal tools, and firearms to demonstrate the united effort against those Whigs who had used the war to gain at the expense of the natives.<sup>9</sup> Brown understood that improving relations with the Indians would potentially alienate many Whigs who had accepted parole and reject such close ties by the Crown with their mortal enemies on the frontier.

## A PLEA FOR FORTIFICATIONS AT AUGUSTA

Thomas Brown probably held a more realistic view of the challenges of occupation facing the British in early summer 1780 than other officials, such as Cornwallis, who believed mopping up operations against small pockets of resistance would end soon. Fortifications were foremost in Brown's mind as he sought to ensure Augusta could be defended and supplies could be protected from any potential Whig raid which he believed was almost certain given the volatility of the region. The remnants of old Fort Augusta, which had been built in 1737 and last used as a military site in 1767, were in effect a worthless pile of termite infested timber and could not provide any use other than limited storage for supplies.<sup>10</sup> There was a fortified house about ¾ miles west of St. Paul's church near the intersection of present day 11<sup>th</sup> Street and Reynolds named Fort Grierson after loyalist militia commander Colonel James Grierson. It was of some use, but small and not adequate for a comprehensive defense of the town.



**Saint Paul's Episcopal Church was first established in 1749 and was erected adjacent to the Fort Augusta. In 1758 the Parish of Saint Paul was created for administration of Augusta and the surrounding countryside. The current 1811 building, pictured above, is the third church to occupy this site.<sup>11</sup>**

<sup>9</sup>Heard Robertson, "The Second British Occupation of Augusta," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 58 (Winter 1974): 426.

<sup>10</sup>Many histories of the Revolution wrongly identify Fort Cornwallis as this structure at this time. In reality, there were no forts, just fortified houses, such as Grierson's. Fort Cornwallis did not exist and Fort Augusta was more a memory than a physical structure. Augusta in summer 1780 had no physical defenses. After these events, during the fall of 1780, Fort Cornwallis would be built.

<sup>11</sup>Both fortifications stood at the rear of the present St. Paul's churchyard. Ft. Augusta was about 110 feet square with bastions at each corner connected by stockade curtain walls nine feet high with interior platform walkways about two feet above the ground. The bastions were two-story structures with artillery emplacements below and spaces for musketeers above. The fort was in chronic disrepair and had succumbed to termites that had contributed to the rotten condition of the wood. It had last been rebuilt in 1767. When the country near Augusta became more populated and the danger from

Brown requested funding and materials from Cornwallis in order to build a suitable fortification. He sought support for this project from Nisbet Balfour at Ninety Six who stood in higher favor with the theater commander. Balfour emphasized Augusta's strategic importance in a letter to Cornwallis on June 24, 1780:

As to the post at Augusta, . . . it has been and will continue to be the depot for the Indian business, and besides covering Georgia, is a support to this post, and here, I am clear, a force ought to be kept. Provisions of all kinds can be brought up by water during the year, and this post supplied from it. I conceive a small work will be necessary, as it is so straggling a village and as there are guns and necessarys on the spot, but particularly as there can only be Provincials in garrison, under whose care stores can be ill trusted or surprises guarded against. I should think a work for two hundred men perfectly sufficient with Barracks, and they have six four-pounders on the spot.<sup>12</sup>

In spite of appeals by commanders intimately familiar with the military, political, and social concerns of their areas of occupation, Cornwallis rebuffed their request. In a July 3 letter to Balfour, he specifically forbade the construction of any permanent fortifications at either Ninety Six or Augusta, and authorized only limited field works as a measure of economy.<sup>13</sup> Cornwallis' response reflected perhaps his growing irritation at many similar requests he had received from Georgia Royal Governor Sir James Wright who had pleaded throughout the summer for more troops, supplies, funding and fortifications to secure Georgia. Cornwallis told Wright, "So long as we are in Possession of the whole Power and Force of South Carolina, the Province of Georgia has the most ample and Satisfactory Protection by maintaining a Post at Savannah and another at Augusta, nor can I think myself justified in incurring any further expence on the Army Accounts for the Protection of Georgia."<sup>14</sup> Cornwallis' assessment perhaps reflected his desire to focus resources on his next objective, North Carolina, rather than a realistic understanding of just what his forces were dealing with in the backcountry. As a result, Brown's garrison at Augusta was left to make due without adequate fortification in case of attack.

## GEORGIA CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS

In the larger picture, Cornwallis had committed about 800 men to ensure order and stability in Georgia, leaving Wright only with hope that the inhabitants would accept the fact that the Whig political and military structure had collapsed. However, hope was not a method and Wright knew the paroled rebels held uncertain levels of commitment to their cause or the oath of allegiance they had submitted to in June. That same month, Cornwallis issued a letter to the commanders of British operating bases such as Ninety Six and Augusta, to insure they understood in no uncertain terms his policy toward those who had second thoughts about their allegiance. Cornwallis wrote:

I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia man who has borne arms with us and afterward joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged. I desire you will take

Indians receded, the fort was abandoned as it had served its purpose as a component of frontier defense. Edward J. Cashin, *Colonial Augusta: "Key of the Indian Country,"* Macon, Georgia: Mercer University Press, 1986. p. 63.

<sup>12</sup>Balfour to Cornwallis, June 24, 1780, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/2, 191-196.

<sup>13</sup>Cornwallis to Balfour, July 3, 1780, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/78, 3-4.

<sup>14</sup>Cornwallis to Wright, July 18, 1780, July 18, 1780, *Manuscript, Colonial Records of Georgia*, 38, Part 2, 413-414.

the most rigorous measures to punish the rebels in the district in which you command, and that you obey in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the inhabitants in this country.<sup>15</sup>

In Wilkes County, Georgia alone there were more than 500 former Whig rebels, who grudgingly had accepted that their cause may be lost. These along with the hard-core rebels, many of whom had not surrendered their arms to authorities, concerned both Wright and Brown. On July 1 Wright signed the Disqualifying Act that named 151 leaders of the rebellion who proved to have held any office under the rebel government to be barred from any position in the restored royal government. In addition, those men were prohibited from owning firearms and could be arrested and brought before a magistrate to swear allegiance to Great Britain. Anyone not complying with this act could be fined, imprisoned or impressed as seamen into the Royal Navy.<sup>16</sup> Wilkes County was now a tinderbox waiting to ignite at the slightest hint of Whig strength or British weakness.

Concerned about the possible backlash of implementing the Disqualifying Acts, Brown consulted with provincial Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger, Balfour's replacement as commandant at Ninety Six. He thought that many former Whig leaders needed to be removed or the Loyalists would not be able to enjoy peace. Brown suggested that, "It certainly will be prudent to remove all the officers, civil, military, continental or militia, with very few exceptions, by which means the lower class of people will return to a proper sense of their duty....Five or six hundred prisoners are certainly too many to remain...in one district."<sup>17</sup>

On August 7, 1780 Cruger reported intelligence to Lord Cornwallis that Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke had returned to Wilkes County and was raising a force of several hundred men. He requested that Cornwallis send more troops to Augusta to augment Brown's command.<sup>18</sup> However, Cornwallis had other matters to contend with as Major General Horatio Gates appeared in South Carolina with another Continental force. On August 16th at Camden and at Fishing Creek on August 18th, the Continental and Patriot militia forces, commanded by Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, were virtually destroyed by Lord Cornwallis. This event further embedded the idea that Whig resistance had been crushed and Cornwallis began to focus on preparations to invade North Carolina in early fall.

### **CLARKE PREPARES TO ATTACK BRITISH OPERATING BASES**

Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Clarke was one of Georgia's few remaining rebel leaders in the field, having refused to surrender with the other Whigs. He had spent July and August moving between Georgia, South Carolina and North Carolina to participate in any opportunity to fight the British forces. His recent action at Thompson's Peach Orchard-Wofford's Iron Works-Clifton and victory at Musgrove's Mill on 18/19 August 1780 cemented his reputation as a hard, courageous fighter, especially in light of his wounds to his neck and head by a saber. During his recovery in Wilkes County, Clarke anticipated raising force of over one thousand men to strike at Augusta and Ninety-Six. His companion in these efforts was SC Patriot militia Lieutenant Colonel James McCall from SC Patriot militia Col. Andrew Pickens' regiment who was told to recruit among

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<sup>15</sup>Cited in Hugh M'Call, *The History of Georgia* (Atlanta: Cherokee Publishing Company, 1909), 481.

<sup>16</sup>Cashin and Robertson, *Augusta & The American Revolution*, 43

<sup>17</sup>Brown to Cruger, August 6, 1780, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/62, 6-7.

<sup>18</sup>Cruger to Cornwallis, August 7, 1780, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/63, 22.

the South Carolina men. McCall was to bring these men to a rendezvous at Soap Creek about forty-miles northwest of Augusta in early September.<sup>19</sup>

Recruiting guerillas proved to be a problem for both Clarke and McCall given the impact of Gates' defeat at Camden and SC Patriot militia Gen. Thomas Sumter's defeat at Fishing Creek. For backcountry people who had sought refuge in neutrality, it appeared that the tide was clearly turning in British favor. McCall appealed to Pickens to support the continued resistance effort of Clarke, however Pickens rebuffed him with the argument that the paroles they had accepted were binding until a violation occurred to justify breaking those bonds of honor. As a result, McCall could only persuade about 80 men to join in further operations with Clarke.<sup>20</sup>

Clarke however had been more successful, in part because his pleas were accompanied by threats. Joshua Burnett, one of those who joined Clarke recalled that, "[Clarke] sent word to those who had so surrendered, that if they did not meet him at a certain noted Spring in a wilderness, part of said County of Wilkes, he would put every one of them to death."<sup>21</sup> These recruiting incentives resulted in about 350 men joining Clarke along with the 80 that McCall was bringing for a total of about 430 men.

Clarke decided to attack Augusta for a number of reasons. One was to demonstrate to the British that the rebellion, especially in Wilkes County, was not defeated. Also, he hoped to seize the presents and supplies being stored at Augusta for the Indians. Finally, many of his men would welcome an opportunity to attack many of the Cherokee and Creek Indians moving along the trails to Augusta. One can only speculate if Clarke felt he had enough troops for such a mission, given that he recruited less than half of what he anticipated when he established the rendezvous. One historian has noted, Clarke was "therefore compelled to depend upon courage and stratagem, as substitutes for numbers in his ranks."<sup>22</sup> Clarke's attack upon Augusta was a high-risk enterprise for which victory or defeat would result in substantial ramifications for the Whig cause in the backcountry.

### **DISPOSITION OF PROVINCIAL FORCES**

While Clarke was gathering his forces almost 1,000 Creek Indians had answered Brown's call to gather at Augusta. Deputy Indian Agent David Taitt led them on the journey to meet Brown, however as he traveled he became sick with a debilitating fever. Many Indians demonstrated their devotion to him and decided to stop and care for him at Coweta town. This left only Little Prince of the Tuckabatchees and about 250 warriors to continue to the rendezvous at Augusta.<sup>23</sup> About three miles west of Augusta, Little Prince stopped at a place along the Creek path called Indian Springs where they set up camp and prepared to receive the promised British gifts from Thomas Brown.

At Augusta, Brown's Provincial troops consisted of his battalion of the *King's Rangers*, which numbered about 250 men.<sup>24</sup> He stationed

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<sup>19</sup>M'Call, *History of Georgia*, 482. (James McCall was probably a SC Patriot militia major during these operations. Ed.) Soap Creek is near modern Lincolnton, Ga. mostly under Clarke's Hill Reservoir.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Joshua Burnett, "The Pension Claim of Joshua Burnett," edited by Edward J. Cashin, *Richmond County History* 10 (Winter 1978): 16-9 (see sidebar in this edition *SCAR* at p. 7).

<sup>22</sup>M'Call, *History of Georgia*, 483.

<sup>23</sup>Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, 114.

<sup>24</sup>This is an approximation based on the strength figures for the King's Rangers from Muster Rolls dated 29 November 1779 at Savannah and cited in Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, Appendix Muster Rolls, King's Rangers, 249-293. The rolls from Savannah in late 1779 provide the

Captain Andrew Johnston at the Mackay house to guard the Indian presents and supplies. The other Ranger companies were with Brown about a mile and a half east at Grierson's fortified house and St. Paul's church, where supplies were stored as well. In addition, Brown had a small detachment of about 27 men from Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Allen's 3<sup>rd</sup> battalion of New Jersey Volunteers who were recovering from wounds received at Musgrove's Mill the previous month.<sup>25</sup> Brown also had at his disposal at least two brass artillery pieces, probably 3-pounders. In all, the Crown forces had about 500 effective soldiers scattered about the Augusta area.

**Elijah Clarke** was born in 1742, the son of John Clarke of Anson County, North Carolina. He married Hannah Harrington around 1763. As an impoverished, illiterate frontiersman, he appeared in the ceded lands (today Wilkes County), then the northwestern frontier of Georgia, in 1773.

In 1776 he joined the Whig movement and as a militia captain was wounded fighting the Cherokees. Clarke was appointed as a lieutenant colonel in the state militia and was later wounded at the battle of Alligator Bridge, Florida. On February 14, 1779, Clarke participated with SC Patriot militia Col. Andrew Pickens during the Whig victory at Kettle Creek, Georgia.

After Georgia and most of South Carolina fell to the British in 1780, Clarke and thirty men passed through Cherokee lands to continue the fight in the Carolinas. As a partisan, Clarke led frontier guerrillas in inflicting a heavy toll upon British and American Loyalists at Musgrove's Mill, Cedar Springs, Wofford's Iron Works, Augusta, Fishdam Ford, Long Cane, and Blackstock's Plantation. Although he was not present at the battles at King's Mountain and Cowpens, his campaigns influenced events that lead to both of those Whig victories. Clarke was a man of sturdy mental and physical stamina as he survived several battle wounds, the contraction of HsmallpoxH and the mumps during the war.

After the Revolution, Clarke served in the Georgia state assembly from 1781 to 1790, on the commission of confiscated estates, and in the state constitutional convention of 1789. He also acted as a commissioner for Georgia's treaties with the Indians. As a general of militia, he defeated the Creeks at Jack's Creek, in present Walton County, on September 21, 1787. Clarke later grew impatient with the national and state government failures to bring peace to the frontier and attempted to form an independent republic by seizing Creek lands on the Oconee frontier. At least twice he became involved in plots to invade neighboring Spanish East Florida.

Disenchanted, discredited, and almost bankrupt, Elijah Clarke died in Augusta on December 5, 1799.

Abridged from Robert Scott Davis, Jr., "**Elijah Clarke (1742-1799)**" *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, (9/12/2002) available at [Hwww.georgiaencyclopedia.orgH](http://Hwww.georgiaencyclopedia.orgH)

closest known strength for the assigned companies of Thomas Brown (64); Captain Andrew Johnston (62); Captain Joseph Smith (61); Captain Alexander Wylly (42); and Captain Samuel Rowarth (41). The actual number fit to fight is unknown, but both Tarleton and Henry Lee state in their memoirs that Brown had about 150 Provincials in the fight. See Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America*. (London: T. Cadell, 1787; Reprint North Stratford, NH: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc., 2001), 161 and Lee, *War in the Southern Department*, 199.

<sup>25</sup>Cashin and Robertson, *Augusta & The American Revolution*, footnote 163, pg 95-96. See also New Jersey Volunteer Return, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/103, folio 4. Available at the *On-Line Institute for Advance Loyalist Studies*,

[Hwww.royalprovincial.comH](http://Hwww.royalprovincial.comH)

**Thomas Brown** was born in 1750 in Whitby, England, the son of a wealthy merchant. His father outfitted a ship and recruited indentured servants for a voyage to Georgia where Brown, established Brownsborough northwest of Augusta in November 1774. Gov. James Wright appointed him a magistrate reflecting Brown's standing and position within the gentry class.

In 1775 Brown strongly opposed the efforts of the Sons of Liberty to enforce the continental association against trade with Britain. This stance resulted in the "Liberty Boys" making an example of him by fracturing his skull with a rifle butt, scalping his head in three or four places, and tar and feathering him before parading him through the streets of Augusta in a cart. When he recovered Brown sought to rally Loyalists in South Carolina. Brown soon fled to British East Florida where he devised a plan for the recovery of Georgia and Carolina with Patrick Tonyn, the governor of East Florida. Brown volunteered to raise a regiment of rangers to cooperate with the Indians against the Whigs on the frontier. Tonyn commissioned Brown a lieutenant colonel of the Florida Rangers in June 1776.

Brown formed his regiment, recruited Indian allies, and began a campaign upon the Georgia frontier. In response Georgia organized three abortive invasions of Florida. When Gen. Sir Henry Clinton adopted the southern strategy in 1778, he sent an army under Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell who captured Savannah. Campbell then marched to Augusta where he met Campbell and Indian allies and called for loyalists to join in restoring Crown authority. Brown's rangers attempted to rescue Loyalists in the Burke County jail that resulted in Brown being wounded.

During the French and American siege of Savannah in October 1779, Brown and his rangers helped defend the city. When Charleston fell to the British on May 12, 1780, American opposition generally collapsed and Brown and his rangers, now the Provincial King's Rangers, garrisoned Augusta. In September 1780 Brown held Augusta against a surprise raid by Col. Elijah Clarke and during the course of the four-day battle was again wounded.

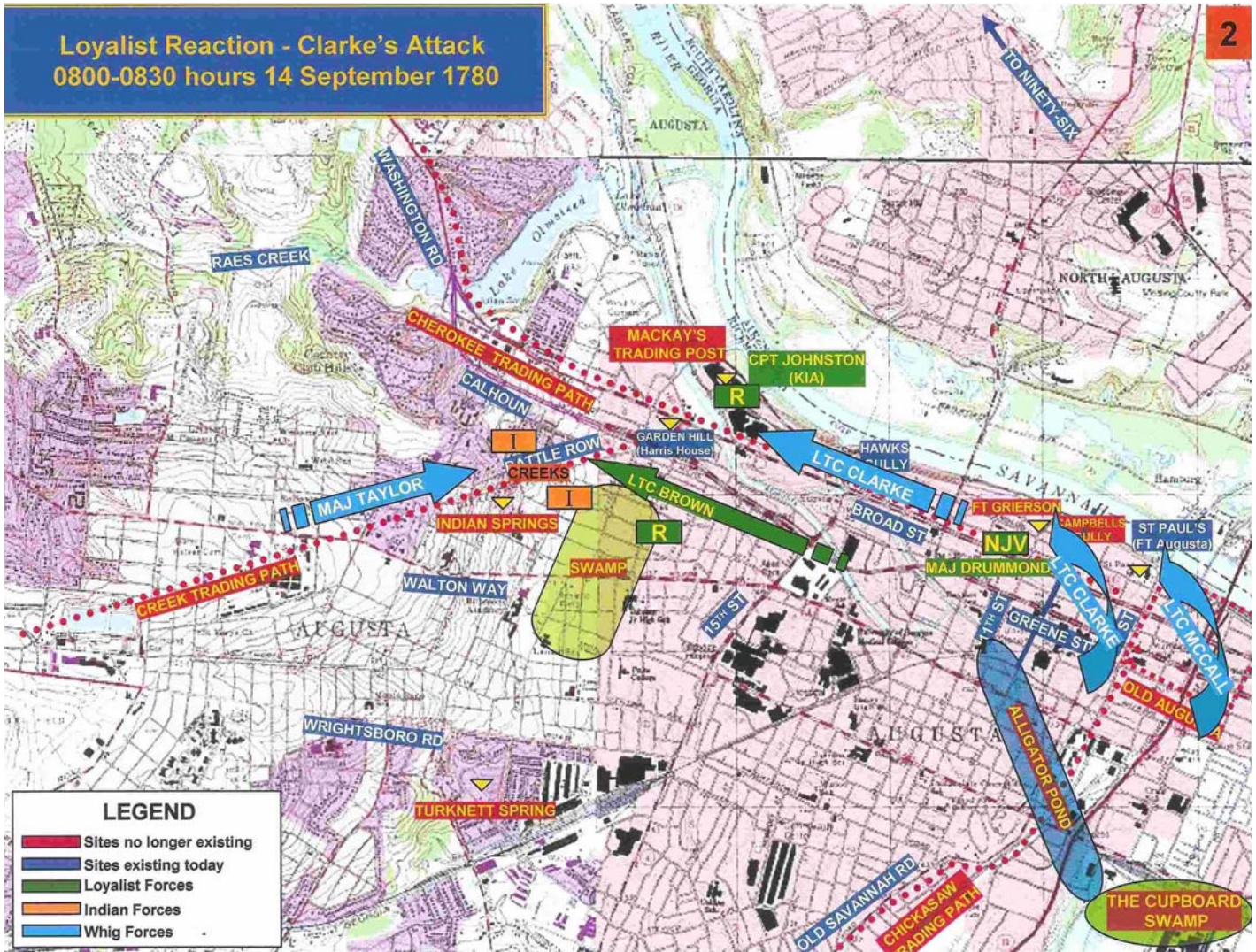
After that attack, Brown was given permission to construct Fort Cornwallis on the grounds of St. Paul's Church. He withstood a siege by Continentals led by Lt. Col. Henry "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, Georgian militia commanded by Col. Elijah Clarke, and South Carolinians under Gen. Andrew Pickens. After two weeks of fierce fighting, Brown, his rangers and their Indian allies, surrendered Augusta on June 5, 1781.

Brown was escorted under heavy guard to Savannah where he was paroled and later exchanged. Brown recruited another regiment of rangers and engaged in skirmishes against American troops commanded by Gen. Anthony Wayne. After the surrender of Savannah in July 1782, Brown joined the thousands of refugees who evacuated to British Florida, only to be forced to leave when that province was returned to Spain in the peace treaty of 1783. Brown and many of his former rangers settled on Abaco Island in the Bahamas where Loyalists regarded him as a hero.

Seeking more productive land, Brown went to Grand Caicos and then to St. Vincent where he received a large land grant to compensate him for his losses in America. Settlers who already occupied the land brought a lawsuit against him and he was convicted of fraud. After serving a term in the King's Bench prison, Brown returned to a still substantial plantation on St. Vincent and became a prosperous sugar grower and exporter. He died in 1825 at the age of seventy-five.

Abridged from Edward J. Cashin, "Thomas Brown (1750 – 1825)" *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, (3/7/2005) [Hwww.georgiaencyclopedia.orgH](http://Hwww.georgiaencyclopedia.orgH)





Map 2 – St. Paul's (old Fort Augusta) and Fort Grierson quickly fell to Col. Clarke's rebels as Lt. Col. Brown took his provincial forces to support the Creeks encamped at Indian Springs who were attacked by Maj. Samuel Taylor.

