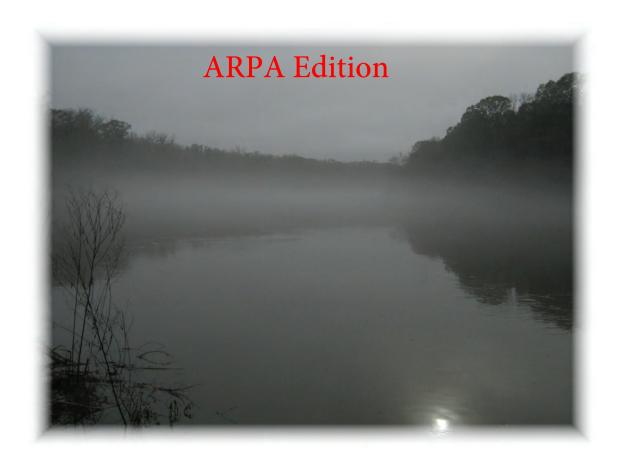
The Revolutionary War Battlefield at Purysburg, South Carolina:

Search and Discovery



Submitted to:
National Park Service
American Battlefield Protection Program
1201 Eye Street, NW (2287)
Washington, DC 20005

Research Grant #2287-14-009

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Daniel T. Elliott, Principal Investigator and Author

2016

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P.O. Box 2992
Savannah, Georgia 31402

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"My Lord, the Americans are not idiots, and they appear determined not to be slaves. Oppression will make wise men mad, but oppressors in the end frequently find that they were not wise men: there may be resources even in despair sufficient to render any set of men strong enough not to be bound in all cases whatsoever"—Reverend John Joachim Zubly, Sermon preached at the opening of the Provincial Congress of Georgia, 1775.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

In late 1778 and early 1779 the lower Savannah River region of Georgia and South Carolina became a focal point of military conflict between Great Britain and the rebel forces. This report details the LAMAR Institute's battlefield investigations of the Purysburg and Black Swamp Revolutionary War battlefields in Jasper County, South Carolina. Major funding for this research came from a 2014 Research Grant from the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program (Grant Number GA 2287-14-009). The contest for control of the Savannah River from 1778-1780 is a lesser known aspect of our country's history. This part of American Revolutionary War history has been sorely neglected. This project assembled and synthesized the historical, geographical, biographical and archeological record of events that took place. We explore not only a single battle event but attempt to reconstruct the broader cultural landscape as it existed during the war. The results from this research provide an important story of Purysburg and its role in the American Revolution.

The project goal seemed straightforward but its implementation was complex. The military engagement at Purysburg of April 29, 1779 was not well documented. No maps of the battle have survived, nor were any detailed, first-hand battle descriptions revealed. The relationship between Purysburg and Black Swamp, both places serving as the Patriot headquarters in early 1779, was fluid. Many of the soldiers who served at these places conflated them in their later pension accounts. While the location of the town of Purysburg is generally known by the surviving road network, Black Swamp is a more diffuse and expansive situation. The LAMAR Institute's research team chose to include Black Swamp in the study since the two places were so intertwined in the documentary record and the Patriots and British were active at both Purysburg and Black Swamp.

Project Environment

The project explores two sections of Jasper County, South Carolina. These are the dead town of Purysburg (and its surroundings) and the more nebulous Black Swamp. Figure 1 shows the two study locations. Figures 2 and 3 provide a more detailed cartographic view of Purysburg and Black Swamp. Figures 4 and 5 show two general views of the Purysburg battlefield environment.

The April 29, 1779 battle of Purysburg took place in the lower Savannah River basin, approximately 35 miles from the river's mouth. Purysburg is near the upper limit of tidal effect and the water there is a mix of brackish and fresh water. The area is within the Floodplains and Low Terraces subdivision of the Southern Coastal Plain eco-region of South Carolina. The original forest cover in this zone consisted of maritime oak hardwood forest. It also included areas of the Carolina Flatwoods subdivision of the Middle Atlantic Coastal Plain ecoregion (Griffith et al. 2002). Soils at Purysburg include: Argent-Okeetee association (AO), Bladen fine sandy loam (Bd), Eulonia fine sandy loam (Ee), Okeetee-Eulonia association (OK), Pinckney loamy fine sand (Pk), Tawcaw-Chastain association (TC) and Yemassee loamy fine sand (Ye) (U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Conservation Service 1980; NRCS 2015). The portions of Purysburg surveyed for the battlefield primarily included Tawcaw-Chastain and Okeetee-Eulonia associated soils. Tawcaw-Chastain soils are poorly drained and frequently flooded with 0-2 percent slope with a depth from 0-12 inches to the water table. A typical soil profile is: A- 0-9 inches, clay; B- 9-47 inches, clay; and BCg- 47-80 inches sand. Okeetee-Eulonia soils are somewhat poorly drained to moderately well drained with 0-2 percent slopes and not prone to flooding. They have a depth of from 18-42 inches to the water table. A typical soil profile is: A- 0-5 inches, fine sandy loam; E- 5-7 inches, fine sandy loam; Bt- 7-50 inches, clay; and BCg- 50-78 inches, sandy clay loam.

Purysburg Township was established by a 1731 land grant consisting of 48,000 acres from King George II of Great Britain. That acreage was reduced to a 20,000 acre township and (ideally) 800 acres for the town and a town common. Migliazzo estimates that at its upper limit Purrysburg would encompass about 1.13 square miles, or roughly 720 acres (Migliazzo 2002). Migliazzo's lower limit estimate shows that the town

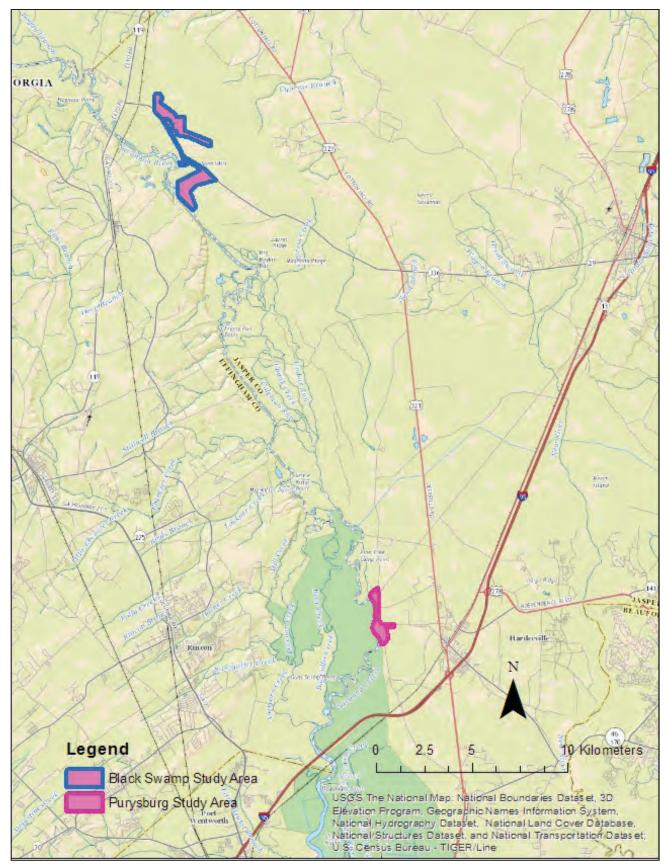


Figure 1. Purysburg Battlefield Project Area (USGS National Boundaries Dataset, 3D Elevation Program, Geographic Names Information System, National Hydrography Dataset, and National Transportation Dataset; U.S. Census Bureau TIGER/Line.).



Figure 2. Purysburg vicinity.

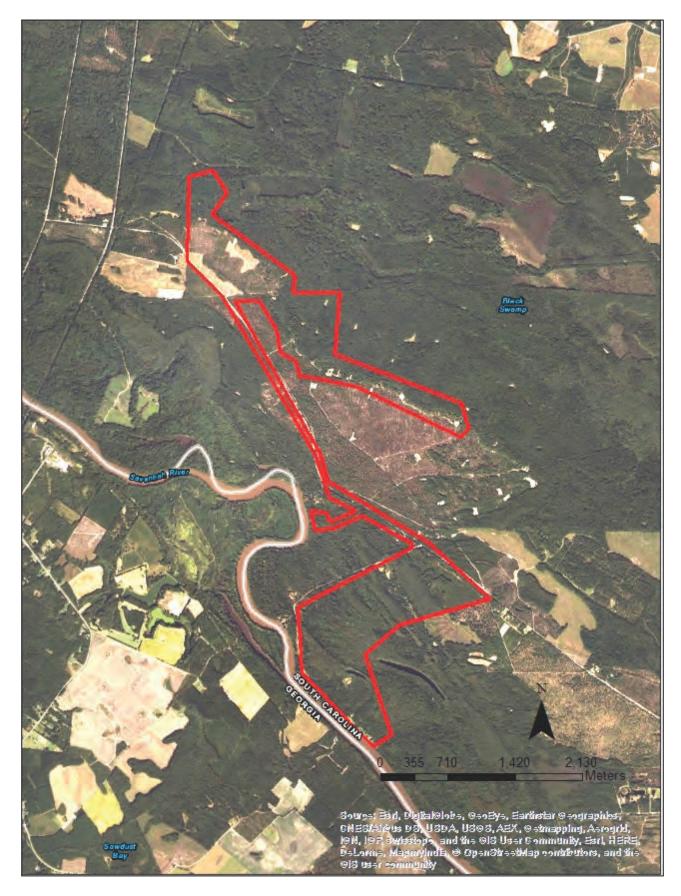


Figure 3. Black Swamp vicinity ESRI 2016.



Figure 4. General view of Purysburg Battlefield.

shrinks to about 0.83 square miles or 530 acres and he adds, "Because the town narrows gradually from north to south, the common must have been somewhat less than 200 acres, though it was supposed to encompass 260 acres". The town contained 455 town lots and intended for settlement (as platted) measured 1.325 miles (6,996 feet/2.132 km) north-south. Large portions of the town particularly on its eastern side were never settled. Many of the town lots in rows 5 and 6 were not platted by 1737 and lots in rows 7-9 (lots 349-455) were never owned by any original Purysburg settlers. Many other vacant lots were scattered throughout other rows of the town. Most town lots were a one acre square (0.4 ha), measuring 208.7 feet on a side, although some were rhombus shaped and a few were irregular in shape (Migliazzo 2007:57-62, 337). The Purysburg town lots were about eight times larger than contemporary town lots in Ebenezer and Savannah, Georgia (Jones 1984, 1992). Purysburg was divided by nine streets, each 66 feet wide running east-west, and 16 streets running north-south.

Purysburg continued as a village settlement for many decades after the American Revolution. The town had decreased in size from its colonial maximum of an estimated 360 persons (Ravenel 1900:9). The town became more obscure as an urban place and this is punctuated by an incorrect description of Purysburg in a gazetteer published in London, which listed, "Purysburg, a town of Georgia, in N. America, seaded on the river Savannah, and 20 m. W. of the town of Savannah" (Johnson 1776). In reality, the town was in South Carolina and north, not west, of Savannah. Clearly, Purysburg was not a household-name among Brits on the eve of the American Revolution. It was, in essence, a dead town.

Maps of the Beaufort District, circa 1820-1825 show the village, whose houses were located north of the church (Vignoles and Ravenel 1821; Mills 1826, 1980). Purysburg served as a stagecoach stop on routes from Savannah to Charleston and from Savannah to Augusta in 1848 (Phelps 1848:43, 44). Purysburg



Figure 5. Another view of Purysburg Battlefield.

also functioned as a river port for steamboats and other animal powered and human powered watercraft through most of the nineteenth century (Rahn 1968).

Black Swamp is a large wetland in northern Jasper and southern Hampton counties, South Carolina. A long, low sand ridge, known today as Tillman Sand Ridge separates Black Swamp from the Savannah River. The sand ridge is composed of numerous ancient alluvial dunes that are in xeric vegetation. Black Swamp is irregularly shaped and has many small stream feeding into it. A prominent peninsula within Black Swamp, known as Turkey Hill, was formerly a plantation owned by the Middleton family. Other places of historical interest in the Black Swamp vicinity include Two Sisters Ferry, New Landing and Robertville.

Purysburg and Black Swamp are located in what was originally Carteret County, Carolina. Carteret County's name was changed to Granville County in 1708 and Granville County lasted until it was abolished in 1768. The study area became part of St. Bartholomew's Parish, when it was created in 1706. St. Helena Parish was created from St. Bartholomew's Parish in 1712. In 1745 a portion of St. Helena's Parish was taken to form Prince William Parish. St. Peter's Parish was created on February 1746/1747 from portions of St. Helena and Prince William parishes.

Beaufort District was created in 1769 from portions of Granville County. Beaufort County was formed in 1800. Jasper County was formed in 1912 from portions of Beaufort and Hampton counties. Purysburg Township was created in 1731, along with Amelia, Fredericksburg, Kingston, New Windsor, Orangeburgh, Queensborough, Saxe-Gotha, Welch Tract and Williamsburg townships.

Climatic conditions at the time of the battle at Purysburg on Thursday, April 29, 1779 consisted of a waxing moon with a full moon the following night. High tide at Purysburg was around 8:30a.m. (Tobler 1779). There were no reports of any precipitation, although the lower Savannah River region had experienced a rainy winter and spring in 1779. Morning temperatures at that time of year are generally mild.

Purysburg served an important role as a transportation node for eighteenth century travelers in Georgia and South Carolina. Georgia historian E. Merton Coulter discussed travel from Savannah in the 1730s and 1740s. He noted that there were two ways to reach Charleston, by land and by water. Even travel by land involved traveling by boat up the Savannah River to Purysburg and then by horseback across country to Charleston (Coulter 1958:xxiii). The colonial South Carolina Legislature authorized a road from the town of Purysburg to the ferry at Heele's Bluff on the Combahee River as early as 1733 and in 1736 it reauthorized construction of a road from a ferry on the Combahee River to Purysburg, which had not been completed. The South Carolina legislature authorized a road connecting the ferry at Channing's Point, South Carolina (opposite from Mr. Rae's in Georgia on the Savannah River) with the road leading from Charleston to Purysburg in 1778. Another road existed at that time connecting Purysburg to the New River Bridge. Ferry service from Purysburg to Abercorn (or Joseph Town) developed by the 1760s and continued as late as September 1778 (McCord 1841: 81, 257-258, 262-263). Transportation improved by the 1770s but the route between Savannah and Charleston remained essentially the same. Even as late as 1836, mail service between Savannah and Charleston traveled through Purysburg (U.S. Congress 1838:277-278).

The low, wet environment of the lower Savannah River valley at Black Swamp and Purysburg worked to the advantage of the Patriots in early 1779. In 1805 U.S. Chief Justice John Marshall summarized this situation:

The theatre of action was so well fitted for defensive war, that although General Prevost was decidedly superior to his adversary, both in the number and quality of his troops, it was difficult to extend his conquests into South Carolina. The river Savannah, which divided the two armies, could not be crossed by either without great difficulty and hazard. Though its channel is narrow, it passes for one hundred miles from its mouth through a marshy country, which is often overflowed to an extent of from two to four miles. At no one place is to be found firm land on the opposite sides of the river; and the few narrow causeways which lead through the marsh, and which are the only fords, are often impassable for an army. It would therefore have been dangerous to cross the river without a force competent to maintain itself in the country invaded; since a retreat from it, in the face of a superior army, would have been almost impossible. This circumstance disabled General Lincoln from attempting to strike at any of the British posts, although they extended from Savannah to Augusta. (Marshall 1805, vol. 4:70-71).

Chapter 2. Previous Observations and Historical and Archeological Research

Historical descriptions of Purysburg from the eighteenth century vary considerably in their portrayal of the town, its settlers and living conditions. These range from glowing reports of the new settlement, such as that found in a 1733 letter from Switzer Anthony Gondy to his brother (Kelsey 1922:85-89), to Ebenezer Hazard, who described Purysburg in 1778 as,

a paltry village, consisting of small, mean, framed houses, much scattered, situate upon Savannah River, 24 miles from the town of Savannah. The river is about 200 yards wide. The road from Charles Town to this place is excellent, and the stages not inconvenient. I understand that Zubly's causeway is impassable at present on account of the fresh in the river, and as there is no boat at Purysburg (Merrens 1972:187-188).

Samuel Dyssli wrote to his family in Switzerland in December 1737 and described his unfortunate experiences at Purysburg,

I was ill with fever in Purisburg about 3 months, and afterwards in Georgia at Savannah, the capital, I had the bloody flux or dysentery for about six months. Also a great swelling befell me. My whole belly was swollen so that I might have burst (Kelsey 1922:89-91).

Winterbotham described Purysburg in the 1790s:

Purysburgh is a hilly village, about twenty miles above Savannah on the north bank of the river of the same name.... Besides these, there are Jacksonborough, Orangeburgh, and Cambridge, which are all inconsiderable villages of from thirty to sixty dwelling houses (Winterbotham 1795, vol. 4:249).

Jedidiah Morse (1797) described Purysburg in his gazetteer as,

a handsome town of S. Carolina, situated in Beaufort district, on the eastern side of Savannah river, 37 miles from the ocean, and 20 from the town of Savannah. It contains between 40 and 50 dwelling-houses, and an Episcopal church. It took its name from John Peter Pury, a Swiss-who settled a colony of his countrymen here about the year 1733, with a view to the culture of silk. The mulberry-trees are yet standing, and some attention is still paid to the making of silk..

Slightly more detailed historical accounts of Purysburg begin in the earliest decades of the nineteenth century include sporadic descriptions in Revolutionary War officer's memoirs and other secondary accounts of the war in South Carolina and Georgia. Brigadier General William Moultrie's memoirs are particularly informative because he included transcriptions of many primary letters written at Purysburg (Moultrie 1802, vol. 1). In 1804 Robert Mills described the town,

Purysburg lies about 94 miles from Charleston on the banks of the Savannah River. It was originally settled by persons who intended to attend to the culture of silk, but owing to their not meeting with sufficient success they relinquish'd it for rice and indigo; very little of silk is now made by the inhabitants. It contains about 60 dwellings" (Evans 1938:112).

Robert Mills (1826) later wrote of Purysburg,

It is situate on the east bank of the Savannah river, on a high and pleasant bluff twenty miles north of the city of Savannah...There is here an Indian mound, part

of which the river has undermined and washed away".

Frederick Dalcho (1820:385-386), a U.S. Army surgeon who served at military posts in Georgia and South Carolina and also a church historian, described Purysburg in his history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina in 1820. He noted that in 1735 the town contained 100 dwellings. Dalcho does not record his primary source for that demographic, since he was not present at Purysburg in 1735. It is not clear if Dalcho ever actually visited Purysburg. Robert Mills summarized the Beaufort District and also published a detailed map of the District (Mills 1826, 1980). The map was derived from a manuscript map drafted in 1820 (Vignoles and Ravenel 1821).

When the Civil War erupted, Purysburg was a relatively safe location and firmly under control of the Confederates. In 1861 and 1862 the Confederates operated Camp Lee Number 2 at Purysburg (Perry 1947:13-14). The combined U.S. Army and Naval forces, commanded by Major General Thomas W. Sherman, arrived in overwhelming numbers on the Georgia-South Carolina coast and forced a rapid rethinking of Confederate's coastal defense strategy. The capture an occupation of Beaufort by the Union troops created concern among the Confederates for their security on the interior coastal plain.

The strategic military significance of Purysburg in the American Civil War was heightened in 1863 when Confederate Army Brigadier General Walker, Third Military District, South Carolina issued orders from Pocataligo on February 7, 1863, which included,

should the line of the enemy's march indicate an attack by the Purysburg road a portion of the force should be detailed to meet them at the battery on Purysburg road, 1 ½ miles from Haines" (OR XXVI: 783).

His statement indicates that a Confederate artillery battery was positioned on the military road and his geographical reference to "1½ miles from Haines" suggests that this battery was not located within the Purysburg town limits. Confederate pickets were placed at Purysburg in February 1864. The muster roll of Company C, 54th Regiment, Georgia Volunteer Infantry, Army of Tennessee taken on February

20 listed Privates L.H. Durden and A.J. Veal as "detached as picket at Purysburg" (Todd 2008).

Major General William T. Sherman's Campaigns across Georgia in 1864 and the Carolinas in 1865 wreaked havoc in the Savannah River delta. Battles in Georgia on December 8 at Ebenezer Creek, and December 9, 1864 at Monteith Swamp and Doctor Cuyler's Plantation, Georgia and in South Carolina at Coosawhatchee, also on December 9, surrounded Purysburg. Prior to the capture of Savannah, Confederate Navy vessels plied the lower Savannah River ferrying supplies, men and horses where they were needed. After a brief battle on the outskirts of town, Savannah was abandoned by the Confederacy and Lieutenant General William Hardee's forces made their escape via pontoon boats to South Carolina. For several weeks the Union Army was encamped at Savannah. When a large relief force arrived from Winchester, Virginia, General Sherman prepared his troops for the march through the Carolinas. They departed from Savannah on January 16 and 17, 1865.

On January 19 General Sherman issued orders from Savannah to Major General Slocum, who commanded the Left Wing, to,

conduct his wing to convenient camps in the neighborhood of Robertville...drawing his supplies up to the last moment from Purysburg and Sister's Ferry on the Savannah River.

General Sherman also ordered General Kilpatrick's cavalry corps to move in concert with the Left Wing and cross the Savannah at Sister's Ferry and to draw his supplies from the depot at Sister's Ferry (Davis et al. 1895:90).

The Twentieth Corps, U.S. Army established its head-quarters at Purysburg on January 17 and the First and Third Divisions encamped in the surrounding area of Purysburg and Hardeeville. The soldiers remained at Purysburg from January 17-26, when the Twentieth Corps broke camp and marched towards Robertville, South Carolina. Throughout this period the weather consisted of heavy downpours and flooded conditions. Most of the road from Purysburg to Coosawhatchee was submerged. Lower lying portions of Purysburg were flooded. These conditions greatly affected the movement of troops and supplies and severely limited the areas of well-drained ground for their camps.

Edwin Eustace Bryant (1891:303), Adjutant in the 3rd Wisconsin Veteran Volunteer Infantry Regiment, Twentieth Corps, later wrote of their Purysburg encampment, "The rains poured; and an unprecedented flood soon overflowed the camp knee deep. Picket duty had to be done in canoes and scows".

Lieutenant Russell M. Tuttle, New York Volunteer Infantry, was another soldier encamped at Purysburg in January, 1865. He recorded in his journal,

I was not a little surprised, when I went there, to find but three or four houses in the place, and they all good similies of John R. Stephen's old house we used to pass, on the Arkport road.