### SEPTEMBER 14, 1780

As Clarke approached the unsuspecting Loyalist and Indian forces, he divided his command into three elements to attack from different directions. He sent Major Samuel Taylor east along the Creek trading path toward the Creek encampment at Indian Springs.<sup>26</sup> Clarke ordered Lieutenant Colonel James McCall to circle south of Augusta and take the eastern approach into the town and attack toward St. Paul's Church. Clarke took the center and moved toward Augusta along the Savannah road that also lead straight to St. Paul's church.<sup>27</sup> Using this tactic, Clarke hoped to surprise the superior force, seize key supplies, and kill or capture as many Indians and Tories as possible. (See Map #1 - 0700 hours 14 September 1780 – front page.)

Early on September 14, Patriot Maj. Samuel Taylor attacked and surprised the Creek Indians in their camp. It did not take Brown long to hear about the attack on the Creeks and he immediately ordered his Rangers along with the two pieces of artillery toward the direction of the fighting. He left behind the incapacitated New Jersey Volunteers at Fort Grierson. Brown moved along present day Broad Street until he met the Creek path near current Eve Street. He then moved up the

hill toward the fighting along the Creek path that today is appropriately called Battle Row. (See Map #2 0800-0830 hours, 14 September 1780 – above.)



The old Creek path delineated by the sunken roadbed that led to Augusta and the Mackay House. The road today is appropriately named Battle Row.

<sup>26</sup>The approximate location of these springs was near Hickman Road and Heckle Street today.

<sup>27</sup>M'Call, *History of Georgia*, 483; Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, 115.

While Brown moved to support the Indians, Clarke and McCall entered Augusta behind him, quickly overran the guards at St. Paul's



and captured Fort Grierson. At Grierson, the New Jersey Volunteers suffered even more as one soldier was killed, one sergeant and five soldiers wounded, and Major Robert Drummond along with eighteen others was made prisoner.<sup>28</sup> Col. Clarke released and armed over 70 rebels who had been in jail, seized Indian presents valued at 4,000 pounds, and liberated much of the arms and ammunition that had been turned over previously by surrendering Whig forces.<sup>29</sup> Clarke then moved west along Broad Street toward the Mackay house where his guerillas engaged Captain Johnston's company who were guarding the Indian presents. During the firefight, Johnston was killed and some of his men were captured as Clarke's men gained possession of the house and all of the supplies.<sup>30</sup>



The area where Fort Grierson was located is marked by a historical marker about three quarters of mile northwest of St. Paul's church at the corner of 11<sup>th</sup> Street and Reynolds at the side of a Richmond County fire station as show in photo.

#### Eyewitness account of Joshua Burnett

At the time there were six-hundred men under Clark, all mounted men. The British, having left Augusta and being encamped a short distance from there, had left a guard, magazines and cannons in it, but Clark, having learned these facts marched round the enemy as soon as it was day, and by a circuitous route, came into Augusta at the opposite side from him. He entered the town, took the magazine and cannon, and with the cannon marched against the British Army. At nine o'clock A.M. a battle between them began which lasted with various success till nearly sundown, when the enemy retired to a little distance, and Clark marched his men back into a fort in the edge of town.

After night he returned to the battle ground and found many British and Indians slain, and that the enemy had taken quarters in a large stone house on the bank of the Savannah, and before morning so fortified themselves, that General Clark deemed a further attack on them not advisable. But Clark raised an entrenchment about 150 yards in front of that of their enemy. We besieged them four days, at the end of which the enemy sent a flag into Clark for capitulation. While the capitulation was going on, succor arrived to the enemy, and our army was obliged precipitably to retreat. This retreat we made through the wilderness to North Carolina, passing the Savannah and Saluda, the army proceeding till they joined Colonel Campbell and General Sevier on the Wataga in North Carolina.

**Joshua Burnett, "The Pension Claim of Joshua Burnett," edited by Edward J. Cashin, *Richmond County History* 10 (Winter 1978): 14-19.**

<sup>28</sup>New Jersey Volunteer Return, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/103, folio 4. Available at the *On-Line Institute for Advance Loyalist Studies*, H [www.royalprovincial.com](http://www.royalprovincial.com)H

<sup>29</sup>Louis Frederick Hayes, *Hero of the Hornet's Nest: A Biography of Elijah Clarke*, (New York, 1946), 100.

<sup>30</sup>Cashin, *The King's Ranger*, 115. See obituary in side-bar this page.

### Obituary of Captain Andrew Johnston, King's Carolina Rangers

SAVANNAH, September 28. [1780]

How beautiful is Death when earn'd by Virtue!  
Who would not be that Youth, my friends?  
Addison's Cato

ON the 14th inst. died at Augusta, of a wound he that day received whilst bravely charging the Rebels, Capt. ANDREW JOHNSTON, of the King's Rangers, son of the Hon. Lewis JOHNSTON, one of the Members of his Majesty's Council for this province.

In the year 1776 he was, with two of his brothers, obliged to leave this province on account of his and their steady loyalty to their King, and attachment to legal government.

In the year 1777 he received a commission in Lieut. Col. Brown's Rangers, and soon after distinguished himself remarkably by his intrepidity in the attack upon Fort Barrington, at that time in the possession of the Rebels, having been the first man that entered the fort on storming it.

In the summer of 1778, when the united Rebel forces of this province and South Carolina invaded East Florida, he received a dangerous wound in gallantly defending a breast-work with a handful of men against great superiority of numbers.

Since that time he was almost constantly on actual service, and on every occasion supported the character of a good and brave Officer.

His generous and spirited behaviour on the 14th inst. which so gloriously finished his career of honour, will be remembered with gratitude by all those who were witnesses of it.

In publick life he was distinguished by true patriotick zeal for the service of his King and Country- and in private life no less so, for the more mild and amiable virtues of humanity, and the conscientious and affectionate discharge of all the social duties in the character of Companion, Friend, Brother, and Child.

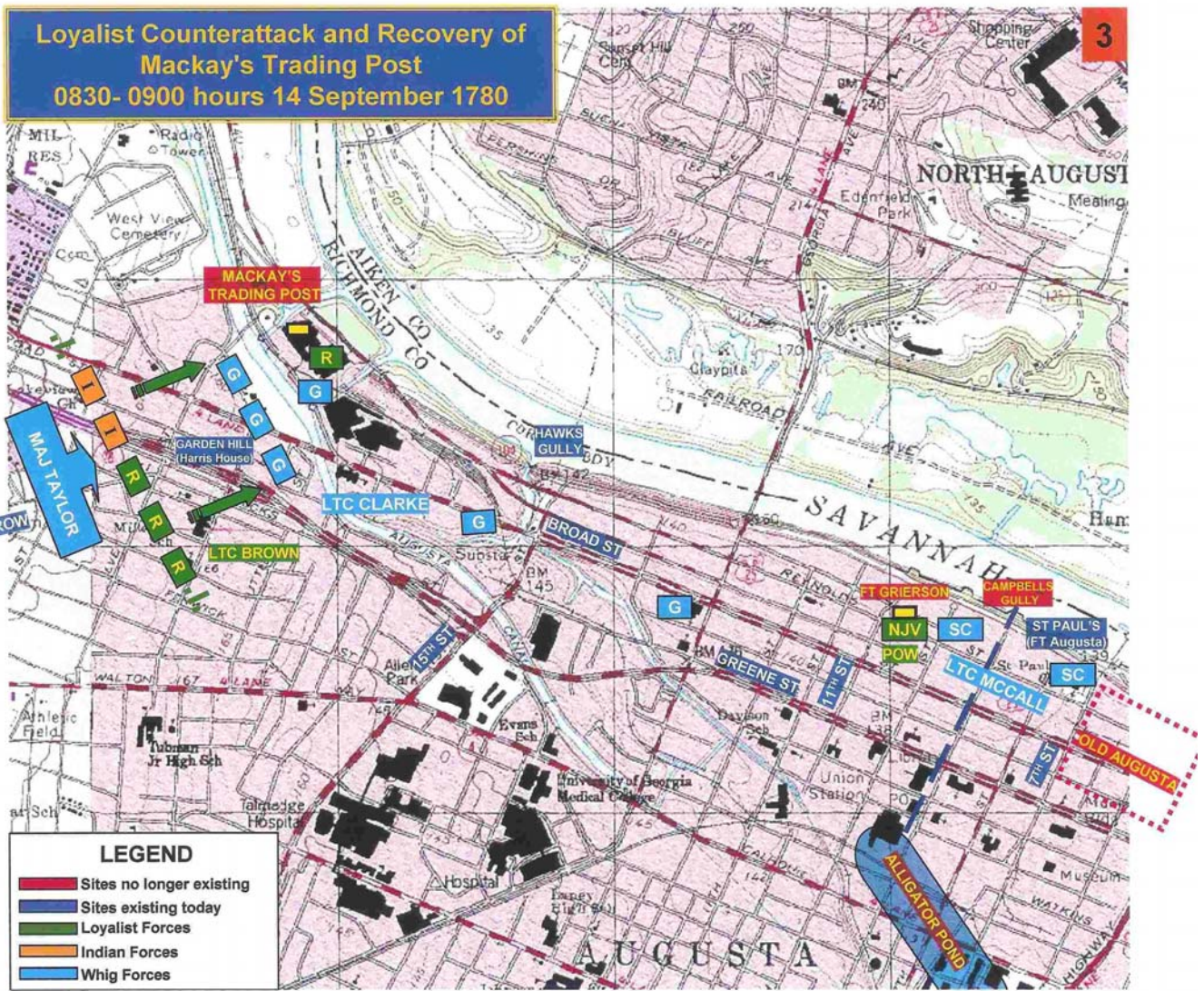
Such was the generous Youth whose fall we lament.

His Country's Glory fir'd him as he dy'd,  
Her Love still sounding on his falt'ring Breath:  
O bless her Arms! the dying Hero cry'd,  
Heaven heard, and Victory adorn'd his Death.

*The Royal Georgia Gazette*, (Savannah), September 28th, 1780.

From The On-line Institute for Advanced Loyalist Studies, [Hwww.royalprovincial.comH](http://www.royalprovincial.com) accessed 5 September 2005.





**Map 3 – Patriot Lt. Col. James McCall’s SC militia secured booty and prisoners at St. Paul’s (old Fort Augusta) and Fort Grierson; Maj. Samuel Taylor pushed Brown’s provincials and Indians on Garden Hill as Clarke’s men attacked the Mackay House garrison.**

Meanwhile, Brown had joined the battle with his Rangers and he found himself caught between fighting Taylor’s forces bearing down the Creek path from the west and Clarke’s forces that were behind him to the east. This situation speaks volumes about Brown’s leadership and courage as he faced the dangerous tasks of executing a fighting withdrawal down the hill and conducting a frontal assault upon the rebels who had just seized the Mackay house. He would demonstrate that resolute leadership at Garden Hill, the place where the traders had kept a garden at a higher elevation from the river where his Rangers and Indians proved to be in top form for the battle.<sup>31</sup> (See Map #3 - 0830-0900 hours 14 September 1780 – above.)

At Garden Hill Brown formed his men into a line of battle with the Rangers on the right flank with fixed bayonets and the Creeks on the left flank with their rifles. He placed an artillery piece on each flank and their shots served as the signal for the formation to assault any rebels caught between them and the Mackay house. The Loyalist attack inflicted several casualties on the Whigs who were beaten back and driven from the house and surrounding outbuildings. In the

confusion of the fight, some of Clarke’s men had used cover of brush to move around a flank and captured one of the Loyalist’s cannon.<sup>32</sup>



**View of Garden Hill looking southwest. This elevation was part of the “White House Tract” which later became the town of Harrisburg. The Ezekiel Harris house in the center of the photo was mistaken for the Mackay House for many years. Some of the heaviest fighting of the battle occurred on the ground shown here.**

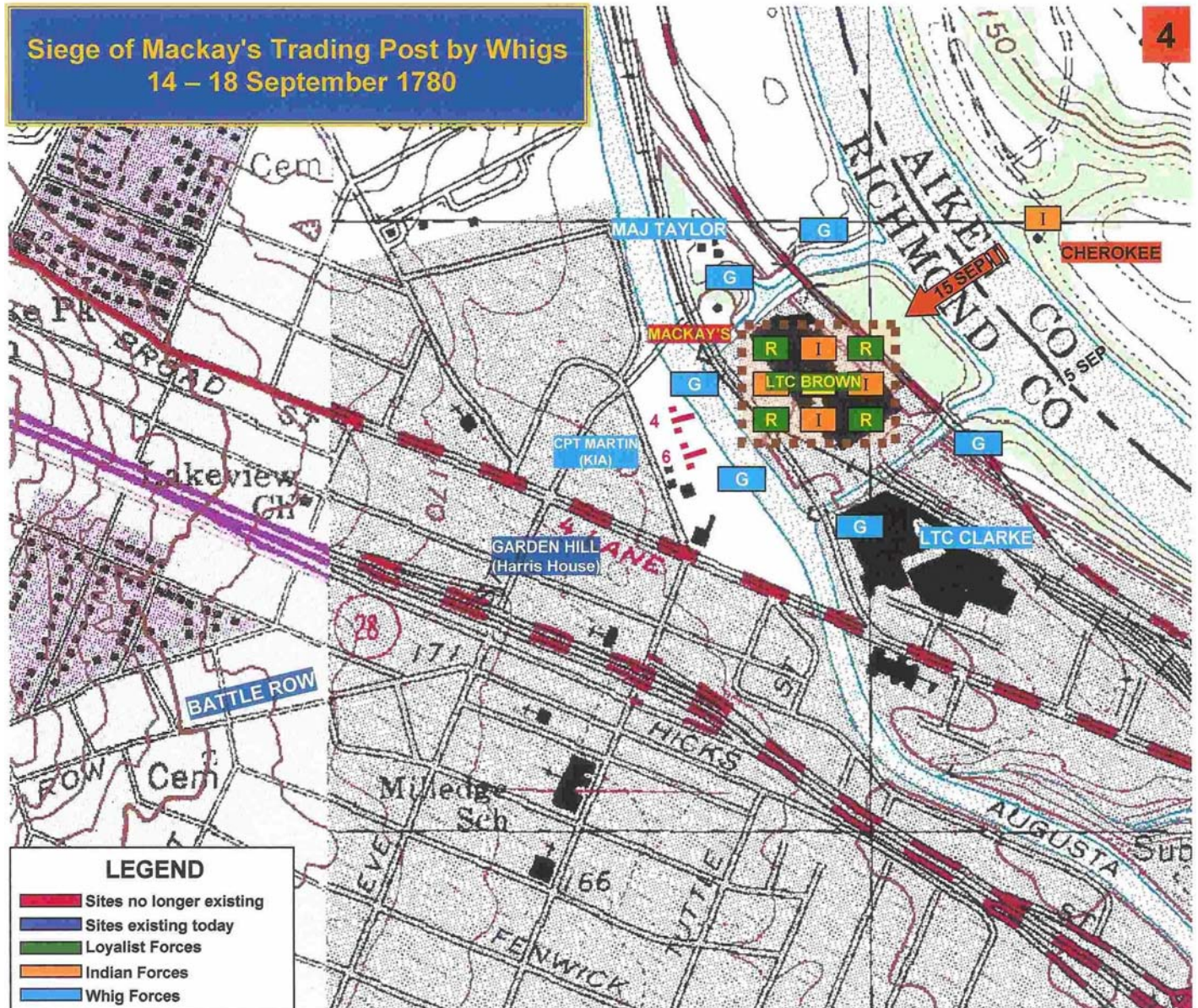
<sup>31</sup>This place today is approximately where Eve and Broad streets meet. I believe the Ezekiel Harris house sits on the northeast slope of what remains of Garden Hill.

<sup>32</sup>Cashin, *The King’s Ranger*, 116.



Clarke managed to direct fire upon Brown's position at the Mackay house until early afternoon, then many of his men quietly departed the battle to seek plunder from Augusta about a mile to the east. Brown used this time to improve his defensive position. The house was constructed of stone and apart from the window and doors, was a solid structure very suitable as a fortification. Brown ordered the

floorboards torn up and put over the windows after cutting loopholes in them for small arms to fire. Since the house was too small to hold the Rangers and the Creeks, he directed the Indians dig earthworks around the perimeter to improve their position. (See Map #4 - 14-18 September 1780 - below.)



**Map 4 - Lt. Col. Thomas Brown consolidated his provincial forces and Creek allies and dug defensive works around the Mackay Trading House. Brown was reinforced by about 50 Cherokee who crossed the Savannah River from South Carolina on September 15, 1780.**

Brown did maintain the presence of mind during these chaotic events to order Loyalist Sir Patrick Houstoun, brother of John Houstoun, Whig governor of Georgia, to Ninety Six with a message for Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger to send assistance to help drive off the rebels. Later, he sent one of his Rangers, Captain Joseph Smith, with a written request for assistance. Brown coolly assessed the situation in his message:

After a smart conflict of upward an hour, we drove them from their ground, and from amongst the houses, where the Indians stores are lodged, and of which we instantly took possession - here we continued engaged with them for I suppose two hours longer, when they thought proper to retire. And we have very little annoyance from them since.

By the best information I have yet collected their force is upward six hundred men - but am told they give it out to be thirteen hundred. Here (at the Indian store) we stand fast - but from the number that I have had killed, and wounded, I do not think myself sufficiently strong to march out and attack them in their present position - viz, at Grierson's Fort - where, I am informed, they are at work mounting some of the Cannon.<sup>33</sup>

By nightfall, Brown and his men were well established in a good defensive position and were prepared to meet a renewed rebel attack.

<sup>33</sup>Lt. Col. Thomas Brown to Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger, September 15, 1780, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/64, 65-66.





**Photo looking northeast from the 2<sup>nd</sup> level porch at the Harris House at Garden Hill toward the site of the Mackay House under the structures of the old Confederate powder works and current Sibley Mill. The Augusta Canal now runs just in front of the mill indicated by the banks in the center of the photo.**

### SEPTEMBER 15, 1780

Early the next day a lull in the siege helped improve Brown's situation when about 50 Cherokees crossed the Savannah and joined Brown's forces at the Mackay house. These new arrivals were easily furnished with weapons and ammunition from the cache of gifts and supplies that were intended for the Indians. Brown continued to send written updates to Cruger while his men, who numbered about 550 with the addition of the Cherokee's, continued to improve their defensive positions.<sup>34</sup> Brown told Cruger "I shall defend my post to the last extremity."<sup>35</sup>

Elijah Clarke attempted to deal with his dug-in enemy using several measures. First, he completed his own line of field works around the Mackay house and also closed off the riverbank to cut Brown off from further reinforcements from South Carolina. Clarke had moved his headquarters to Fort Grierson and decided to remove some of the cannon and use them to attack the Loyalist position. Clarke was fortunate to have a trained artilleryman, Captain William Martin, who managed to set up a four-pounder and a six-pounder to assail the enemy fort.<sup>36</sup>

About noon the rebels opened fire with artillery, which did some damage to the Mackay House and also killed and wounded several of Brown's officers and men. Clarke also directed rifle and small arms fire that pelted the house. During this fusillade, Brown was hit in both thighs by a rifle bullet that knocked him down and, though suffering great pain, he was still able to direct the defense.<sup>37</sup> Casualties mounted as well for the rebels, including Captain Martin, who was killed by one of the Rangers. By that evening, Garden Hill and the surrounding area near the Mackay House were covered with dead and wounded men from the intense fighting of the second day of the siege.

At Ninety Six, Cruger had learned of the attack upon the Augusta garrison before Brown's messengers arrived from some men who witnessed the fight from across the river in South Carolina. Cruger sent a report to Cornwallis about the emergency at Augusta, stating:

<sup>34</sup>This number reflects all potential Crown strength in Augusta at this time and includes those fit for duty, wounded, missing, absent (such as messengers) and dead.

<sup>35</sup>Brown to Cruger, September 15, 1780, British Public Records Office, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/64, 65-66.

<sup>36</sup>M'Call, *History of Georgia*, 484.

<sup>37</sup>Cashin, *King's Ranger*, p. 116.

Two persons of credit and veracity just came in to see me & report that yesterday between 12 & 1 o'clock they were on a hill this side the Savannah opposite to the House in Augusta in which Colonel Brown has his Indian stores, they saw the Rebels at this house attack Brown, . . . Brown lay under the disadvantage of being confin'd to the Spot where his house Stands, which is to the extreme part of the Town, west. . . I have not yet heard from Col. Browne, if I do not very soon, I shall think him in a bad way, I believe he has no Stores of provisions. I am ready to move in an instant, but have not yet been able to collect here 100 militia."<sup>38</sup>

During the evening Clarke sent Brown a message under a white flag demanding that Brown surrender. Brown rejected the demand and emphasized that Clarke's actions would bring retribution to him, his followers and their families. Clarke returned a message indicating that Brown would be held equally responsible for any post-battle actions. With that final rejection the Whigs opened up with a burst of fire upon the Loyalist position and continued the firing throughout the night. Early the next morning, Clarke moved his lines back to new positions but maintained a cordon around the house and ensured Loyalist access to the river had been cut off. (See Map #5 - Aerial view of battlefield – next page.)