'Purysburg is a hilly village,' adds Winterbotham. I do not think there is a 'hill' over ten feet in all this country. The 'bluff' on which Purysburg is built is certainly not twenty feet higher than the lowest land around it. So much for Purysburg' (Tappan 2006:186). Tuttle continued with a description of the Purysburg cemetery and its use by General Robinson for his military headquarters:

I was chiefly interested in the cemetery, which contained many very old tombs. Heavy brick walls, now old and black and crumbling enclosed some burialplots, while many tombs were built up and arched over with brick, at once the covering of the monument of the dead. None of the older tombs had any inscriptions. The names I saw would remind one of the foreign people represented here. One whose name was 'Lancelot' and one whose name was 'Winifred' are lying side by side in their quiet rest. Yet war has invaded even this quiet spot. There are many graves bearing the inscription '15th S.C.V.,' and now Gen'l Robinson's H'd Quarters are right among the graves (Tappan 2006:186).

Tuttle recorded in his journal for January 19, 1865,

The First Division, which followed ours in this march, has all gone over to Purysburg. They have had a wet time establishing their camps, in the rain. We have been entertaining many of them today, taking them in, giving them something to eat, and something to drink, and tonight

we shall try to lodge some of them. 'Entertaining' them and looking out on the dismal but perpetual rain is about all that I can find heart to do today.

Tuttle further noted that the, "river is very high and all the low country near it is under water." The heavy rained continued for the next two days and Tuttle's regiment had moved to Hardeeville (Tappan 2006:186). Tuttle recorded the arrival the gunboat Pontiac at the Purysburg landing on January 21, 1865 (Tappan 2006:187).

On January 29, 1865, Tuttle noted that his regiment marched 18 miles from Hardeeville to J.H. Robert's House [in Robertville], via the Purysburg and Ennis cross roads. He wrote in his journal,

We have passed some fine residences today. Residences where were elegant pianos, and harps, costly furniture and china ware, with libraries and valuable paintings, all left by their owners to be destroyed or stolen by the soldiers, (Rebel as well as Federal) who find them. All day we have been guided by columns of smoke ahead, of burning cotton barns, and houses even, the sad and terrible work of our army's advance (Tappan 2006:191-192).

General Sherman's Fourteenth Corps crossed the Savannah River at Sister's Ferry. By January 26 Confederate Major General D.H. Hill notified Lieutenant General Hardee that all of the 14th Corps had crossed over. Brigadier General Iverson wrote on January 30 the Twentieth Corps was crossing,

at a point a little above Sister's Ferry; the prisoners say not at Sister's Ferry in consequence of torpedoes at that point. They further state that the Twentieth Corps was crossing the river at a point below Sister's Ferry but stopped on account of some accident happening to their pontoons. When it occurred, an entire regiment, they state, was lost". On February 1 Brigadier General Iverson wrote, "Several torpedoes have exploded at Sister's Ferry, doing some damage among the enemy" (Davis et al. 1895:1061, 1064, 1077). Union Major General J.G. Foster informed General Sherman on January 31, 1864, "The bridge across the Savannah River at Sister's Ferry was

completed" and "A new approach had to be made, the old approach having been much washed by the water, and the causeway filled with torpedoes." He added, "On the north side of the river the marsh extended for a mile and three-quarters, which will have to be corduroyed" (Davis et al. 1895:185-186). The Confederates overestimated the speed of movement of Sherman's Army. The Savannah River and many of the roads on both sides of it were flooded and many were impassable. Major General Slocum wrote from Sister's Ferry to General Sherman on February 1 advising him on the flooded conditions and adding, "Our road from the ferry is lined with torpedoes as far as we have gone. Two men were killed yesterday, and over thirty torpedoes were dug up yesterday by working party". By February 4, General Slocum remained encamped at Sister's Ferry, although most of the Twentieth Corps had advanced towards Robertsville. On that day Major General J. G. Foster informed General Ulysses Grant that Union troops were still constructing pontoon bridges across the Savannah River. By February 6, the Fourteenth Corps had its headquarters at Sister's Ferry, South Carolina. By February 8, the remaining troops of the Fourteenth Corps was headed northeast from Sister's Ferry towards Robertsville, South Carolina (Davis et al. 1895:198, 299-300, 323).

Ex-slave narratives provide another source of information about the project area. A WPA interview by Phoebe Faucette (ca. 1936-1938:199) with former enslaved African-American, Silvia Chisolm (aged 88 years), then living in rural Estill, South Carolina provides a different perspective of the Union Army's passage through Black Swamp. Chisolm stated:

I been fifteen year old when de Yankee come—fifteen de sixth of June. I saw 'em burn down me Massa's home, an' everythin'. I 'members dat. Ole man Joe Bostick was me Massa. An' I knows de Missus an' de Massa used to work us. Had de overseer to drive us! Work us till de Yankees come! When Yankee come dey had to run! Dat how de buildin' burn! Atter dey didn't find no one in it, dey burn! De Marshall house had a poor white woman

in it! Dat why it didn't burn! My Massa's Pineland place at Garnett was burn, too. Dey never did build dis un (one) back. Atter dey come back, dey build deir house at de Pineland place.

I wus mindin' de overseer's chillun. Mr. Beestinger was his name! An' his wife, Miss Carrie! I been eight year old when dey took me. Took me from me mother an' father here on de Pipe Creek place down to Black Swamp. Went down forty-two mile to de overseer! I never see my mother or my father anymore. Not 'til atter freedom! An' when I come back den I been married. But when I move back here, I stay right on dis Pipe Creek place from den on. I been right here all de time.

Atter I work for Mr. Beestinger, I wait on Mr. Blunt. You know Mr. Blunt, ain't you? His place out dere now.

Mr. Bostick was a good ole man. He been deaf. His chillun tend to his business-his sons. He was a preacher. His father was ole man Ben Bostick. De Pipe Creek Church was ole Missus Bostick's Mammy's church. When de big church burn down by de Yankees, dey give de place to de colored folks. Stephen Drayton was de first pastor de colored folks had. Dey named de church, Canaan Baptist Church. Start from a bush arbor. De white folks church was paint white, inside an' out. It was ceiled inside. Dis church didn't have no gallery for de colored folks. Didn't make no graveyard at Pipe Creek! Bury at Black Swamp! An'at Lawtonville! De people leave dat church an' go to Lawtonville to worship. Dey been worshipping at Lawtonville ever since before I could wake up to know. De Pipe Creek Church jes' stood dere, wid no service in it, 'til de Yankee burn it. De church at Lawtonville been a fine church. Didn't burn it! Use it for a hospital durin' de war!

I'se 88 year old now an' can't remember so much. An' I'se blind! Blind in both eye!

Chisolm's account of her slave master, Mr. Bostick, his Pineland plantation, the Canaan Baptist Church at Pipe Creek, a graveyard at Black Swamp, and a church and associated graveyard at Lawtonville provide important clues about potential cultural resources in the vicinity (Faucette ca. 1936-1938:199). Pipe Creek is located near Matthews Bluff in present-day Allendale County, South Carolina. The church was active there as early as 1763 (Townsend 2005:33-34). The location of the church at Pipe Creek is unknown. The "Old Lawtonville cemetery" is plotted on modern topographic maps west of the Augusta Road at the edge of the Savannah River swamps in Hampton County, South Carolina. The location of the graveyard at Black Swamp remains to be determined. One cemetery is shown on modern topographic maps adjacent to the Black Swamp in presentday Robertville in Jasper County, South Carolina.

Post-Civil War accounts of Purysburg are few. Pierre Robert, a prominent resident of Robertville, South Carolina, drafted several newspaper articles on local history, including the Purysburg vicinity. Robert observed ruins at Purysburg in 1879 noting that a, "large embankment still stands with live oaks growing on it, probably thrown up during the Revolutionary War" (Robert 1879:5). In 1885 descendants of the original Huguenot settlers in South Carolina founded the Huguenot Society of South Carolina. Many of the members traced their lineage to early settlers at Purysburg. Beyond serving as a genealogical society, the organization promoted historical research about the Huguenots and its publication series, Transactions of the South Carolina Huguenot Society, includes many important and unique articles pertaining to Purysburg and colonial residents.

A few twentieth century scholars explored the history of Purysburg. William Hinke, another church historian, provided a brief history in 1906 of the church at Purysburg, which also included other details of the settlement (Hinke 1906:368-372). Henry Arthur Middleton Smith (1909) published the first in-depth article on Purysburg in the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*. Smith's article included two maps redrafted from original eighteenth century plats of Purysburg and Purysburg Township. Historian Arthur Hirsch (1928) wrote a book summarizing the Huguenot settlements in South Carolina. In it he includes an extensive discussion of the

history and people of Purysburg. Leiding (1934:33) reported that one gravestone dated February 9, 1739 was present in the Purysburg cemetery. Researchers observed no eighteenth century graves in the cemetery in 2015. Beck (1934:40-44) gave a brief description of his attempt to locate the remains of Purysburg in the 1930s. His description contains several important observations. He located the remains of a brick wall on the south side of the cemetery, which he interpreted as the remains of a brick church. The ruins measured thirty feet by sixty feet. Beck was unable to locate any graves dating to the eighteenth century and he surmised any early tombs, as well as many bricks associated with the church, had been salvaged by people living in the area. Beck noted that no one was living near the site at the time of his visit.

Historical research on Purysburg in the mid-twentieth century includes research by Grace Fox Perry and the Lowcountry Council of Governments (1979). Perry (1947) authored the first Jasper County history book. She includes a discussion of Purysburg in her book. The Lowcountry Council of Governments compiled a list of cultural resources in several South Carolina counties, including Jasper County. It briefly discussed some archeological resources at Purysburg, including the Huguenot monument and two "jug wells". Elliott and Mitchell (Elliott and Mitchell 1984; Elliott 1985) gathered historical information on Purysburg as part of Elliott's archeological survey.

Ferrell (1994:19, 59) authored a history of the Argent Lumber Company, a firm that actively logged the heavily wooded swamps that surrounded Purysburg and Black Swamp. The Argent Lumber Company was founded in 1916 and continued in operation until 1957, when its timberlands and equipment were purchased by the Union Bag-Camp Corporation. The company constructed logging trams that used railcars and excavated canals to transport timber out of the swamp. Remains of these railroad are abundant in Jasper County, South Carolina and adjacent Effingham County, Georgia.

Twenty-first century scholarship includes a book devoted to Purysburg by Migliazzo (2007) and a presentation on the archeology of eighteenth century Huguenot settlements in South Carolina by Elliott and Elliott (2014). Migliazzo's book contains a wealth of background information about the colonial town but only minimal content pertaining to Purysburg in the

American Revolution. Elliott and Elliott's research was an overview of all Huguenot settlements in South Carolina and any archeological investigations associated with them. Their work did not explore in any depth the role of these settlements in the American Revolution.

Previous Archeological Explorations

Archeological exploration at Purysburg has been limited to reconnaissance and survey-level investigations. Archeologists who have studied Purysburg in varying capacities include:

- Travis Bianchi (1974)
- Roy Dickens, Georgia State University (Bianchi 1974)
- Daniel Elliott and Marvin T. Smith, Garrow & Associates, Inc. (Elliott 1985; Smith 1985)
- Rita Elliott and Daniel Elliott, LAMAR Institute Elliott and Elliott 2010)
- R.S. Webb & Associates, Inc. (Webb et al. 1999; Gantt et al. 2011)
- Leland Ferguson, University of South Carolina Bianchi 1974)
- Chris Judge, South Carolina Heritage Trust (Judge and Smith 1991:50-51)
- Larry Lepionka, University of South Carolina at Beaufort (Lepionka 1980)
- Daphne Owens, Cypress Cultural Consultants, LLC (Battle 2003)
- Michael Trinkley and Sarah Fick, Chicora Foundation (Trinkley and Fick 2000a-b)

Archeologist Larry Lepionka (1980) conducted limited archeological investigations at Purysburg in 1979 and 1980. His research consisted mainly of surface examination and very limited subsurface testing at a few locations. Unfortunately Lepionka filed no report and his short journal does not contain quantified artifact information or specific locational data for his fieldwork. Lepionka confined his exploration to areas mostly less

than 100 meters from the Savannah River. He mentions finding historical material at least one-half mile from the river at one location. He considered the area north of the Purysburg cemetery to have the greatest potential for intact historic (pre-1790) deposits. Lepionka described the early-to-middle eighteenth century evidence as rare, thinly scattered with no obvious concentrations. He identified numerous brick concentrations over the town site but was unable to date them. In an area located south of the cemetery [vicinity of 38JA158] Lepionka examined a plowed field where conditions were good for surface artifact discovery. Artifacts in this area were sparse and primarily nineteenth century. He also discussed the "Jug well" located within this area. He examined an area east of the cemeteries and an area southeast of Church Road. where the vegetation recently was cleared. Those areas yielded limited amounts of nineteenth century pottery and no definite eighteenth century evidence. Lepionka observed that the greatest presence of artifacts at Purysburg dated to the period from 1790-1820.

LAMAR Institute's review of the archeological site files at SCIAA indicate that the present study area includes numerous previously recorded archeological sites within the original boundaries of Purysburg town. The largest of these include 38JA36/76, 38JA158, 38JA1034 and 38JA135.

Site 38JA36/76/1034 was initially recorded by Travis Bianchi in 1974 based on a reconnaissance visit by Dickens and Ferguson. The site was rerecorded in 1982 as a prehistoric chert outcrop and possible quarry by Tommy Charles as part of a statewide collector survey. Cypress Cultural Consultants conducted an archeological survey for the Ann Marie Jenkins Dock Permit, Lot 6 (Battle 2003).

Archeologist Travis Bianchi reconnoitered site 38JA2, which was the alleged site of an Indian mound mentioned in Mills' Statistics of South Carolina (Bianchi 1974; Mills 1826, 1980). Bianchi reported no visible evidence of a mound, although he did make a collection of prehistoric and historic ceramics from along the river bank in the vicinity of the mound. He noted a "large quantity of historic ceramic material in a nearby field" (Bianchi 1974:9).

Garrow & Associates (Elliott 1985) conducted a historical background review and a reconnaissance

sample survey of portions of Purysburg for a proposed industrial development which was never constructed. The survey targeted high probability areas on a 20 percent sample (304 acres of a 1500 acre tract) (Figure 6). That study included a review of 46 plats of town lots in Purysburg as well as other archival information on the early town site. The 46 plats identified by Elliott were all that could be located in 1985, and among the missing were many town lots numbering below 100, which were prime real estate in colonial Purysburg. Improved organization of the Colonial Plat collection by the South Carolina Department of Archives and History in recent years, however, markedly increased the number of original town plats known for the town. The 1985 Purysburg study recorded 19 archeological sites in the sampled project area and also included an informal visit to another historic site (the "Jug well"). Eighteenth century sites were barely represented in the sample, even though the survey crew systematically shovel tested large portions of the original town.

The battlefield site expanded on site 38JA158, which is the largest site (and most relevant to the eighteenth century content) in the southern half of Purysburg. This site was original recorded in 1985 based on Garrow & Associate's shovel test survey (Blanton 1985; Smith 1985). Smith's site plan map of 38JA158 (Figure 7) shows the location of the earthworks (listed by Smith as Civil War era). The figure also depicts 57 systematically placed shovel tests and other landscape features. The sketch includes three deviations in the parapet, two of which are shown as complete artillery emplacements and the third a breached one. Smith's collection from 38JA158 included 3 delftware, 3 creamware, 3 pearlware, 9 redware and 1 whiteware sherds; early bottle glass; one tobacco pipe fragment; handmade bricks; and nails. These artifacts indicated occupation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Site 38JA158 was revisited in 2000 when the Chicora Foundation inventoried Civil War sites in Beaufort and Jasper counties. Their team misidentified the fortifications at Purysburg as Civil War era. The report included another sketch of the earthworks (Figure 8) that paralleled the Savannah River and they updated the state site form (Trinkley 2000; Trinkley and Fick 2000b).

Other archeological sites recorded in Purysburg by Garrow & Associates included 38JA135, which contained a scatter of prehistoric and historic artifacts, including some eighteenth century ceramics (delftware, gray salt glazed stoneware and whiteware sherds) and one glass trade bead. This site was investigated by 59 systematic shovel tests and one 50 cm by 50 cm test (Elliott 1985). This site is located south of Millstone Creek and outside of Purysburg town proper.

R.S. Webb and his colleagues (Webb et al. 1999) surveyed for cultural resources in the Cypress Harbour Subdivision, which is an 85 acre tract located north of the Purysburg town boundary and east of Meyer Lake. One of the sites recorded by their survey, 38JA232, was revisited in the present study with systematic metal detector survey. Further east of Purysburg, but still within the original Purysburg Township, R.S. Webb Associates (Gantt et al. 2005; 2006) conducted several large archeological surveys. In their survey of the Argent West tract (5,225 acres) and the smaller 235 acre Omega tract, both located east of Purysburg, more than 5,460 acres were explored. Three sites in the Argent West tract (38JA328, 38JA332 and 38JA347) yielded potential significant eighteenth century components.

Survey of another 4,625 acres for the Riverport development provided additional information on early historic sites in the Purysburg vicinity (Gantt et al. 2011). The study area was composed of 22 separate land parcels situated west and southwest of Hardeeville. South Carolina. Webb and his colleagues investigated 78 archeological sites in that study. Sites yielding eighteenth century artifacts in the Riverport survey included 38JA1066, located several hundred meters south of Purysburg. Site 38JA1066 yielded lead glazed and unglazed coarse earthenware and colonoware sherds. Site 38JA1068 yielded salt glazed stoneware, colonoware and early whiteware ceramics. Their survey yielded no battle-related artifacts and metal detectors were not part of their cultural resource survey toolkit. A section of the Purysburg Road, which was located within this study, was deemed an eligible historic resource. The Riverport study includes large areas of the original Purysburg town, including portions of the Purysburg town site immediately east of tracts examined in the present study (Gantt et al. 2011: xvii, 36).

Reid and others (2006) surveyed 1,550 acres on the Sherwood Plantation Tract, east of Purysburg. This was done by Archaeological Consultants of the Carolinas. They located 12 sites and eight isolated finds, including eighteenth century components.

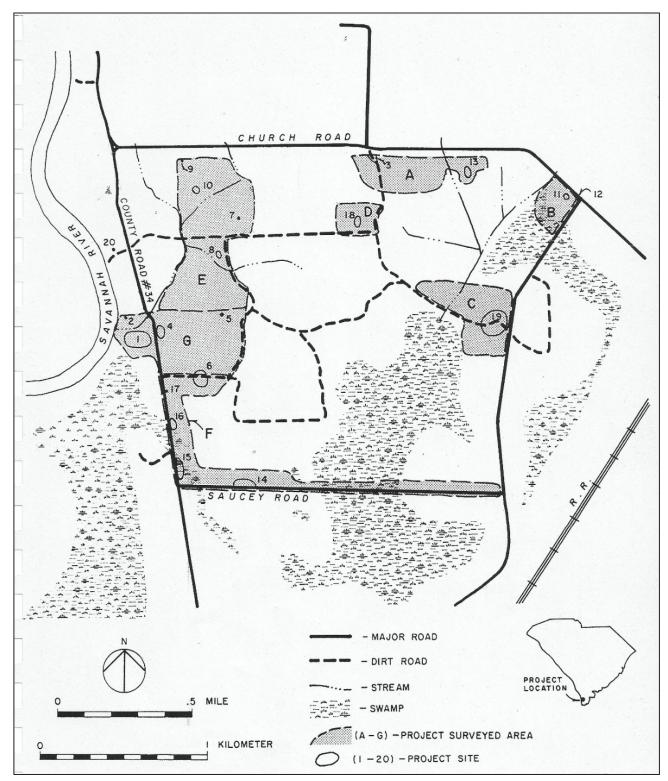


Figure 6. Reconnaissance survey coverage (Elliott 1985:2, Figure 1).

To summarize, over the past four decades archeologists have assembled a substantial body of survey data within the Purysburg Township and within Purysburg town proper. Eighteenth century components have been identified at several locations but are not as

numerous as one might expect. Several of the early historic sites that have been located were recommended for additional study. Presently, however, the majority of publications detail only Phase I survey investigations. The LAMAR Institute's site file review at SCIAA showed that no previously recorded sites

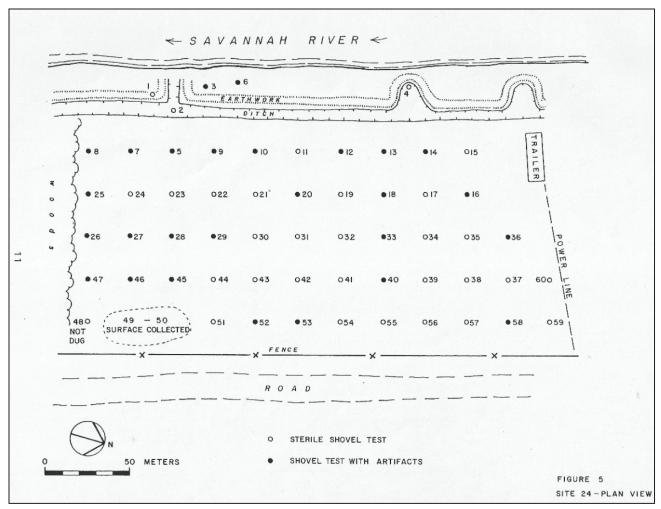


Figure 7. Plan map of Smith's Field Site 24 (38JA158) (Smith 1985:11, Figure 5)..

were located in the Black Swamp portion of the present study. This locale has received almost no attention by the professional community. It has long been the target, however, of relic hunters. One avid collector and amateur historian shared his extensive discoveries and that of his fellow collectors with the LAMAR Institute team and SCIAA for the Purysburg battlefield study.

The LAMAR Institute has focused attention on Revolutionary War resources in the lower Savannah River region and the surrounding coastal areas in recent years. Research at Abercorn, Ebenezer, Hudsons Ferry, Savannah and Sunbury have set the stage for the present survey of Purysburg (Elliott 1989, 2003a, 2003b; 2005, 2006; Elliott and Battle 2002; Elliott and Elliott 2002, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2014).

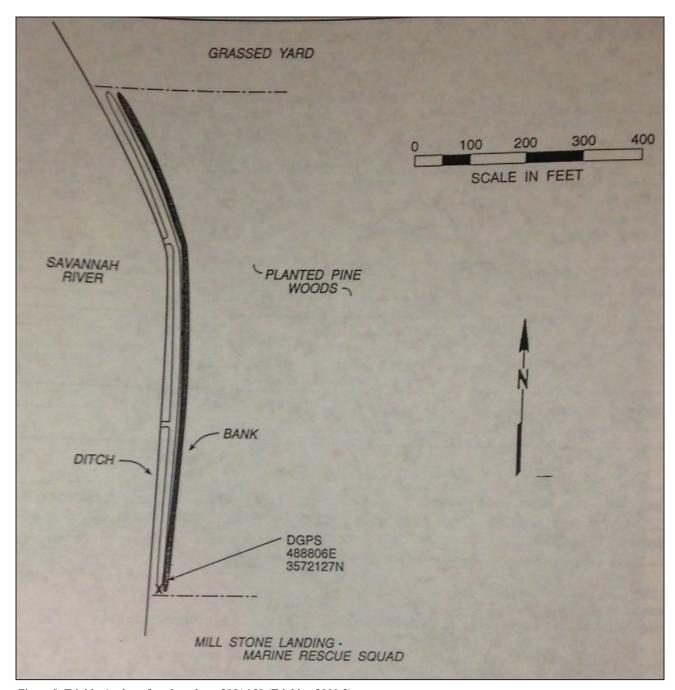


Figure 8. Trinkley's plan of earthworks at 38JA158 (Trinkley 2000:2).