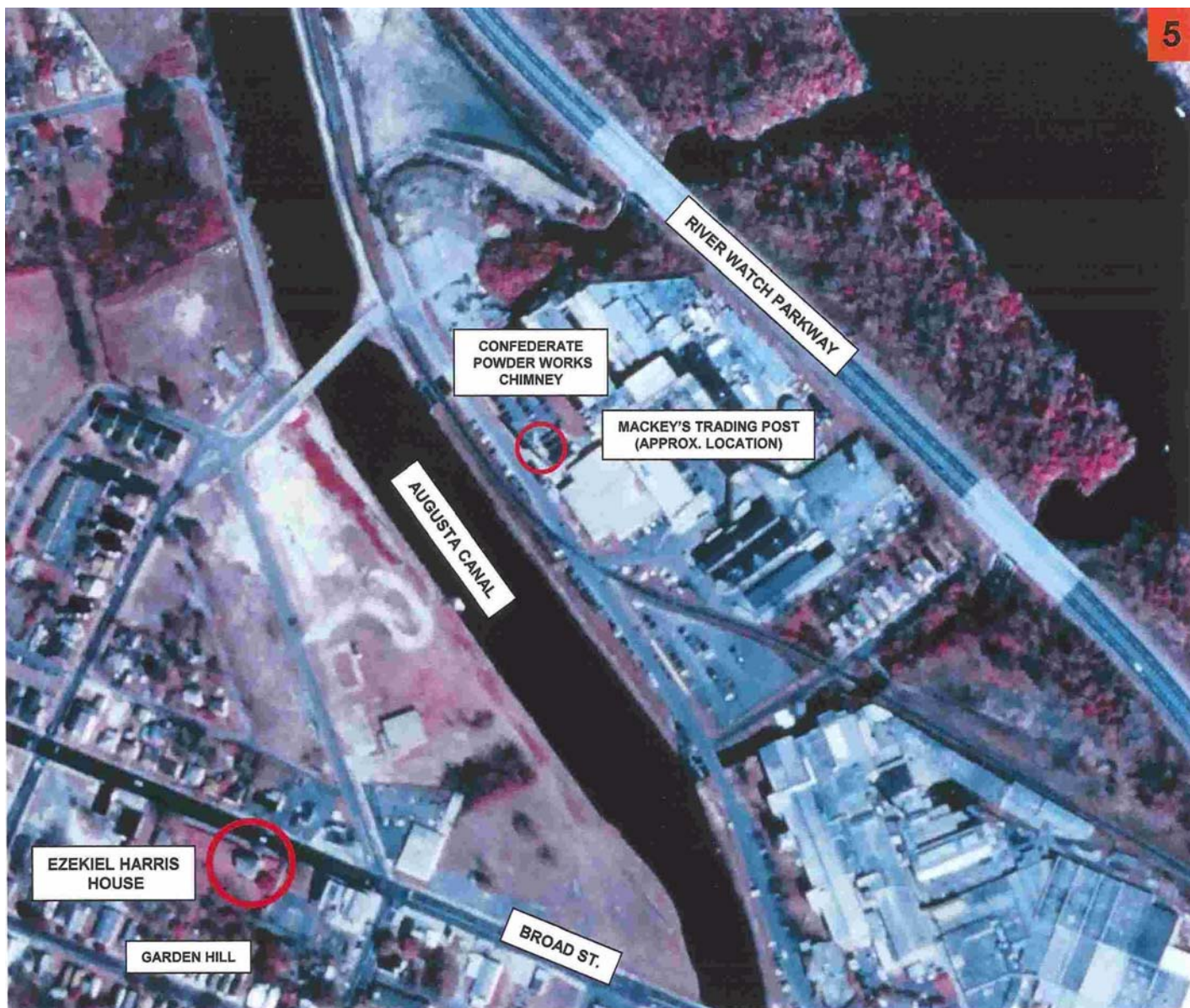
**The Mackay House or "White House"** was constructed between 1760-1770 and used by the trading company Williams and Mackay that served Indians and frontiersmen in conducting transactions. Later, the company became the Mackay and McLean firm. Robert Mackay died in 1775 and Andrew McLean continued the business at the time of the revolution. The "White House" as it was known served as a central storage point for many of the official British government gifts for the Indians based on treaties and agreements. For many years, it was believed that the building currently standing at 1822 Broad Street was the "White House" however, that building is the Ezekiel Harris house originally built in 1797. The Harris house occupies what was at the time of the battle Garden Hill, the site of the pitched battle that occurred on the morning of 14 September. The "White House" was located about 80 yards from the Savannah River at the approximately location where the Confederate Powder works chimney and textile mill stand today.



**The distinctive square chimney that once belonged to the Confederate powder works stands close to where the Mackay House once stood, the exact site is unknown and probably under the mill now at the site. For a brief time the first US Arsenal occupied this ground in 1819 until it was relocated on higher ground where Augusta State University is today. In the foreground is the 1845 Augusta Canal.**

<sup>38</sup>Cruger to Cornwallis, September 15-16, 1780, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/64, 67-68.





**Map 5 - Aerial view of the battlefield. The Ezekiel Harris house is in the lower left and the Mackay house probably was located under the mill complex in the center of the photo. The Savannah River is at the top right of the photo, the canal was constructed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.**

### SEPTEMBER 16-17, 1780

During the next several days, Brown's defense of the Mackay house was conducted under extremely aggravating conditions due to the heat and lack of food and water within the confined area. Though only a few hundred yards from the Savannah River, the British were cut off by the rebels from all sources of water. In a decision that reflected imagination, resolve, and desperation, Brown ordered his men to preserve their urine in some stoneware. When the urine became cold it was issued out to the men with Brown himself taking the first drink. For food all the Loyalists had to eat were raw pumpkins. Added to these discomforts was the stench of dead men and horses and the wailing cries of the wounded calling for water and aid.<sup>39</sup> During all of this time, Brown, whose wounds grew more aggravating continued, "at the head of his small gallant band, directing his defence, and animating his troops by presence and example."<sup>40</sup>

Meanwhile at Ninety-Six, Cruger prepared to relieve Augusta and left command of the base to SC Loyalist Militia Colonel Moses Kirkland. Cruger departed at 0900 hours on September 16 with his own first battalion of Delancy's New York Brigade, a detachment from Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Allen's third battalion, New Jersey Volunteers and Colonel Alexander Inne's South Carolina Royalists, a force of about 300 men.<sup>41</sup> It would take him almost 48 hours to reach Augusta and assist Brown.

While Cruger advanced 45 miles to Augusta, many of the rebels became bored with the siege and began to find other activities to occupy themselves. Some Burke county men left to go visit friends and relatives there, while others motivated by "obtaining plunder, rather than by motives of zeal in the cause of their country," focused on looting the Indian gifts and abandoned the operation.<sup>42</sup> During this time, Clarke's already small force may have been reduced to about 200 men who were still focused on the mission, a situation that spelled doom for the ambitious enterprise.

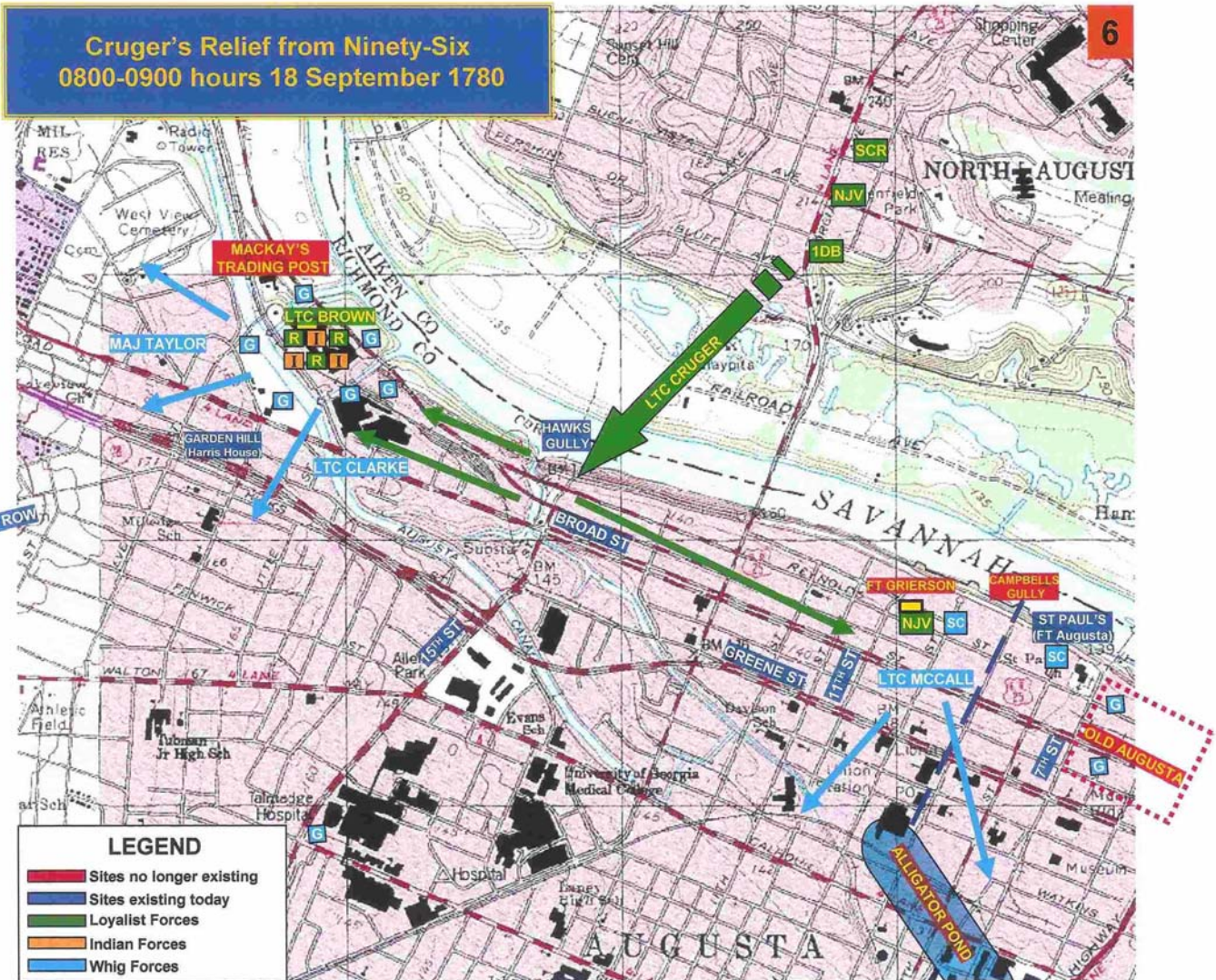
<sup>39</sup>Jones, *History of Georgia*, 457.

<sup>40</sup>Lee, *War in the Southern Department*, 199-200.

<sup>41</sup>Cruger to Cornwallis, September 16, 1780, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/64.

<sup>42</sup>M'Call, *History of Georgia*, 485.





**Map 6 - Relief column under provincial Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger arrived from Ninety Six, crossed the Savannah River, climbed up Hawks Gully and scattered the besiegers to reestablish uncontested Crown control of Augusta.**

**SEPTEMBER 18, 1780**

At about 0800 hours on September 18, Cruger's column advanced down the Martintown Road and came within sight of Augusta. (See Map #6 0800-0900 hours 18 September 1780.) The appearance of almost 300 fresh Loyalists was enough to induce many of rebels to flee from the action. Cruger sent an advance party over the river to meet with Brown and coordinate the action while the main force waded across the river and moved into Hawk's Gully toward the rear of the Whig forces. As Cruger's men emerged from the gully, Brown ordered his troops to sally out from their works to capture remnants of Clarke's guerillas. By now Clarke decided he had accomplished all he could and ordered his men to break off the engagement and rendezvous at Dennis Mill on the Little River.<sup>43</sup> Clarke and his men had to run for their lives and, as Brown had promised, the consequence of his failed operation would affect the homes and families of those who had chosen to participate.

Due to their exhausted physical condition after four days of siege, Brown's Rangers were unable to pursue the rebels far but did manage to recover the artillery and capture several wounded rebels as prisoners. The Creeks and Cherokees did however move quickly to

capture and kill as many of the rebel stragglers they could along with seizing horses and weapons. Colonel James Grierson with some of the more able loyalists and Indians returned to Augusta where they captured and killed rebels who had been plundering rather than participating in the siege. In the end, Brown and Cruger's combined corps had killed and wounded about 60 of Clarke's men.<sup>44</sup> The Loyalists lost an unknown number killed, but the Indians lost about 70 killed in the action.<sup>45</sup> Cruger reported to Cornwallis on September 19, 1780:

I got here yesterday morning: the rebels hearing very early of us, prepared for a Retreat & only gave us the Chance of a few Shot at them on the Wing, as they went off in the most precipitate manner....I am now sending out patrols of horse to pick up the traitorous rebels of the neighborhood, who I purpose to send to Charles Town, the audacious scoundrels have sent to me, to sue for pardon. Brown has with him about 300 Indians, they behaved well, they brought in five or six

<sup>43</sup>Cashin, *King's Ranger*, 118; Hayes, *Hero of Hornet's Nest*, 101.

<sup>44</sup>Known Whig dead included: Captain Charles Jourdine, Captain William Martin, Absalom Horn, William Luckie, and Major Carter  
<sup>45</sup>Among the known dead of the loyalists were Captain Andrew Johnston and Ensign Silcox of the King's Rangers.



scalps got by sallying out from house and out Houses into which they threw themselves...<sup>46</sup>

## HANGINGS AT THE “WHITE HOUSE”

Perhaps the most well known incident related to this battle and Augusta’s role during the war, concerns what happened to the Whig prisoners. There were 29 known captives who were dealt with in varied and dramatic manner that provided the rebels an example of British brutality. In accordance with Cornwallis’ policy concerning those who broke their parole and took up arms, the Loyalist commanders were compelled to take action toward 13 of the captured men. Captain Ashby from McCall’s South Carolina militia and 12 others that included Henry Duke, John Burgamy, Scott Reeden, Jordan Ricketson, Ephraim Darling, and two brothers named Glass, were hanged from an outside staircase of the Mackay house for having participated in the recent battle.<sup>47</sup> Many of the other prisoners were turned over to the Indians who according to M’Call, “formed a circle and placed the prisoners in the centre, and their eagerness to shed blood spared the victims from tedious torture: some were scalped...others were thrown into fires and roasted to death.”<sup>48</sup>

Whig histories of this event have turned it into a “Waxhaws” of sorts for Thomas Brown and it has tainted, deservedly or not, his reputation since. SC Patriot Governor John Rutledge even used the “Thomas Brown” defense to justify the execution of Loyalist prisoners following the Battle of King’s Mountain.<sup>49</sup> Charles Jones in his *History of Georgia* argued that Brown injuries dictated that the rebels be “hung upon the staircase of the White House, where Brown was lying wounded, that he might enjoy the demoniacal pleasure of gloating over their expiring agonies.”<sup>50</sup> Before Jones, Hugh M’Call described Brown of having “the satisfaction of seeing the victim of his vengeance expire.”<sup>51</sup> Professor Edward Cashin, who has provided the most scholarly work published on these events, assessed such descriptions of this event as contradictory of Brown’s character and career.<sup>52</sup> In fact, a logical case can be made that Cruger ordered enforcement of the law as Brown would have been indisposed after having suffered from the stress of command for four days, painful wounds in both of his legs, and having subsisted on a diet of pumpkins and urine. And if it was in fact Brown, gleeful or not, he ensured that his superiors policy was enforced.

## LOYALIST RETRIBUTION AGAINST WHIG PROPERTY AND PERSONS

It appeared that Governor Wright’s previous concern about the state of military security in Georgia was confirmed by the Whig attack upon Augusta demonstrating that the “the Spirit and Flame of

<sup>46</sup>Cruger to Cornwallis, September 19, 1780, BPRO, Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/64, 104-105.

<sup>47</sup>The list of names and their spelling varies in the sources. I have chosen to rely on the list supplied by Cashin in footnote 48, page 315 of the *King’s Ranger*.

<sup>48</sup>M’Call cites as his sources British officers who witnessed this event and had “exultingly communicated it” to their friends in Savannah, Charleston and London. M’Call, *History of Georgia*, 487.

<sup>49</sup>Rutledge said, “It is said (and I believe it) that of the Prisoners whom Brown took at Augusta, he gave up four to the Indians who killed em, - cut off their Heads and kicked their bodies about the Streets and that he (Brown) hung upwards of 30 prisoners.” Cited in Cashin, *King’s Ranger*, 120.

<sup>50</sup>Jones, *History of Georgia*, 458.

<sup>51</sup>M’Call, *History of Georgia*, 486.

<sup>52</sup>Cashin makes an important point that officers such as Continental Lt. Col. Henry “Light Horse Harry” Lee expressed admiration for Brown in his memoirs that reflects perhaps a contemporary view of reality, rather than post-war myth. Cashin, *King’s Ranger*, 120.

Rebellion is not over.” He urged that proper defensive fortifications be constructed at Augusta and legislation be passed to authorize drafting of slaves for such labor. He fully supported the punishments meted out in Augusta, stating: “Thirteen of the Prisoners who broke their Paroles and came against Augusta have been hang’d which I hope will have a very Good Effect.”<sup>53</sup> In addition, he advised the British military leaders that “the most Effectual and Best Method of Crushing the Rebellion in the Back Parts of this Country, is for an Army to march without Loss of time into the Ceded Lands - and to lay Waste and Destroy the whole Territory.”<sup>54</sup>

John Harris Cruger took command of subsequent operations to hunt down any remnants of Clarke’s force and prevent another such insurrection. On September 20 he received intelligence that Clarke had retreated as far as the Little River, where he was regrouping for another attack upon Augusta after the British moved back to Ninety Six. He decided to take the fight against Clarke into the backcountry and sent detachments in all directions to mete out frontier justice to the guerillas, their families and any others who demonstrated sympathy for the Whig cause.

By September 23 Cruger’s force had reached Georgia Patriot militia Col. John Dooly’s farm about 45 miles north of Augusta however by this time Clarke had already crossed the Broad River. Much as Wright had advised, the Loyalists inflicted a terrible retribution for Clarke’s attack. In Wilkes County the courthouse was burned, frontier forts destroyed and over 100 Whig homes were burned, their property plundered and livestock driven off. The families of men who had joined Clarke were given a choice of leaving the colony within twenty-four hours notice or take an oath and submit to the royal government.<sup>55</sup>

As he pursued the rebels, Cruger ordered many arrests, including the 78 year old father of Samuel and James Alexander who was forced to walk over 40 miles in two days to Augusta where he was confined as a hostage with many others. Whigs who had been on parole such as George Handley, Chesley Bostwick and John Wreat were arrested and sent to Charleston along with 20 others for confinement.<sup>56</sup> When Cruger reached the Broad River on September 28 he could find no trace of the rebels who had fled toward the mountains of North Carolina.

## CLARKE’S FLIGHT PRECIPITATES THE BATTLE OF KING’S MOUNTAIN

After leaving Augusta, Clarke and the remnants of his followers had scattered to their homes to gather their families and prepared to leave Georgia for refuge in North Carolina. At an appointed rendezvous, over 300 men and 400 women and children met for the arduous journey carrying only five days of supplies. One historian characterized this event, “Like Moses from Egypt...Colonel Clark commenced a march of near two hundred miles, through a mountainous wilderness,” to reach the Watauga Valley.<sup>57</sup>

Cruger reported this information to Cornwallis who directed Major Patrick Ferguson with his loyalist force to intercept Clarke. Ferguson eventually established a position at King’s Mountain as part of the operation but was discovered and attacked by the “over the mountain” men lead by Colonels Campbell, Cleveland, Williams, Shelby and Sevier, who had hoped to join Clarke at Augusta.<sup>58</sup> Later Cornwallis wrote Henry Clinton about Ferguson’s defeat at King’s Mountain

<sup>53</sup>Cashin and Robertson, *Augusta & The American Revolution*, 49.

<sup>54</sup>Cited in Robertson, “*Second British Occupation*,” 435.

<sup>55</sup>Cashin and Robertson, *Augusta & The American Revolution*, 50.

<sup>56</sup>M’Call, *History of Georgia*, 488-489.

<sup>57</sup>M’Call, *History of Georgia*, 490-491.

<sup>58</sup>Cashin and Robertson, *Augusta & The American Revolution*, 50.

stating, "Maj. Ferguson was tempted to stay near the mountains longer than he intended, in hopes of cutting off Col. Clarke on his return from Georgia. He was not aware that the enemy was so near him, and in endeavoring to execute my orders of ...joining me at Charlottetown, he was attacked by a very superior force & totally defeated at King's Mountain."<sup>59</sup>

## NEW FORTIFICATIONS AT AUGUSTA

The wish of both Georgia Royal Governor James Wright and Thomas Brown of strengthening the Georgia defenses was fulfilled when permission was given by Lord Cornwallis to construct the much-needed fortification at Augusta. In a gesture of respect, though one can not help but note the irony, the new fortification was named Fort Cornwallis, for the theater commander who had for so long refused to acknowledge the need, nor provide the resources for such an endeavor. The Reverend Mr. Seymour of St. Paul's wrote about the construction of this fortification on the site of his parish:

The Officers and Engineers thought it advisable to make a Fortress at Augusta to guard against a similar attack; where the Church stands was deemed the most proper ground for that purpose, and the Burying Ground is now made a strong fortification. By this means I lost the use of the Church, the Society may expect a Letter from Col. Brown soon apologizing for that measure.<sup>60</sup>

The next time the Whigs attacked Augusta, Brown would ensure he had a proper defense in place. Throughout the fall and winter, slaves and the Rangers constructed Fort Cornwallis that many considered impregnable from rebel assault. That test would come several months later in May and June, 1781 when Brown would again face Col. Elijah Clarke, SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Pickens and Continental Lt. Col. Henry "Lighthorse Harry" Lee from the ramparts of the new Fort Cornwallis during the Second Siege at Augusta.<sup>61</sup>

## SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FIRST SIEGE AT AUGUSTA

Though the events just described may not seem all that significant in the greater scope of the American Revolution, Clarke's attack resulted in a changed outlook in the backcountry on part of both Loyalists and Whigs as the summer faded in 1780. From a tactical standpoint, what did Clarke accomplish? How hard of a blow did he inflict upon Brown's Provincial and Indian forces? Given Clarke's strength of about 430 effective men, more if you add the 70 or so freed prisoners, it appears from the casualty figures that the rebels suffered 18% or more in personnel losses. This is really not an unusual figure for an attacking a force against an enemy in good defensive positions, especially one that increasingly outnumbered the attacker. However, if Clarke's goal was to inflict casualties upon the Provincials, he did not succeed, as Brown's loss of Rangers or other loyalists was not considerable. The rebels did however inflict about 70 casualties upon the Creeks and Cherokees, a loss perhaps great enough to make them reconsider the reestablishment of relations with the British.

Was this attack worth the cost to those who followed Clarke, broke their paroles and then suffered the consequences of stated British policy? Did any of the rebels consider what would happen to them or their families if the expedition failed? In one sense, Clarke's attack upon Augusta was a ringing endorsement of the arguments made by Wright, Brown, Balfour and Cruger to Lord Cornwallis for more troops, fortifications, and harsher policies toward former Whigs.

<sup>59</sup>Cornwallis to Clinton, December 3, 1780, BPRO Cornwallis Papers, 30/11/72, 57-64.

<sup>60</sup>Cited in Cashin and Robertson, *Augusta & The American Revolution*, 49.

<sup>61</sup>Robertson, "Second British Occupation," 436-437.

After Clarke's attack, the gloves came off and Cruger directed a punitive expedition into the Ceded Lands against persons and property identified with the rebel cause. The Loyalists were not going to allow an attack like that to happen again against a key British operating base.

The action at Augusta also exercised the working relationships of the Loyalist commanders, who saw their roles as mutually supporting reaction forces who would come to each other's aid in checking any rebel operations. Clarke also may be given special credit for opening Cornwallis' eyes regarding the need of fortifications at Augusta, something Brown could never accomplish no matter how rational his argument. The presence of a well-constructed fort strengthened Loyalists defenses in Augusta and anyone who attempted to attack the town in the future would pay even more dearly for it. The Whigs would eventually reap during May-June 1781 the seeds Clarke had sown in September 1780.