Chapter 3. Research Methods

Historical Research

Historians conducted archival research at the following institutions in the United States: South Carolina Department of Archives and History and South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, Columbia; Georgia Department of Archives, Morrow; North Carolina Department of Archives, Raleigh; Harvard University Libraries, Cambridge, Massachusetts; Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; William Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; J. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; New York Public Library, New York; the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia; Daughters of the American Revolution Library, Washington, D.C.; Society of the Cincinnati Library, Washington, D.C.

Recent research by LAMAR Institute historians at several institutions in Great Britain provided important background information for the project. Institutions visited included the British Library, London; [British] National Archives, Kew; National Archives of Scotland and the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. Previous research at the National Archives of Canada, Ottawa, particularly the Ward Chipman papers and the Prevost family papers, provided important background information on the loyalist regiments in South Carolina.

Online research provided another important facet of primary and secondary historical information. This included digitized historical books (Google Books 2014; Archives.org 2014; University of Michigan 2014; University of North Carolina 2014; University of Georgia 2014), military and related archival documents (Fold3.com 2014; Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution 2014; Ancestry.com 2014; New York Public Library 2014); and digitized early newspapers (Genealogybank.com 2014; Newspapers.com 2014; NewspaperArchive.com 2014); and early maps, plats and aerial photographs (Georgia Department of Archives 2014; University of Alabama 2014; University of Georgia 2014; University of Texas 2014).

The research team reviewed many published histories on the American Revolution in the southern colonies and Georgia (Alden 1944, 1957; Alden and Higgins

1979; Ashmore and Olmstead 1926; Bartram and Harper 1958; Bass 1961; Bennett 1915; Bulloch 1904; Calhoon 1973; Calloway 1995; Campbell 1807; Candler and Knight 1904-1916, 1908, 2001; Cashin 1992; Charlton 1809; Clark 1978, 1981; Coke 1915; Coker and Rea 1982; Coleman 1958; Crow and Tise 1978; Cuthbert and Hoffius 2009; Davis 1983, 1986; Demond 1964 [1940]; Draper 1881; Elder 2015; Ellis and Ellis 2012; Ervan 2011; Evans-Hatch & Associates 2003, 2005; Frost 1854; Fuller 1913; Gilbert 2012; Graves 2012; Grant 1873; Heard 1987; Hibbert 1990; Holmes 1805; Hudson 2007; Hühner 1903; Hutton 1917; Ivers 1971, 1974; Jones 1887, 1891; Knight 1970; Lardner 1832; Lesser n.d.; McCall 1815, 1816, 1909 [1809, 1811]; Moore 1876; National Daughters of the American Revolution 1910; Neil 2009; Nester 2004; O'Donnell 1973; O'Kelley 2004; Parker 2013; Rankin 2005:200-201; Raymond 1899; Rogers 1980; Rowland et al. 1996:220; Russell 2000:106; Ryerson 1880; Sabine 1847, 1864; Searcy 1985; Sellers et al. 1975; Shaw 1931; Smith 1909; Smith 2006; Van Tyne 1902; Wells 1931; White 2004; Wilson 2005). British and Loyalist research included published works and online resources (Bowler 1975; Coldham 1980; Curtis 1972; Dukes 1993; Fortescue 1899, 1902, 2001; Lambert 2010; Palmer 1984; Van Type 1902; Warren 2014; Winterbotham 1795, 1819). Researchers examined numerous histories of Jasper County. These included books on land records, county histories, cemetery inventories and other documents (Davidson 1932; Gilmer 1855; Newsome and Newsome 1970; Sheahan 2002; Slaton 1996; Standard 1970; Warren 1995; Willingham 1969, 2002).

Researchers also examined a great number of primary records pertaining to the American Revolution in South Carolina (Campbell 1779c-d, 1784, 1981; Dooly 1779; Elbert 1905; Fitzpatrick 1936a-b; Great Britain Public Records Office 1780, 1783, 1787; Grimké 1779a-c; Howe 1778, 1778-1779, 1779a-c; Huger 1778; Johnson 1780-1781; Kemble 1777; Lincoln 1733-1810; 1777-1778; 1778-1804; 1778-1779a-c, 1778-1805, 1779, 1779-1780a-c, 1780; McBride 1832; Martin 1962; Moultrie 2008 [1802]; Roberts 1779a-g; Rutledge 1780; Salley 1898; Shaw 1786; Sir Henry Clinton Papers 1777; Society of the Cincinnati

2014; Sumner 1779; Yonge 1773; War Office 1780; Annual Register 1779, 1780, 1782, 1783, 1788, and 1821). Federal pension records provided numerous unique descriptions of Purysburg and the people and military events in Jasper County. Thanks to the advances in digitization of the records and their online availability, researchers identified many of these references (Fold3.com 2014; Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution 2014). Information derived from pension applicants are referred to in this report by the applicant's name, followed by the application date with the NARA identifier shown in brackets).

Historic maps of the study vicinity provide a few clues to settlement and transportation routes (Anonymous 178-, 1780; Barnett 1868; Baylor.edu 2015; Boss ca. 1771; Campbell 1779a-b; Collins 1785; Cowles 1891; DeBrahm 1752, 1757; Denison 1796; Granade 1901; Hinton 1779; Jefferys 1776; Kitchens 1780; Lloyds 1864; McLaughlin n.d. [ca. 1770]; Mills 1980; Morse 1796; South Carolina Department of Transportation 1937, 1940; U.S. Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Southern Division 1938; U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1920, 1943, 1944; U.S. Bureau of Soils 1915; U.S. Coast Survey 1865; U.S. Department of Agriculture 1938, 1949, 1954, 1958, 1965, 1971, 1977; U.S. Department of Agriculture, Commodity Stabilization Service 1955, 1960; U.S. Department of Agriculture, Production and Marketing Administration 1951; U.S. Geological Survey 1919, 1953; Yonge 1773).

Initial interviews with a long time relic collector, Brett Cullen took place in December 2014, and in January 2015. Cullen provided the LAMAR Institute research team with important information about the battlefield archeology landscape in Jasper County. This knowledge was greatly enhanced after Cullen took Elliott [Dan] on a quick driving tour of the region in mid-January. Cullen pointed out key potential military landmarks and areas of concentrated metal detector finds based on his knowledge of more than 30 years of detecting and researching western Jasper County. The tour began in Ridgeland, continued to Tillman, then northwest along Sand Hill Road, then by county roads to Purysburg and returning to Ridgeland.

Research materials gathered in December 2014 specifically for this battlefield project were found at the New York Public Library and the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York; the Boston Public Library and the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston;

Harvard University Libraries, Cambridge, Massachusetts; the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, D.C.

Other archival collections in Massachusetts contain papers associated with Benjamin Lincoln but time and project resources did not allow for their examination in the present undertaking. These include material at the Massachusetts Archives and at Amherst College Archives and Special Collections, Amherst, Massachusetts. The latter houses the Porter-Phelps-Huntington Family Papers, Series 1, Box 118 Benjamin Lincoln, Except for a 1779 letter from Samuel Huntington (Box 118, Item 18). A review of the finding aid reveals that most of these documents likely do not pertain to our study area.

Harvard University Libraries, Cambridge, Massachusetts

Researchers explored Harvard University Libraries in Cambridge, Massachusetts from December 15-17, 2014. Researchers reviewed the holdings of the Widener Library at Harvard. Its HOLLIS search engine provided many sources and numerous digitized historical records and obscure texts were downloaded as PDF formatted files. Researchers also explored the holdings of the Lamont Library, the Reference Services and General Library Area, the Pusey Library and the Houghton Library. The House of Commons Parliamentary Papers (BR Doc 650), a searchable database in the Lamont Library, was examined by the research team. The House of Commons Parliamentary Papers database was searched for relevant materials, using the following keywords: "Purysburg" (five spelling variations), "Savannah AND Carolina" (1720-1790), "Georgia AND Ebenezer" (1733-1790), "Black Swamp" (1720-1790), and "Prevost" (1760-1800). These search generated multiple hits. Digital copies of the relevant ones were downloaded by researchers.

The Houghton Library contained many manuscripts relevant to the American Revolution. Researchers examined manuscripts here whose citations they found during previous searches in different library catalog systems and databases in various Harvard libraries. They also did additional catalog searches in this library, including "OASIS" searches of the finding aid for the Jared Sparks Collection of American Manuscripts

1560-1843, and the Jared Sparks Collection of Historical Documents 1740-1866 (all series and indices). Keyword searches included "Georgia", all variations of "Purysburg", "South Carolina", "Black Swamp", and "2nd South Carolina Regiment" (and variations) and "5th South Carolina Regiment" (and variations). Another 55 letters from George Washington to Benjamin Lincoln are housed at the Houghton Library, Harvard University. Also at Houghton Library is Colonel William Thomson's Book of Orders, Orderly Book June 21 1775-November 1778, covering operations in South Carolina and Georgia (MS Am 737). Researchers examined multiple manuscripts from the Jared Sparks Collection. This included multiple items in MS Sparks 49.3, such as letters about Ebenezer, Pulaski's legion, small pox, African Americans and Native Americans in Prevost's forces, and the pillaging of portions of South Carolina, including the project area, by Loyalist forces. These items were digitally photographed by researchers for future reference.

Massachusetts Historical Society

Researchers visited the Massachusetts Historical Society in Boston on December 18-20, 2014. Prior to the visit researchers examined the society's search engine, ABIGAIL, online to determine if Massachusetts Historical Society might have relevant holdings. Historical research at the organization focused on examining unique maps and documents that might provide additional information to the project. Some pertinent documents included four items in the Miscellaneous Bound Collection, which were bound, photostats of original documents.

Researchers focused mainly on an extensive collection of papers of Benjamin Lincoln, which consist of many boxes (16 microfilm reels) of military, professional, and personal correspondence, maps, orderly books, letter books, muster rolls, commissions, and reports of court-martial. The collection spans from 1635-1964, although most documents pertain to Benjamin Lincoln's lifetime (1733-1810). Published finding aids and an online finding aid (Allis 1967; Allis and Frederick 1967) proved helpful in narrowing the search of this massive collection. Microfilm Reels 2-5 of Ms. N-830, P-40 were most relevant to the present study and these were completely reviewed. A total of 1,973 digital images were gathered from this collection by

the research team. These reels cover the following periods: Reel 2- 1777-1778; Reel 3-3a-Jan.-May 1779; Reel 4-June-Oct. 1779 and Reel 5-Nov. 1779-1780.

Researchers found one other letter at Massachusetts Historical Society pertaining to the study area in the William Eustis letters, 1779-1829. The letter was written by Benjamin Lincoln to William Eustis. This letter did not pertain to the present study.

Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts

Researchers visited the Boston Public Library on December 19, 2014. Researchers met with Ms. Kimberly Reynolds, Curator of Manuscripts at the Boston Public Library to discuss relevant materials in the library's collections in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Department. They searched the card catalog and one manuscript finding aid, neither of which are available online. This produced relevant results. The finding aid, "Manuscripts of the American Revolution in the Boston Public Library, A Descriptive Catalog (Boston Public Library 1968) listed pertinent items in several collections, as well as items in the Benjamin Lincoln bound manuscript papers (MS9.380.38). This collection includes two bound letter books and 37 letters. Volume 2 began in 1780. Items located in the card catalog, along with many relevant letters in the bound volume, were copied via digital photographs. Researchers also examined a box of loose papers constituting the "Benjamin Lincoln Papers, Letters of General Benjamin Lincoln, mainly to his son, Theodore" (MS 1983). This manuscript collection consisted of Sections A-M and had its own finding aid. A search of the finding aid revealed that the collection consisted of personal papers related to Benjamin Lincoln after the American Revolution that were not relevant to the project.

Upon completing research in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, researchers met with Mr. Evan Thornberry, Cartographic Reference Librarian in the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library. Researchers wanted to locate any relevant maps in the collection that were not available in the entity's extensive digitized collection online. Two such maps were identified by researchers previously in the card catalog of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Department (but were determined to be held in

the map center) and two others were identified by Mr. Thornberry. One of the maps listed in the card catalog, Caroline Meridionale et partie de la Georgia (Map 71.6.MS.1779.2), had been stolen. The other three were examined and photographed digitally by researchers.

New York Public Library, New York, New York

Researchers visited the New York Public Library (NYPL), Manuscript Room in New York on December 12 and 13, 2014. Researchers examined maps and manuscript documents held by the library. A wealth of manuscript information that was previously available only at the library is now available online. Particularly, the Thomas Addis Emmet collection, which is a treasure-trove of primary Revolutionary War documents, is available completely online. Other items were located that were unavailable online.

The NYPL has a wide range of published rare books, pamphlets and broadsides from the American Revolution and researchers reviewed these holdings (Campbell 1779d; Gaine 1779; Johnston 1780; Parker 1779c; Poor Job 1779; Prevost 1779a; Thomas 1779; Tobler 1779). The NYPL holds two unique contemporary manuscript maps that were vital for interpreting the Purysburg/Black Swamp military environment (Anonymous n.d.b; DeBrahm 1779). High resolution digital versions of these two maps were purchased and then integrated into the Purysburg GIS project.

Researchers examined 53 letters and other documents and maps in the Thomas A. Emmet Collection at the New York Public Library. These included the Benjamin Lincoln Warrant Book, covering the period from December 18, 1778 to June 5, 1779 and one volume, with warrants on the Paymaster General, signed by Major General Benjamin Lincoln of the Continental Army (Lincoln 1778-1779b). The warrants were written from Charleston, South Carolina, "Purysburg," and "Black Swamp." Researchers also examined the Receipt Book of Thomas Farr, Jr. (Farr 1776-1779). Farr was a commissary and paymaster general in the South Carolina militia during the American Revolution. Farr kept this receipt book from 1776 to 1779. The volume contains military receipts and the signatures of many American army officers. His receipt book contained nothing relevant to Purysburg or Black Swamp.

Historians examined the Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810) Papers [Folder in Box] in Letters and Documents 1776-1806. MSSCol 4524. These documents are not in Emmet collection and have not been digitized. They include an assortment of papers related to the Revolution, and personal bonds, and bills of sale. None of these documents pertain directly to Purysburg or Black Swamp.

Researchers examined the Transcripts of Letters, 1779-1783 MSSCol 1433 of "Colo. Horry's Collection of MS Letters of the American Revolution in South Carolina". A note in pencil on the first page indicates that the Horry collection was in possession of Dr. R.W. Gibbes and was destroyed with all his possessions by Sherman's army in the razing of Columbia, South Carolina in January 1865. The copies of letters begin on November 13, 1779 and skips to 1780, 1781, etc. The entire book is chronological. The copies of letters deal primarily with prisoner exchanges. None pertained specifically to Purysburg or Black Swamp.

Historians examined the Bowie Papers, which consist of 63 letters of Brigadier General Andrew Williamson, South Carolina militia and others to Captain John Bowie of South Carolina dating from 1776-1780. Captain Bowie was commander of forts Independence and Caroline, both located in the South Carolina piedmont. This collection of papers was acquired by the NYPL ca 1895-1897 and was featured in one of its early publications (NYPL 1898:68). There is no mention in any of the letters of lower South Carolina or Georgia vicinity. The Bowie Papers also have been transcribed and printed by the New York Public Library (1900a-b).

Morgan Library, New York

Researchers visited the J. Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. They examined Lincoln's correspondence, which included letters from 1779 pertaining to Purysburg. One particularly informative letter was dated March 29, 1779 to Lincoln from Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. Another letter to Lincoln from Samuel Elbert, dated February 26, 1776, provided insight into the situation in interior Georgia (C.C. Pinckney 1779; Elbert

1779). A letter from Augustin Prevost to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell provided information on American troop buildup at "Two Sisters Ferry" (Prevost 1779b).

New York Historical Society, New York

Previously in 2007 the LAMAR Institute's researchers explored the relevant holdings of the New York Historical Society in New York. They examined correspondence and maps by major generals George Washington and Lincoln, as well as the DePeyster Orderly Book (1780-1782) and other documents of the New York Volunteers (Bowen 1907:23). Researchers reviewed their notes and digital images from this research and observed nothing directly pertaining to events at Purysburg.

Library of Congress, Manuscript Library, Washington, D.C.

LAMAR Institute researchers examined several documents held at the Library of Congress (LOC), Manuscript Reading Room. These included a 14-page Savannah journal by Benjamin Lincoln. Lincoln's journal covers the period from September 3-October 19, 1779 but does not include any entries for early 1779 (Lincoln 1778-1806).

National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) archives a substantial amount of material, some of which has been microfilmed. A catalog search for Benjamin Lincoln at NARA turned up "Letters and Reports from Major General Benjamin Lincoln, Secretary at War, 1781 – 1783" in Record Group 360. This collection postdates the period of interest for Purysburg. Letters from Major General Benjamin Lincoln, dated March 4, 1777-July 24, 1780, which includes the period of interest, also are contained Record Group 360, Papers of the Continental Congress, M247, Roll 177. These letters were accessed and reviewed online via the fold3.com website (Fold3.com 2015).

Daughters of the American Revolution Library, Washington, D.C.

Researchers visited the Daughters of the American Revolution Library for one day and examined original manuscripts and many books on the American Revolution in its library stacks. This included a review of the Transactions of the Huguenot Society of South Carolina, which yielded some information on Purysburg and military activity in the vicinity.

Society of the Cincinnati Library, Washington, D.C.

Researchers visited the Society of the Cincinnati Library at Anderson House, Washington, D.C. for one day and examined original manuscripts and books on many sub-topics of the American Revolution in the library's stacks.

University of Georgia, Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Athens, Georgia

The Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library houses an orderly book, plus some Lincoln letters, in the De Renne Collection at the University of Georgia Library, Athens, Georgia. Researchers examined the Benjamin Lincoln orderly book and transcribed major portions of it that pertained to Purysburg and/or Black Swamp (Lincoln 1779-1780c).

Henry E. Huntington Library, Arts Collections and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California

The Henry E. Huntington Library houses about a dozen letters and one of Lincoln's volumes of general orders in San Marino, California. While the LAMAR Institute researchers conducted archival research at this facility in 2004 for another battlefield study and that research included examination of some documents pertaining to Purysburg and Black Swamp, budgetary constraints did not allow a research visit for

the present study. Fortunately, two important Revolutionary War documents, the Moultrie Order book (MH 681) and the 2nd South Carolina Regiment Orderly Book (mssHM 625), were available in digital form at the Society of the Cincinnati, Washington, D.C. where LAMAR Institute researchers examined them.

South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina

A small collection of Lincoln material is held at the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, S.C. The William Henry Johnson scrapbook volume two, 1920-1933 contains about 300 photographs of various historical subjects in South Carolina, including Purysburg. This collection includes a photograph of Purysburg, dating prior to 1934.

William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan

The Clements library also has Robert Howe orderly book, 1776-1778. The Robert Howe orderly book (181 pages) was kept by an American officer at the headquarters of Major General Robert Howe (1732-1786), of the Continental Army's Southern Department, from June 16, 1776, to July 14, 1778. Included are orders relating to the anticipated British attack on Charleston, South Carolina, in 1776, and to Howe's expedition against the British at St. Augustine, Florida, in June and July 1778. Researchers reviewed the finding aid for this orderly book. Clements Library also has in its collection the Proceedings of a General Court Martial, Held at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, by Order of His Excellency General Washington, Commander In Chief of the Army of the United States of America, for the Trial of Major General Howe, December 7, 1781: Major General Baron Steuben, President. Philadelphia: Printed by Hall and Sellers, in Market-Street, 1782 (Steuben 1782). This volume pertains to the Court Martial of Major General Robert Howe for his actions in the British capture of Savannah.

College of Charleston, Addlestone Library, Special Collections

The College of Charleston, Addlestone Library Special Collections hold material related to John F. Grimké, who served as a South Carolina Continental Artillery officer at Purysburg and Black Swamp. These include: John F. Grimké correspondence, Box 1 Folders 5 and 6, 1776-1778 and 1779-1783, and John F. Grimké orderly book notes, 1779-1780. The latter is similar to bound orderly books that published in the South Carolina Historical Magazine. The correspondence of Grimké is available online and was consulted in this study (Grimké 1779a-c).

North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh

Researchers reviewed the Colonial and State Records of North Carolina (CSR) for information relevant to the battle at Purysburg or the North Carolina troops in the lower Savannah River theatre. This review was conducted online.

Georgia Department of Archives, Morrow, Georgia

Researchers conducted a brief review of the holdings of the Georgia Department of Archives in Morrow, Georgia. Its Virtual Vault is an online archive of early maps and other records. Maps for areas across the Savannah River from Jasper County, South Carolina, including Chatham and Effingham counties, Georgia were researched (Lodge 1780; Young 1827).

Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia

The Archibald Bulloch Papers 1769-1777, predate the Battle of Purysburg, although this collection does include correspondence with Major General Charles Lee, who passed through Purysburg during the 1777 campaign against British East Florida. Researchers reviewed the Robert Howe letters, MS400. This collection included a December 30, 1778 letter from Howe

to Major General Lincoln. The letter was written from Howe's "Camp on the road 4 Miles from Zubley's ferry" (Howe 1778). Researchers reviewed the Eugenia W. Howard papers, MS1348. This collection includes many documents pertaining to the early history of Purysburg and some of its residents, particularly the Bourquin family. The review yielded no information pertaining to Revolutionary War events.

South Carolina Department of Archives, Columbia, South Carolina

Researchers examined collections at the South Carolina Department of Archives in Columbia, South Carolina. Information relevant to the battle at Purysburg included microfilm copies of primary documents. These included Benjamin Lincoln's order books, 1778-1781 [original at Hargrett Library, UGA]; Alexander Leslie's letterbooks [originals at New York Public Library]; Francis Marion's orderly books, 1775-1782 [originals at Henry E. Huntington Library, California]; William Moultrie General orders, 1775-1779 [original at Henry E. Huntington Library] and the Pinckney family papers. A Photostat of the original manuscript map of Beaufort District by Ravenel and Vignoles was closely examined. Many other maps, plats and land records held by the archives were queried online through its search engine. These included many colonial plats of Purysburg and the Black Swamp areas.

Field Methods

During the project's planning proposal phase an extensive study area was defined from the known historical information about Purysburg and its battlefield.

Property Access

What would prove to be the most daunting task for the survey was the acquisition of written permission to survey private land. The LAMAR Institute team acquired paper copies of tax maps from the Jasper County Tax Assessor. These records were available in digital format through the Jasper County government website and that resource was extensively explored for land owner information. Once researchers compiled a short list of prospective landowners in the Purysburg and Black Swamp study areas these persons or other entities were contacted by letter from the LAMAR Institute. The letter's contents introduced the proposed undertaking and requested written permission (Consent of Entry) to study the cultural resources on their respective properties. The response was decidedly underwhelming and a second series of letters was mailed, accompanied by emailed versions and, in some instances, personal telephone calls. After the vigorous letter, email and telephone campaign, the LAMAR Institute secured permission for survey on property held by about a dozen private landowners and one State agency.

Metal Detection (MD) Survey

Metal detectors (MD) served as the primary discovery tool for the Purysburg Battlefield Survey. Surveyors worked in teams of one or two and kept records of their finds in a field book. Each MD team was assigned a unique alphabet name and metal finds were recorded as consecutive numbers following the letter identifier for each team. For example, A-13 is the thirteenth artifact mapped by GPS Team A. Each team letter designation corresponded to GPS waypoints collected with a corresponding Garmin GPSMap 60st, GPSmap 60CSx or Trimble GeoExplorer handheld device.

Recovery methods for the project included some collection. For most of the study area metal artifacts were located, identified and left in place. Artifacts that were clearly less than 50 years old were not assigned numbers and were not collected. Examples of artifacts that were not collected include nails, spikes and hinges. Finds were recorded by their UTM coordinates (Zone 17, WGS84 datum).

Survey coverage over most of the surveyed lands consisted of parallel transects 20 m apart. Most wetlands and steep side slopes of ridges generally were not surveyed. Other areas where the survey coverage was altered include areas near existing houses, fence lines, trash dumps and locations containing high concentrations of modern metal on the landscape.

Phase II Metal Detection (MD) Survey

Once the suspected core area of the battlefield had been located, the MD survey methods were adjusted. Portions of the battlefield in these two areas then were sampled with smaller interval transects. Three areas of the battlefield were very closely inspected with metal detectors. Metal detector lanes were narrowed to cover the landform on a two meter grid.

Shovel Tests

Shovel tests are the standard survey for locating and sampling archeological sites in the South Carolina coastal plain. Experience has shown, however, that this sampling technique is not particularly efficient or effective in the study of battlefields (Andrus 1999; Powis 2012). In 2014, metal detecting standards were being established in Georgia to address this issue. These standards, which were developed with input from experience in the search for Purysburg and other recent battlefield survey projects in Georgia, were not in place at the time of the 2015 field survey.

Shovel Testing was conducted at several areas in the battlefield boundary in case they might offer information to supplement the MD survey. Shovel tests were located by GPS device and metric tape. Soil in each test was screened through 0.25 inch hardware cloth and tests were excavated until sterile subsoil was encountered. Soils and artifact depths were noted for each test.

Test Unit Excavation

The LAMAR Institute's archeologists targeted seven locations with small test units, which were designated Test Units 1 through 7. Test Units 1, 4, 5 and 7 each measured 1 m by 2 m in size. Test Unit 2 measured 6 m east-west by 50 cm north-south. Test Unit 3 explored a metal detector find where large fragments of a brass kettle were located at the plow zone interface. This test unit measured 50 cm by 50 cm. Test Unit 6 explored another metal detector find where a wrought nail was discovered on top of two large brick fragments. Test Unit 6 measured 1 m by 50 cm. Soil contents from all of these units, except Test Unit 2, were screened through one-fourth inch hardware cloth. Test Unit 2 was an

exploratory trench in which the topsoil zone was removed manually to determine the presence/absence of subsurface features. Once the subsurface soils and feature zone was exposed, the feature fill was screened, mapped and photographed and the topsoil returned.

Ground Penetrating Radar

Ground penetrating radar (GPR) is a remote sensing non-destructive tool that has wonderful applications on America's battlefields. Since 2002 the LAMAR Institute has incorporated GPR into its battlefield surveys, as well as various other archeological projects, with impressive results. During this same period of time GPR imaging for archeology has vastly improved (Conyers and Goodman 1997; Conyers 2012).

The radar equipment used for the GPR survey at Purysburg consisted of a RAMAC/X3M Integrated Radar Control Unit, mounted on a wheeled-cart and linked to a RAMAC XV11 Monitor (Firmware, Version 3.2.36). An 800 megahertz (MHz) shielded antenna was used for the data gathering. MALÅ Geo-Science's Ground Vision software (Version 1.4.6) was used to acquire and record the radar data (MALÅ GeoScience USA 2006). The radar information was displayed as a series of radargrams. Output from the survey was first viewed using GroundVision. This provided immediate feedback about the suitability of GPR survey in the area and the effective operation of the equipment. Goodman's GPR-Slice software (Version 7.0) was used in post-processing the data. This suite of hardware and imaging software has proven effective on previous LAMAR Institute GPR surveys in the lower Savannah River region.

GPR uses microwaves to acquire subsurface data with the aid of a transmitter and receiver mounted on a wheeled cart. The antenna suspended just above the ground surface is pushed along a linear transect. Radar reflections are recorded in a computer monitor and saved for further analysis. These two-dimensional images are constructed from a sequence of thousands of individual radar traces. A succession of radar traces bouncing off a large buried object will produce a hyperbola, when viewed graphically in profile. Multiple large objects that are in close proximity may produce multiple, overlapping hyperbolas, which are more difficult to interpret. Radargrams are essentially a vertical

map of the radar reflection off objects and other soil anomalies. It is not an actual map of the objects. The radargram is produced in real time and is viewable on a computer monitor, mounted on the GPR cart.

Upon arrival at the site the RAMAC X3M Radar Unit was set up for the operation and calibrated. Several trial runs were made on parts of the site to test the machine's effectiveness in the site's soils. Equipment settings and other pertinent logistical attributes included the following:

Time Window: 57.1 nsNumber of Stacks: 4Number of Samples: 512

Sampling Frequency: 8954.54 MHz

Antenna: 800 MHz shieldedAntenna Separation: 0.14 m

• Trigger: 0.018 m

• Radargram Spacing: 25 cm

Radargram Collection: South to NorthRadargram Progress: West to East

• Total Radargrams: Block A, 92; Block B, 38

Two areas of Purysburg were sampled by GPR survey. Because nearly all of the battlefield survey project's financial resources were exhausted by the time that the entire Purysburg battlefield was identified and defined only a very small sample of GPR data was collected. GPR survey also was hampered by the thick vegetation at the fort site, which limited access for the GPR equipment. GPR Block A was located across an area where a slight increase in military artifacts was observed from the MD survey. The GPR sample that was completed covered a rectangular area measuring 21.75 m eastwest by 12 m north-south. Radar data was collected from south to north and progressed from west to east. Researchers gathered a total of 92 radargrams, whose total length measured 931.1 m. Figure 9 shows the arrangement of the radargrams within GPR Block A.

Researchers placed GPR Block B in the vicinity of a newly discovered pottery production loci. Machine settings and radargram collection procedures for Block B were nearly identical to those employed at Block A. Block B measured 11.5 m north-south by 6.5 m east-west. Surveyors gathered 38 radargrams for this block, whose total length measured 264.6 m. Figure 10 shows the arrangement of radargrams within Block B.

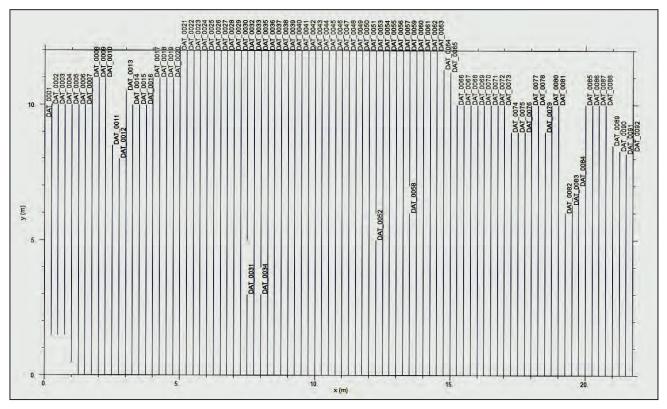


Figure 9.Radargram plan of GPR Block A..

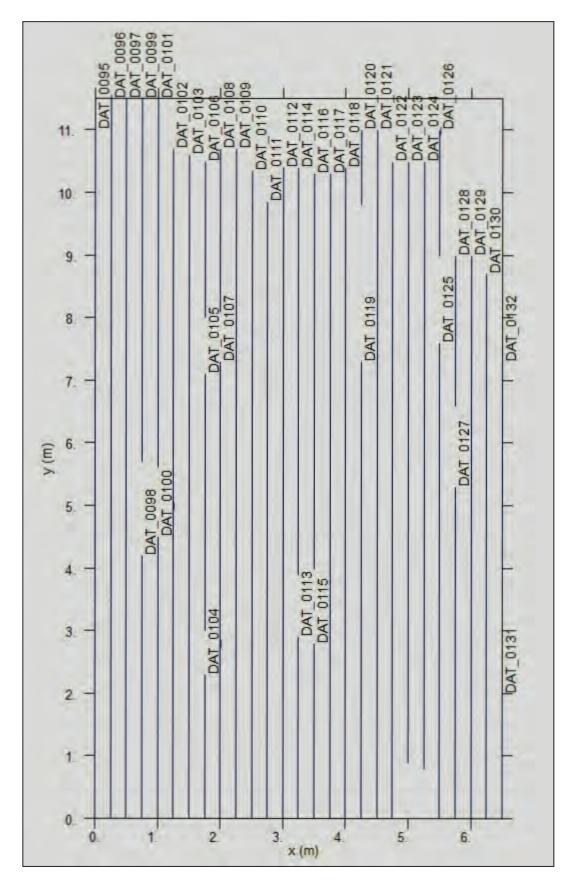


Figure 10. Radargram plan of GPR Block B.

Surface Reconnaissance

The study area for this project was predominantly wooded, scrub, or manicured lawns, which offered limited opportunities to observed artifacts on the ground. Surveyors made surface observations of the landforms throughout the survey area. Traces of roads and trails were noted. Archeologists recorded GPS waypoints for these surface finds and features.

Laboratory Methods

Artifacts and project paperwork and electronic data gathered for the Purysburg Battlefield Survey Project were returned to the LAMAR Institute's laboratory in Rincon, Georgia. There the artifacts were cleaned, inventoried, analyzed and photographed. A wide range of artifact identification guides were used to identified artifacts recovered by the survey (Abbitt 1973; Bailey 1971, 2002, 2009; Nelson 1968; Neumann 1967; Neumann and Kravic 1989; Noël Hume 1983; Olsen 1963; Seaby and Purvey 1980; Stone 1974; South 1977; Tice 1998; Troiani 2001). Bullets were measured by weight (in grams) and diameter (in millimeters, when bullets were not distorted). Analysts noted evidence of impact, use or other modifications in the bullet assemblage. Buttons were classified using South's button typology. Types 1, 2, 7, 9, 11 and 12 were represented. Copper coins were weighed and measured. These coins, including two British half-pennies minted in the realm of King George III, were extremely worn and no dates were discerned, despite an attempt to reveal them using X-rays (Seaby and Purvey 1980). Examples of artifacts were selected for photography and report illustrations. Photographs of artifacts that were taken in the field and then left in situ were organized and properly labeled for inclusion as a digital appendix accompanying the technical report. The field identification (and photographs) proved useful for integrating the two datasets (field and lab). Researchers entered the artifact data into a computer spreadsheet (Microsoft Excel) and then used these data for the GIS analysis.

Ammunition Analysis

Ammunition comprised the most informative artifact group for the Purysburg study. The ammunition

recovered by the survey team underwent three levels of analysis. The first level of analysis took place in the field where clearly modern bullets or shot were identified and not added to the survey collection.

The initial laboratory analysis constituted the second level of analysis. Lead artifacts were closely examined by archeologist Joel Jones for any evidence that they were ammunition. Many factors affect the physical appearance of lead balls. Unmodified lead balls, often called dropped balls by archeologists, displayed no visible signs of use such as distortion or impact. Many balls were clearly fired with obvious impact evidence. Other balls displayed evidence of intentional alteration, such as cut marks. Others exhibited evidence that they were chewed by mammals. Some were melted or partially melted. Any such traits were noted in the initial analysis. Balls were weighed in grams in their precleaned state. Maximum diameters also were recorded in millimeters. In some cases, where balls were clearly non-spherical, multiple diameter measurements were recorded. Other unusual traits, such as sprue attachments or mis-casting were noted. Where modern ammunition could be clearly distinguished from period items, they were separated. Bullets, including Civil War era and later nineteenth century ammunition types were saved. More modern bullets, including .22 caliber and various steel jacketed rounds were deaccessioned or removed from any further analysis.

A third and more detailed ammunition analysis was undertaken by archeologist and antique munitions expert Jim Legg after all of the actual ammunition specimens were cleaned and re-bagged. Melted lead and various other miscellaneous objects were not cleaned, and remain in their original bags. Nearly all of the melted and miscellaneous lead specimens were patinated to a degree that matched the patina on the early ammunition specimens, and they are very likely Revolutionary War (or Civil War) artifacts. Legg's commentary on his analysis methods are paraphrased in the following text.

A number of specimens may be readily be removed from the collection as they post-date not only the Revolution but also the Civil War. These include relatively modern antimony alloy buckshot, lead buckshot fired with high-pressure smokeless powder, and various metallic cartridge bullets.

Generally, the specimens were in only a fair state of preservation. While most are probably very close to their correct weights, few retain the fine surface detail usually needed to determine attributes such as impact surfaces, rolling, and patching/rifling. A minority of specimens (as noted) were corroded enough that their weights, and thus their projected diameter values ("pd") were probably significantly reduced.

For unfired specimens, measured diameters were recorded in addition to "pd" values. When the ball was reasonably round, several caliper measurements were taken, and a single representative diameter was recorded. Where the ball was very crude (many were obviously subspherical), a range of diameters was recorded.

Most of the collection is comprised of specimens that are essentially un-alloyed lead, which consistently exhibit a heavy white/cream patina. Examples with gray or blue-gray patina are probably some alloy of lead, and are noted as such, with the reservation ">" added to the projected diameter value. These apparently "alloy" specimens do in fact tend to weigh less than lead specimens. There are a few examples cast of what is obviously pewter, which of course is much lighter than lead, and these were noted.

The diameter/function determinations in the analysis are based on previous examination of thousands of specimens from Southern Campaign sites, including regular British, Loyalist, and American Continental and militia components. The collection includes several sizes of buckshot and birdshot/buckshot, a wide range of balls that are very likely rifle balls, numerous balls of "fusil" caliber, and musket balls for both .69 and .75 caliber muskets.

The most common buckshot size for .69 caliber musket cartridges was about .29-.30 inches. Three balls much larger than this will not rest on the same perpendicular plane within a .69 caliber bore. Every assemblage, however, includes a range of sizes, some small enough to actually target birds or other small game, others large enough to overlap with small-caliber rifle balls. Larger buckshot may well be for .75 caliber musket cartridges. Legg used a somewhat arbitrary cut-off of .350 inch for the upper end of buckshot. While there are eighteenth century American rifles smaller than this caliber (a class commonly called "squirrel rifles"), they would hardly be of much military value, and when they are found they may represent civilian hunting.

American long rifles in use in the Southern Campaign are mostly in the range of .45 to .55 caliber, with a strong cluster at the upper end. Legg used a cut-off of .560" for rifle balls, while acknowledging an overlap between the largest rifle balls and the smallest fusil (trade gun) balls in the .550 inch to .560 inch range. Unless rifling or patching is visible, balls in the "rifle" size range are designated "probable rifle balls," given the context (a theatre where rifles were heavily used), and the fact that there is little in the way of alternate candidates for these specimens – other than small-caliber pistols are about it.

Legg believes that the ordinary English trade gun (Hamilton's Type "G") was in regular use among non-Native Americans in the Southern colonies, and ammunition finds suggest that these trade guns saw heavy use among non-regular troops during the Southern Campaign. He notes that every metal detecting collection from an eighteenth century domestic site seems to include diagnostic brass hardware and lead shot of appropriate sizes for these weapons. Given that the trade guns were technically "fusils" (light muskets), and given that there were certainly other military and civilian fusils in use, Legg called those balls that fall into the appropriate range (.550-.620 inch) "fusil balls." Hamilton's examples includes a few trade gun balls up to .630 inch, but these are probably French. In certain contexts, balls in the "fusil" range might actually be regular military carbine or pistol balls (French or British), but that is probably not the case here.

There is then, little overlap between fusil balls (as known from Native American sites) and the balls for the .69 caliber French muskets that were increasingly common in the South after 1778. Balls greater than .620 inch are large enough for a .69 caliber bore, and examples that small occur among collections of Continental musket balls. Balls of .635-.640 inch are more appropriate, however. Balls for .75 caliber British muskets should be about .690 inch, but the actual range is much wider, particularly when the source is something other than regular British military supply.

Legg's analysis of the ammunition was merged and cross-checked with the second-level analysis and any discrepancies or data entry errors were corrected. The resulting data forms the basis of the ammunition discussion later in this report.

Reporting and Curation

Reporting is a vital part of this research since one purpose of the study is to inform the public of its cultural resources so that landowners, land managers, concerned citizens, and others can manage these resources responsibly. The technical report also is of interest to a scholarly audience, including historians, archeologists and others. The LAMAR Institute produced a technical report and a video documentary for this project. A redacted version of this report, in which sensitive site location information has been deleted, will be made available to the general public via the LAMAR Institute's website and possible other outlets. Copies of these reports and the documentary video were deposited with the National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program in Washington, D.C. and the South Carolina Institute for Archaeology and Anthropology (SCIAA) in Columbia, South Carolina. Artifacts, field notes, excavation forms, laboratory forms, maps, photographs, digital copies of the reports and video and other records generated by the project were permanently curated with SCIAA.

Public Outreach

Historically archeologists have had a difficult time reaching a general audience with accurate stories about their work. Popular media reports often twisted the information provided by the professional archeologists and debased the story by converting into a treasure-hunting tale. Careful scientific inquiry was repeatedly changed to more closely fit an "Indiana Jones" episode. Often the facts are so distorted that the true story is completely lost to the reader/viewer. Realizing this tendency, professional archeologists in the United States have attempted to improve their education and outreach skills in reaching a target audience.

Increasing public awareness of the Revolutionary War battle at Purysburg and the broader involvement of South Carolina's Patriots in the American Revolution was an integral part of this research project. At the onset of the project public awareness and understanding of this military event was extremely limited. The LAMAR Institute hoped to provide information to the media and public that would stem outrageous myths and offer instead accurate facts about the project, along with visual images of the work.

Information about the LAMAR Institute project was shared with the public through a range of media outlets. The first of these consisted of the issuance of press releases by the ABPP and the LAMAR Institute. This was followed by a series of public meetings and multiple presentations, inleuding an initial meeting inviting the public to share inforantion they had about the project area and a meeting after the completion of laboratory analysis that enabled archeologists to detail project discoveries and interpretations. It also included the creation of a Facebook page on social media for the Purysburg Project. Additional details about public outreach are described later in this report.

Collector Survey

The LAMAR Institute research team approached the Purysburg and Black Swamp study areas with a clear understanding that previous relic collecting activity has degraded the resource base. To partially offset this unquantifiable loss, researchers gathered limited information on active collectors and collections from the area. Figure 11-13 show examples of artifacts collected by private individuals in the Purysburg battlefield area.

Brett Cullen, a collector who spent several decades metal detecting in Jasper County, South Carolina, was quite helpful in this this project. Cullen has cooperated on past battlefield surveys conducted by SCIAA



Figure 11. Relics collected from Purysburg by "WhitePraun" (Anonymous 2013).



Figure 12. Sample from Monday Collection, Purysburg.

in South Carolina. Chris Kalinowsky and other members of his family have collected artifacts through metal detecting on the family property, as well as on adjacent land tracts in Black Swamp. Phillip Monday, a resident of the central part of Purysburg, shared

information about sites and examples from his relic collection, which was located by metal detecting. Stephanie Boyles, another Purysburg resident, shared information about relics found by her family in the northern part of Purysburg.

Lee Spence, a relic diver, explored the Savannah River bottom at Purysburg. Spence generated a series of books and articles of his exploits (Spence 1991, 1995). Howard Tower, Jr., another relic diver, explored the Savannah River bottom at Purysburg and other locations in the 1970s and 1980s and some of his discoveries are highlighted in popular magazines. Among other discoveries, Tower reported that abundant deposits of petrified wood was submerged at Purysburg (Tower 1978:32-33; 1982:40-42). In a later article, Tower mentioned diving discoveries at Abercorn and Ebenezer (Tower 1987). One Beaufort County relic collector, known only as "WhitePraun", posted photographs online of numerous metal detector finds from Purysburg (Anonymous 2014). Other collectors actively search for Civil War artifacts in the Purysburg vicinity (Tyler 2010). Collectively, relic collectors represent a major drain on the cultural resource base and the information it once contained in the Purysburg and Black Swamp areas.



Figure 13. Ceramics from Boyles Collection, Purysburg.

Chapter 4. Social, Historical and Geographical Content

Social, Historical and Geographical Context

The history of the American Revolution in South Carolina has been of interest from the earliest days. Histories, memoirs and biographies of the battles and participants offer significant insight into the reality. These sources also infuse the story with many myths and misstatements that veer from the truth. Often the authors of military history spin the stories to their advantage. American victories, such as at Cowpens, Fort Moultrie, and Kings Mountain were heavily emphasized in historical documents Likewise, major defeats, such as Camden, were deemphasized in primary and secondary documents. Many engagements were trivialized, overshadowed by related engagements or altogether ignored.

The earliest histories that included discussion of military events in South Carolina, such as those by David Ramsay (1785, 1789, 1809), Banastre Tarleton (1787) and Charles Stedman (1794), appeared in press within only a few years of the war's end. These were followed by memoirs written in the early decades of the nineteenth century by a few key officers, such as Alexander Garden (1822), William Moultrie (1802) and Henry Lee (1812). With their passing many biographies of key military figures emerged, including Henry Lee (Drayton 1821; Hartley 1859, 1860), Benjamin Lincoln (Sparks 1847), Francis Marion (Weems 1837 [based on Peter Horry's lost account]) and Thomas Pinckney (Pinckney 1895). More recent biographies include additional studies of Francis Marion, Thomas Pinckney, Thomas Sumter and others (Bass 1974, Zahniser 1967), as well as neglected officers, including Robert Howe and Benjamin Lincoln (Bennett and Lennon 1991; Mattern 1995).

By the mid-nineteenth century, many of the Revolutionary War stories were well entrenched in the American psyche and publications were drenched with a patriotic fervor. Benson Lossing (1851) compiled a major historical summary of the battles in the 1850s, in which he authenticated by personal visits to

many of the battlefields and fort sites. Robert Gibbes (1857, 1972 [reprint]) gathered many original documents pertaining to the American Revolution, with his personal emphasis on South Carolina. Johnson (1851) authored a book on the American Revolution in the South, which focused on South Carolina.

In the early 1890s Francis Heitman (1892, 1914) compiled a nationwide list of Revolutionary War engagements, which included many entries for South Carolina. The battles are presented in alphabetical and chronological order. He did not list any actions in South Carolina in April or May, 1779.