On the other hand, the Whig cause may have gained momentum in some respects due to the post-battle events. The execution of rebel prisoners, regardless of parole status or legality of the sentence, served the patriot cause far beyond the vicinity of Augusta. The Whig press and information network spread the news of this event, painting Thomas Brown as the devil incarnate, an example of the barbaric British occupation and justification for retaliation in kind for Loyalist prisoners. Such an event, while demoralizing in one sense, served to harden the resolution of many Whigs, certainly those related to the men and their families who suffered retaliation for the attack upon Augusta. When Clarke and the hundreds of displaced men, women and children made their way through Georgia, South Carolina and into North Carolina, their status as refugees served as a further example of the cruelty inflicted by Loyalist punitive actions. All of these aspects may have contributed to making more rebels in the backcountry rather than convincing people to declare loyalty to the crown.

Finally, because Clarke failed at Augusta, and because he and his fellow Georgians fled toward North Carolina, Patrick Ferguson was inspired to intercept the defiant rebels as they retreated to the mountains. However instead of Clarke he found an assembly of militia from Kentucky, West Virginia and North Carolina, many of whom had been moving to assist Clarke at Augusta, now turned their sights on Ferguson at a place called King's Mountain. The first siege at Augusta then was significant in the wider scheme of events, or turning points, that led to final American victory.

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**Steven J. Rauch** has served as the Command Historian for the US Army Signal Center at Fort Gordon, Georgia since 2002. He is a retired Army officer who has written and taught military history in various capacities throughout his career at the US Army Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, and the US Army Ordnance School at Aberdeen Proving Ground, Maryland. He holds BS and MA degrees in history from Eastern Michigan University where he specialized in early American history, particularly the Revolutionary War and War of 1812. He has conducted numerous military staff rides to battlefield sites related to the Revolutionary War, War of 1812, US Civil War, Plains Indian War, and the Korean War as part of the US Army Staff Ride program. He has published numerous essays in a several multi-volume military history encyclopedias, including the *Encyclopedia of the American Revolutionary War* to be published by ABC-CLIO. He has been an adjunct instructor at Augusta State University, Augusta, Georgia since 2003 where he teaches courses on American Military History and the United States to 1877.



**Rembrandt Peele painting of Col. Elijah Clarke, courtesy of the Augusta Museum of History.**

This 30 by 25 inch oil and canvas portrait of Elijah Clarke by Rembrandt Peele painted in the early 1800s recently found an appropriate home at the Augusta Museum of History after making a circuitous journey from the University of Georgia, the High Museum of Art in Atlanta and then to a Sotheby's auction in New York. Without considering historical agencies within Georgia, the High Museum offered the painting at auction even though it had strong historical ties to Georgia and particularly the Augusta area. Upon learning of the impending auction, the Augusta Museum of History acted to acquire the painting through bidding but was unsuccessful and it was purchased by a New York art dealer for \$4,750.00. After the auction, AMH then sought to locate the buyer and offer to purchase the painting with help of several board members. Eventually the art dealer agreed to sell the painting to AMH for \$10,000.00, making a sizable profit at the expense of those Georgians who appreciated it for its historical and cultural value. The painting currently hangs in the galleries at the Augusta Museum of History and is a wonderful addition to the story of Augusta and the American Revolution in Georgia.

About the 1<sup>st</sup> of September, Col. Clarke returned to Wilkes County, in Georgia, and Lt. Col. M'Call to the western part of Ninety-Six district; with the expectation of raising a joint force of at least one thousand men. To such an army it was supposed that Augusta would submit with little or no resistance, and that Ninety-Six might soon afterward be menaced, and would probably be evacuated by the enemy. If Clarke's views had been seconded with that zeal which inhabited his own bosom, the exertions of one month would have thrown the western divisions of Georgia and South Carolina, into the possession of the Americans.

Captain Hugh McCall, *History of Georgia*, 1811

## Illustration of the King's Rangers<sup>62</sup>

This illustration, by Colonel (retired) William M. Perryman, first appeared in *Richmond County History*, Winter 1972, and reflects the uniforms of the unit through its various permutations, beginning with service as the East Florida Rangers in hunting shirts. The Provincial uniform was a short green coat with crimson collar and cuffs with lapels of plain green. They wore black light-infantry caps with the designation, "King's Rangers" emblazoned on the visors.



*The Kings Rangers and  
The East Florida Rangers*

The Rangers began their service on 24 June 1776 with Brown as their commander who held a commission from East Florida Governor Patrick Tonyn, hence they were designated the *East Florida Rangers*, an irregular unit uniformed and equipped in militia fashion with hunting shirts and rifles. In June 1779 they were dismissed as a militia unit and redesignated a regular provincial battalion called the *King's Carolina Rangers*, because so many of the men had been recruited from loyalist refugees from North and South Carolina. During the summer of 1780, several Georgia loyalist units were merged

<sup>62</sup> Heard Robertson, "Notes on the Muster Rolls of Lt. Col. Thomas Brown's Battalion of Loyalist Provincial Rangers .....Subsequently Designated as the King's Rangers." *Richmond County History*, (Winter 1972), p. 4-15.

with the Rangers and led to the dropping of "Carolina" from the designation and the unit became known as the *King's Rangers*.

The strength of the unit varied but the table of organization specified four companies of twenty-five men plus officers and non-commissioned officers. On a muster roll dated November 29, 1779, (the most recent data available to project the strength of the unit in September 1780), the unit had present and fit for duty 16 officers, 30 noncommissioned officers, and 160 privates excluding invalids and others detached.

### Extract of Letter from Cornwallis to Major Patrick Ferguson, dated Wacsaws, September 23, 1780 relating the battle at Augusta:<sup>1</sup>

Sir,

I have just received yours of the 19<sup>th</sup>, and last night had the satisfaction to hear from Lieutenant-colonel Cruger, that he had arrived in time to save Browne, and retaken the guns, and totally routed the enemy, who had retired with great precipitation; that the Indians had pursued and scalped many of them. I have no objections to your making any allowance to the militia you think they deserve; but had rather have it called gratuity than pay, even if it amounts to the same sum. Tarleton is better, and was moved to-day in a litter; his illness ----(in cypher). I shall ----(in cypher).

I heard a report that a Major Davie, who commands a corps of about eighty horse militia, had marched against you. You will know whether this is true before this can possibly reach you.

I am, &c.

Cornwallis

<sup>1</sup>Lieutenant-Colonel Banastre Tarleton, *A History of the Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America*. (Reprint New Hampshire: Ayer Company Publishers, Inc, 2001), p. 192.

The excellent maps produced for this piece by military historian Steve Rauch are only the beginning of putting these operations on the ground. Though downtown Augusta has often been flooded, burned and overbuilt, there are no doubt still artifacts of these campaigns both in-place and in private collections. For instance, Battle Row is the extant historic Creek trading road and Indian Springs could probably be located on 19<sup>th</sup> century land surveys. These old surveys often include clues of locations tied to still discernable landmarks and luckily, old Augusta's streets are still extant. A good metal detection survey is in order before the new construction in front of the Ezekiel Harris house commences and who knows what the construction grading may turn up. Collectors need to put their finds locations on a modern GIS map so that systematic and permanent data can be recovered. Hopefully, construction and utility excavations will disclose 18<sup>th</sup> century foundation structures that will add to the knowledge base. Revolutionary Augusta is still there; we just have to peel back the layers.

CBB



## Editor/ Publisher's Notes

Wilkes County Georgia patriot militia Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke, riding high after the Patriots victory over the Loyalist at Musgrove Mill in August 19, 1780, rode back to Georgia to attack the British inland base at Augusta. Clarke orchestrated the unsuccessful four-day siege of Augusta intending to interdict the Crown's fall tribute, gifts and supplies destined for their Creek and Cherokee allies. I am especially excited about this month's featured on the ground presentation of the First Siege of Augusta, painstakingly compiled by professional historian, Steve Rauch. Steve has set a new standard of clear interpretation and putting the action on the ground for us to see and follow. We hope you enjoy Steve's presentation.

### September 25, 1780

Express from Ninety Six informed that a Body of Rebels under Col. Clark had attacked Col. Brown at Augusta. They had taken the Town and many Indian Stores, and drove Col. Brown into the Fort. This so enraged the Indians that a Body of five hundred of them came down to Col. Brown's assistance, upon which Brown sallied out and drove them (Rebels) from the Town. Took some Prisoners, drove two hundred into Savannah River. They swam across and took to a Fort called Fort Independence. Here Col. Cruger came upon them and routed them. Retook some of the Cannon and Stores they had got from Augusta. Took fifty-odd Prisoners with Protections in their Pockets. Twenty seven of them were hanged in Augusta, and twenty seven brought to Ninety Six to share the same fate. Col. Brown and his Men were three days in the Fort without Bread or Water. He got wounded, himself, through both Thighs and lost eighty Men during the Siege.

*Dr. Uzal Johnson, Loyalist Surgeon, Bobby G. Moss, p. 67.*

In editing *SCAR*, I am always perplexed on what to label the sides in the War of American Independence. From the British perspective, the Whigs-Patriots-Americans were clearly rebels, in full open rebellion, a moniker that does not personally offend me, but probably rings up many negative images to some readers. Calling those soldiers "Patriots" is very hindsightful as they were clearly not patriotic, or loyal to their king and country. In fact, they were guilty of high treason. As felons they were gently treated by 18<sup>th</sup> or for that matter 21<sup>st</sup> century jurisprudence as the standard 18<sup>th</sup> century penalty for treason was death. The terms Whig and Tory are so lost in politics. I doubt many of the soldiers on either side had much political feelings. Tory term meant a member of a British political party founded in 1689 that was the opposition party to the Whigs and has been known as the Conservative Party since 1832. The European settlers of North America who favored the British side in the Revolution were thus called Tories. The same is true for calling them "Americans" as the loyalists and provincials were just as American. As an editor, I must strive for easy, reliable, unambiguous and readable labels. I ask for your suggestions.

I have agreed to do a short presentation on South Carolina's colonial and early state land policies and to tell lawyers how and where to do historic research of old land records at an upcoming Continuing Legal Education seminar. Any articles, suggestions, and graphics would be greatly appreciated. I did see the "Bounty Land" crossroads on SC 28 a few miles north of Seneca in Oconee County on my DeLorme map. I plan to cover the lowcountry landgraveships and baronies, settlers' headright grants and townships, and soldiers' bounty grants. Notes on research sources, libraries, on-line resources, indexes and publications would be helpful. I have a copy of Robert K. Ackerman's *South Carolina Colonial Land Policies*, but I wish for something post 1776.

*SCAR* wants to work up an article to guide a tour of sites featuring the various Cherokee campaigns, starting in 1760 with the Montgomery campaign, the 1761 Grant campaign, and the various campaigns from South Carolina and North Carolina 1775-1782 into the North Carolina and Tennessee mountains. Will Graves has annotated the *Faries Journal of the 1776 Cherokee Campaign* led by SC patriot militia Gen. Andrew Williamson and a fragment of a journal probably written by Gen. Williamson's aide-de-camp which *SCAR* will publish. *SCAR* is seeking a map showing the location of the Cherokee towns. Indian policy expert, Dr. Jeff Dennis will explain colonial and revolutionary Indian policy. As Dan Morrill has taught, one major reason for Southerners to fight as Patriots in the Revolution was the Crown's Indian policies and desire for more land - the Indians'. Anyone with maps, site descriptions or knowledge of these sites are asked to share.

## Planning Stages

*SCAR* and friends have organized a Southern Campaign Revolutionary War Roundtable for fellowship and sharing of research on the Revolutionary War. We are planning an open meeting at the McCelvey Center in York, SC in 2006 and ask that you stay tuned for an invitation to attend.

*SCAR* is working on a new Battle of Hobkirk Hill battlefield archaeology project this fall. We have surveyed a test plot at the base of Hobkirk Hill on the far west Patriots' right flank that proves that significant 18<sup>th</sup> century military artifacts are still on this over-built site in a residential neighborhood. It initially appears that the 2d Virginians took heavy musket and cannon fire from the British as they advanced with arms trailing down Hobkirk Hill. Organizing a comprehensive metal detection survey, GIS data collection, artifact identification, logging and conservation are all being planned using the amateur-professional model discussed in last month's Editor's Notes. If you are interested in lending a hand, please contact *SCAR*.

## Preservation

A primary purpose of this magazine is to publish and promote battlefield work that leads to preservation. What good is it, for example, if too many archeologists dug sites without publishing one word about them? What good is a digger's collection left unknown or unseen to all current and future generations but their own kin? Revolutionary War military heritage is at the very root foundations of our country's freedom. These evidentiary stories have yet much to reveal about our own civil liberties, constitutional questions, and how we are to be governed even as our nation exports freedoms and democracy in other lands. All preservation is really local; however, if we don't know its there, how can we care? So *SCAR* beats the steady drum of encouraging and nurturing the on-the-ground framework of Revolutionary War stories, scholarship, and solicitation. Steve Rauch's cutting-edge work on Augusta is sharp example of what we are talking about and *SCAR* is very proud to bring it to you. Built-over urban sites have pressures and complexities vastly different from the lost or abandoned, remote where-can-it-be dilemmas of rural sites. Both have their inherent, preservation work-related difficulties. The Audubon Society placing 130 acres around Fort Galphin on the National Register of Historic Places is a good example. So come on, no excuses! "There is no difference, in my opinion, between the collector who digs up artifacts to sell, and the archeologist who digs to achieve fame, or a promotion, and then goes on to dig more sites without writing up his earlier work. Collectors do not hesitate to point out to me how unfair and hypocritical it is when they are attacked by "professionals" who are more destructive than they are," writes archeologist David R. Starbuck, Ph.D. There is a plethora of breaking groundwork (research and field) in the South to be done and not enough of us to do it. We call you to join our militia of preservation! And *SCAR* will keep promulgating your work.

**SCAR Corps of Discovery – Searching for sites.**

Historian Steve Rauch commanded the corps on Saturday, September 10, 2005 when we saddled up for the Augusta, Georgia area. First strike was the site of the Indian trading post and Revolutionary War Fort Galphin at Silver Bluff Plantation, under the management of the National Audubon Society since the early 1970s. Principal archeologist Tammy Herron patiently answered our questions, displayed her wonderful Indian, colonial, and Revolutionary War era finds, and educated us to the interpretation of this important colonial trading post and site of the successful attack on the Loyalist garrison by Patriot Lt. Col. “Light Horse Harry” Lee. She and a collaboration of students and scholars have performed this fieldwork off and on since 1996. Still at large is evidence of the brick mansion site and the 1781 military battlefield. Dan M. Connelly, Audubon Society land manager for over 30 years, gave us lay-of-the-land insights and pragmatic background to this dynamic nature and wildlife (chiefly, bird sanctuary) preserve including the accretions and derelictions of the mighty Savannah River bends here, some 15 river miles below Augusta and 174 river miles from Savannah. Apparently, the acreage is in good stewardship hands with Danny and the Audubon Society.

We were also fortunate to have noted Augusta historian and author, Dr. Edward Cashin accompany us to Fort Galphin. Dr. Cashin, author of numerous books and broad interest in Georgia history made our day. Ed reports that in his “retirement”, he has established a Center for the Study of Georgia History at Augusta State University. The Center promotes Georgia history by sponsoring conferences, lectures, and research. Annually, the Center presents a "Distinguished Georgian Award" and administers a fellowship program for scholars through a grant from the Richmond County (Ga.) Historical Society. Annual activities include the Woodrow Wilson Symposium, a session on Georgia history at the Georgia Association of Historians meeting, and a statewide competition by school children for the best projects on Georgia History in conjunction with History Day.

A story unshared is a site unshared. Tell us about your research and trips to discover our Revolutionary War heritage. **CBB ★**

**Letter to the Editor**

I read with great interest Stacy Rinner’s article on “Baron” Kalb, but allow me to point out a mistake. Huettendorf, Kalb's birthplace, is now part of Erlangen in Germany (northern Bavaria, near Fuerth). The farm he was born on is still owned by descendants of Kalb's brother, and some of them were just at Camden for the 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary. There is a housing project named after de Kalb on the former US Army base in near-by Fuerth.

Best regards, **Bob Selig** ★

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**Battle of Camden 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Celebrations**  
 Photos by Charles B. Baxley



**For the first time in 225 years, Maryland Continental Line soldiers stand for inspection on the actual site of Gen. Horatio Gates’ deployment in anticipation of the dawn battle.**



**18<sup>th</sup> Century battlefield communications. Who would envy those unarmed musicians who have the honor to wear red coats on the blue coat’s side?**



**The Redcoats line up on the south side of the battlefield on the actual site of Lord Cornwallis’ deployments before the battle at first light.**



## Calendar of Upcoming Events

**Please submit items to post upcoming Southern Campaigns programs and events that may be of interest to Revolutionary War researchers and history buffs.**

**September 3, 2005 – Kings Mountain National Military Park, SC** - 8th Annual Kings Mountain Forum, Colonial Trade and Craft Fair, music and military camps. Craftspeople will demonstrate various skills and trades. Activities will include blacksmithing, woodworking, carpentry, pewtering, pottery, leatherworking, and more. Militia groups will perform military drill and demonstrate historic weapons. Musician Ken Bloom will also be performing.

[www.nps.gov/kimo/pphtml/events.html](http://www.nps.gov/kimo/pphtml/events.html)

**September 15, 2005 – Savannah History Museum - Lecture Series:** "Revolutionary Perspectives" - "Creeks & Georgians in a Revolutionary Era" by Dr. Kathryn Holland Braund of Auburn University. All lectures are free and are held in the Savannah History Museum Theatre. Light Refreshments at 6:30 pm with the lecture starting at 7:00 pm. RSVP to Krystal at **912-651-2240** or [kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org](mailto:kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org)  
<http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calZoom.cfm?id=51>

**September 16 - 18, 2005 – Huntersville, NC - Latta Plantation Park** – will host a celebration honoring the 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the battles that took place in and around Charlotte in the year 1780. There will be a battle both days on the site representing the Battle of Charlotte and the Skirmish at McIntyre's Cabin (or Battle of the Bees). There will be sutlers present for your period needs. If you have any questions or requests, please contact Bob Boynton at [bob@rncr.org](mailto:bob@rncr.org) or 704-938-7744 or [www.lattaplantation.org](http://www.lattaplantation.org).

**September 17, 2005 – Laurens County/Newberry County, SC** - The Belfast House, c. 1785 (SC Highway 56 at county line) at 10:00 am (rain make-up 24th Sept.) Revolutionary War hero Gen. James Williams Bridge dedication and naming ceremony and with wreath laying, followed by installing the pistol that the State of North Carolina gave to Col. James Williams to the museum at Musgrove Mill State Historic Site and a tour of Laurens County Revolutionary War historic sites. For more information contact Joe Goldsmith at [jog5950@yahoo.com](mailto:jog5950@yahoo.com).

**September 18, 2005 – Camden, SC - Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site** – Joseph Kershaw House – 3:00 pm to 5:00 pm Battle of Camden preservation project leader George Fields and site archaeologist Jim Legg will present a program on Battle of Camden battlefield archaeology. Please bring your Battle of Camden artifacts and participate in the collectors' survey. Free and open to the public. For more information please call Historic Camden at (803) 432-9841 or email: [hiscamden@camden.net](mailto:hiscamden@camden.net).

**September 22, 2005 - Savannah History Museum Lecture Series:** "Revolutionary Perspectives" – Presenting "The Glory is Gone! The Failure of the British Southern Strategy", a lecture by noted author, Dr. Edward J. Cashin of Augusta State University. Lecture is free and will be held in Savannah History Museum Theatre. Light Refreshments at 6:30 pm with the lecture starting at 7:00 pm. RSVP to Krystal at **912-651-2240** or [kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org](mailto:kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org)  
<http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calZoom.cfm?id=52>

**September 24, 2005 – Lancaster, SC – Andrew Jackson State Park** - Learn about experiences of refugees, soldiers and citizens who remained in the area after Gates' Defeat. An interpretive program is planned from 10 a.m. until 4 p.m. Engage in ranger led discussions about the people in the area in the fall of 1780. Visit with re-enactors to get a picture of how our ancestors lived. Participate in hands-on activities that will make you think about decisions that you would

have had to make if you were around during the American Revolution. Take the opportunity to enjoy a lovely fall day at Andrew Jackson State Park as you learn more about South Carolina's Revolutionary War heritage. The park is nine miles north of Lancaster on U.S.521 at 196 Andrew Jackson Park Road. For more information, call the park at (803) 285-3344.

**September 24-25, 2005 – Yorktown, Va.** - Endview Plantation. This year's fall Revolutionary War reenactment will be the Siege of Yorktown and will include infantry weapons and tactics demonstrations, a dragoon demonstration as well as musical demonstrations. There will be a portrayal of Banastre Tarleton and an 18th century fashion show. The Corps of Sappers and Miners will demonstrate how to build earthworks, and battles will be held both days. <http://www.endview.org/revolution.html>

**September 25, 2005 – Kings Mountain National Battlefield - In-Depth Battlefield Tour** - This tour will follow the Provincial and British Regular soldiers' route through the battlefield. Visitors will see the battlefield as the troops saw it. The tour is strenuous and will last two hours; registration is required. Contact [Kings Mountain National Military Park](mailto:kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org) for details.  
<http://www.nps.gov/kimo/pphtml/events.html>

**September 29, 2005 - Savannah History Museum Lecture Series:** "Revolutionary Perspectives" - Featuring "'Ten to One' Odds of No Return: Lachlan McIntosh, Benjamin Lincoln, and the Virginia Continentals During the Siege of Savannah", presented by Dr. Carol Ebel of Armstrong Atlantic State University. The lecture is free and will be held in Savannah History Museum Theatre. Light Refreshments at 6:30 pm with the lecture starting at 7:00 pm. RSVP to Krystal at **912-651-2240** or [kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org](mailto:kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org)  
<http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calZoom.cfm?id=53>

**September 29, 2005—Queens University of Charlotte, North Carolina—Lecture:** Dr. Walter Edgar will deliver a lecture entitled "It Didn't Happen Up North: Where the American Revolution Was Really Won" at 7 p. m. in Accenture Auditorium on the campus of Queens. The lecture is part of the Preyer Lecture series, is free and open to the public. For planning purposes, Queens asks that reservations be made by calling (704)-337-2214 by no later than Thursday, September 22, 2005. This is an automated RSVP line: you are asked to leave your name and the number of people in your party (no need to leave their names). More information can be found on Dr. Edgar at <http://www.cas.sc.edu/hist/faculty/edgar/edgar.htm>.