In 1901 Edward McCrady compiled a list of 130 Revolutionary War engagements in South Carolina from 1775-1780. While McCrady's list included the May 3, 1779 engagement at Coosawhatchie, the April 13, 1781 action at Fort Balfour, and other actions in Beaufort County, he did not include the action at Purysburg (McCrady 1901).

Throughout the decades since the American Revolution hundreds of individual regimental histories have been compiled and published. Many of these regiments saw action in South Carolina and these histories typically contain lists of their regiment's battle participation.

During the 1970s historians at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History compiled a list of 182 battles, skirmishes and actions in South Carolina for the American Revolution bicentennial (SCDAH 1976). The authors acknowledged that this list was by no means complete. Purysburg was not on the list.

When the U.S. Congress mandated that the Department of Interior assess the status of America's Revolutionary War and War of 1812 battlefields, a short list of battles was compiled for South Carolina. The first stage in this effort was the compiling of lists of key military actions by state. Researchers conducted many inventories across the U.S. to provide useful planning

data. These surveys were synthesized into a single volume that was presented to the U.S. Congress. The National Park Service report lists three Revolutionary War battlefields in Jasper County, South Carolina—Coosawhatchie River, Purrysburg and the Savannah River. One War of 1812 battle site, Coles Island and a shipwreck, Schooner Alligator also are listed for Jasper County but actually are located in Charleston County, South Carolina (Gossett and Mitchell 2007:109, 111, 121, 125).

A recent, private compilation by Lewis (2013) identifies 422 significant military events of the American Revolution in South Carolina. This list does contain the engagement at Purysburg on April 29, 1779. Lewis also lists associated engagements at Zubly's Ferry on January 1, 1779, the April 22, 1779 engagement in Black Swamp, a March 12, 1780 action at "Two Sisters' Ferry" and a June 23, 1782 action (in Georgia) at Three Sisters' Ferry. Lewis' list is not supported by citations, however, which limits its use.

South Carolina Revolutionary War battlefields that operate today as national parks include Cowpens Battlefield, Kings Mountain National Military Park and Ninety Six National Historic Site. Histories of Kings Mountain and Ninety Six provide excellent background for these battles (Draper 1881; Bass 1978). Babits (2000) study of the Cowpens battlefield established the validity of a careful battlefield analytical approach to Revolutionary War battles in South Carolina. While his study did not involve any archeological fieldwork, his interpretation of primary historical documents helped to establish geographic benchmarks for key battle events at Cowpens. Battlefield archeology has been limited at Cowpens and Kings Mountain and the complete results are not widely available (Vincent 2003; Cornelison and Cooper 2002; Cornelison 2006; Cornelison and Smith 2015). In the King's Mountain study approximately 90 acres of the national park were surveyed and 139 Revolutionary War period artifacts were located. These included 135 lead shot consisting of 81 fired and 54 unfired balls. The clustering of the lead balls allowed the archeologists to identify troop movements up the mountain. Recent battlefield survey work there in 2015 has substantially expanded our understanding of battlefield resources at Cowpens and a publication on that work is pending. South (1970, 2006) and several other archeologists have conducted extensive archeological work at Ninety Six since 1961. Their contributions are summarized by Prentice (1996). Most of this work was done in the 1970s, prior to the emergence of the subdiscipline of battlefield (conflict) archeology. Most recently LiDAR technology was used to make a 3-D map and to photo-document a surviving Patriot sap tunnel, known as Kosciusko's Mine, as well as to document surviving earthworks (University of South Alabama 2015).

Musgrove Mill State Historic Site near Clinton, South Carolina, is the only state park in South Carolina that contains a Revolutionary War battlefield. Other state parks in South Carolina have interpretive themes that include the American Revolution but it is not their primary message and they are not Revolutionary War battlefields.

The Revolutionary War battles in the Camden area in 1780 represent a major defeat for the Patriots and this campaign further delayed the end of the war in South Carolina. Camden battlefield is a particularly encouraging success story for historic preservation. The Palmetto Conservation Foundation, the Battle of Camden Council, the Katawba Valley Land Trust, the American Battlefield Protection Program, South Carolina Conservation Bank, the Daughters of the American Revolution and others worked to protect through real estate easements and/or purchase, more than 310 acres of battlefield property at Camden. Careful battlefield archeology studies by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology were vital in establishing the existence of hallowed ground (Calmes 1967; Lewis 1976; Legg et al. 2005; Smith 2005, 2006, 2008, 2009).

Historically, the southern colonies/states have been woefully underrepresented in historical scholarship. Alden (1954), for example, allocated only one of his 11 book chapters to southern campaigns. Later twentieth century studies attempted to remedy this dearth of publications (Alden 1957; Alden and Higgins 1979; Boatner 1968; Crow and Tise 1978; Hilborn 1970; Lumpkin 1981; Morrill 1993). This trend has continued into the twenty-first century (Edgar 2003, 2012; Gordon 2003; Russell 2000:106). Revolutionary War scholarship in South Carolina also has expanded to

more adequately include the Loyalist perspective and that of the common foot soldier (Lambert 2010).

Against this backdrop of Revolutionary War scholarship enters battlefield archeology, or conflict archeology. The beginnings of this sub-discipline in the United States is largely attributed to survey work by Fox and Scott that followed a 1984 wildfire at the site of Custer's defeat at Little Big Horn in Wyoming (Scott and Fox 1987). Examples from the eastern seaboard were somewhat delayed and most of these explored battlefields from the American Civil War. The first battlefield study in the southeastern U.S. that utilized metal detectors was work by Dickens (1979) at the War of 1812 Battle at Horseshoe Bend National Military Park in Alabama. Most historical archeology dealing with the American Revolution in South Carolina prior to 2000 may be more accurately classified as military sites archeology and not battlefield archeology. Over the past 15 years, however, archeologists have made major strides in locating and delineating battlegrounds in South Carolina. These include discoveries at Blackstocks, Buford's Massacre (Waxhaws), Camden, Eutaw Springs, Fishdam Ford, Fort Motte, Fort Moultrie, Huck's Defeat, Ninety-Six, and the present research at Purysburg (Butler 2006, 2008, 2011; Legg et al. 2005; Scoggins et al. 2011; Smith 2006, Smith et al. 2006, 2009; South 1970, 1974, 2006; University of South Florida 2015).

Purysburg

Purysburg was the utopian concept and real estate scheme of its founder Jean Pierre Pury. King George II granted 20,000 acres of land at Great Yamassee Bluff on the Savannah River to Jean Pierre Pury for the establishment of a town and township on September 1, 1731. (Migliazzo 2002:157-158). A 1735 plat map of the town of Purysburg drafted by Hugh Bryan shows that 455 town lots were designated (Bryan 1735). Many individual plats of the town lots have survived. Archeological survey at Purysburg suggests that many of these 455 lots were never settled, particularly those lots distant from the Savannah River (Elliott 1985; Smith 1985). The maximum population at Purysburg can only be estimated. Frederich Dalcho (1820), a U.S. Army surgeon and ecclesiastical historian, stated that by 1735 the town contained near 100 houses. Charles Pury, son of John Pierre Pury, stated in 1738 that his father had brought 600 colonists to settle in South Carolina (Smith 1909:203). Many of these settlers were intended to settle at Purysburg but quickly left for other parts of the Georgia or South Carolina. By the time of the American Revolution the town was sparsely populated, possibly with fewer than two dozen dwellings (DeBrahm 1779). One visitor to Purysburg in 1778 wrote, "There are but few houses on its banks" (Georgia Historical Quarterly 1957:317). Purysburg experienced a revitalization by the end of the eighteenth century, as Jedidiah Morse stated in 1797 that the town contained forty or fifty houses. Although Purysburg never achieved the status of a city, the settlement survived the American Revolution and it continued as a modest village and Savannah River port well into the nineteenth century, as shown in maps of the Beaufort District (Vignoles and Ravenel 1821; Mills 1980). Figures 14-31 reveal the changing landscape in the Purysburg area from 1735 to 1944, as revealed in the cartographic record.

Colonel Jean Pierre Pury died on August 17, 1736. Charles Pury, elder son of Colonel Pury, was murdered by his enslaved people in 1754. Governor Glen's proclamation stated that Charles Pury, 'was forced by violence from his house and then strangled, stabbed in the breast with a knife and thrown into a creek, his body having been found with several marks of violence upon it four foot deep in the water and about thirty-three pounds of small shot tied up in bags and made fast to different parts of it." (MR 2K: 77-78).

Documentary information about Purysburg also comes by way of Moravians. Moravians Peter Boehler and George Schulius moved from Savannah to Purysburg in February, 1739. There Schulius sickened and died of fever on August 4, 1739 and was buried. Towards the fall, Boehler left Purysburg and returned to Savannah (Hinke and Kemper 1903:387-388). Other Moravian missionaries, Leonhard Schnell and Robert Hussey, traveled to Purysburg in December 1743 and January 1744 (Hinke and Kemper 1903:387-388).

On Sunday, the 29th, we passed for the first twelve miles [after departing from the Coosawhatchee River] continuously through water, one foot deep, but we reached 'Purisburg'. We visited Melchior Lichtensteger and handed to him the letter of Abr. Bininger. He received us willingly. We stayed with him over night. On December 30th, we visited, early in the

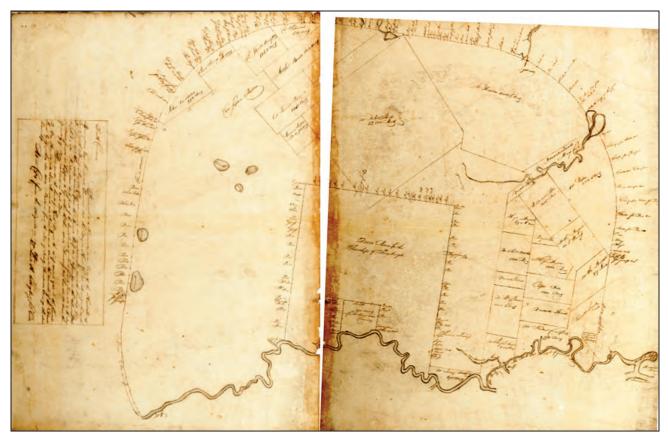


Figure 14. Plat of Purysburg Township, 1735.

morning, Mr. Ehrhard [who lived one mile outside of Purysburg]. He was very glad when I told him that I belonged to the Brethren. He regretted very much that the Brethren had left 'Purisburg.' He accompanied me into the town...

Schnell and Hussey left Purysburg that evening by canoe and traveled to Savannah. They returned to Purysburg on January 21, 1744, where they spent the night with Mr. Ehrhard and the following day met with Reverend Chiffelle, who showed them his garden and plantation. The Moravians lingered in the Purysburg area for several more days before departing South Carolina in April 1744.

In 1746 the South Carolina General Assembly passed an Act, "for erecting the Township of Purrysburgh and parts adjacent into a separate and distinct Parish". This Act created St. Peter Parish and it declared that, "the church or chapel and the dwelling house at Purrysburgh wherein the Rev. Mr. Chiffelle hath preached and dwelt for some years past shall be deemed and taken and they are hereby declared to be the Parish Church and parsonage house of the

said Parish of St. Peter" (Smith 1909:206). The Reverend Chiffelle served as the minister of the Parish Church of St. Peter Parish until his death in 1758. He was succeeded by Reverend Abraham Imes, who served as minister from 1760-1766 (Smith 1909:207).

Hugh Finlay, Surveyor of the Post Roads from 1772-1774 maintained a journal in which he visited and briefly described Purysburg. After traveling 16 miles from Coosawhatchee on a road he described as, "very straight, some parts of it is clayey, but few farms in the way", Finlay reached Purysburg, which he called, "a stragling village on the River of Savannah about 38 miles from its mouth". After a three hour stay, Finlay embarked, "in a wooden canoe rowed by three Negroes, and in about four hours and a half got down with the tide to Savannah, the distance is 24 miles". He further observed on his canoe trip, "The water of the river is very thick, its shore is a stinking mud; the land on each side is low and swampy. Halfway down we see plantations, the farm houses are built on the rivers side on hills of sand called bluffs, some are built in low situations. and are surrounded when the River overflows. The tide flows within 6 miles of Purysburg" (Finlay 1975:54).

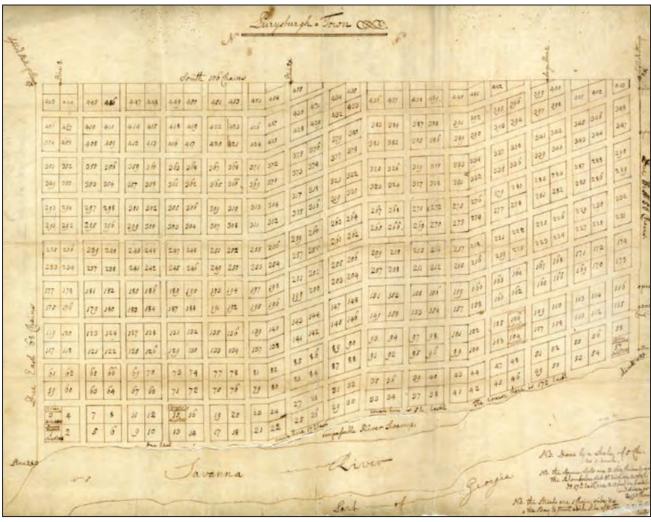


Figure 15. Purysburg town plan.

From its first inception, the architect of Purysburg, Jean Pierre Pury, was concern with the town's safety and defense. South Carolina Governor Robert Johnson bestowed upon him the military title of Colonel and charged him with creating a regiment from the anticipated Swiss emigres. James Richards was appointed Major and Captain of the first 60 colonists who arrived in late 1732. In October, 1732, the South Carolina Council ordered, "six small cannon at Port Royal" to be delivered to James Richard. Later that year, Joseph Edward Flower was appointed Captain and John Savy Lieutenant under Colonel Pury's command. On March 17 the following year Joseph Edward Flower was made, "Lieutenant Colonel of the Switz Regiment at Purysburg (Smith 1909:190, 193-195, 197).

In a letter written from Charleston, South Carolina on October 5, 1733, Pury noted, "When they [settlers] arrived here they built a fort with four bastions, a moat all

around it, and six cannons and named it Fort George. This fort is well regarded by all who have seen it as one of the best and most beautiful forts in Carolina. Master Oglethorpe, Commander in Chief of Georgia, who saw it not long ago, was no less satisfied with the honest and civil manner in which he was received by the new settlers...His excellency, Robert Johnson, our Governor, has just made four gentlemen officers in the Purrysburg regiment. They are Masters De Laffitte and De Monclar, lieutenants. They have received their warrants of the Great Seal of the province and have taken their oaths and so on..." (Migliazzo 2002:162).

Jean Batist Bourquin, an original Purysburg colonist, wrote a letter to the Bishop of Basle and Porentry in Switzerland describing the progress of the colony, in which he noted [translated from French], "We have also built a fort of four bastion, with palisades made of trunks of trees, and six pieces of cannon

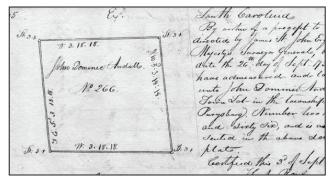


Figure 16. Plat of John Dominic Andello's Purysburg town lot 266 (Row1736).

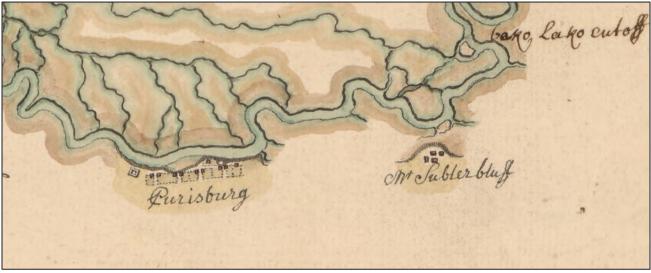


Figure 17. Detail of DeBrahm's 1752 map showing Purysburg and Zubly's Bluff (DeBrahm 1752).

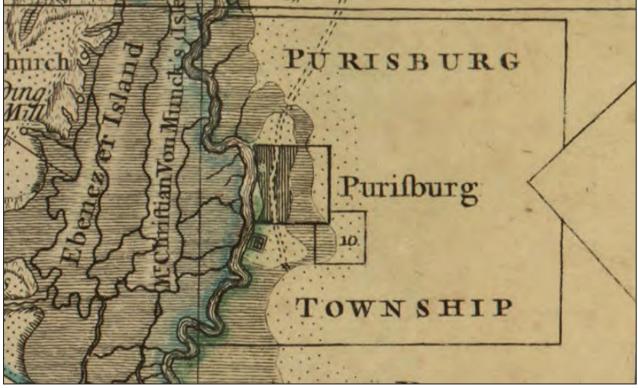


Figure 18 Detail of 1757 map showing Purysburg vicinity (DeBrahm 1757).



Figure 19. Detail of map showing Project Area and Middle Sex Ferry.

which will enable us to defend ourselves against all those who should attack us" (Bourquin 1919). An anonymous account of a voyage to South Carolina first published in 1737 included a visit to Purysburg where the author noted, "I understand they intend speedily to build another fort at the upper end of the town, which will be a great security to it" (Anonymous 1842:51). King George's War, known in the southern colonies as the War of Jenkins Ear (1739-1748) and the Stono Rebellion (1739), came and went without any military conflict at Purysburg.

In early March, 1743 the South Carolina Commons House of Assembly considered a petition by the inhabitants of Purysburg for funds to build a fort at Purysburg (Easterby 1951:268-270). At that time Purysburg was defended by 70 militiamen (Summerall 1941:42-43).

Likewise, the Seven Years War, or French and Indian War (1756-1763) as it was known in the colonies, passed without any major engagement at Purysburg. Nevertheless, the residents of Purysburg did prepare for an attack. Johann Tobler, a Swiss colonist in New Windsor, South Carolina, published a description of Purysburg in his 1754 almanac, which included the brief mention that, "At Purysburg is a small fort" (Tobler 1754). In 1754 and 1756 the Purysburg militia company was commanded by Captain John Bourquin. It consisted of 61 militiamen (Jones 1992:166; Journal of the Commons House of Assembly 1754:54). Jones noted that many of these men actually lived in Georgia. Surviving 1756 muster rolls for the Southern Regiment in Granville County reveal the regiment was composed of six companies, including one for Purysburg. The Captain of the Purysburg militia company was John Bourquin. His junior officers were Lieutenant



Figure 20. Portion of untitled and undated map (Courtesy of Clements Library).

Isaac Branbant and Ensign John Bourquin. The company was composed of 61 men (Weir 1969:226-239).

At a meeting in January, 1776, Georgia's Council of Safety passed this resolution,

Resolved, That houses of all overseers and negroes throughout the Province, together with those on the Plantations in South Carolina, bordering upon Savannah River, below Purisburgh, be forthwith searched, and all guns and ammunition (except one gun and thirteen cartridges for each overseer) which shall be found therein, shall be taken and lodged in the hands of the committee for the several Parishes and Districts.

Ordered, That the commanding officer at Savannah be directed to send a party

of men to search the said plantations in South Carolina, and to have the guns and ammunition, which they shall find and take therein, lodged in the public store in Savannah.

Resolved, That the President do write to the Council of Safety in South Carolina, and represent the necessity that obligated this Board to order their plantations to be searched (Candler 1908, vol. 1:92).

In the summer of 1776, General George Washington ordered Major General Charles Lee to South Carolina to take command of the Southern Army. After arriving in Charleston, Lee devised a campaign against British East Florida. General Lee wrote from Purysburg on August 15, 1776 announcing his intent of "going to break up East Florida". Purysburg served as a transit station and bivouac point for

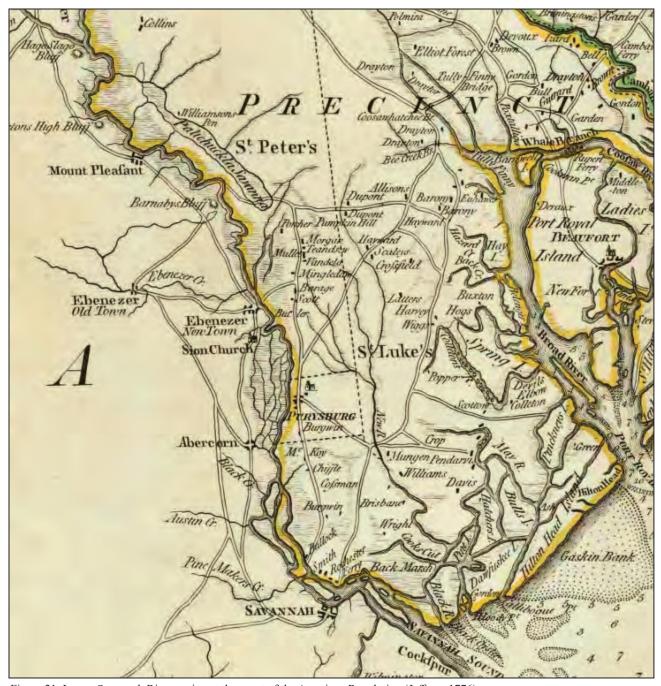


Figure 21. Lower Savannah River region at the onset of the American Revolution (Jeffreys 1776).

Patriot troops and supplies as troops from Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia joined the campaign (Force 1848-1853:959). By August 23, 1776, Lee was in Savannah, Georgia (Jordan 1792:410-411). The East Florida campaign failed, however, and General Lee was recalled to General Washington's headquarters.

Major General Robert Howe, a North Carolinian, next served as commander of the Southern Army (Bennett and Lennon 1991). At Pursyburg, General Howe established a temporary headquarters, the location of which is shown on the January 9·1779 map by Major DeBrahm (DeBrahm 1779). General Howe was replaced in early January 1779 by Benjamin Lincoln, following a defeated in the December 29, 1778 action at Savannah.

A July 10, 1778 letter from George Hipp to Colonel Benjamin Garden of the South Carolina militia, addressed actions by some Tories in the lower Savannah River area. Hpp wrote that the Tories "took protection from Capt. Thacher at Purysburgh, and all that took protection from him were sworn as likewise



Figure 22. Detail of Campbell's 1780 map, showing Purysburg vicinity (Campbell 1780).



Figure 23. Major Ferdinand DeBrahm's "Plan of the Town of Purisburg & the Camp of Januy 9 1779" (DeBrahm 1779).

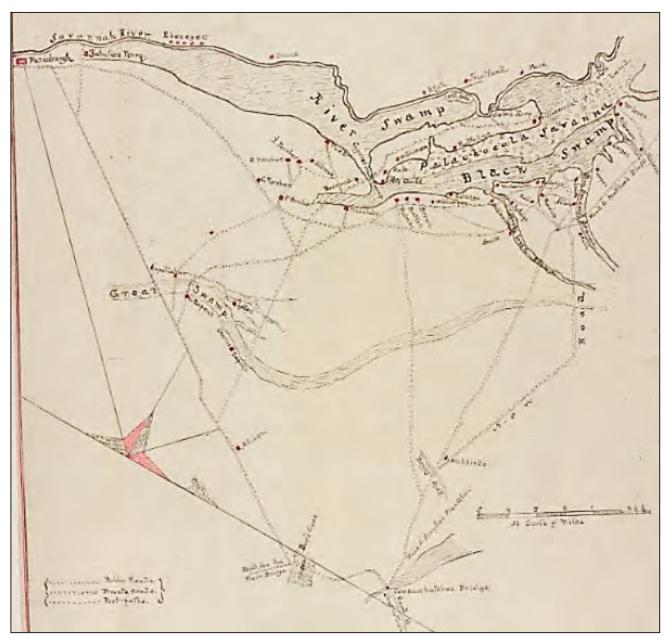


Figure 24. Undated map of Black Swamp vicinity (Clements Library).

those that went to stone the Capt. of the Galley at Purysburgh. None mind the oath but those that went to Major Vanbram at Ebenezer, and they all got printed certificates" (Gibbes 1972, volume 2:120).

The situation in Savannah and the adjacent coast changed quickly in December, 1778, when a large British force invaded Georgia. Major General Howe's forces were defeated at Savannah on December 29, followed by another British victory at Sunbury on January 9, 1779. Against this backdrop of defeats and disorganization Major General Benjamin Lincoln arrived in the Savannah region as

Howe's replacement. Lincoln had established his headquarters at Purysburg by January 4, when he wrote to Henry Laurens (Lincoln 1778-1779a:105). Lincoln wrote to General George Washington days later with a summary of the recent loss at Savannah.

Historian Charles C. Jones, Jr. (1883:V.1, 326-327) described Lt. Col. Campbell's rapid advance in January 1779 to secure the interior of the Savannah River delta for the British:

Although destitute of artillery horses and unprovided with a provision train, Colonel Campbell followed up his advantage

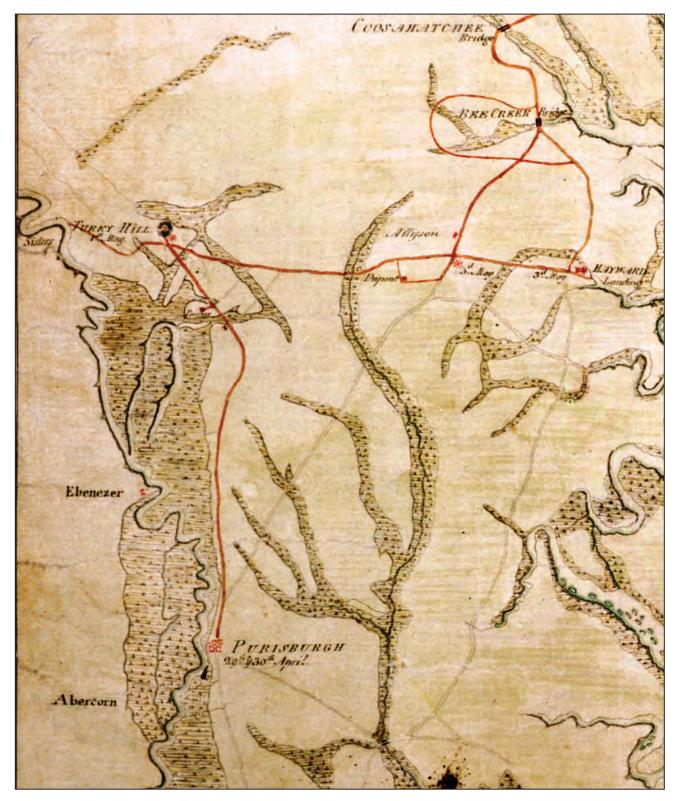


Figure 25. Detail of Major General Prevost's Campaign Map showing Purysburg vicinity.

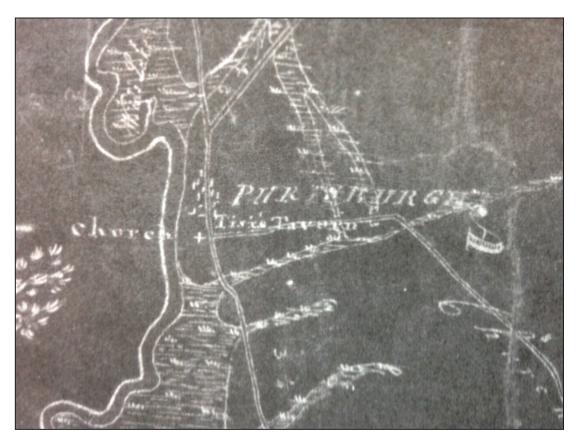


Figure 26. Portion of manuscript plan of Beaufort District, showing Purysburg vicinity (Vignoles and Ravenel 1821).

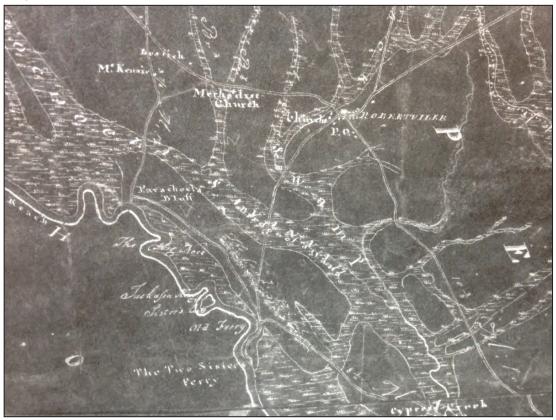


Figure 27. Detail of map of Beaufort District showing Black Swamp vicinity (Vignoles and Ravenel 1821).



Figure 28. Portion of 1827 map showing Project Area (Young 1827).

so vigorously that he reached Cherokee Hill on the 1st of January, 1779, and the next day took possession of the town of Ebenezer. On this march he succeeded in collecting twenty dragoon horses and several hundred head of cattle. So close was his pursuit that the rear of General Howe's army had barely crossed the Savannah River at Sister's ferry when the British infantry came up and occupied that point. With such men as he was able to place in the saddle, and with his light infantry, he proceeded to Mount Pleasant and, for a distance of fifty miles above Savannah, found not a 'single rebel to oppose him.'

Overwhelmed at the calamity which had overtaken the State, and some of them rejoicing at the triumphant return of the king's servants, 'many respectable inhabitants,' reports Colonel Campbell, 'joined the army on this occasion with their rifles and horses.' These he organized into a corps of rifle dragoons, that they might patrol the country between the advanced posts and Savannah and

convey the earliest intelligence of the movements of the Americans. At Ebenezer sufficient recruits were enlisted to form a company, and to it was assigned the duty of scouring the country in that vicinity. Posts were established at important points along the line of the Savannah, and every effort was made to awe the region into submission. With a number of armed boats from the fleet Captain Stanhope, of the navy, and Lieutenant Clark ascended the Savannah River and succeeded in capturing an armed brig, two sloops, and a schooner which were interrupting the passage to Abercorn. The Comet galley and the sloop Greenwich were anchored at the mouth of Ebenezer Creek. The Ameri-

can galleys, which were occupying that station, upon the approach of the enemy sailed up the river as far as Purrysburg, where General Benjamin Lincoln, assigned to the command of the Southern Department and newly arrived, had established his headquarters. Here, too, on the 4th of January, was he joined by the remnant of General Howe's army under the conduct of Colonel Huger. Orders were issued for slaughtering and salting up for the use of the British army and navy all rebel cattle within reach of the posts established by the enemy, and such encouragements were offered the farmers to bring in their animals and produce as were deemed sufficient for the establishment of suitable markets.

Jones (1883, vol. 1:334) summarized the military situation in mid-January, 1779:

About the middle of January, 1779, Colonel Campbell was detached with a column about a thousand strong to capture this town [Augusta]. The Savannah River was now the dividing line between the contending armies. General Lincoln was

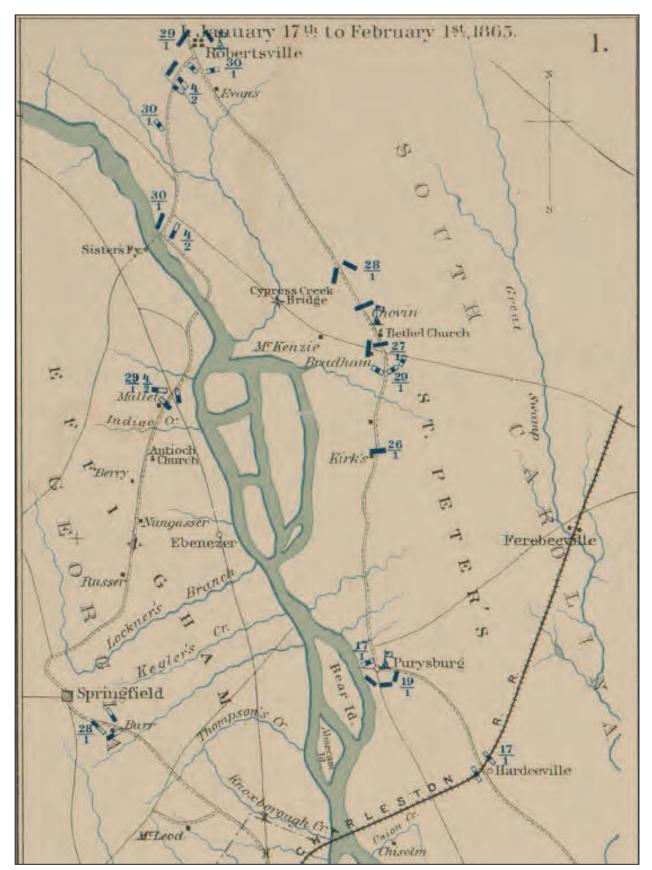


Figure 29. Route of March of the 20th Corps, U.S. Army through Purysburg and Black Swamp in January and February 1865 (Baylor.edu 2015).

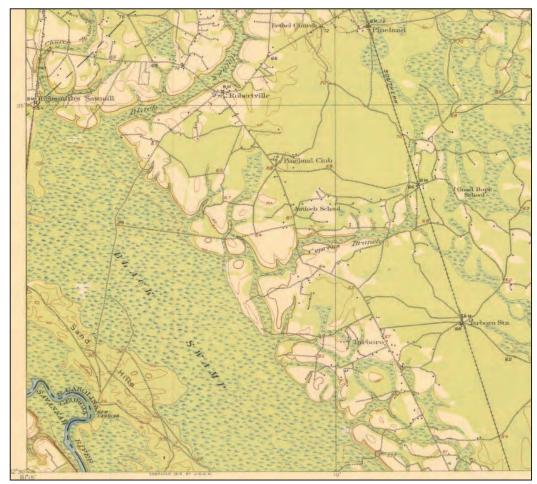


Figure 30. Detail of 1919 Topographic Map showing Black Swamp (U.S. Geological Survey 1919).

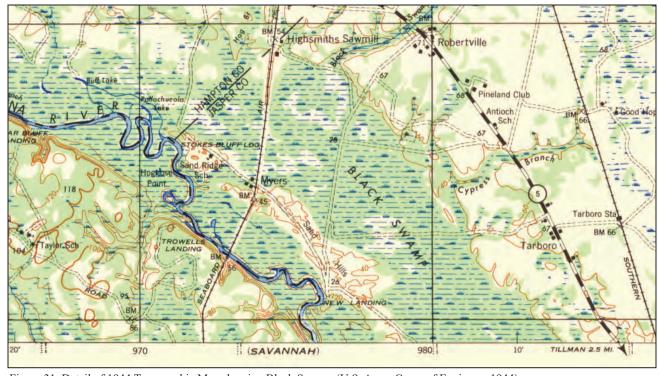


Figure 31. Detail of 1944 Topographic Map showing Black Swamp (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers 1944).

at Purrysburg on the north side of the river with a force of some five hundred continentals and two thousand provincials. The main body of the enemy was at Abercorn. In Savannah were one thousand Hessians. At the Two Sisters there was a detachment of six hundred men. Two hundred more guarded Zubly's ferry, and at Ebenezer a considerable force was stationed. So near were the two armies that, in the language of General Moultrie writing from Purrysburg, 'we hear their drums beat every morn from our outposts; nay, hear their sentinels cough.'

The American forces converged on Purysburg as a bivouac point in early January, 1779. Major General Benjamin Lincoln arrived at Purysburg on January 3. Also arriving at Purysburg on that day were about 1,200 North and South Carolina troops and Major General Robert Howe. Colonel Isaac Huger remained at Two Sister's with the remainder of Howe's troops (Moultrie 1802, vol. 1:256). Continentals and militia troops from North Carolina began arriving on January 3 and were well established by January 16 when Brigadier General Jethro Sumner ordered a regimental court martial at Camp Purysburg. Seven soldiers were charged with various offenses, including desertion and being absent without leave. General Sumner made a return of the North Carolina Continentals and New Levies taken at Camp Purysburgh, which listed a total of 438 men. South Carolina continentals from several regiments marched to Purysburg in early 1779.

Major Thomas Pinckney, 1st South Carolina Continentals, wrote letters to his family while in "Camp at Purysburg" on January 16, 18 and 28, February 22, March 1 and 7, and April 19 (Cross 1957:224-232). Major Pinckney's letters provide colorful glimpses of military life at Purysburg in the days prior to the April 29th battle. In his letter, dated April 19, 1779 he noted, "I am now at Purysburg...where I am to remain till Wednesday next. We have a very agreeable Detachment here. Lt. Colo. McIntosh Commands, I am the next great Man, besides which we have 2 Captns Sub[altern]s and 300 fine Fellows, not more than 1/3 of them naked" (Cross 1957:232). If Major Pinckney adhered to his words in the letter, then he was to stay at Purysburg until April 28, 1779, the day before the battle. More likely he left with Major General Lincoln several days prior to that. Either way, Major Thomas Pinckney likely was not present for the engagement at

Purysburg. Military life for the Patriot officers at Purysburg was not so bad in early 1779. In April Pinckney noted, "We have plenty of green Pease, Sallad, and other Vegetables, Meat, Milk, bread, Rice in short everything but Rum, which is rather scarce" (Cross 1957:232). By February 22, Major Pinckney estimated the number of troops at Purysburg at "about 1500". He wrote of the daily routine of camp life at Purysburg in several of his letters. On March 1st he wrote,

We rise here a little before Day break, the Men turning out with their Haversacks and Blankets on their Backs, they immediately are sent to their Tents to wait 'till the Sun Rises to dispel the Fog. We then turn out to exercise again for two Hours, next eat our Breakfast of Coffee and Johney Cake, with plenty of Milk, as we got a Cow from Harry's Tom Middleton. We then lounge about, read a little, write a little, or ride a little, till two, when we eat our Rations of Pork or Beef and whatever addition we can pick up, with strong Grog and Glass of Brandy. At 4 o'Clock Exercise again 'till Six, at seven drink Tea and eat Johney Cake again, at 8 turn out in Battalion, Post the Officers and Men so that they may run to their Places at a Moments warnings; at 9 pull off our Coats, Caps and Boots, wrap ourselves up in our Blanket, lay down upon our Bear Skins, and sleep 'till day break again, when guilty Conscience does not keep us awake. The sameness of this Round is somewhat diversified by our going on Duty once in 6 or 7 Days, when we have the satisfaction of sitting up all Night, riding the out Posts of the Army, and ruminating on past Pleasures and Joys to come (Cross 1957:229-230).

Recruiting orders, issued by Lieutenant Colonel William Henderson, 6th Regiment, South Carolina Continentals to Captain Buchanan at Camp Purysburg on February 5, 1779 stated,

You are to set out immediately on the recruiting service. You are to recruit anywhere within the State; you are to enlist no man under the age of sixteen nor above forty-five; you are to enlist no notorious rogue if you know it; you are to bring all the men you enlist to Headquarters or cause them to be brought; all

the men you enlist, you are to give five hundred dollars to-fifty in hand and the rest when you gain Head-Quarters-for the first month after the 29th of January last; for the second month four hundred dollars; for the third month three hundred and fifty dollars, and the same pay and rations as usual; you are to enlist no man for less time than sixteen months. But as many as you can during the war; you are from time to time to let the commanding officer know what success you have and what part of the country you are in; you are to go from here to Charlestown; you are not to stay there more than three days before vou set out-from which time, vou are to join Head-Quarters in six weeks, unless you have strong reason to believe you will have good success, in which case you are to stay some days longer. You are to deceive no man to enlist him. All reasonable expenses will be paid for bringing recruits to Head-Quarters (Gibbes 1972, vol. 2:99a).

On February 11 Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford, North Carolina militia wrote from head-quarters at Purysburg to Governor Caswell noting that he and his troops had arrived at Purysburg in good order on January 3. General Rutherford described the activities of his troops since arriving at Purysburg and he discussed the prospects for extending the stay of the North Carolina troops stating,

By offering generous Bounties a Number of Soldiers from the North Carolina Brigades might be enlisted into the Continental Service. The Legislature of So. Carolina have proposed a Bounty of 500 dollars to any Soldier who will enlist for 16 Months. It may be a politic scheme; doubtless they will engage a Number of Men from our State when their Time is out. We manæuvre up and down the River, tho' Nothing particular as yet has been achieved, except a repulse the Enemy met with at Beaufort. In that action we lost 5 men; the Loss of the Enemy was much more.

The Enemy are past up the River above Augusta. They have not crossed the River as yet in force. Adventurers from each side have taken Plunder from their

Opposites. Their Army is much augmented since the capture of Savannah, the most of the Georgians have taken Protection from them and many have taken an active part against us. The Georgians & Florida Scouts, which has joined them, form Companies of Light Horse & Light Cavalry. Were every Event to fall out agreeble to our most sanguine expectation we could not expect to capture or cause our Enemies to embark without considerable Loss and much time spent. In a short time I expect things will have another Aspect. Genl. Lincoln, with all the Continental Troops, are moved up the River. The North and South Carolina Militia, or rather my Brigade and General Richardson's, maintain this post. General Ashe has moved up to Augusta (CSR, Executive Letter Book 1779, vol. 14:20-22).

Troops from the 2nd South Carolina Continentals were ordered by General Moultrie to Purysburg on February 22. Lieutenant Colonel Francis Marion's orders read, "Sir you will order from your Regt one field Offr, 2 Drums 2 fifes with one hundred & fifty rank & file to March to Purisburgh with all Expedition you will apply to Colo. Drayton for flints, Kettles Waggons & all Nessesarys that may be wanted for their march". On the following day, Lieutenant Colonel Marion issued these regimental orders from Fort Moultrie,

For the above Comd Capts Lisesne, Moultrie, Dunbar & Baker, with their Officers & men belonging to their Compys, to be Comd by Major Horry--The Grenadr & Light Infantry Compys to Consist of 3 Sergts. 1 Drum 1 Fife & 40 rank & file Capt Moultries & Bakers to be 2 Sergts & 35 Rank & file, they are to be taken from the Recruits belonging to the Remaining Battalion Compy to Compleat that number in each Compy, the men are to be completed with Cloathing, a pr. Gaiters & one pr. Stockings--This Detachment to be ready to March by Thursday morning Early, when they are to be furnished with a powder horn, 1/4 wt powder & 12 dozen Ball pr. Man. pouches will be given them as soon as ready--The Otr M Sergt. to git ready 6 Ammunition Chests Containing 2500 Cartridges Each & 1000 flints to be carried with the Detachment (O'Kelley 2006:395).

The last major influx of troops to arrive at Purysburg or Black Swamp were North Carolina militia commanded by Major General John Ashe. General Ashe prepared for the march as early as December 17, 1778, when he arranged for a shipment of pork to Charleston, South Carolina to be used by his troops for the aid of South Carolina and Georgia (Ashe 1778).

On March 3, 1779 British forces commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Mark Prevost surprised the American camp at Brier Creek. The battle that ensued was a lopsided victory for the British. The Georgia Continentals suffered the worst of the action, having been cut off from the path taken by Major General Ashe and most of the retreating Patriots. The major loss at Brier Creek was downplayed by Major General Lincoln in his correspondence with his superiors. Major General Ashe, who had command at Brier Creek, was soon called to task and a court martial hearing was held by the Americans. While General Ashe escaped the battle and survived a court martial, his fellow soldiers lost their faith in their leader.

Jones summarized the British troop strength in Georgia following the British victory at Brier Creek on March 3:

The British troops within the limits of Georgia now numbered some four thousand, and consisted of the first and second battalions of the 71s t regiment, Sir James Baird's light infantry, Delancey's New York corps, volunteers from New York and New Jersey, Carolina Royalists, portions of the 16th and 60th regiments, two battalions of Hessians, Brown's rangers, and the Florida and Georgia militia. At Paris' Mill they formed a strong encampment defended by the guns captured at Brier Creek and by two additional field-pieces. On the left of the road, as one comes up from Savannah, a stout fort had been builded to guard the crossing at Sister's ferry. Here two six-pounder guns, two howitzers, and some other field-pieces were in position. Heavy pickets were on duty at Pace's. The hill commanding the Savannah River was fortified,-both artillery and infantry being present for its retention and to guard the passage. Three miles south of Ebenezer were a rail battery and a picket. At the town of Ebenezer appeared "a redoubt on the water on the north side, a strong picquet at the bridge,

two strong redoubts, another round the little house near the tavern, another down at the ferry, another on the hill at the south side of the south pass, and a very strong picquet. This place has a good train of artillery and is very strong, more so than Savannah." Redoubts, armed with eighteen-pounder guns, connected by curtains and protected by abattis in front, guarded the approaches to Savannah. Prevost was resolved upon the retention of Georgia; and Lincoln, staggered by the blow delivered at Brier Creek, was, for the time being, unable to undertake his dislodgment (Jones 1883:353)

Charles H. Lesser (1976) edited a list of troop strength in the Southern Department under Major General B. Lincoln. He provided a partial report of General Lincoln's army, as of March 4, which consisted of:

Colonel Isaac Huger's Brigade

- 1st South Carolina Regiment, Colonel Charles
 C. Pinckney
- 3rd South Carolina (Rangers), Colonel William Thompson
- 5th South Carolina (Rifles), Colonel Isaac Huger
- 6th South Carolina (Rifles), Lieutenant Colonel William Henderson

Brigadier General Jethro Sumner's Brigade

• New Levies (organization unknown)

Cavalry

- Detachment of North Carolina Dragoons, Lieutenant Edmund Gamble
- Detachment of South Carolina Dragoons, Major Hezekiah Maham

Artillery

• 4th South Carolina, Colonel Owen Roberts

On March 7, Major General Lincoln wrote from Purysburg to Governor Caswell describing the defeat at Brier Creek,

on the 3rd Inst., at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, the Enemy fell into the rear (his horse at that time being over Bryer Creek in front) and began the attack so suddenly that the Genl. had not time to form the whole of his Troops. Those which were

soon gave way, tho' many officers exerted themselves to prevent it, (excepting a few under Genl. Elbert and a regiment or two of No. Carolina Militia,) some he informs me without firing; they took to the Swamp and escaped, either by swimming the River or were brought across in boats. His loss of men is very inconsiderable, Genl. Ashe supposes one hundred and fifty or two hundred; but since he gave me the account many have come in, and I hear from a person just now from Augusta that fifty of the men are at that place. One brass field-piece was lost and two small Iron ones, some ammunition and wagons and one baggage wagon, as also many of the men's arms. Gen. Elbert is among the missing (CRS Executive Letter Book 1779, vol. 14:33).