**October 1 - 2, 2005 – Spartanburg County, SC** - 240<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Walnut Grove Plantation and Re-enactment of the Loyalist Major William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham raid.

**October 6, 2005 – Cowpens National Military Park, SC** - 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the arrival of the Over Mountain men at Cowpens National Battlefield.

**October 6, 2005 - Savannah History Museum Lecture Series:** "Revolutionary Perspectives" - "The Intrepid Warrior: Casimir Pulaski Fights for American Liberty" presented by Francis C. Kajencki, Colonel, U.S. Army Retired. Light Refreshments at 6:30 pm with the lecture starting at 7:00 pm. The lecture is free and will be held in Savannah History Museum Theatre. RSVP to Krystal at **912-651-2240** or [kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org](mailto:kkornegav@chsgeorgia.org)  
<http://www.chsgeorgia.org/calZoom.cfm?id=54>

**October 8 - 9, 2005 – Savannah, Georgia. Reinterment and Hero's Funeral Mass for American Revolutionary War Patriot Gen. "Count" Casimir Pulaski and rededication of the Pulaski Monument in Monterrey Square.** The last remains of Polish American Revolutionary War hero, Gen. Casimir Pulaski, the father of the Patriot cavalry, will lie in state in with honor guards in several Savannah area churches and Temple Mickve Israel before funeral

mass and reinterment in the Pulaski Monument in Monterey Square on Sunday, October 9, 2005. **Preliminary Schedule: October 8, 2005** - Battlefield Park wreath laying with musket, drum, bugle and pipes ceremony at Louisville Road and Martin Luther King Boulevard. **6:30 pm** - Reception and Dedication of the "Pulaski Room" at Savannah International Trade and Convention Center (SITCC). **7:30 pm to 10:30 pm** Dinner, Dignitaries, Award Ceremonies, and "Pulaski Polonaise Ball" at the SITCC. Presentation of "Pulaski - O'Neil" Medal to Recipients after Dinner. Lying In State. Ships' Open houses. Original Banner Display. **October 9, 2005 at 9:30 am** - Solemn Mass For the Dead (Pulaski) at Cathedral of Saint John The Baptist. (Bishop Boland is designating Archbishop O'Brien of the Military Ordinariate Archdiocese of US and Poland's Military Prelate as the Principal Celebrants, subject to their concurrence). **11:00 am** - Funeral Procession and en route programs & hymns by the Bull Street Corridor National Landmark Historic District Churches. **Noon** - Reinterment in new tomb in front (north side) of the Pulaski Monument, Monterey Square, with accompanying Military, Roman Catholic and Interfaith ceremonies. **Evening** - Governor's Dinner.

The Mickve Israel Temple museum on Monterey Square honors Savannah Patriot Col. Mordecai Sheftall, who served as Deputy Commissary General of Issues for all Continental Troops in South Carolina and Georgia and Commissary General of Georgia troops. For museum tours, see [www.mickveisrael.org](http://www.mickveisrael.org).

The Coastal Heritage Society is planning a full day of living history programs at the Spring Hill Redoubt site on **Saturday, October 8, 2005**, with a dawn battlefield ceremony on **Sunday, October 9th**. For more information, call (912) 651-6895 or [www.chsgeorgia.org](http://www.chsgeorgia.org).

**October 7 - 9, 2005 – Kings Mountain National Military Park, SC** - 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Kings Mountain and grand reopening of museum on October 7th. Museum renovation will be complete and brand new exhibits will tell the story of the battle. **October 7<sup>th</sup>: 10:30 am** wreath laying ceremony. **3:00 pm** guest speaker and arrival of Overmountain Victory Trail marchers. **7:00 pm** British actor Howard Burnham as Sir Henry Clinton. **October 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>**: Living history camps open to the public 9 am to 6 pm. Battle tactical demonstrations at 2 pm each day. Activities will include music, Ferguson Rifle demonstrations, military funeral for British Maj. Patrick Ferguson, discussions on camp life, military drill, and more. Event ends at 4 pm Sunday. Saturday night at **7:00 & 7:30 pm** - guided lantern tours of the battlefield by reservation only. Register at Visitor Center or call park: (864) 936-7921.

<http://www.nps.gov/kimo/pphtml/events.html>

**October 8, 2005 - Ninety Six, SC - Annual Candlelight Tour** - Guided tours proceed along the one-mile historic trail, which is illuminated by the soft glow of candlelight and torchlight. Along the way, costumed volunteers portray Colonial citizens and soldiers who tell stories of peace and war at old Ninety Six in the 1700s. Tours begin at 7 pm & leave every 10 minutes until 8:20 pm.

**October 14, 2005 – Pacolet, SC** - Explore the history of Pacolet, tour a granite quarry, visit the site where feared British commander Tarleton was encamped in Pacolet and visit where he crossed the Pacolet River in pursuit of Daniel Morgan and his troops. Learn of the role of the militia in the American Revolution, fee \$10 includes lunch. Tour begins at 9:00 a.m.

<http://www.palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view&WebSiteID=127&WebPageID=6527>

**October 15 - 16, 2005 – North Augusta, SC – Living History Park** – presents: Colonial Times "A Day to Remember" - featured attractions include hornsmithing, pottery, a tomahawk throw, butter

churning, weaving and spinning, quilting, candle making, scrimshaw, pewterer, musket firing demonstrations, calligraphy, gunsmithing, gold and silversmithing, blacksmithing, woodworking, meat smoking and curing. Be sure to stop by and visit with the Indian traders, the Backwoodsmen, the Sutlers, the Milliner, the Tavern Keeper, the Alchemist, and pet the animals! Web page is [www.colonialtimes.us](http://www.colonialtimes.us) or if you have any question either please email [lynn@colonialtimes.us](mailto:lynn@colonialtimes.us) or call 803 279-7560. Free.

**October 15 - 16, 2005 - Summerton, SC** - American Revolutionary Living History Encampment/Re-enactment and Wildlife Expo. 4th Celebration of "Victory at Fort Watson" at the Santee National Wildlife Refuge, I-95, Exit 102, US 15/301, Summerton, SC. Please check website for updates: [www.francismariontrail.com](http://www.francismariontrail.com) or call 803-478-2217 or 803-478-2645.

**October 22, 2005 – Brattonsville, SC** - Historic Brattonsville will host a reenactment of the Battle of King's Mountain, fought on October 7, 1780. One of the most famous battles of the Southern campaign, this Patriot victory has been described as the Southern militia's finest hour. To be placed on a mailing list and receive registration materials for York County Cultural History Museum 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary events, contact Jeannie Marion, CHM Director of Marketing and Public Information, at [jemarion@chmuseums.org](mailto:jemarion@chmuseums.org).

**October 23, 2005 Kings Mountain National Military Park - In-Depth Battlefield Tour** - This tour will follow the South Carolina and Georgia militia's route through the battlefield to see the battlefield as the troops saw it. The tour is strenuous and will last two hours; registration is required. Contact [Kings Mountain National Military Park](http://www.kingsmountainnationalmilitarypark.com) for details.

**November 4 - 5, 2005 – Spartanburg, SC** – Symposium "Restoring Our Revolutionary Heritage" and banquet with keynote presentation by John Buchanan, author of *The Road to Guilford Courthouse - The American Revolution in the Carolinas*. **November 4<sup>th</sup>** – Afternoon - Tour of Battlefields in the Old Spartan District. **6:30 pm** - Banquet at the Piedmont Club in Spartanburg with John Buchanan address, "The Backcountry Campaign That Led to Cowpens," and Revolutionary War Re-enactors will be table hosts. **November 5<sup>th</sup>** – 9:15 am symposium "Restoring Our Revolutionary Heritage" will be held in the Spartanburg County Library, 151 S. Church Street. John Buchanan will give the keynote address, "South Carolina's Key Role in the American Revolution." There will be presentations by Rory Cornish, Charles Lesser, Alexia Helsley, Walter Edgar, and Christine Swager on researching the Revolutionary Heritage in archives, genealogical records, and archaeology, and a session on preserving battlefields and other Revolutionary sites. Fees charged. Registration at [www.palmettoconservation.org](http://www.palmettoconservation.org) or by calling 864-948-9615. <http://www.palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view&WebSiteID=127&WebPageID=7530>

**November 5 - 6, 2005 – Camden, SC** – "Camden 1774". 10 am to 5 p.m. daily featuring: Camden Grand Jury, Royal militias drill, military music, period fashion show and dancing, military roundtable discussion, 18th century church services, and kids' activities. Colonial craftsmen and demonstrations and sutlers row teaming with unique traditional 18th century gifts.

<http://www.historic-camden.net>

**November 11, 2005 – Rock Hill, SC** – **Museum of York County** – "Book Talk" featuring Revolutionary War authors Carl Borick, Michael Scoggins and Robert Pelton. [www.chmuseums.org](http://www.chmuseums.org)

**November 19 - 20, 2005 – Cross Anchor, SC** - Battle of Blackstock's Plantation 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary ceremony. The Blackstock's program will be conducted on the battlefield. **Saturday, November 19<sup>th</sup>** 10 am – 2 pm re-enactors demonstrations by the



State Park Service and battlefield tours by Palmetto Conservation Foundation. **Sunday, November 20th:** 3 pm - 225th Anniversary Celebration and Dedication of the battlefield as a State Historic Site. Battlefield tours will be conducted a 2 pm & 4 pm.

**December 17, 2005 – Clinton, SC – Musgroves Mill State Historical Site** – 10:00 am - Sam Fore (SCAR contributor) special collections librarian at the John D. Rockefeller Library of Williamsburg, Virginia will present a paper on South Carolina Patriot Lt. Col. James McCall of the Long Cane settlement, commander of the SC State Dragoons. McCall fought at Ninety Six in 1776, the Cherokee battles, Kettle Creek, Musgroves Mill, the siege of Augusta, Fish Dam Ford, Blackstock's Plantation, Long Cane, and with Lt. Col. William Washington at the Battle of Hammond's Store, Cowpens, Wetzell's Mill, and at Beattie's Mill. He died of small pox contracted during the campaign. Small admission. For additional information call Brian Robson at 864-938-0100 or email [brobson@scprt.com](mailto:brobson@scprt.com)

## 2006 Events

**January 14 - 15, 2006 – Cowpens National Battlefield - Battle of Cowpens 225th anniversary** - Updates will be posted on the park's website. Contact [Cowpens National Battlefield](#) for details.

**January 15 – 17, 2006 – Cherokee County, SC - March to Cowpens** - led by Revolutionary War re-enactors, march the Green River Road, route from Grindal Shoals on Pacolet River to Cowpens, following the route take by General Daniel Morgan. Contact [Cowpens National Battlefield](#) for details.

**January 17, 2006 – Spartanburg, SC** - Re-dedication of the statue of General Daniel Morgan in downtown Spartanburg and 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary events at the Cowpens battlefield.  
<http://www.palmettoconservation.org/index.php?action=website-view&WebSiteID=127&WebPageID=6527>

**March 7 - 15, 2006 – Greensboro, NC - Guilford Courthouse National Military Park, NC - 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary** - The park will be holding an expanded version of its popular lecture series on four evenings, March 7 – 10. The anniversary of the battle will be observed the weekend of March 11 - 12 with an encampment. The park will also coordinate with the City of Greensboro and conduct a battle re-enactment in a city park adjacent to the NPS property that weekend. Contact [Guilford Courthouse National Military Park](#) for details.

**April 23, 2006 - Summerton, SC** - The Col. Matthew Singleton Chapter, South Carolina Society Sons of the American Revolution is hosting the 225<sup>th</sup> Commemoration of the Battle of Fort Watson at the Santee National Wildlife Refuge. (I-95, exit 102) There will be a color guard and wreath laying ceremony at 2 pm. Everyone is invited to attend and participate in the wreath laying. Call Muriel Hanna at 803-478-4179 or 803-481-3836, or [hannaman@ftc-i.net](mailto:hannaman@ftc-i.net) for more information.

**April 21 - 23, 2006 – Camden, SC** – 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill and Gen. Nathanael Greene Symposium. Historic Camden Revolutionary War Site and SCAR will host a symposium and battlefield tours on Gen. Nathanael Greene in conjunction with the celebration of the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill. Scheduled speakers include noted Greene biographer, Terry Golway; Chief Editor of the Greene papers editor, Dennis Conrad; noted author John Buchanan; Professor Robert M. Calhoon; and Professor Larry Babits, all noted Nathanael Greene scholars, who will speak on their latest research and publications. You will also have an opportunity to walk the Hobkirk's Hill and Eutaw Springs Battlefields with knowledgeable guides. Saturday evening entertainment will feature noted thespian Howard Burnham's portrait of Greene.

**May 6 - 7, 2006 - Summerton, SC** - American Revolutionary living history encampment, re-enactment and wildlife expo to celebrate the 5th annual "Victory at Fort Watson". To commemorate the 225th anniversary of the 1781 campaigns and to share life on the backcountry frontier of the Santee River 225 years ago. Costumed volunteers and re-enactors demonstrate living history with: re-enacting battles, gunsmithing, open-fire cooking and textile production on looms, woodworking, musket firing; play 18th century games and share camp life. Wildlife and nature expo includes guided nature walks/talks, wildlife exhibits & more. Santee National Wildlife Refuge, I-95, Exit 102, US 15/301 6 miles south of Summerton, 10 am to 3 pm. Admission & parking are free, food is available. Sponsored by Friends of Santee NW Refuge & Swamp Fox Murals Trail Society

[www.swampfoxtrail.com](http://www.swampfoxtrail.com) or [www.clarendonmurals.com](http://www.clarendonmurals.com)

**May 20 - 21, 2006 - Ninety Six, SC – Gen. Nathanael Greene's Siege of Ninety Six** - The 225th anniversary celebration continues with an authentic encampment of British, Loyalist and Patriot (Continental and militia) forces and will focus on the 28-day siege (the making of gabions/fascines and various components of siege warfare). The park, local community, SAR groups, and DAR groups will feature a wreath-laying ceremony featuring 18th century entertainment, including music. Contact [Ninety Six National Historic Site](#) for details.

**June 2 - 3, 2006 – Augusta, Georgia** – 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Liberation of Augusta from Loyalist control – A Symposium which will highlight the events and the American Revolution in Augusta and environs will be held at the Augusta Museum of History on **June 2, 2006**. Prominent historians such as Dr. Edward J. Cashin will speak at the symposium that will include: the operational situation in 1781; Loyalist Col. Thomas Brown; Georgia Patriot militia Col. Elijah Clarke, SC Militia Gen. Andrew Pickens, and Lt. Col. "Light Horse Harry" Lee who recaptured Augusta from its British/Loyalist occupiers. **On June 3d** a celebration of the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Augusta (siege of Ft. Cornwallis) presented by the City of Augusta and the Augusta Richmond County Historical Society. This event will include the re-enactors participating in the "Under the Crown" colonial events in North Augusta that weekend. Plans for the celebration include a 3 pm presentation at the Celtic cross behind Saint Paul's Church (6<sup>th</sup> and Reynolds) and a 4 pm battle by re-enactors. [http://www.colonialtimes.us/crown\\_event.html](http://www.colonialtimes.us/crown_event.html)

**July 15 – 16, 2006 - Williamsburg, Va.** - 225th Anniversary of the Battle of Green Spring. For more information contact Todd Post at [todd.post2@verizon.net](mailto:todd.post2@verizon.net) or [www.battleofgreenspring.org](http://www.battleofgreenspring.org)

**October 18 - 22, 2006 – Yorktown, Va. – 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Siege of Yorktown** - In a four day commemoration of this important event sponsored by the [Colonial National Historical Park](#), the [Brigade of the American Revolution](#) will collaborate with [Endview Plantation](#) as well as the [British Brigade](#) and other living history organizations to mark the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the British surrender, concluding a series of observances along the Washington-Rochambeau Trail stretching over seventeen months from Rhode Island to Virginia. British, German and Loyalist encampments in and around the village of Yorktown. Continental and French encampments at the siege works. Musket and artillery demonstrations. Civilian and medical programs. Military engineering, demonstrations at Colonial NHP and Endview Plantation. Recreations of the Allied assaults on Redoubts 9 and 10, defense of the Fusiliers' Redoubt, and Abercrombie's Sortie. For more information about the event, please contact [info@siegeofyorktown.org](mailto:info@siegeofyorktown.org) and see [www.siegeofyorktown.org](http://www.siegeofyorktown.org) ★

## The 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Battle of Kings Mountain

by Ranger Robert Dunkerly

October 7, 2005 marks two and one quarter centuries since the British high tide in South Carolina in 1780. Kings Mountain National Military Park will commemorate this event with a series of special activities for the public. In addition, the park has made tremendous progress in improving its facilities and upgrading the quality of the interpretation available to visitors.

Like all Revolutionary War National Park sites, Kings Mountain will observe its 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary with various ceremonies and living history activities. The National Park Service took the lead in recognizing the significance of this somewhat odd-numbered anniversary several years ago. Starting in 2000 and running through 2008, the Park Service has been observing the 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Revolution. The events held at many of the northern parks, like Valley Forge and Saratoga, have passed. Now emphasis has shifted to the southern battlefields as we enter the 225<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Southern Campaign.

Friday, October 7<sup>th</sup>, the actual battle date, representatives from the Sons of the Revolution, Daughters of the American Revolution, Society of the Cincinnati, Children of the American Revolution, Sons of the American Revolution, Overmountain Victory Trail Association, and the National Park Service will mark the anniversary in two different ceremonies. Throughout the day reenactors will greet visitors in their militia camp and discuss weaponry, militia service, and life in the field for the soldiers.

The event continues Saturday and Sunday. Over two hundred reenactors from fifteen different military units will be on hand this weekend. Their camps will be open to visitors, and the public is invited to learn about military drill, weapons, military service, cooking, laundry, sewing, and other camp activities. As Kings Mountain was a battle decided by weapons, activities will focus on the difference between rifles and muskets. Throughout the weekend reenactors will conduct weapons demonstrations and discuss battlefield tactics. The role of women camp follower will also be presented.

There are several special activities of note in this schedule. Each day at 2 PM there will be battle tactical demonstrations- done on the same ground where the battle began. Although National Parks do not conduct battle reenactments, troops will demonstrate the tactics used by each side on the actual battlefield. This will be special since this has never been done before at Kings Mountain. (National Parks do not hold reenactments on the actual battle site since this is where the troops actually fought, died, and are buried. Out of respect for those who still rest on the battlefield, we treat the site as a memorial and restrict activities on the actual battle site.)

After each demonstration the troops will form up for a special closing to the program. Saturday the reenactors will fire a *fu de joi*, a ceremonial firing done during the Revolutionary period to announce a victory or celebrate good news. Sunday, to close the weekend's activities, reenactors will perform a Mourning-At-Arms ceremony, another historic exercise that honored fallen soldiers. These activities serve to honor all who fought, and fell at Kings Mountain, as all were American on both sides.

This weekend the park will demonstrate the unique Ferguson rifle, a breech-loading weapon that was much faster than typical muzzle loading weapons of the day. Park staff developed a safety procedure for firing this unusual weapon. Approval was granted by the National Park Service's Historic Weapons Advisory Team, which oversees the NPS weapons program in all of the parks. Visitors should not miss the opportunity to see a Ferguson Rifle in action.

Sunday visitors are encouraged to see a military funeral for Maj. Patrick Ferguson, the only Briton present during the battle.

Reenactors will march to his grave, accompanied by drums and bagpipes, where redcoated soldiers will fire volleys over his grave.

Also on Sunday the park will note the contributions of women camp followers who accompanied the armies. Women served on the muster rolls, receiving pay and rations for services like cooking, laundry, and nursing. Several women were in the battle, and one was killed. Another woman made most of the gunpowder that made the battle possible.

In addition to these activities, the park has been making preparations for the 225<sup>th</sup> for some time. In the late 1990s preparations were underway to improve the facilities offered to visitors. A new film, produced by the History Channel, was installed in 2000. Using reenactment footage, the film tells the story of the British invasion, the development of Ferguson's rifle, and the march of the American militia to Kings Mountain.

In 2003 park staff replaced the markers along the battlefield trail. The new markers, with full color graphics and maps, include the latest research on the battle and present a more accurate picture of the fighting. Most National Parks can only upgrade these media every few decades, so this is an exciting time to visit Kings Mountain!

Perhaps the most ambitious project has been the museum. In 2002 the park closed its museum for a massive upgrade. During the weekend of the 7-9<sup>th</sup>, the museum will reopen with brand new state of the art exhibits.

As visitors enter the hallway, the first thing they will see is an original Ferguson Rifle. Only about one hundred of these breech-loading rifles were produced, and this is one of the few on display in the United States. The Ferguson Rifle used a rotating trigger guard to expose a hole in the top of the barrel. Here ball and powder were inserted, then the trigger guard mechanism was rotated back to close it. In a demonstration before the King in 1776, Ferguson fired seven shots in a minute, and reloaded while lying down and kneeling, all unheard of with traditional muzzle loading weapons. A short video will demonstrate the loading procedure, and a reproduction of the lock and trigger guard is mounted here to allow visitors to see and operate the mechanism. Adjacent to the rifle is a portrait of Ferguson, and below that are his pistols.

Upon entering the main exhibit room visitors will feel that they have stepped into a forest. Large trees and a wooded backdrop will give the room the feel of an old growth forest. Two hundred years ago, trees large enough for a man to hide behind stood here on the battlefield; they were three or four feet thick and two hundred feet tall. This terrain affected the flow of the battle: giving the American riflemen cover and at the same time impeding the Loyalist bayonet charges.

The next exhibit visitors will approach is a log cabin, representing the frontier settlements of the region. The cabin is a historic log cabin from the area that was disassembled and moved to the museum.

Throughout the remainder of the room are hollow fiberglass trees that look and feel life-like. Inside each tree is a separate exhibit on a different aspect of the battle, such as the American militia, the Loyalists, and weapons.

Inside each of these exhibits visitors will find original artifacts such as muskets, rifles, canteens, powder horns, and swords. Many of these artifacts were actually used in the battle. The park has made special efforts to purchase items from the battle. Of special interest are items found during recent archaeology: gun parts, musket and rifle balls, and personal items like buckles.

As weapons were an important part of the Kings Mountain story, another tree is dedicated to weapons and tactics. A short video compares the loading speed of the rifle and musket, and weapons used in the battle are displayed here.

Visitors from years past will recall the popular diorama that stood in the visitor center. This has been installed here in the new museum. It features a battle scene with Ferguson's redcoated Provincial troops charging downhill at the riflemen.



The last exhibit in the room focuses on the park's history and the various monuments and celebrations held here over the years. Kings Mountain has the second oldest Revolutionary War monument in the country (the 1815 Chronicle Marker), was the first southern Revolutionary site visited by a president (Hoover in 1930), and is one of the largest national military parks in the nation (with nearly 4,000 acres). This exhibit features photographs of past celebrations, newspaper clippings describing the events, and official programs and other memorabilia.

The new exhibits include the most recent historical research and archaeological finds from the battlefield, and make an effort to present the story of both sides. Many never before seen artifacts will be on display, and they tell the entire story of the battle, from frontier settlement to the march of the armies, to the battlefield's preservation.

The improvements are not limited to the film, markers, and exhibits, however. Starting in 2000 the park began a long-term project to restore the historic landscape of the battlefield. Fought in an old growth forest of massive trees, over the years since 1780, the forest has changed. Today younger, second growth trees, non-native plants, and thick underbrush have grown up where once massive hardwoods dominated.

During the battle the forest determined the flow of combat: affecting what commanders could see and how units moved through the battlefield. The park hopes to restore a 1780 type forest in time. While the trees cannot be made to grow faster, several steps are under way. Controlled burning on the battlefield has reduced the thick layers of dead leaves and thinned out the underbrush. Ashes from the burning also enrich the soil. Thinning of certain areas has opened up long-lost views and vistas. Park staff has also aggressively cleared out non-native plants that compete with historic flora. The hope is that in another hundred years visitors will see an old growth forest similar to what stood here in 1780.

Also in preparation for the upcoming 225<sup>th</sup>, the park has conducted a series of archaeological projects. While testing to find the mass burials of the battle dead proved unfruitful, Ferguson's grave was found to contain two burials. Ferguson and his servant Virginia Sal were buried together at the close of the battle. In 2000, ground penetrating revealed two burials under the rock pile at Ferguson's grave.

Other battlefield finds include dropped and fired ammunition (rifle and musket balls ranging in size from .45-.75), gun parts (lock pieces, ramrod pipes), and personal items (buckles, shoe heel plate). Many of these items will be on display in the new museum.

The park bookstore will also be ready for the weekend, with a large selection of books on colonial life, military history, the Carolina frontier, and the Southern Campaign. The staff has been special ordering many new titles to offer visitors the chance to pick up something from the Kings Mountain event as well as offer quality educational materials to teachers, scholars, and researchers. Visitors should also know that the park's video is available for purchase.

Those who plan to come to the event should be aware of a few logistical details.

Due to limited parking at the site, there will be remote parking and a shuttle system from the adjacent state park. This will run throughout the day during operating hours from Friday through Sunday. In addition, visitors should be advised that there will be no food available in the park. Picnic tables and shelters are located in the state park, and there are many restaurant options in the nearby towns of Kings Mountain, Gastonia, Shelby, York, Clover, and Gaffney. Bottled water is available at the park.

For more information call the park at 864-936-7921 or visit the website at [www.nps.gov/kimo](http://www.nps.gov/kimo). There is a special page dedicated to the 225<sup>th</sup> on the park's website. The park staff hope that the public will take this chance to visit Kings Mountain, see the improvements we have made, and help us honor those who fell in this pivotal battle.

## Friday, October 7<sup>th</sup>

9:00 am - Park Opens  
9:00 am – 5:00 pm - Demonstrations by the Backcountry Militia  
10:30 - Wreath Laying Ceremony  
3:00 - Arrival of the Overmountain Victory Trail Marchers (who retrace the route of the American Army every year), followed by a guest speaker David Wilson, author of *The Southern Strategy*.  
7:00 - Actor Howard Burnham portrays Gen. Sir Henry Clinton

## Saturday, October 8<sup>th</sup>

9:00 am - Park Opens  
10:30 - Weapons Demonstration  
11:00 - Loyalist Recruiting Scenario  
11:30 - Ferguson Rifle Demonstration  
12:00 - Weapons Demonstration  
12:30 - Children's Militia Drill  
1:00 - Weapons Demonstration  
1:00 – Book signing by Michael Scoggins, author of *The Day It Rained Militia*  
2:00 - Battle Tactical Demonstration  
2:30 - *Fu de Joi* (celebration of the victory by the troops)  
3:30 - Weapons Demonstration  
4:00 - Ferguson Rifle Demonstration  
4:00 - Tomahawk Competition  
4:30 – Fire starting Competition  
7:00 & 7:30 pm - Battlefield Lantern Tours (by reservation only-call to register)  
9:00 pm- Park Closes

## Sunday, October 9<sup>th</sup>

9:00 am - Park Opens  
11:00 - Colonial Worship Service  
12:00 - Weapons Demonstration  
12:30 - Ferguson Rifle Demonstration  
12:30 - Women Camp Followers Program  
1:00 - Military Funeral for Maj. Patrick Ferguson  
2:00 - Battle Tactical Demonstration  
2:30 - Mourning-At-Arms Ceremony (honoring those who fell in the battle)  
4:00 - Camps Close to the Public  
5:00- Park Closes



## Book Review

***Patrick Ferguson: 'A man of some genius'.***

**by Albert L. Zambone**

This book is a delightfully concise and crisp biography of an important figure of the American Revolution. The first biography of Patrick Ferguson in many years, it is based on the author's deep reading in the archived letters of the Ferguson family. The resulting picture is fascinating, closely detailed and often frustrating and infuriating.

One of the most interesting features of Gilchrist's life of Ferguson is the picture it provides of his origins and youth. Ferguson was the child of gifted parents with influential family connections. His father, James, was a lawyer and judge from Aberdeenshire, an Episcopalian like many of the gentry from the northeast, with non-juring sympathies, if not Jacobite ones. James was a wit, "noted for his humanity", and friends with such Edinburgh luminaries as Henry Home (Lord Kames), James Burnett (Lord Monboddo), and David Hume—the latter two supposedly once quarreled over whether one of the Ferguson sons should be reading Eustathius' commentaries on

Homer. They also were acquaintances with James Boswell, both Allan Ramsey's, Adam Ferguson, the Rev. John Home, Adam Smith, and Tobias Smollet—in short, the Ferguson's were very much a part of the great burst of intellectual fluorescence known now as the Scottish Enlightenment.

It was through the connections of his mother, Anne Murray Ferguson, and her family that the young Patrick gained his entrance into the British Army. Her brothers and sisters were an unusually talented and ambitious lot. Her eldest brother, Patrick, was suspected of being a Jacobite and prevented from holding high office; her brother Alexander most certainly was Jacobite, who fled to France where he plotted with Charles Edward Stuart. Most important of all for Patrick, her youngest brother James was an officer in the British Army. It was Brigadier James Murray who held the dying James Wolfe and then took command of the victorious British army on the Plains of Abraham. From Quebec he wrote orders that sent his nephew Patrick off to the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich.

Given this upbringing, this patronage, and this training, the subsequent career of Patrick Ferguson begins to not only make a great deal of sense, but acquire greater significance. Even with the influence of a hero of Quebec, however, the peace of 1763 to 1775 meant that Patrick spent his service in garrison duty. He moved from a cornetcy in the Scots Greys to a buying a "very cheap" commission in the 70th, its price marked down by its anxious possessor because the regiment was ordered to the West Indies, a graveyard for numerous British soldiers. Patrick apparently returned suffering from illness in 1772: Gilchrist does not specify any of his movements until 1773. It was in 1774 that Patrick, now captain of the 70th's light infantry company, began work on his famous rifle.

He began with the design of Isaac de la Chaumette, which had been built some fifty years before, and modified the weapon into what he thought was a suitable design for military use. Chaumette's design was prone to foul, so Ferguson changed the design of the breechblock and the threading of the plug opened by rotating the trigger guard; he also added a grease groove, a folding rear-sight, and the ability to fix a bayonet. He had some models built, at his expense of course, and then attempted the much more difficult task of convincing the Board of Ordnance to test them. Once again his Uncle James Murray's proved invaluable, this time by his friendship with George Townsend, the Master-General of Ordnance. But Townsend was not a man much given to haste. Patrick finally demonstrated the gun in April 1776; his spectators were impressed enough to request further trials. In June he was suddenly called to give a demonstration before, among other military notables, General Lord Amherst. In this trial he, among other feats, fired six shots in a minute; fired four shots while advancing; and he poured a bottle of water into pan and barrel of the loaded rifle, then cleaned it and fired it in less than half a minute without removing the ball. A contract for two hundred of the rifles was approved. Over the rest of the year Ferguson oversaw construction of the rifles, and filed a patent when he discovered that some cheap copies of his design were being for the East India Company. He also began to scheme for the formation of an independent company of two hundred men, all carrying his rifles, and naturally commanded by himself. Moreover, he also designed a very light field gun, one which only fired a half pound ball, but which could be carried by just two men and cost only £5. (It bears a striking resemblance to the a musette proposed by the Marechal du Saxe in his *Reveries*, which like most scholarly soldiers Ferguson had in his private library.) By late May 1777, Ferguson, his corps of riflemen, their rifles and their little fieldpiece arrived in New York to fight the rebellious colonists.

Ferguson and his corps were quickly called upon for Howe's summer campaign of 1777. After Howe's landing at the head of the Chesapeake Bay on August 27, Ferguson led his company ahead of the main force, scouting out Washington's army. When Howe

attached Washington at Brandywine Creek, Ferguson and his men with the Queen's American Rangers led Knyphausen's feint against Chadd's Ford while Cornwallis flanked the American right. In the skirmishing along the west bank of the Brandywine Ferguson was hit by a ball in his right elbow-joint. It was a terrible wound, but Ferguson resisted all suggestions that his arm be amputated. Over the winter in Philadelphia he learnt to write, fence and shoot with his left arm, while his right endured numerous surgeries to remove bone fragments. Despite preserving his arm, Ferguson was never able to use it again. Perhaps even worse from his perspective was the dissolution of his independent company; faced with the uncertain future of its commander, Ferguson's men were assigned to other light infantry units throughout Howe's army.

Although Ferguson's patron Howe departed before the evacuation of Philadelphia, the Scotsman wasted no time in wooing the favour of Sir Henry Clinton, Howe's successor. This inspired the most interesting thing that Ferguson wrote, his August 1st memo to Sir Henry suggesting new ways of conducting the war. He first made suggestions within his purview as innovator of light infantry tactics and formations, suggesting that British light infantry forces should be expanded five-fold with American loyalists, so that regular line troops and light infantry were equal in number. But Ferguson soon moved on to suggestions of strategy. He advocated a "degree of Severity" to chastise the rebel Americans for their "insolent contempt" and "utmost inveteracy in their avow'd Design of assisting our heretofore natural & common Enemy to overwhelm the Parent State". While the French fleet was prevented from intervening in the Americas, the British Army would march through the heart of New England, up the Connecticut River valley, burning what lay along their path; the Royal navy could then destroy all New England ports. In the winter, following the summer campaign in New England, the army and fleet could destroy the Virginia tobacco trade. Loyal Americans' homes were to be spared, but their barns and fields would not be. All Loyalists who served for a "precise and limited time" would be rewarded with a cleared and cultivated farm in the west. Indians and slaves were to be summoned and attracted to the King's service through the same expedients.

It was a breathtaking vision which, whether Captain Ferguson was aware of it or not, combined all the allegations of Royal misconduct made in the Rebel's Declaration of Independence into a strategic plan for the subjugation of the thirteen American colonies. Clinton of course did not accept the memo in its entirety; but he was intrigued enough to soon employ Ferguson in raids along the New York and Jersey coasts.

This is precisely the point where Gilchrist's biography fails. She briefly explains Ferguson's memo, but not at length; nor does she comment upon it. In describing Ferguson's subsequent career, she never mentions his memo of August 1st, 1778. It may be that the memo had absolutely no bearing on his future actions. But, if that were so, Ferguson's lack of commitment to his ideas deserves some comment; perhaps the memo was simply a cynical attempt to pay court to Sir Henry Clinton. Yet, while Clinton's strategy did not adopt Ferguson's broader and more ambitious strokes, Ferguson's own actions show that insofar as he was personally able he remained true to the ideas laid out in his memo. He was convinced that loyal Americans were the key to winning the war, and he became their patron. He believed that a new harshness was required in fighting the American rebels, and he showed that he was capable of being as harsh as he thought was necessary. Gilchrist having reached the stage of Ferguson's career best known to students of the American Revolution, drops into a filiopietistic crouch. She is determined to defend him against Americans who have vilified him, or made him a "sentimental 'Highland' stereotype"—or vilified him because he was too "English" to fit into that stereotype of the tartan soldier. While the first part of Gilchrist's biography nobly destroys that silly mythical Highland



figure, and leads to interesting perspectives on Ferguson as a representative of the Scottish Enlightenment in the British Army, the second half is marred by her tendentious attempts to rescue him from American vilification. The Ferguson of the first half of Gilchrist's biography is much more interesting than the one who occupies the second half.

Thus she passes over Ferguson's assault on Pulaski's Legion at Egg Harbor, New Jersey, with the apt observation that Pulaski's security was "lax"; yet she makes no observations or interpretations regarding Ferguson's subsequent claim that the laws of war permitted night assaults to do not render quarter.

Gilchrist informs us of Ferguson warning Sir Henry Clinton that the fort at Stony Point [1] was weak just a day before Anthony Wayne successfully assaulted it; but she does not inform us that the major result of Wayne's assault was that it successfully demonstrated the Enlightened sensibilities of the Continental Army versus the behavior of Ferguson and his men at Egg Harbor. Gilchrist notes that Ferguson devoted himself in the winter of 1779 to proposing yet another burnt-earth campaign, this one against central New Jersey to burn stores and destroy "Piratical Towns"; then observes that the war dragged on for four more years after this proposal, thus at least intimating that Ferguson's plan would have ended the conflict, a somewhat dubious proposition to say the least.

This aversion to interpretation, and to American historiography of the American Revolution, continues in her description of the Southern Campaign. She describes Ferguson's arrival in South Carolina; his ingenious plans for blockhouses to command road and river crossings throughout South Carolina; his promotion to Major in the 71st Regiment (Fraser's Highlanders) and appointment to the post of Inspector-General of Militia; and his difficult relations with Lord Cornwallis, as well as with Cornwallis' protégés. Yet in Gilchrist's desire to avoid the propaganda of nineteenth century histories of the Revolution in the Carolinas, she sometimes veers towards nominating British officers to if not sainthood, then beatification; and no British victory is the result of anything but hard fighting and gentlemanly conduct. Banastre Tarleton she describes simply as "talented", whose reputation has been "grossly exaggerated by Rebel propagandists then and now". She does not stray from the facts when she portrays Patriot Col. Benjamin Cleveland as both brutal and grotesque; but emphasizing Cleveland's faults does not mean that a biographer can be spared from investigating Ferguson's.

Thus, in the end, King's Mountain comes as a rather feeble end to the narrative of Ferguson's life, one that demands to be explained by the whole content and drive of Gilchrist's preceding narrative and yet is not explained. But the questions that still remain—what exactly had Ferguson been doing to the population of the backcountry; why did he make such slow time in his march away from Gilbert Town; why did he halt atop Kings Mountain rather than march on expeditiously to Charlotte; did he fear or despise the Rebels, or both—are left unanswered at the end of the biography.

Yet despite the flaws of this biography, it remains a worthy point of departure for future thinking and writing. What of other officers in the British army serving in the colonies who were of the Edinburgh Enlightenment? Gilchrist mentions Col. James Webster, son of the Edinburgh minister the Rev. Alexander Webster, killed by wounds suffered at Guilford Courthouse, as beloved by Cornwallis as Ferguson was mistrusted. The Rev. Alexander Webster was at one time an intimate friend with John Witherspoon of Paisley, before the latter sailed to the colonies for a career that included being President of Princeton and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The comparison of such individuals, and the exploration of their views of the Revolution seems to me a very fruitful approach.

Moreover, Gilchrist's aversion to interpretation means that despite the incisiveness of this biography, there is room for another. For example, if Gilchrist had considered the views of Armstrong Starkey, her approach would have been much deeper without necessarily overburdening the concision of this little biography. Ultimately it is Gilchrist's refusal to engage with the secondary literature of the last twenty years that considers the ethics and politics of the British Army in North America during the Revolution that makes this book so deeply frustrating. But despite that frustration, it remains worth reading.

*Patrick Ferguson: 'A man of some genius'*, written by M. M. Gilchrist, Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises Limited, 2003.

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[1] Armstrong Starkey, "Paoli to Stony Point: Military Ethics and Weaponry During the American Revolution." *The Journal of Military History*, Vol. 58, No. 1 (January 1994): 7-27.

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## *Kings Mountain Walking Tour Guide*

by **Robert M. Dunkerly**

Reviewed by J. Tracy Power, South Carolina Department of Archives and History

The Battle of Kings Mountain, fought on a ridge just south of the North Carolina-South Carolina state line on October 7, 1780, is well known to most readers of this newsletter. It was one of the most dramatic and most significant battles of the American Revolution in the South, in which the "Overmountain Men"—militiamen from Virginia, North Carolina, and what is now Tennessee—soundly defeated a Loyalist force attempting to crush Patriot resistance in the backcountry of both Carolinas. The Patriot militia in the South never fought better than they did at Kings Mountain. As Col. William Campbell told his Virginia militiamen when they approached the Tories, "Here they are, my brave boys; shout like hell, and fight like devils!" The battle crippled the Loyalist cause in the South, and bought precious time for the Patriot cause. By the beginning of 1781 Gen. Nathanael Greene was the new commander of the Southern Department and the tide had turned, if only gradually at first, in favor of the Americans defending a region that had long been controlled by a combination of British and Loyalist forces.

Many readers familiar with the basic strategic outlines and long-term significance of Kings Mountain, and even those familiar with the tactical details of the battle, the commanders and subordinate officers of the opposing forces, and the training, weapons, equipment, and basic makeup of both armies, are not nearly as familiar with the battlefield itself. Kings Mountain National Military Park, preserved, maintained, and interpreted since 1931 by the National Park Service, is perhaps the most fascinating and valuable source of all for anyone wishing to understand the battle and its significance.

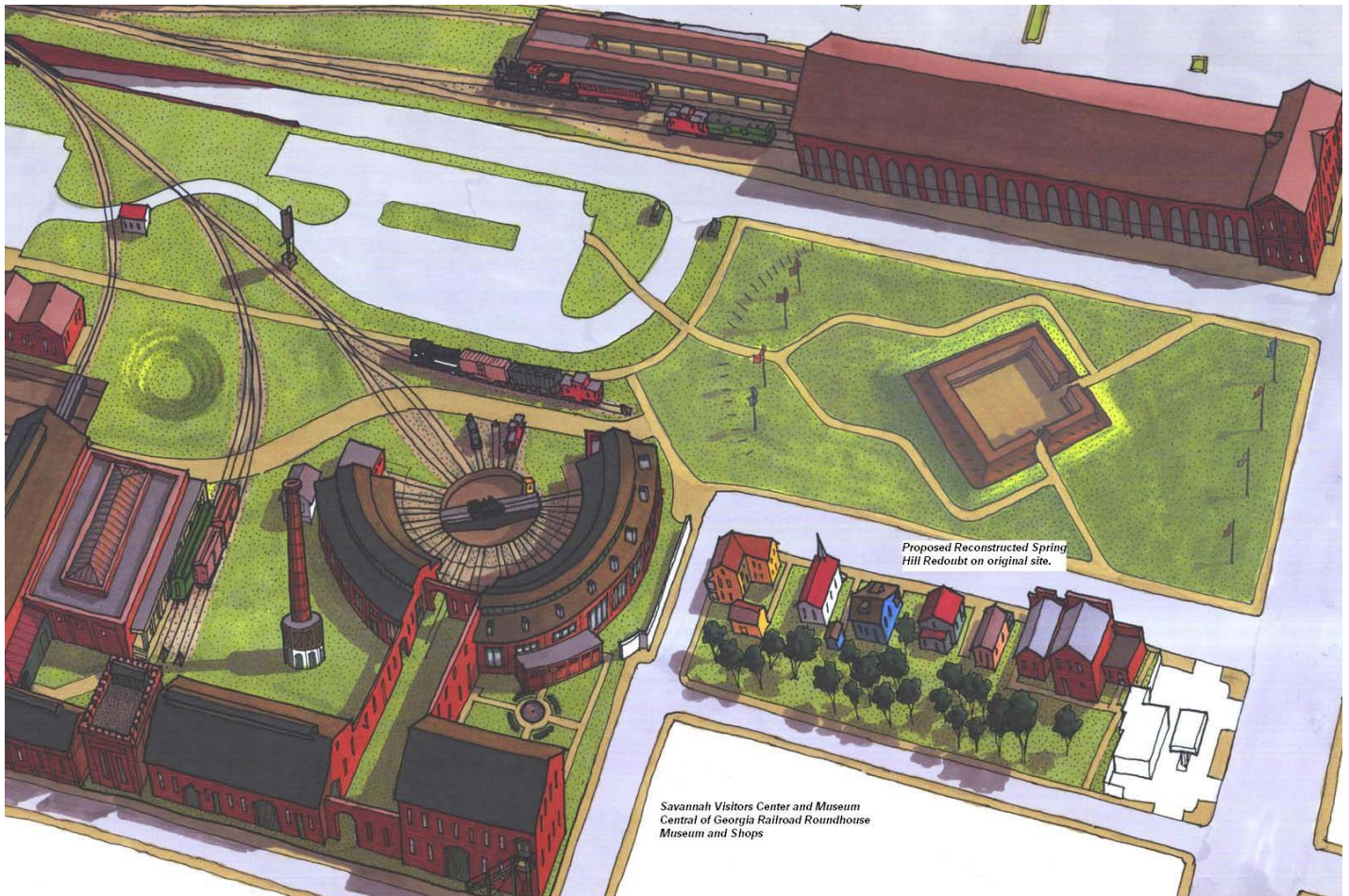
This guidebook by Robert M. Dunkerly, a ranger at Kings Mountain NMP, is the result of extensive primary and secondary research in published and unpublished sources, matched by the author's years of experience investigating and interpreting the battlefield as a unique source like no other. This slim volume contains much of value to anyone interested in this battle and in the Southern campaigns, from those encountering the battle and the park for the first time to those already familiar with Kings Mountain as a historical event and as a historic place.