From March 13 through 16 a Court of Inquiry was held at Purysburg for Major General John Ashe with Brigadier General Moultrie, General Rutherford, Colonels Armstrong, Pinckney and Locke and D.A. Gen. Edmond Hyrne (Moultrie vol. 1:337, 353). Major Everard Meade wrote from Zubly's Ferry to North Carolina Governor Caswell on March 16 with a brief account of Ashe's defeat at Brier Creek. Meade wrote, "Most of his men gave way the first fire, and his attempts to rally them was to no purpose. They made a disorderly retreat, and many were drowned in attempting to swim the river. I suppose our loss on the whole to be about fifty men. Two-thirds of the arms are lost, which is a distressing affair in our present situation" (Meade 1779:38-39). March 17, 1779 Gen. John Ashe wrote from his camp at Zubly's Ferry to Governor Caswell with an account of the defeat at Brier Creek, General Ashe minimized his losses, concluding,

Our loss in the field was about Ten or Twelve killed; about the same number drowned in the Lagoons. Their loss in the field supposed to be double to that of ours. We are now encamped at Zubley's Ferry, about two miles above Purisburg, where Head Quarters are. The Enemies' lines from the Town of Savannah to above the Two Sisters. 'Tis supposed they are drawing in their Troops to Savannah, in order to move round to Beaufort or Charlestown. They still continue superior in number to us (Ashe 1779:39-43).

On March 16-17, 1779 Major Thomas Pinckney, 1st South Carolina Continentals, made a report on the "Guards & piquets in & near Purisburgh" (Salley 1995:8). Pinckney's report, while brief, is most informative as to the distribution of Patriot defenses weeks prior to the battle. He listed:

- General Guard—1 Subaltern, 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 18 privates, 3 Centries by day, 6 Centries by night
- River Guard (strike out on original document, no guards listed)
- Kailes—1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 9 privates, 2 Centries by night
- Bullocks--1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 9 privates, 2 Centries by night
- Galleys—1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 12 privates,
 3 Centries by night
- Road piquet—1 Subaltern, 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal, 1 Drum and fifes, 18 privates, 5 Centries by night
- Swamp—1 Subaltern, 1 Sergeant, 1 Corporal,
 1 Drum and fifes, 18 privates, 4 Centries by day, 5 Centries by night
- Zubly's—1 Captain, 1 Subaltern, 3 Sergeants,
 2 Corporals, 1 Drum and fifes, 45 privates, 6
 Centries by day, 13 Centries by night
- Main Guard—1 Captain, 1 Subaltern, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, 2 Drum and fifes, 36 privates, 5 Centries by day, 8 Centries by night

A March 20 memorandum sent by General Lincoln from headquarters at Purysburg to John Jay, President of Congress concerned the outcome of a court of enquiry concerning the actions of John Ashe at Brier Creek, Georgia. Lincoln informed him,

That they are of opinion Genl. Ashe did not take all the necessary precaution, which he ought to have done, to secure his Camp, and obtain timely intelligence of the movements and approach of the Enemy, but they do entirely acquit him of every imputation of a want of personal courage in the affair at Bryer Creek, and think he remained on the field as long as prudence and duty required him (CSR Executive Letter Book 1779, vol. 14:45).

On March 28 Brigadier General Jethro Sumner wrote from Camp Black Swamp to North Carolina Governor Caswell, in which he included a troop return for the Brigade and these comments, "The men generally are healthy, but very much in want of necessary clothing, which we hope, if consistent, may be sent them, and some orders respecting recruiting" (CSR Executive Letter Book 1779, vol. 14:48). General Sumner remained in camp at Black Swamp in late March and his letter to Governor Caswell was delivered by General Richardson (CSR 1779, vol. 15:738).

On April 3 General John Ashe wrote from camp to Governor Caswell, in which he explained the situation of the North Carolina troops and their lack of desire to stay with General Lincoln's army any longer than their original tour of duty, despite being offered by General Lincoln, "half a Dollar per day" in additional pay. He noted that "few or none of General Rutherford's Brigade will continue in this service longer than the 10th of April." General Ashe complained at length of the unfortunate situation of his troops at Brier Creek, noting,

When I received orders, 15 miles before I reached Purisburg, to march to the Cross Roads, ten miles above, where we should be supplied with ammunition, and from whence we were ordered to march to Augusta to prevent the Enemy crossing the river into this State, It gave me much surprise that Troops that had marched, some of them 400 miles, harrassed and without any accoutrements fit for the field, should be sent a 130 miles further in preference to the western Brigade, and a Number of Continental Troops & South Carolina militia, who was well accoutred, and had been resting for upwards of a month at Purisburg, and who were equipped with every necessary for the field, but more so, when we had effected the purpose we were sent for, to be desired to cross the River in pursuit of the Enemy, double our number, and into an enemies' Country, where they might be speedily reinforced... (CSR Executive Letter Book 1779, vol. 14:51-55).

That same day General Lincoln wrote from Black Swamp to Governor Caswell further discussing the status of the North Carolina troops, noting, "Your men, although this State would make up their pay to twelve shillings a day, cannot be persuaded to continue in camp. The Enemy give out that they expect a re-inforcement from New York. Should they receive one I think they will attempt some offensive operations in this State. I expect soon to have an opportunity to write again" (CSR Executive Letter Book 2779, vol. 14:56). On April 7 General Lincoln again wrote from Black Swamp to Governor Caswell, adding,

...When all your Continental Troops & Levies are collected there will be a great deficiency in the number of officers. I shall request Genl. Sumner to make your Excellency a return, and hope vacancies will be filled up agreeable to a resolve of Congress for the new arranging the Army.

Your Continental Troops & Levies are very naked. I have been encouraged to expect that clothing will be sent on for them; may it be soon. It is painful to see them in the ragged condition in which they appear, and it is more so when they are paraded with the Troops of this State...Arming and seeing that the Militia are properly clothed are also matters of importance, and claim the earnest attention, for without the former they will be of little service, and without a shift of the latter, as the hot season is fast approaching, by which they can be kept clean, they will soon be unhealthy, and liable to every putrid disorder....(CSR Executive Letter Book 1779, vol. 14:61-63).

On April 10 Brigadier General Jethro Sumner sent a troop return from "Black Swamp Camp" to Governor Caswell, adding, "We wish to inform you that the Brigade is greatly distressed for clothing" (CSR Executive Letter Book 1779, vol. 14:64). On April 14 General Lincoln wrote from Black Swamp to Governor Caswell, lamenting the short tours of duty by the North Carolina militia (CSR Executive Letter Book 1779, vol. 14:68).

Major General Lincoln and Brigadier Generals Moultrie, Isaac Huger and Jethro Sumner held a council at the Black Swamp headquarters on April 19. The council agreed to the following:

> Gen. Lincoln informed the council that the number of men in camp, with those at Gen. Williamson's camp, and five hundred promised from Orangeburgh, and seven hundred from North Carolina, now in this state, amounted to five hundred

men; and desired their opinion whether, after leaving one thousand here and at Purisburgh, it would be advisable to collect the remainder near Augusta, cross Savannah river, take some strong ground in Georgia, prevent, if possible, the enemy receiving supplies from the back part of the country, circumscribe their limits, prevent their junction with the unfriendly and savages in Georgia and in the back part of the state.

The council are of opinion the measure is rational, and do therefore advise it (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:374-375).

This left General Moultrie, "with twelve hundred men, was left at Purrysburg and Black Swamp to guard the passes over the Savannah River and check any demonstration the enemy might seek to make against Carolina" (Jones 1883: v.1, 357-358). Jones further adds:

On the 20th of April General Lincoln, with two thousand light infantry and cavalry, set out for Augusta. His baggage and artillery were ordered to follow. From Silver Bluff, where he arrived on the 22d, he directed General Moultrie to send forward to that place the continental troops, with the exception of the second and fifth South Carolina regiments, and all the artillery save one two-pounder gun. All possible dispatch was enjoined. Should the royal forces manifest an inclination to move towards Charlestown, General Moultrie was instructed to possess himself of the important passes in their front and to interpose every obstruction so that General Lincoln might have an opportunity of coming up (Jones 1883: vol. 1, 357-358).

Jones (1883: vol. 1, 357-358) wrote: "On the 23d a party of Indians and white men disguised as Indians, numbering about thirty, crossed the Savannah River at Yemassee, four miles below Purrysburg, and surprised the American guard. Pursued by Colonel Henderson, they took refuge in the swamp and succeeded in making their escape." This refers to the attack on Captain Joachim Hartstone's fortified house, which was likely located in the headwaters of Coosawhatchee Creek.

Jones further describes the events of late April:

Two days afterwards General Prevost put his troops in motion for Carolina. Some crossed the Savannah River at other points, but the heaviest column was thrown over at Purrysburg, whence an effort was made to surprise General Moultrie at Black Swamp. That officer, with a command of not more than a thousand men, retired in the direction of Charlestown, disputing, as opportunity offered, the advance of Prevost who pressed on with an army of two thousand regulars and seven hundred loyalists and Indians. General Lincoln, from his headquarters at Silver Bluff, as late as the 2d of May was apparently in doubt whether Prevost contemplated a serious attack upon Charlestown or was merely demonstrating to draw him off from his purposed advance into Georgia.2 Soon becoming convinced that the capital of South Carolina was in serious peril he abandoned for the present his scheme for the relief of Georgia and marched rapidly for the protection of Charlestown. With the military operations in the vicinity of that city we have at present no special concern, save to state that they resulted in a complete discomfiture of the plans (Jones 1883, vol. 1: 357-358).

General Moultrie's orders for April 23 included, "The Regimental Surgeons are desired to send before Eleven o'clock in the morning to the flying hospital such of their sick, as cannot be properly taken care of in Camp", and his after orders added, "Orders having been repeatedly issued forbiding the disorded unmilitary custom of firing in Camp. The General for the information of those who have lately arrived & may possibly be unacquainted with [illegible], this once repeat the injunction, he is hopefull that it will now be attended to & that he shall not be put to the disagreable necessity of enforcing it by more Rigorourous measures" (Moultrie 1779-1780). General Moultrie's orders for April 26 stated,

A return to be made immediately at head quarters of the number of Waggons now in public Service in the 2d & 5th So Ca Regiments, Coll. Simmons Brigade & the Depy Quartr Mr General Department in this Camp.

Colonel Simmon's Brigade is to furnish by one o Clock Seven Waggons, & the 2d & 5th Cont Regt Three Waggons. they are to be at that time at the flying hospital to go to the fixed hospital, under the direction of Doctor Faysoux.

Two Captains Three Subalterns & one Sergeant and 100 Rank & file from Colonel Simmon's Brigade to be in readiness with one day provision ready Cooked to march tomorrow morning to purisburgh to relieve the like numbers of the Same brigade, each man to be provided with 36 Rounds (Moultrie 1779-1780).

General Moultrie wrote to Major Horry April 27 Major Horry at Purysburg stating, "I send you 2 Capt: 3 Lieuts, 4 Serjeants and 100 Rank & file of Colonel Simmon's Brigade. I shall relieve your post, by 100 men each time till they are all relieved. I will Send the field offices to relieve you with the Second Division; You must send one of our horseman to Tunbridge to the militia Guard and desire them to give the earliest notice of the Enemy Movement outwards or whether they receive any reinforcement" (Moultrie 1779-1780). Moultrie issued these general orders to Colonel [Alexander] McIntosh at Black Swamp on April 28,

Sir, you'll proceed to purisburgh, and take the command of that post untill you are relieved, if the Enemy should land upon you great a force, you'll retreat with your detachment to Coosawhatchee, there make a halt, & in your retreat you will give me the Earliest notice, by two or three different horsemen, sent at small times after each other; you will also give General Bull's militia timely notice to retreat to the same place, I have sent with you Seven prisoners which you are to send over when they send so many Americans to you, Mr. * you will permit to go over tomorrow with Captain Wright who returns upon parole.

A Major, A Capt., 1 Lt. 2 Sergt & 75 rank & file from Col. Simmon's Brigade, Three Subalt, Two Sergeants & 27 Rank & file from the Continl Troops to march tomorrow morning to purisburgh with a day provisions ready Cook to relieve the same

number of the different Corps they belong to (Moultrie 1779-1780).

Moultrie's additional remarks added to his order book entry stated, "The 29th received the news of the Enemy landing at purisburgh & our Troops obliged to retreat on the 30th early in the morning removed the Hospital and Troops & proceeded to Coosawhatchee, where we arrived at night & meet Colonel Mackintosh with his detachment encamped at the Bridge with Genl Bull's Brigade" (Moultrie 1779-1780). South Carolina Lieutenant Governor Thomas Bee wrote from Charleston, S.C. to William Henry Drayton on April 9 informing him of the situation on the lower Savannah River,

A number of Indians with Tate & Cameron are within a few days march of our frontiers, and unless we give them a check soon the back part may be intirely deserted of Inhabitants. The last accounts from head Quarters are that the enemy have moved higher up the Country, as if with Intention to cross Savannah River above the Sisters at the same time that the Indians crossed at Augusta, General Lincoln has left a strong post at Purysburgh and marched with the remainder of his little army up the river also. A very great fresh will for a few days prevent any operations across the river in which time I hope some of the Virginians or North Carolinian reinforcements may arrive (Fold3.com 2015, Papers of the Continental Congress: 489).

Major Francis Skelly, Brigade major in the 71st Regiment, recorded the advance to Purysburg from Ebenezer in April and May 1779 in his journal (Jones 1891; Robertson 2006:24-27; Henry E. Huntington Library 1779). Jones attributes this report of movements as written by Brigade Major F. Skelly. The relevant entries for Purysburg and Black Swamp in the journal include:

Reference to plan 2d

April 1779-

28th -British Army under Maj. Gen Prevost left Ebenezer, first division, consisting of the Lt Infantry and two Batt. 71st Regt. Embarked in flat Boats at Abercorn cross'd the Savannah River four miles below Purisburg, entered the swamps that Evening.-all night wading thro them.

29th -At Sunrise arrived on dry ground two miles from Purisburg. The honble Col. Mailtand commanded the first division, he attacked the Town (which was but poorly defended) took it by ten o Clock this morning, Rebels retreated towards Bee Creek.-

30th -The remainder of the Army arrived at Purisburg, they consisted of two Troops of Dragoons, Grenadier compy of the 60th Regt, two Battn Hessians, N. York Voluntr, one Battn Delancy's, part of Skinners Regt., two small corps of Carolinians-and some irregulars, and Indians, a detachment of Artillery, eight light field pieces and a small Howitz. Marched this evening to Turkey Hills.

May 1st. Army remained at Turkey Hill.

2nd. Lt Infantry under Coln Maitland marchd to Dupon's.

3d. Rest of the Army joined near Dupon's. Marched to Hayward's.

4th. Marched to Bee Creek. A party of the Rebels on the opposite side. Coll. Maitland with the Lt Infantry and two Compys 71st Regt made a detour to cut them off. They retired too soon. The whole crossd Bee Creek.

While Major Skelly's journal is not a detailed narrative, he does provide essential facts about the troop locations and the various dates of their actions and encampments. Robert Jackson, a volunteer acting surgeon's mate attached to the 71st Regiment, provides a rare first-hand account of the British advance into South Carolina on April 28 and 29, 1779. He wrote,

In an expedition into South Carolina, in the year 1779, a part of the army was near five hours in passing Purisburgh swamp.

The men were always up to the middle, sometimes up to the neck in water. The cold and fatigue were both very great; and a fit of intermitting fever [malaria] was the consequence in a great number of the soldiers: yet it was only in a few instances, that the disease went through a regular course, though there was even a general pre-disposition to it, in the habits of almost all the men who composed the detachment. The most of them had suffered from it severely the preceding autum; and a temporary return of it, was generally observed to follow any extraordinary exertion, or the application of a debilitating cause (Jackson 1791:90).

Scottish physician Robert Jackson has a unique perspective of the health consequences of the British march through the Savannah River swamp at Purysburg. Dr. Jackson, who caught malaria in New York in 1778 and had recurring bouts with it in 1779, used the patients under his charge for his experiments in the treatment of intermittent fevers, or malaria, as described in his 1791 book. Medical understanding of mosquito-borne diseases were primitive in 1779 and Dr. Jackson attributed the phases of the moon as a contributing cause of the disease and his treatment included the use of spider webs on his patients. Later in his career Jackson used his experiences in the American Revolution to develop British military medical protocols as the Inspector-General of Army hospitals, culminating in several books, including his most read, A Systemic View of the Formation, Discipline, and Economy of Armies (Jackson 1804). Dr. Jackson, who died in 1827, influenced the British army and its approach to health care and healthy camp site selection for many decades after his death (Crummer 1922:107-122).

Major General Augustin Prevost gave a brief account of the engagement at Purysburg in a May 21 letter to Sir Henry Clinton,

Sir, the situation to which the taking of the convoy under the Jason had reduced the army in Georgia, and the approaching scarcity of every article of provisions in a country so much exhausted on all sides, rendered it necessary to adopt a plan that might enable us to procure supplies from Carolina and afterwards to improve our success in that attempt as circumstances might admit. In consequence of which,

and hearing that General Lincoln with best part of his army had made a movement towards Augusta, on the 29th April about 2000 men were privately landed on the north side of Savannah River below Purysburg in a place where from the natural difficulties of an extensive drowned swamp the enemy apprehended no danger. The troops with their usual spirit got over every difficulty. But having been detained by the unexpected depth of the water much longer than it was expected, it was ten o'clock in the morning before the light infantry supported by the first battalion of the 71st under Lieut.-Colonel Maitland could make their attack on the detachment of the rebels left to guard Purysburg, consisting of about 300 men, which gave them an opportunity after firing three guns and some musketry to make their escape with the loss of two men killed and of a few prisoners. An extraordinary fresh in the river had swelled it so considerably that the difficulties in crossing it were so great that we were two days before the field-pieces and a small quantity of provisions could be landed. As soon, however, as it was practicable a movement was made to cut off the retreat of Brigadier-General Moultrie who with about two thousand militia was posted near the Sisters; his retreat was precipitate and after making some show of resistance at Cossahatchie and afterwards at Thullyfinny with his army, he retreated with all expedition to Charleston, burning and destroying every bridge and putting every impediment in the way with the falling of trees across the roads etc. as was in his power without standing to defend them (Davies 1972, vol 17:127-129, 141-143).

Although the Hessians were not present for the initial attack on Purysburg (arriving the next day), Major General Jans von Knoblauch's account of the engagement at Purysburg is recorded in his journal, which is translated as follows,

On the 27th April [1779] it was notified that the companies were to be in readiness to march tomorrow afternoon with bag and baggage. The hour when the march should commence would be notified later on; the ammunition was also to be inspected and to be in good condition, for which reason all faulty and deficient cartridges were to be given in early tomorrow morning at 8 o'clock, and on the other hand loose bullets were to be delivered up (von Knoblauch 1778-1783; Uhlendorf 1957).

Major General Knoblauch continued,

On the 28th April Gen. Prevost set the whole army in motion and marched as far as Abercorn, where a part of them, including the Wissenbach Regt., went down the Savannah river in flat boats as far as Purisburg [SC] and were landed on a small island; some Regts. together with the light infantry went overland 4 miles through a great swamp, the remaining Regts. Under command of Gen. Prevost went by water in boats again as far as Purisburg, where the light infantry had already driven the rebels away. Col. Meckendorat [sic, Lieutenant Colonel Alexander McIntosh] retreated in the greatest confusion, whereby it occurred that some of his men who could not follow were scalped by the Indians.

The army remained here until 30th April when at six o'clock in the evening it began to march and encamped at Turkey Hill or Middleton's Plantation. Gen. Prevost expected to fall in with the rebel Gen. Lincoln here, but the latter retreated on account he was warned of our approach.

On the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd May a halt was made as the troops were extremely fatigued; all the Staff Officers and even the Gen. himself had had to make this expedition on foot, as all horses and equipment had been left behind.

On the 4th May [1779] the army marched again. Gen. Prevost's intention was to attack Gen. Lincoln, but the latter never made a stand anywhere; the route was towards Charlestown, the rebel Col. Meckendorat [sic, Lt. Col. Alexander McIntosh] marched ahead of the British army, destroying all the bridges and burning all

the storehouses (Warren 2013:18; Von Knoblauch 1778-1783:2-103).

In a May 5 letter from South Carolina Lieutenant GovernorThomasBee, Charleston, S.C. to GovernorCaswell (CSR, Executive Letter Book Vol 14:78-79), Bee stated:

General Lincoln having lately moved the Main Body of his Army towards Genl. Williamson's Camp, opposite Augusta, where Col. Butler, with 700 men from your State, had just arrived, he intended crossing Savannah River at that place & moving down the Country after the Enemy, leaving Genl. Moultrie, with about 1,000 Men, at Black Swamp & Purysburg. The Enemy immediately Crossed over the chief of their force, & have obliged him to Retreat before them within 43 miles of this place, where he was this morning at 7 o'clock, still intending to retreat to Charles Town if pursued, his force being no way equal to oppose them in the field; their movements through the British part of this State has thrown the Inhabitants into the greatest confusion, & we despair of checking them until they reach this place. Governor Rutledge, with about three hundred and fifty men, was on the March from his Camp at Orangeburg to join Genl. Moultrie, & Genl. Lincoln, by our latest accounts, was coming in the Enemy's rear at least four days' behind them in his march; this is our present Situation, & I think every assistance you can possibly afford us will be necessary at this time—the Enemy's force in Georgia is said to be five thousand, & they give out that they are to be joined by a reinforcement from New York.

On May 29 an unidentified Patriot newspaper printed news of the Purysburg battle written by a correspondent in Charleston, South Carolina:

On the twenty-eighth of April, a party of the British army, under the command of Major Fraser, landed nine miles below Purysburg, and on the next morning, Lieutenant-Colonel Maitland, with the light infantry of the line and a battalion of the 1st, landed four miles higher up Savannah River. Colonel McIntosh, who commanded at Purysburg, having

only two hundred men, the major part of whom were militia, (after calling in all his outposts) was obliged to retire as the enemy advanced towards the town, of which they took possession that afternoon (Moore 1876:683-684)

The newspaper reporter continued,

General Moultrie was at this time posted at Black Swamp, with about eight hundred men. The enemy's drawing more of their forces on this side of the river, and advancing higher up, evidently indicated an intention of attacking the general before he could be joined by Colonel McIntosh. General Lincoln, with the main body of the army, being then eighty miles further up the country, should the enemy have succeeded in the attempt, there would be no obstacle in their march to Charleston, and as their force was treble General Moultrie's, the worst was to be apprehended. These considerations induced the general to retire on the thirtieth, and that night he met Colonel McIntosh on his march to join him at Black Swamp. The event proved the propriety of the movement, as next morning the British were in possession of the ground the Americans had evacuated (Moore 1876:684).