Dunkerly opens with brief sections providing context on the Revolution in the South; on the composition and character of the opposing armies at Kings Mountain; on the effect of weapons on the ways in which Revolutionary battles were conducted in general and on this battle in particular; on the commanders on both sides; and on the topography and terrain of the battlefield itself. The core of the guidebook takes the reader on a point-by-point walking tour of the battlefield beginning and ending at the Visitor's Center, accompanied by five maps (for Stops 1-3, 4-6, 7-9, 10-12, and 13-17, respectively). It provides a narrative and analytical account of the battle incorporating numerous quotations from participants and assessments by historians, and integrates that account with a thorough description of what a visitor will see at each of seventeen stops, from the battlefield itself to the monuments and interpretive markers erected there. The book closes with several brief sections describing the aftermath of the battle; the creation of the park, a list of monuments

and markers; an order of battle of the Patriot and Loyalist forces; a list of other sites in both Carolinas associated with the Revolution in the backcountry; lists of web sites and recommended readings on Kings Mountain and the Southern campaigns; and a brief bibliography.

Anyone with any interest in the Southern campaigns should make it a point to visit Kings Mountain with a camera in one hand and Bert Dunkerly's guidebook in the other, and I intend to do so myself in the near future. When I do, I am confident that I will never think of the battle or see the battlefield in the same old way, ever again.

**Robert M. Dunkerly, *Kings Mountain Walking Tour Guide*. (Pittsburgh, Pa.: Dorrance Publishing Company, 2003. 43 pp. \$8.00 paper.) ★**



**Coastal Heritage Society's Georgia Central Railroad Roundhouse and Shops, the new Battlefield Park with Spring Hill Redoubt and the Savannah Visitors Center and Museum on Martin Luther King Boulevard in downtown Savannah.**

## Revolutionary War Remnants Unearthed in Downtown Savannah

**Adapted from an Associated Press story - Savannah, Ga.** Musket balls, pieces of guns and other remnants of a bloody Revolutionary War battlefield have been unearthed near the city's downtown historic district, much to the delight of those who thought traces of the 1779 Battle of Savannah were lost.

Within the last three weeks, an archaeological dig has uncovered faint traces of one wall of an earthen fort and a trench used by British troops to fend off an allied force of French soldiers and colonial militiamen who tried to reclaim the city 226 years ago. The find is

surprising because the site has been developed several times over. Today the area looks fairly flat, nothing like the redoubt where the battle raged.

"It was a very complicated story in the soil we're trying to recover," said Rita Elliott, an archaeologist for the nonprofit Coastal Heritage Society, which is working the city to develop a 9.5-acre park on the battlefield site located where Interstate 16 ends. The top portion of the trench had been leveled during previous construction on the site, leaving behind about 2 1/2 feet of the remaining trench that was marked by stains in the dirt, Elliott said. Around the trench, the musket balls, gun parts and other signs of a battle were found. "Once we found the first musket balls, we knew right away," she said.



Before construction work on the park proceeded, the city hired a Charleston, SC, engineering firm to use ground-penetrating radar to record any objects or soil disturbances buried up to 10 feet. Elliott and her team then searched the area. What has been uncovered gives them a more precise picture of where the British placed fortifications that allowed them to win the second-most lopsided victory of the revolution, after Bunker Hill.

As many as 5,000 French troops arrived at Savannah in September 1779 to join roughly 2,000 colonists seeking to take back the city, which had been seized by the British the previous year. On October 9, 1779 the allies charged British fortifications on a low ridge known as Spring Hill - the future park site - and were gunned down in five waves. About 300 died on the spot, and hundreds more were mortally wounded. British casualties totaled only about 50, Smith said.

Two men who died fighting the British that day - Gen. "Count" Casimir Pulaski of Poland (the father of the Continental Cavalry) and Sgt. William Jasper of South Carolina - (the hero of Fort Sullivan, now Fort Moultrie) have monuments erected in their honor in Savannah's oak-shaded squares.

The city bought the Battlefield Park site from the Norfolk Southern railroad. A total of \$23 million in federal, state and local funds have been allocated to develop the park that will feature a recreation of the ill-fated Spring Hill Redoubt. An opening ceremony for the park is planned for next spring, said Scott Smith, director of the Coastal Heritage Society.

"We'll be able to tell the whole story and see the artifacts," Elliott said of her findings and how they will be used at the park. "I think this is a good example of the kinds of stuff that is underground. A much larger percentage of the story lies underground."

In 1833 the Central of Georgia Railroad built its tracks along the old Louisville Road and erected their roundhouse, shops, and other buildings over a 14 acre tract of the Spring Hill battlefield. Another 20 acres to the south, through which the attackers advanced and where the Jewish Burial Ground has survived from its dedication in 1773, became a slum area. Various agencies in Savannah are attempting to acquire some 50 acres in this area to create a "regional entertainment complex," one proposed feature of which is a Revolutionary Battle Park with a museum, open air theater, and light and sound presentations of regional history including the two battles of Savannah. The French have expressed an interest in sponsoring some of the development, just as the British and Spanish have done at Virginia's Jamestown Festival Park and Florida's St. Augustine restoration.

Mark Boatner, III, *Landmarks of the American Revolution*, 1973.

## NEW & OLD SPRING HILL REDOUBT IN SAVANNAH

Michael Jordan/Coastal Heritage Society

*Organizers are planning something exciting for history lovers in downtown Savannah—while archaeologists are unearthing evidence of the real thing from 226 years ago.*

The Spring Hill Redoubt was the central feature of the Battle of Savannah on October 9, 1779. More than 7,000 troops from numerous nations clashed that day for control of Georgia's colonial capital—and more than 800 were killed or wounded in less than an hour.

Today, the nonprofit Coastal Heritage Society is working on a novel approach to preserve the memory of the valiant fighters on both sides of the Spring Hill Redoubt—and the legacy of more than a century and a half of railroad occupation on the site of the battle. The Society has secured more than \$23 million in federal, state, and local funding to create Battlefield Park. This 25-acre complex includes more than a dozen historic railroad buildings, including a partially complete roundhouse and the most complete antebellum railroad shops complex in the nation. The adjacent passenger terminal, now the Savannah History Museum and Visitors Center, is also part of the heritage attraction. But the focal point of this massive museum complex will be the recreated Spring Hill Redoubt. The Society has secured more than \$200,000 in private funding to create a modern-day representation of this earthen fortification, set to open in fall 2005. Additional funding will be earmarked for an endowment to provide ongoing historical interpretation at the site. Visitors from around the world will be able to visualize this often-neglected chapter in southern history.

In August 2005, a Coastal Heritage Society archaeological team made a startling discovery near the site of the planned new redoubt: evidence of the original. Experts have long believed the Central of Georgia railroad erased all traces of the Battle of Savannah during the construction of their industrial facilities in the 1850s. However, archaeologist Rita Elliott and her team discovered traces of the trench surrounding the redoubt—as well as a smattering of musket balls and gun pieces—beneath the layers of railroad fill dirt. The search was not simple, as the team had to work around early 19<sup>th</sup>-century structures dropped smack-dab in the middle of the redoubt walls. But the discerning eye can make out the lines of the redoubt's ditch, and the dark stains that mark spots where posts once stood.



Archaeologist Rita Elliott digs the Spring Hill Redoubt.

With the discovery of the original features, Battlefield Park becomes an actual historic battlefield, with a renewed impetus for preservation. The Coastal Heritage Society will soon fill in the archaeologists' trenches, to protect the site for future study. Society leaders hope the newly discovered artifacts and evidence will help them tell the story of the struggle and sacrifice that took place here 226 years ago.





**Revolutionary War era artifacts recovered from the Spring Hill Redoubt site. Left gun part, right French or American caliber musket balls.**

The Coastal Heritage Society operates a museum in the Savannah Visitors Center with an interesting Revolutionary War display of a cannon, uniforms, weapons and a diorama of the Siege of Savannah. Along with other 226<sup>th</sup> commemoration activities in Savannah (see Calendar of Events) the Coastal Heritage Society is planning a full day of living history programs at the redoubt site on Saturday, October 8, 2005, with a dawn battlefield ceremony on Sunday, October 9th. For more information, call (912) 651-6895. You can learn more about Battlefield Park at [www.chsgeorgia.org](http://www.chsgeorgia.org). ★

### **Battle of Camden 225<sup>th</sup> Photographs**

by Dale Williams



**At first light on the morning of August 16, 1780 Capt. Singleton's battery receives permission to fire on the vague redcoated soldiers through the mature pines. The smoke from the batteries would have obscured the weak light of dawn slowing down the initial stages of the battle.**

For more pictures see <http://scchr.org/Camden225.htm>



**Crack British soldiers reenacting the 33d Regiment of Foot deploy against the Patriots' right flank.**



**Patriots volley bravely as Gen. DeKalb pushes his Continentals forward into Lord Rawdon's Volunteers of New York provincials.**



**Smoke of gunpowder obscures the battlefield in the early morning heavy air.** ★

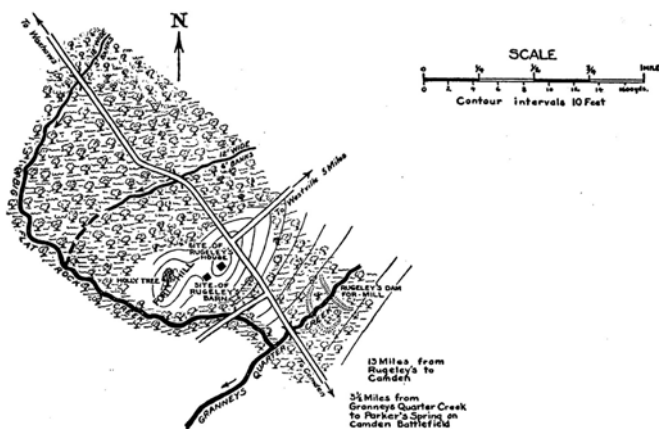


## Corps of Exploration

by Charles B. Baxley

In **July 2005**, a group of Revolutionary War researchers (“fellow travelers”) got together to explore some little known Revolutionary War sites in South Carolina, and of course, Revolutionary War siting is an ultra hazardous occupation as we did see the predicted poisonous snakes, encountered the customary chiggers and ticks, and sweated the more dangerous foe of heat exhaustion in the Carolina summers.

**Friday afternoon**, Lee McGee, David Reuwer, and Charles Baxley were treated with our first trip to the site of Rugeley’s Fort and house with property owner Benny Clyburn. Tory Col. Henry Rugeley originally owned a large plantation, known as Claremont, located at the confluence of Flat Rock Creek and Granny’s Quarter Creek about thirteen (13) miles north of Camden, South Carolina. Here, on the Great Wagon Road, locally called the Waxhaws Road, was the site of Rugeley’s tavern, gristmill, sawmill, store, tannery, and other enterprises active in Colonial times. It was with Henry Rugeley that fleeing SC Patriot Gov. John Rutledge spent the night of May 28, 1780 before being awoken early by his host and urged to leave just ahead of Lt. Col. Banister Tarleton’s approaching British Legion were chasing Governor Rutledge and his counselors and Col. Abraham Buford’s Continentals north up the old Waxhaw Road. Claremont was also the rendezvous point for General Horatio Gates’ Continental Army with Gen. Richard Caswell’s North Carolina militia and General Edward Stevens’ Virginia militia on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August 1780 prior to Gates’ fateful march South towards the Battle of Camden. In the morning of August 16, 1780, Rugeley’s witnessed the last stand of the Continentals under the cavalry of Col. Armand. Tarleton’s Green Dragoons soon swept them aside and continued another fifteen (15) miles North up the Waxhaw Road capturing, wounding, and killing as the camp followers and stragglers headed back towards Salisbury, North Carolina. But on December 1, 1780, the tides turned for the Patriots at Rugeley’s fortified barn where Henry and approximately a hundred (100) of Camden Loyalists militiamen had secured themselves. They surrendered to Lt. Col. William Washington’s Continental Dragoons who had mounted a fake cannon, a “Quaker gun”, and threatened to “blow them across Mill Pond” with a charred pine log barrel.



MAP SHOWING CAMP OF THE SOUTHERN ARMY COMMANDED BY MAJ. GEN. HORATIO GATES, AT RUGELEY'S, AUGUST 13-15, 1780  
(Sketch made on the ground March 16, 1939, by Lieut. Col. H. L. Lanier, F. A., Historical Section, Army War College)

**For a more complete explanation of the events of December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1780 at Rugeley’s Fort, see Lee McGee’s article in the July 2005 edition of SCAR.**

Walking through the land with the property owner, we toured the site of the old Henry Rugeley home, now occupied by a modern home, and two possible sites of Rugeley’s fortified barn. Since Rugeley’s surrender was a bloodless fight and since this farm was the site of many military encampments, it is unlikely that artifacts alone will

pinpoint the location of the for fortified barn; however SCAR plans to continue to work with the land owners, historians, and archeologists to develop a more comprehensive survey of the area and to have an appropriate historic marker erected along the modern Flat Rock Road.

**Saturday**, Travelers David Reuwer, Charles Baxley, Lee McGee, and Steve Rauch met with Admiral Joe Goldsmith and Lawrence Young in Clinton, South Carolina to explore Revolutionary War sites in the area.

Starting with a quick drive by of the state park facilities at Musgroves Mill for the benefit of our out of state guest. Of note, Lt. Col. Elijah Clarke of Wilkes County, Georgia militia commanded the left wing of the Patriots’ victory at Musgrove Mill who along with Col. James Williams’ SC Patriot militia and Col. Isaac Shelby’s North Carolina Patriot militia soundly defeated British under Col. Alexander Innes.

We made a quick stop at Blackstock’s Plantation, site of Gen. Thomas Sumter’s magnificent victory over Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton on November 20, 1780.



**Lawrence Young, Lee McGee and David Reuwer at the Blackstock’s Battlefield Monument.**

To retrace the likely approach route of Lt. Col. William Washington’s late December 1780 patrol into the Ninety Six District from Gen. Morgan’s camp at Grindol Shoals on the Pacolet River, we next drove to the shoals on the lower Fairforest Creek about 5 miles west of modern Union, SC on SC Highway 49, the Cross Keys Highway. This is near the home of Col. Thomas Fletchall (later acquired by Col. Thomas Brandon). The old ford is very evident.

A few miles south of SC Highway 49 is the Sardis Road crossing the lower Fairforest Creek, the site of “Brandon’s Defeat”. This is where some of Col. Thomas Brandon’s Patriot Regiment was encamped and were dispersed on about June 8, 1780 by Tories led by SC Loyalist Maj. William “Bloody Bill” Cunningham. Captured at Brandon’s Camp were Patriots Col. John Thomas, Sr. and Maj. Joseph McJunkin of the Tinker Creek area, both of whom were conveyed to the Ninety Six jail. This capture of Col. John Thomas, Sr. sets up the story of the heroic ride of Jane Black Thomas from Ninety Six to warn her son of the Loyalist attack on the Patriot camp at Cedar Spring. See SCAR June 2005 and this article below. Continuing our trip west on SC 49, we stopped at the beautiful antebellum Bobo’s “Cross Keys” house, built in 1809 on the Old Buncombe Road.





**Bobo Cross Keys house, on Old Buncombe Road in Union County, SC.**

From the Cross Keys house, we traveled southwest on Jones' Ford Road, across the Enoree River, and continued south on Barrel Stave Road; likely the 18<sup>th</sup> century roads. Then we drove to the approximate location of McCravy's Plantation near Philson Crossroads where we studied Joe's maps of the 18<sup>th</sup> century landgrants.



**Tour Guide Joe Goldsmith points out landgrants on map as Lee McGee, Steve Rauch and David Reuwer look on.**



**Duncan Creek Presbyterian Church (1840 stone structure) and Cemetery with Revolutionary soldiers' burials.**

We then proceeded to the beautiful and historic Duncan Creek Presbyterian Church and were fortunate on this trip to be able to go on

the inside of the 1840s church. While the beautiful church structure dated only to the 1840s, it is built on the site of the original Presbyterian Meeting House erected in the Colonial period.

Next stop was the Hurricane Meeting House, now a modern Baptist Church. Then following the old road to its crossing of the miniscule Bush River and up the gradual incline to the site of the Patriots' victory at "Hammond's Store."



**A small portion of the area believed to be the Battle of Hammond's Store on Green Plain Road near Clinton, SC. See November 2004, SCAR for Joe Goldsmith's evidence.**

After stopping at Hammond's Store site, we toured the areas of James Williams Mill and extensive property on the Little River and Mud Lick Creek that were the approximate locations of Fort Williams and the Battle of Mud Lick Creek. The only visible remaining evidence of James Williams' extensive plantation is the tracks of old roads and the Col. James Williams' family cemetery. The exact location of Williams' Fort and the subsequent battle of Mudlick Creek all falling in the same area is yet to be precisely ascertained.

Our final stop in Laurens County was the monument to the Loyalist massacre of Patriot Col. Joseph Hayes and his men at Edghill Station.



**Granite monolith, witness to those killed at Hayes' Massacre on Williams Road in Laurens County, SC.**

On our way to Ninety Six on SC Highway 56, we circled by the beautiful antebellum home of Col. John Simpson, known as Belfast, built of brick in 1785 on old foundations to replace a similar structure burned during the Revolution.



We ventured through the modern town of Ninety Six to the National Military Park and walked the battlefield trail stopping briefly in the Black Swan Tavern where period reenactors were trying to keep cool in the July, South Carolina heat—very authentic.



**Old sunken road bed at Ninety Six – a portion of the main road to the Cherokee Towns from Charleston, SC.**

Passing over the old Ninety Six sunken road bed, we climbed the observation tower, where it is easy to visualize the siege trenches and the mounds of earth - remains of the old Star Fort. The historic site of the frontier town of Cambridge and the other small redoubt showed a fairly sizeable frontier, fortified village that was amazingly able to thwart 30 days of siege by General Greene. After the tour of Ninety Six, we departed Clinton, South Carolina and left our genial hosts and guides Joe and Lawrence and drove to Spartanburg, South Carolina.

Joe and Lawrence, members of the Cambridge Chapter SAR, generously donated their time and energy to promote the Revolutionary War site knowledge detailed on this tour.

**Sunday** morning, we had a shift change. John Allison and Will Graves joined the party, as did Spartanburg County historian and our guide for the day, Wes Hope. Wes explained in detail the WWI training Camp Wadsworth area just West of Spartanburg where the West Gate Mall complex and our hotel are situate. In fact, beyond the hotel, you could see the ruins of old chimneys that once provided heat to the complex.

In the Spartan District shortly after the fall of Charleston and the surrender of SC Patriot Gen. Andrew Williamson and much of the Ninety Six district Patriot militia, the South Carolina Loyalist militias and provincial troops, organized by Maj. Patrick Ferguson (of Kings Mountain fame) and the Georgia, North and South Carolina Patriot militias faced off for a related series of battles on July 12-13-14-15, 1780. These battles were initiated by Col. John Jones and his Georgia Patriot Militia as they marched across the upper piedmont towards Col. Charles McDowell's North Carolina militia embodied on the east side of the North Pacolet River at Earle's Ford.

Our first Sunday morning stop was at the site believed to be Gowen's Old Fort. The Loyalists who escaped the ambush laid by Col. John Thomas, Jr. at Cedar Spring on July 12, 1780, retreated to Gowen's Fort. When Col. Jones learned of Tories at this fort, he decided to attack. We met the landowner, Mr. Williams, who left the gate opened down the old roadbed so we could access the hilltop that is believed to be the site of Gowen's Old Fort. No definitive evidence yet exists, but the site is certainly plausible. On July 13, 1780 Col. Jones surprised the Tories and captured the fort.



**Light infantry (red dot on top of hill) enjoys a panorama from hilltop site south of Landrum, SC on Jamison's Mill Creek, believed by some to be the site of Gowen's Old Fort.**

We also walked down to the bottom of the hill to the old mill site on Jamison's Mill Creek. Luckily the water moccasin waiting on us did not take too long before he hightailed it into the water.

After capturing and destroying Gowen's Old Fort, Col. Jones continued his march towards Col. Charles McDowell's camp. These Georgia Patriots marched about a mile East of Landrum, South Carolina where they stopped for sleep at the low lands east of Earle's Ford of the North Pacolet River. There, on the night of July 14<sup>th</sup>, Capt. James Dunlap and his Tory militia who were following them attacked Jones' camp. Unfortunately for the Tories, Col. McDowell and his North Carolina Whig militia was camped on the highlands just east of the river. Although Jones' troops were badly cut up by the shock of the initial attack, McDowell's troops formed and soon routed the Tories setting them retreating south down the old Blackstock's Road towards Fort Prince. Fort Prince is about twenty miles south on the Blackstock's Road from Earle's Ford.



**Junipers surround the DAR Monument to the Battle at Earle's Ford on the north side of SC Highway 14 just east on I-26 in front of the historic Four Columns home.**

We drove a few miles into North Carolina to Hunting Country Road and the probable site of Earle's Fort. Earle's Fort was built on a hill on the east side of the river overlooking Earle's Bridge over the North Pacolet River about two miles upstream from Earle's Ford. Here foundation stones are reported to be found in a kudzu vineyard that is believed to come from the fort.





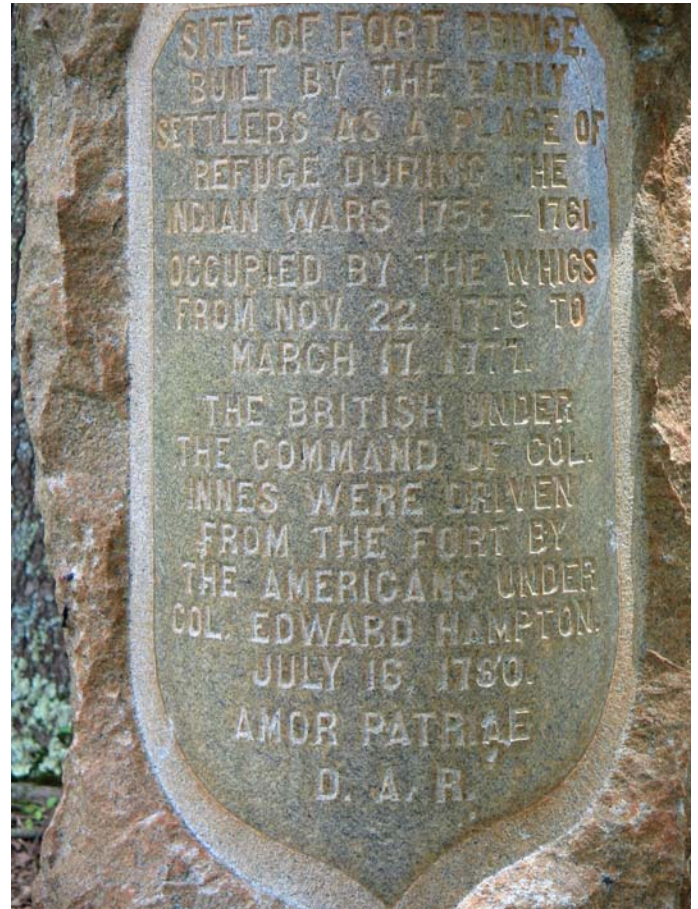
**Hunting Country Road looking east from Earle’s Bridge over the North Pacolet River, just in North Carolina. Earle’s Fort is believed to have been on the north (left) side of the road well below the crest of the hill.**

Returning our attention to the retreat of Capt. Dunlap’s troops after their surprise attack on Col. Jones’ troops at Earle’s Ford, we followed his retreat south along the old Blackstock’s Road through the town of Inman, SC. Col. McDowell dispatched Col. Edward Hampton’s cavalry to chase Dunlap’s Loyalist troops. About a mile south of Inman, there is an extant 1820s frame Methodist Church called “Shiloh”; this is where the lead Patriot elements under Col. Hampton caught up with the trailing elements of Dunlap’s Tories. There started a running battle for the next five (5) miles continuing south down the old Blackstock’s Road to Fort Prince, safely in Loyalist hands.



**1825-1830 Shiloh Methodist Church is site where Patriot Col. Edward Hampton caught Capt. James Dunlap’s retreating Loyalist on the old Blackstock’s Road.**

We stopped at Shiloh Church to admire the 1820s structure and cemetery lovingly maintained by Inman Methodists. Departing Shiloh, we drove five miles south to the site of Fort Prince where the last of Dunlap’s straggling Tory militia found refuge. Col. Hampton stopped his men a few hundred yards short, out of the fort’s firing range. Seeing themselves badly outnumbered, Capt. Dunlap’s Tories soon abandoned Fort Prince and continued their retreat south down the Blackstock’s Road to the area of the Cedar Spring. The DAR erected a fitting memorial in the oak grove on the site.



**Inscription on the DAR Monument at site of Fort Prince.**

After a delicious blue plate lunch at Wade’s (highly recommended by your author) we remounted and headed to Cedar Spring near the grounds of Cedar Spring Baptist Church at the back of the South Carolina School for the Deaf and Blind.



**David Reuwer cools off in the cold water of Cedar Spring.**

The Cedar Spring, site of Patriot Col. John Thomas, Jr.’s famous ambush, still flows boldly to this day from its concrete sarcophagus. This visit to Cedar Spring was out of chronological order for our Spartan tour as it was here this series of battles started. Mrs. Jane Black Thomas, while visiting her imprisoned husband in Ninety Six, overheard other ladies talking of a planned, Loyalist surprise attack on



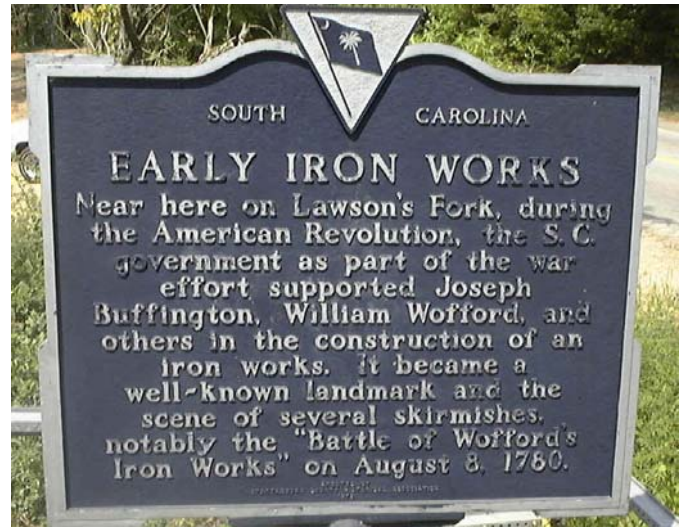
the Whigs assembled at Cedar Spring. She then rode all day and all night to warn her son, Patriot Col. John Thomas (Jr.), of the pending attack on his camp at the Cedar Spring. It was at Cedar Spring on July 12, 1780 that the advance warning allowed an ambush to be prepared and insured a complete Patriot victory. The defeated Tories fled from the Cedar Spring to Gowen's Fort.



**Monument to the Patriot Victory at the Cedar Spring.**

Next, we focused on the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battle of Cedar Spring, more accurately referred to as the Battle of Wofford's Iron Works. Our trip first took us on the old Caanan Road at the upper Fairforest Creek where the Patriots were camped early on the morning of August 7, 1780; this camp was attacked by Tories that started the next running battle, I think more accurately titled "Peach Orchard - Wofford's Iron Works-Clifton". After the Tory successes at embodying militia in the Spartan District, Patriot Col. Charles McDowell dispatched Cols. Isaac Shelby and Elijah Clarke's militia regiments to form a juncture to oppose Maj. Patrick Ferguson. From their Fairforest Creek camp, Capt. James Dunlap's provincials pushed Cols. Clarke and Shelby's Patriots from their camp (at a modern soccer complex) on Fairforest Creek to the northwest up the old Cannan Road through Thompson's Plantation peach orchard where the Patriots stopped (for the 1<sup>st</sup> skirmish). Next, the Patriots continued their withdrawal to Wofford's Iron Works on Lawson's Fork Creek where they stopped to defend their supplies and the iron works. After several hours of fierce fighting, Shelby and Clarke withdrew into the mill village of Clifton, where the Patriots perched on a high and defensible ridge on the west bank of the Pacolet River and the Tories broke off their attacks.

The Wofford's Iron Works site on Lawson's Fork Creek is now upstream of the old Glendale Mill pond. In addition to the running action through Wofford's in 2d Cedar Springs battle, Loyalist Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham paid Wofford's Iron Works a visit, gratuitously burning it in November 1781. The site of Wofford's Iron Works is about 1,500 feet upstream of where the modern Clifton Glendale Road bridge crosses Lawson's Fork Creek. These Iron Works, owned by Patriot Col. William Wofford, went into operation in 1773, initially as Buffington's Iron Works. During the Revolution, the Tories made several attempts to put the works out of operation. Most members of the Wofford family supported the Whig cause; however, one son of Col. William Wofford, Absalom Wofford was a Loyalist soldier stationed at Ninety-Six when it was besieged by Gen. Nathanael Greene in May-June 1781. A brother of Col. William Wofford, Benjamin Wofford of the Tyger River, was a Loyalist and his estate was confiscated after the war. Another brother of Col. William Wofford was Capt. Joseph Wofford who served in the SC Patriot militia commanded by Col. Benjamin Roebuck. [Spartanburg landmark Wofford College was founded when the Rev. Benjamin Wofford died in December 1850 and bequeathed \$100,000 for the establishment of "a college for literary, classical, and scientific education" in Spartanburg under the management and control of the state's Methodist Conference. Rev. Benjamin Wofford was born October 19, 1780 the son of Whig Capt. Joseph Wofford.]



**Roadside marker to Wofford's Iron Works on the Clifton-Glendale Road in Glendale Mill area.**

The Loyalist pushed the Patriots over ten (10) miles east; however, the day ended in the successful capture and defense of over fifty Loyalists prisoners. The strategy of a controlled force withdrawal trades territory for many opportunities of defensive advantage. This battle, measured in human costs, was a clear Patriot victory and eventually the Loyalist forces under Major Patrick Ferguson quit the chase. Both the sites of Wofford's Iron Works on Lawson's Fork Creek in the Glendale Mill area and Clifton on the Pacolet River are homes to 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century industrial mill remnants of the great cotton age of Spartanburg County.

Our intrepid travelers next move was to Cherokee County where we toured the cabin-like structure made of logs that are allegedly the remnants of the Thicketty Fort blockhouse where Capt. Patrick Moore's Loyalists surrendered to superior Patriot force commanded by Cols. Clarke, Shelby and Andrew Hampton on July 30, 1780. While the logs are very old, at this point all we have is local tradition to tie this structure to Thicketty Fort. It may have been moved and reconfigured.



**This log cabin, in the Goucher Creek Community, guarded by snakes, vines and poison ivy, is said to have been a part of old Thicketty Fort.**

The final stop on Sunday was Grindal Shoals of the Pacolet River. Unfortunately, we were only able to view the area of the shoals from the South Carolina Highway 18 bridge over the Pacolet, but we

located the 18<sup>th</sup> century road to the shoals, now used by a hunting club. We definitely want to go back to tour the beautifully restored 19<sup>th</sup> century Nuchols' mansion located in Cherokee County on the Green River Road, go to the Whig Hill Cemetery, and get down to the old site of General Morgan's camp at Grindal Shoals as well as following the route up the Green River Road, from Grindal Shoals to the Cowpens Battlefield.

I highly recommend Wes Hope as a knowledgeable and patient guide and his book, *The Spartanburg Area in the American Revolution*, available from the author at 212 Wexford Lane, Spartanburg, SC 29301 for \$25.00 plus \$5.00 s&h.

Battlefielding in the summertime in South Carolina is less than ideal. We did find snakes. I only pulled two (2) ticks off of myself, suffered a number of chigger bites were had, I had to swim through a field of poison ivy to get to the log structure thought to be a part of the original Fort Anderson, called Fort Ticketty. This weekend adventure only enhances the journals, maps, and scholarly works great to read and reread on the sites seeking a visual image. We all learned a tremendous amount from our hosts and the cooperative landowners who allowed us to tour sites on their property. We enjoyed the amazing comradeship of fellows interested in the study of the war and looking at the ground over which blood was shed in the cause of freedom. ★

## **Sutlers at Camden Provide Authenticity and Goods for Re-enactors and Event Attendees**

**by Rachel Haynie**

Sutlers set up around the west edge of the encampment area during August's Battle of Camden re-enactment formed a merchants' group many modern-day chambers of commerce would envy. The camaraderie developed, sometimes over years of encounters at battle sites and other events around the country, is evident in the sutlers' friendly competition and support of each other's crafts and trade.

Whereas the men-at-arms re-created the purely military element of the battle re-enactment, sutlers add authenticity to the camp life scenario. Dressed, almost always, with the eye for historic detail that matches or exceeds the military re-enactors', and offering for sale goods made by hand, or crafted using techniques comparable to those 18<sup>th</sup> century artisans would have used, sutlers perpetuate traditions older than the nation's history.

For the past dozen years Rick Haven, coordinator of the sutlers at the annual Battle of Camden re-enactment, has made the two-day trip from Poultney, Vermont, with his wife Carol. The couple's sutler business, Just Two Tailors, keeps them both busy at their sewing machines, creating apparel as nearly like 18<sup>th</sup>-centurians would have worn as possible.

When he first ventured into this life- and workstyle, he and Carol were making their way to about 25 events a year, with 43 as the highest number of events undertaken on one calendar. "We will probably do eight this year," Haven said, explaining that the commissioned garments they create for film productions, state and national parks re-enactors, and other historic pageants require them to be producing more these days than traveling.

Haven, who has also been sutler coordinator for some of the largest events in the East, looks forward to the Battle of Camden because the annual event brings him back in touch with other sutlers he considers dear friends. "Tom Muschlitz and Bob Winter and I have been at it as sutlers for 20 years now." Haven said the other sutlers set up in Camden came to the trade from a variety of backgrounds.

Williamsburg is a common denominator for some, including Haven. "I had been working in Williamsburg in another profession, and Carol and I did not want to leave when that job ended." He learned that a revered tailor was planning to retire and persuaded the venerable man to teach him the trade.

"I worked with him for months without pay to learn these skills," said Haven. Relentlessly researching garment and fabric designs, and holding themselves to high standards in all areas of the trade have earned the Two Tailors a solid reputation in their field.

When he and Carol left Virginia to make their home in Vermont, not far from Ft. Ticonderoga, NY, Betty Myers was not yet the Williamsburg wigmaker she is today, so these sutlers did not cross paths until later. "Even when I was a little girl, I enjoyed dressing my dolls' hair," recalled Myers, whose own dark, lustrous hair could be crafted into one of her high-quality wigs. "We use European hair because European women have not over-processed theirs. For pale or red-haired wigs, we import from the British Isles; for dark hair, France, Spain or Italy. For black hair, we look to the Orient."

Like her sutler colleagues, Myers, of Wigs and Curls, bears responsibility for passing along knowledge of her craft to those who stop by her tent, whether they buy or only look. The educational component is value-added to the shopping or browsing experience. "The 18<sup>th</sup> century was the Golden Age of Wig-making and Wearing," and she explained that wigs were status symbols denoting social standing.

"Thomas Jefferson had four," added Don Shannon, now learning the wig-making craft from Myers. Shannon, who has family ties to Camden although he admitted they go back quite a few generations, is apprenticing with Myers. "I had been going to Williamsburg since I was 10 years old, and knew for years this is what I wanted to do."

In Colonial Williamsburg Shannon portrays 18<sup>th</sup> century wigmaker Edward Charlton. "Wigmakers were important in society, and even though George Washington didn't wear one, he was known to frequent the wigmaker's shop." Williamsburg is also the home base for general merchandiser Trapper Killmany as well as Burley and Trowbridge, drapers - or fabric merchants.

Ninety Six District Storehouse of Abbeville, SC, was also offering woolen yardage, most of it woven and finished in state. As locals, they were in the minority. A team from Fort Mill and Rock Hill who had become sutlers to help support their hobby as re-enactors were among the few sutlers representing the home state.

The cordswain (shoemaker) is David Kazmark of Pepe's Possibles, a fine leather craftsman. Piper Bob, who serves up homemade root beer and other period beverages on tap, drove up from Orlando, leaving his bagpipe behind because "pipers weren't historically on the scene, so they are not allowed at this event," Bob Blanchard explained.

Haven's Vermont may have been the farthest distance traveled by sutlers for this event, but many others negotiated many miles to arrive in Camden for a hot August weekend. Sutlers traveled from as far away as Indiana to ply their trade with event attendees and men-at-arms. Shelly Bender of Elkhart has filled a niche she noted after being a regular attendee at re-enactments. Her Irish Maid is a children's clothing store.

Tinsmith Carl Giodano, and the Rathfelders of Smiling Fox Forge, a general store, were both from Ohio. From Pennsylvania Drew Redmond of G. Gedney Godwin, military accoutrements, hails from Valley Forge; and Bill Wickham, aka Dirty Billy's, is a hatter from Gettysburg.



Besides the Havens, the veteran sutlers of this battle re-enactment were Thom Muschlitz of The Mountain Forge based in Trinity, NC, and leathersmith David Kazmark of Spring City, Tn., does business as Pepe's Possibles. His fellow Tennessean, Annette Winters of Southwind, brought ancient trade beads, old coins and musket flints from Sparta.

Haven's conscientiousness as coordinator inspires him to see that sutlers traveling such distances have better than a fair chance to turn a profit. "I have developed a formula that takes into account how many men-at-arms are expected at an event, and my experience tells me about how much money will be spent." Based on those numbers, Haven invites an appropriate number of sutlers, anticipating what the traffic is likely to generate. Then he arrives early to lay out the area.

Sutlers set up early to be ready for their customers, many of whom are involved in the battle at hand, but first they gathered around some pizzas at a local restaurant, catching up on personal and professional news, and talking up the next promising event.

"When we talk up an event, more men-at-arms come and participate. This is one way an event grows," Haven said. "Sutlers share information about which events treat them well – as Camden does. It's a well-run event," and that bodes well for the coffers these camp followers hope to fill.

Suggested Reading:

**Holly A. Mayer's** *Belonging to the Army: Camp Followers and Community during the American Revolution* (from USC Press, 1996) details forgotten revolutionaries – including sutlers – who provided necessary supplies, services, and even emotional support to the troops of the Continental Army.

**Rachel M. Haynie** lives in Columbia, SC where she enjoys studying American History. She writes for the South Carolina Department of Archives and History and the South Carolina United Methodist Church.



## 18<sup>th</sup> Century Medical Treatment for a Scalped Head

© Hugh T. Harrington and Lisa A. Ennis

Scalping was not a common war wound confronted by American Revolution medical practitioners. In most cases the scalping victim was already dead or soon would be dead when the scalping took place. However, there were instances where a person was scalped and either was not otherwise wounded or the wound was not mortal. The problem then becomes how to medically treat a patient with a scalped head.

Despite the fact that scalping had been practiced for centuries and some victims lived through their ordeal, the literature of the period is mostly silent on the techniques for treating the wound. Samuel Sharpe's 1769 "Treatise on the Operations of Surgery" does not mention any scalping treatments.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, John Jones' "Plain Concise Practical Remarks on the Treatment of Wounds and fractures" written in 1776 for the Patriot surgeon facing battle casualties ignores the possibility of a live scalping victim.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. James Thacher, a Continental Army surgeon, published his "Military Journal of the American Revolution" in 1823. He describes a scalping victim as one of "the most remarkable occurrences which came under my observation."<sup>3</sup> A Captain Greg, while stationed at

Fort Stanwix in New York, had been wounded, scalped and left for dead, but he was not dead. He was found alive and transported to Dr. Thacher's hospital.

Dr. Thacher described the Indian scalping procedure. "With a knife they make a circular cut from the forehead, quite round, just above the ears, then taking hold of the skin with their teeth, they tear off the whole hairy scalp in an instant, with wonderful dexterity."

To Dr. Thacher, Captain Greg "was a most frightful spectacle, the whole of his scalp was removed..." Regrettably, he does not explain the method of treatment. He only says that "this unfortunate man, after suffering extremely for a long time, finally recovered, and appeared to be well satisfied in having his scalp restored to him, though uncovered with hair."

If the scalped head was left untreated the exposed bone would eventually become necrotic and separate from the healthy bone or it could cause osteomyelitis, an inflammation of the bone and marrow. Either of these conditions would be fatal.<sup>4</sup> In 1769 James Robertson saw a young South Carolinian who had been scalped in 1761. The exposed bone of his skull was "perfectly bare, dry, and black."<sup>5</sup> Robertson believed the man could have been successfully treated even after eight years. However, the man was not treated and died less than a year later. The bare bone of his skull had become necrotic and separated exposing the man's brain.

James Robertson is credited with having originated the treatment for a scalped head in America. Robertson was a pioneer, not a medical doctor, who founded the city of Nashville and is known as the "father of Tennessee." He learned the procedure from a shadowy figure named Dr. Patrick Vance whose identity has become lost to history. James Robertson's son, Felix, was a medical doctor and recorded his father's experiences and treatments in "Remarks on the Management of a Scalped-Head," published in 1806.

Robertson's first experience with treating a scalping victim was in 1777. The patient was scalped so "nearly the whole of his head skinned." Dr. Vance was treating the man but could not remain for a prolonged period of time so instructed Robertson in the art of skull boring. Vance demonstrated how to bore holes as the skull became black. Robertson described the method, "I have found that a flat pointed straight awl is the best instrument to bore with, as the skull is thick, and somewhat difficult to penetrate. When the awl is nearly through, this instrument should be borne more lightly upon. The time to quit boring is when a reddish fluid appears on the point of the awl. I bore, at first, about one inch apart, and, as the flesh appears to rise in those holes, I bore a number more between the first."<sup>6</sup> Besides boring holes in the skull the wound had to be cleaned and dressed at least once a day to prevent infection. The patient recovered from the scalping.

Apparently, the success rate for this treatment was very good. The scalped head, according to Robertson, "cures very slowly" and the average recovery period was two years. Remarkably, Robertson reported that hair would even grow back, although not as thickly, on the new scalp. The patient would regain feeling once the new skin grew sufficiently to attach to the edge of the uninjured part of the original flesh remaining on the skull.

This method of boring, or pegging as it is sometimes called, used during the colonial period continues to be practiced today.

**Charles,**

This was a very interesting article on the medical treatment of scalping.

While thankfully not common, total scalp avulsion still occurs today as an occupational hazard. Those with long hairstyles have been known to have their tresses caught in machinery, although stricter OSHA rules have decreased the odds. The loose areolar layer just under a thicker galea of the scalp allows for its somewhat easy removal.

Prior to the modern era of antibiotics, transfusion, and surgery, most patients died of complications from infection, breakdown of the bone, hemorrhage, or shock.

Today, full or split-thickness skin grafting is the preferred treatment with the donor site from either the remaining scalp, if any is left, or a jump graft from the abdomen or thorax. Via that jump method, a flap of skin is taken from either of those two sources and transposed to the forearm for establishment of vascular supply. The arm is later extended over the head, casted in that position, the grafted flap is sewn onto the scalp, and then allowed to heal. Each of these stages is separated by around three weeks or more.

The method of Dr. Vance is still mentioned as an option in some textbooks, although it is obviously much less desirable than other treatments. By drilling holes in the outer cortical table and exposing the rich vascular supply, growth and spread of granulation tissue is encouraged as a method of covering exposed cranial bone. Another alternative is the complete removal of the outer table of bone with osteotomes (chisels) to allow granulation tissue to form. However, this must be immediately followed by skin grafting. If the skull is left chronically uncovered, sequestration (separation of necrotic bone from healthy bone) will occur over a period of weeks or months and then later breakdown of the skull, thus exposing the brain.

**Malcolm Marion, III, MD      Rock Hill, SC**

<sup>1</sup> Sharpe, Samuel, "A Treatise on the Operations of Surgery, With a Description and Representation of the Instruments Used in Performing Them: to Which is Prefixed an Introduction on the Nature and Treatment of Wounds, Abscesses, and Ulcers," (G. Robinson, London, 1769).

<sup>2</sup> John Jones, M.D., "Plain Concise Practical Remarks, on the Treatment of Wounds and Fractures; to Which is Added, An Appendix, on Camp and Military Hospitals, Principally Designed for the Use of Young Military and Naval Surgeons, in North-America," (Robert Bell, Philadelphia, 1776).

<sup>3</sup> James Thacher, M.D., "Military Journal of the American Revolution, 1775-1783" (Corner House Historical Publications, Gansevoort, NY, 1998) reprint of edition of 1862 (Hurlbut, Williams & Co., Hartford, CT.): p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> James V. Lewis, M.D., and Kyle T. Colvett, M.D., "Scalping Injuries: Report on a Historical Case," *Journal of the Tennessee Medical Association*, 86 (April 1993): p. 154.

<sup>5</sup> Felix Robertson, M.D., "Remarks on the Management of a Scalped Head," originally published in *The Philadelphia Medical and Physical Journal* (2, Pt. 2: p. 27-30, 1805-1806); in *Surgery in America: From the Colonial Era to the Twentieth Century*, edited by A. Scott Earle (Praeger, New York, 1983): p. 40.

<sup>6</sup> Remarks, p. 39.



**Continental Line on the Camden battleground.**



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