General John Butler wrote from his camp near Stono River on June 17 to North Carolina Governor Caswell:

> I marched from Charlotte the 11th of April and reached Genl. Williamson's Camp, opposite Augusta, on the 26th. Genl. Lincoln was then at Golphia, 16 miles below, with part of his Army. It was determined in Council to cross into Georgia, but before that could be effected, Genl. Lincoln received intelligence from Genl. Moultrie, who commanded at Purysburg, that near two thousand of the Enemy had crossed at that place into South Carolina. The Genl., supposing that they only meant to amuse him, crossed Savannah River at Fort Moore Bluff and marched down on the Georgia side 40 miles, to Summeral's Ferry, where he was well informed that the Enemy's main body had crossed and was marching towards Charles Town. He then crossed the River and made forced marches after the Enemy, but as they had

at least a week start of us, they found time on their march to plunder a number of the Inhabitants of Negroes, Horses, provisions and household furniture. Such of the furniture as they could not carry they destroyed (CRS Executive Letter Book vol. 14:119-120).

Major-General David Stewart, a Scot who was an early nineteenth century historian of the highland regiments, provides a post-war account of the battle at Purysburg. Although Stewart was not present for the battle, judging from the specific details, he apparently had interviewed a primary source. Stewart wrote in 1822,

This strong detachment being thus dislodged [at Brier Creek on March 3, 1779], General Lincoln collected a considerable force on the South Carolina side of the river. Determined to attack this post, General Prevost took the command of the troops, who had been so successful at Brien's Creek [sic, Brier Creek], and crossed the river ten miles below the position of the enemy. The two battalions of the 71st were directed to take a circuit of several miles, with a view of coming on the enemy's rear, while the General advanced on their front. They entered a woody swamp at 11 o'clock at night, and, guided by a party of Creek Indians, penetrated through, the water reaching to their shoulders in the deeper and softer parts of the swamps. In this condition, with their ammunition destroyed, they emerged from the woods at 8 o'clock in the morning, less than half a mile in rear of the enemy's position, and without waiting for the co-operation of General Prevost, who had not moved from his position ten miles below, the Highlanders instantly rushed forward, and drove the enemy from their position at the first charge, and this with such expedition that they suffered no loss, nor did the enemy, from their short stand and quick retreat, suffer much (Stewart 1822, volume 2:101-102).

Scottish historian John Keltie provided this summary of the battle, which apparently derives from Stewart's version,

General Prevost next determined to dislodge a considerable force under General

Lincoln, stationed on the South Carolina side of the river. With the troops lately so successful at Brian's] Creek [sic, Brier Creek], he crossed the river ten miles below the enemy's position. Whilst the general advanced on their front, he ordered the 71st to attack their rear by a circuitous march of several miles. Guided by a party of Creek Indians, the Highlanders entered a woody swamp at eleven o'clock at night, in traversing which they were frequently up to the shoulders in the swamp. They cleared the woods at eight o'clock in the morning, with their ammunition destroyed. They were now within half a mile of the enemy's rear, and although General Prevost had not yet moved from his position, the Highlanders instantly attacked and drove the enemy from their position without sustaining any loss (Keltie 1887:485).

Scottish historian MacLean (1900) presented another secondary battle account,

General Prevost was active and next determined to invade South Carolina. Towards the close of April he crossed the Savannah river, with the troops engaged at Brier's Creek, and a large body of royalists and Creek Indians, and made slow marches towards Charleston. In the meantime General Lincoln had been active and recruited vigorously, and now mustered five thousand men under his command. Whilst General Prevost marched against General Lincoln's front, the former ordered the 71st to make a circuitous march of several miles and attack the rear. Guided by a party of Creek Indians the Highlanders entered a woody swamp at eleven o'clock at night, in traversing which they were frequently up to the shoulders in the swamp. They emerged from the woods the next morning at eight o'clock with their ammunition destroyed. They were now within a half mile of General Lincoln's rear guard which they attacked and drove from their position without sustaining loss (MacLean 1900).

Patriot troops briefly occupied Purysburg and Black Swamp in September and October, 1779 on their way to and from the failed Siege of Savannah. In preparation for the attack, Major General Prevost recalled the troops at the various posts on the lower Savannah River to Savannah. By November, the Patriots had abandoned this area of the lower Savannah River. On November 6, 1779 Major General Prevost reported to Sir Henry Clinton on his intelligence about the Patriot presence in South Carolina, noting,

the Rebels have no Post of any Consequence nearer than Sheldon in the Neighborhood of Beaufort; the greater Part of the Force of that Province in Arms is now collected at Charleston, which they are taking great Pains to fortify, and to provide with, as it's said, eight Months Provision. We are also informed, that in the Upper Parts of this Province, they have nothing beyond a flying Party lower than Augusta (Prevost 1779c:1).

On April 25, 1780 President John Rutledge wrote from Georgetown, South Carolina to North Carolina Governor Caswell:

It appears to me a most essential object to restore as soon as possible & to preserve the Communication between Charlestown and this part of the Country, by way of Haddrell's & Lempriere's Point. I have therefore ordered General Williamson, who is now I am informed, about Purysburg, with 450 Men, & Col. Thompson, who is also there, to cross Santee River with the Troops under their Command, (except 50 of Col. Thompson's to remain at Purysburg) & march with the utmost Expedition on the North side of the River to Lanier's [Lenud's?] Ferry, & I recommend it to you to do the same with the Troops now in your Camp, & to order those by whom you expect to be joined to proceed after you as fast as possible... (Rutledge 1780:805).

In early 1782 Major General Anthony Wayne was ordered to Georgia to reclaim the state and wrest control from the British. Learning of General Wayne's approach, the British rapidly abandoned posts at Ebenezer and Zubly's Ferry returning to Savannah (de Porbeck 1782:1). General Wayne and his men crossed the Savannah River at Two Sister's Ferry and arrived at Ebenezer by February 1782. General Wayne arrived at

Ebenezer to find a small, disorganized army that was not fit to mount an attack against the British in Savannah.

In late March, General Wayne was joined at Ebenezer by General Thomas Posey and the Virginia Regiment, which consisted of the remnants of eight Virginia Continental Regiments who were decimated at Yorktown in October, 1781. Both Generals Wayne and Posey arrived in Georgia via the road from Coosawhatchie to Ebenezer.

Despite their small numbers in the region the Patriots wasted no time in reestablishing control over areas of the lower Savannah River valley. On April 19, Major General Nathanael Greene wrote to General Wayne ordering one of General Barnwell's regiments, "to do duty as before at Purisburg and to cooperate with you" (Greene 1782:1). This letter indicates that the British had abandoned Purysburg by early 1782 and the town was under Patriot control. By early July 1782 the British had evacuated Savannah and the lower Savannah River region. Historical records do not specifically state that the church at Purysburg was burned by the British in April 1779, but given that the church at Sheldon suffered this fate at the hands of Major General Prevost, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the Purysburg church was burned as well. It remains unknown whether any church was built to replace the (suspected) burned church but, clearly, its cemetery continues in use to the present. Indeed two new interments were observed in January 2015 on the first day of the field project. While DeBrahm's 1779 plan map also does not show the cemetery, it is likely that the present cemetery corresponds approximately to its eighteenth century location. Malphrus (2001:189) noted that the earliest epitaph date in this cemetery was the grave of Elizabeth Meyer, who died in 1807. Other early gravestones in the Purysburg cemetery include Joseph Buche and Charles Brooks Jones, both of whom died in 1815. In January 1865 the Purysburg cemetery was used as headquarters for several Union officers in the Twentieth Corps.

The military landscape at Purysburg in the months prior to the April 29 battle was widespread and included encampments and defenses for several thousand troops. Major Ferdinand Joseph Sebastian DeBrahm's plan drawing, which was drafted on January 9, 1779, served as the only detailed military map of Purysburg from the American Revolution (DeBrahm 1779). This

map, once it was incorporated into the GIS database, helped to guide the search and interpretation of the military landscape at Purysburg. Ferdinand DeBrahm (1752-1822) was a military engineer and staff officer to Major Generals Robert Howe and Benjamin Lincoln. DeBrahm was the nephew of the more famous William Gerard DeBrahm, who also was a surveyor and military engineer for King George II and III. Unlike his uncle, Ferdinand strongly supported the Patriot cause. His plan map of Purysburg, while not as elegant as the cartography of his esteemed uncle, proved to be relatively accurate once it was imported and georeferenced in the LAMAR Institute's GIS project.

Major Ferdinand DeBrahm shows the location of the St. Peter Parish church at Purysburg in his January 1779 plan. The church also is shown on the ca. 1820 and 1825 maps of Beaufort District, where it appears just west of the intersection of Church Road and the unnamed Purysburg road (Vignoles and Ravenel 1821; Mills 1826, 1980). Oral tradition places the former church site opposite the intersection of two roads that correspond to modern-day Purysburg and Church roads, on the southwest side of the road intersection. Handmade brick was observed in this vicinity by local residents and by the present survey team. Town Lot 32 was originally chosen for the church (Migliazzo 2007:62).

Vauchier's Ferry

Purysburg boasted a ferry as early as 1764, although it is not known if this ferry was still in operation by 1779. It was in operation as late as September, 1778. A Petition of John Vauchier, of the Town of Purrysburg, was presented to the South Carolina House on September 27, 1776, which stated:

That for the term of twelve years and upwards the petitioner hath kept, at his own expense, a Ferry, with proper boats and hands for the purpose of conveying and transporting passengers, with their horses and carriages, from Purrysburg aforesaid to Abercorn and the town of Savannah in Georgia; that as far as the same hath been in the power of the petitioner he hath used every despatch and given every necessary attendance that could be expected from a man in his slender circumstances, and for the same received certain rates of ferriage as have been

paid and given for a number of years; that from the great advantage that would arise by a quick communication between the two States of South-Carolina and Georgia, the petitioner is emboldened to state the same to the honourable House: and therefore humbly prays that the House will be pleased to take the same into consideration, and by some necessary law to be passed for that purpose, to vest the said ferry in the petitioner and his assigns for a term of years, so that the same be considered as a publick ferry from Purrysburg as aforesaid to Abercorn or Savannah, as may be most convenient to travellers, and that he by law be entitled to receive such rates of ferriage as may be regulated by the House, so that the same be equivalent to the expense he may be at; and further, that the House will be pleased to take his case fully into consideration, and grant him such relief as the same may require.

Read, also, a certificate, with thirteen names subscribed thereto, annexed to the Petition, that a publick Ferry from the Town of Purrysburg would be a great service to South-Carolina and Georgia; and a Letter, dated the 17th instant, subscribed by thirty-five inhabitants of the Parish of St. Peter, and addressed to Phibotheos Chiffelle, against Mr. Vauchier's Petition.

Ordered, That the said Petition and Letter be referred to the following Committee, viz: Major Catlett, Mr. Brisbane, Mr. McPherson, Colonel Garden, and Colonel McIntosh. (Force 1848-1853, vol. 3:32; South Carolina General Assembly 1909:58-59).

The South Carolina legislature passed legislature in September, 1778 that established, "a Ferry over Savannah River, from the town of Purysburgh, in this State, to Abercorn or Josephtown, in the State of Georgia, and for vesting the same in John Vauchier, his Executors, Administrators and Assigns, for the Term therein mentioned". The act vested Vauchier with authority to operate the ferry for a term not exceeding seven years. The Act stated in its preamble, "a ferry from the town of Purysburgh, over Savannah river

to Abercorn or Josephtown, in the State of Georgia, hath been found very convenient for travelers, but the same not being established by law, no rates of ferriage have been ascertained" (McCord 1841:262-263).

Smokey Camp

Several American soldiers refer to a military encampment located above Purysburg and below Two Sister's Ferry known as Smoky Camp, or Smokey Camp. Its precise location remains problematic and it was not located by the present study. It is doubtful that Smoky Camp is synonymous with Zubly's Ferry, but it may have been between Purysburg and Zubly's Ferry. Troops who were camped there include North Carolina Continentals and North Carolina militia.

Reuben Holt, a militiaman in Colonel Lytle's detachment, stated he served for more than a month at "Purlingsburg or Smoke camp", or "Smokey camp" (Holt 1834 [S4387]). Holt stated that Colonel Lytle's regiment marched, "to Purlingsburg [Purysburg] or Smoke camp where was stationed the American forces under Genls. Saunders & Linkhorn". Following the battle of Brier Creek, Holt, "was so fortunate after a hard struggle as to go on a Boat crossing the Savannah River & arrived in two or three days, at head-quarters which had been changed in the meanwhile from Smokey camp to a place called 'the two sisters,' one or two days travel nearer to...[Brier Creek battlefield], then Smokey Camp. Here he remained a month" until his discharge (Holt 1834 [S4387]).

Charles Hart, a militiaman in Captain William Huston's Company, North Carolina militia, stated in 1832 that his company marched to, "Smokey Camp and from thence to the Two Sisters in the State on Savannah River. we captured many of the Tories and suppressed several parts with whom we skirmished and when my term expired I was discharged at the Two Sisters in the Spring 1779 and returned home" (Hart 1832 [S16406].

Captain Thomas Cook, Colonel Martin's detachment, North Carolina Continentals, recalled how in 1779 he,

> joined General Lincoln at a place called the Smokey Camp about twenty miles below Augusta. From the Smokey Camp marched up the river to a place known as the Sisters Ferry. From the latter place,

a detachment was sent over under General Ashe into Georgia, where they had a fight with British and got defeated. This is known by Brier Creek Battle or Ashe's Defeat. During this expedition, I remained with the army under General Lincoln and was on guard at the time and could hear the guns. Immediately after the above fight, General Lincoln and General Moultrie marched the main army up the river to a place called Turkey Hill, opposite to the place where the British main army were encamped, on the Georgia side of said river. We remained at said hill three weeks in full sight of the British army. In this time we frequently had intercourse by conversation with the British. We marched from the latter place under our aforesaid General, still higher up the river to a place called Black Swamp. The day before we left Turkey Hill, General Lincoln had a road cut from the hill directly into the country for about six miles. This was done in sight of the British army, and as I thought, was done for a friend, but I now know the intention of our General in cutting said road for the day they quit the road, we directly marched up the river to Black's Swamp. Stayed a few days (Cook 1832 [S31618]).

Captain Cook's reference to the Smokey Camp being about twenty miles below Augusta and yet downstream from Sister's Ferry is in error. Turkey Hill is some distance from the Savannah River and it is highly unlikely that Cook was "in full sight of the British army", or that he able to engage them in conversation, if he was stationed at Turkey Hill.

Zubly's Ferry, Middlesex Ferry and Beck's Ferry

Zubly's Ferry was a major crossing on the Savannah River in the 1770s. It was located upstream from the Rochester Ferry (also known as Screven's Ferry) and Vauchier's Ferry, about two and a half to three miles north of Purysburg (Rowland 1996:179-180; Nunis 1961:279). Zubly's Ferry was extensively used in the American Revolution by both British and American soldiers (Sparks 1847:301). A description of Zubly's Ferry, written in early 1779 and attributed to Lieutenant John Wilson, 71st Regiment, noted,

it is difficult to be got to on this side [Georgia side], especially in wet weather, upon account of two Creeks and interveening [sic] deep swamps that must be past to get to the boat, and then the River is rapid; the Creek which crosses the road near Ebenezer is deep and impassable while the bridge is down if some other contrivance is not substituted in place of it (Nunis 1961:279-280).

Reverend John Joachim Zubly, an original settler of Purysburg, established his plantation in Purysburg Township, north of Purysburg Town (Martin 1977:125-139). DeBrahm (1752) identifies it as "Mr. Zublers Bluff" on his 1752 map of the Savannah River, where he indicates several buildings existed. Zubly petitioned the Georgia Commons House of Assembly on February 12, 1770 for permission to operate a ferry between Georgia and South Carolina on his property which he named Middlesex Island. In his petition he said he had built a bridge over a large creek, established a boat and wanted it to become a public ferry. Zubly's petition established the rates and described the operation. A bill was passed by the House on January 24, 1771 and an Act establishing a public road to Middlesex Island Ferry was passed on September 29, 1773. This act refers to "a publick road to be laid out and established from the main Road to the ferry on Middlesex Island" and to a "road leading to Middlesex Ferry" (Candler and Knight 1904-1916, vol. 19(1):258). Zubly also was granted 500 acres on the Savannah River, which was originally allotted to George Cuthbert, in Georgia in 1760 (Georgia Gazette 1765:3; Abbe n.d.:430). Zubly mentioned in his Will, written on July 3, 1780,

my Brick House" and "ninety four Acres called Middlesex Ferry, and the Tract adjoining, bought of me of ---- Jeneret in the St. Peter's parish South Carolina" and his library, "as it has been destroyed and plundered by the Enemies of Science and Learning in Lincoln's late Army, and the Inhabitants about Middlesex, chiefly owing to the Malice of the Rebel Captain (Cordle 1938:385, 387).

Reverend Zubly submitted a memorial to the British government, which was examined by the Common House of Assembly in February, 1770.

That the want of a Short and safe communication with the Province of South Carolina has long been looked upon as a very great Inconvenience, That a place belonging to the Memorialist, appears most likely to answer this very necessary purpose, That the Memorialist at his own expence has opened a passage and built a Bridge over a large Creek and established a Boat and every thing necessary and that before the rising of the Freshes, the Place (unto which he has given the name of Middlesex Island) has begun to be considerably resorted to, and it is imagined will soon become a general thorough fare, That the Memorialist apprehends the same might be made passable at all times, at a very moderate expence, whereby not only the Length of the Passage would be entirely reduced, but a great saving be made in the Rate of Ferriage to all Passengers, The Memorialist is exceeding desirous to fall upon any measures by which what he has begun may become of General use to the Publick and and [sic] Submits how far such an undertaking may be deserving of Publick Assistance (Candler 1904, vol 15:115-117).

A group of inhabitants of Ebenezer, Georgia took issue with Zubly's memorial and they filed a petition, which was read by the Commons House on February 22, 1770. It stated,

That the Commissioners of the Road for the District of Ebenezer, in the Parish of Saint Matthew on application to them made by the Reverend John Joachim Zubly, Clerk, have laid out unto him a private Road to his Plantation, Situate in the Island in the said District, That Mr Zubly, immediately after the Road had been laid out to him by the Commissioners, advertized the same, The Road to Middlesex Ferry— That the Legislature hath already established a Ferry at the Town of Ebenezer, which is but a Small distance from Mr Zubly's Island and is equally as passable (Candler 1904, vol. 15:131).

On March 1, 1770, the two petitions were considered by the House, who passed a resolution,

Resolved That the Prayer of the said Memorial [Zubly's] be granted, so far as respects the establishing a Ferry, as mentioned in the said Memorial.

Ordered That Leave be given to bring in a Bill for establishing Two Ferries in this Province & for vesting the same in the Persons therein mentioned, and that Mr. Bulloch, Mr. William Young and Mr. Groeme, do prepare and bring in the said Bill (Candler 1904, vol. 15:140).

Reverend John J. Zubly initially had supported the Rebel cause but later switched his allegiance to King George III. Zubly and his family were banished from Georgia in 1776 (Zubly 1775). One traveler's description from 1778 noted, "Dr. Zubly preached at his Ferry near Purysburgh yesterday. I understand he has been lately banished from Georgia" (Georgia Historical Society 1957:317). Zubly's plantation house was reportedly "burnt down by person unknown" sometime prior to April 30, 1778 (William Brown 1778:230-232). The family moved from Georgia to his Middlesex plantation home in South Carolina (Hawes 1989: xiv, 72, 81). By December, 1781, both John J. Zubly (who died in Charleston, South Carolina in July 1781) and his widow Anne Zubly were deceased and by July, 1790 their son John also was dead (Royal Georgia Gazette 1781a:1-2; Georgia Gazette 1790:2; The Pennsylvania Packet 1781:2). In 1782, John Joachim Zubly's name appeared in a list of Loyalists, whose estates were disposed of and were banished by the State of South Carolina (1782:8).

Loyalist David Zubly, Jr., a former Georgian and nephew of the Reverend Zubly, was living in Nassau, the Bahamas when he filed his claim in 1787, stating that, "When he was required to subscribe the Test Act, which refused to do, & was in consequence of his refusal obliged to go into S. Carolina-where he remained until April, 1779. Some part of this time he was appointed Post Master at Midsex. [sic, Middlesex] Ferry, under the American Govert." And that, "In June, 1779, he went to Savannah and was in town during the Siege. When he joined Gen. Prevost in April 1779 he took the Oath of Allegiance to the British Govert.—Before that he had taken an Oath of Allegiance to South Carolina" (Fraser 1905:338-339). David Zubly. Jr.'s claim further described information about Middlesex Island and the ferry. He claimed that Middlesex Island was inherited by the Zublys by Charles Van March [sic, Munch] through his last will and testament. Zubly noted, "There was a road went through this to ferry on Savannah river, which produced an annual income of £100 Str. Pr. An.", and he added that "It was otherwise uncultivated". Zubly's claim also included, "94 acres opposite Midsex [sic, Middlesex] ferry in St. Peter's Parish, S. Carolina", which was left to him by his father's will, and that, "There was a house on it, and 15 or 20 acres cultivated. This is apprized at £47. Thinks it was worth much more, perhaps £200 Str." (Fraser 1905: 339-341).

In November 1781 the Marshall at British-controlled Savannah auctioned a 650 acre tract of land, formerly the property of Patriot John Stirk and the late Quintin Pooler and located, "on a large island in the river Savannah, nearly opposite to Purysburgh, bounded on the north by Savannah river, on the south by Cale's Creek, and on the north-west by lands of Zubly" (*Royal Georgia Gazette* 1781b:3).

Zubly's Ferry was fortified on both its termination points. The British established fortifications on the Georgia side in early January, 1779. The Patriots established fortifications on the South Carolina site that same month. Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford noted in a letter to Major Richard Goode, dated February 15, 1779 that Rutherford was, "stationed at, Zubleys Ferry" (Rutherford 1779a [W8855]). Colonel Owen Roberts, 4th Continental Artillery, noted in a letter from Purysburg on March 11, 1779 to John F. Grimké that, "Tate and I, have been employed in a similar Manner, Maj. Works are at Zubley's for three pieces of Cannon in two Batteries" (Roberts 1779d [W11088]). Major Thomas Pinckney, 1st South Carolina Continentals, reported that 52 guards and pickets were posted at Zubly's Ferry on March 16-17, 1779 (T. Pinckney 1779:85).

Campbell wrote to Lord Germain on January 20 informing him that the British secured access on the Georgia side of Zubly's Ferry with the 3rd Battalion of Skinner's Regiment, consisting of 264 men and with two field pieces (Campbell 1981:42). On March 2, Campbell (1981:71) listed 120 men in Gardner's Light Infantry in two redoubts at Zubly's Ferry.

The first documented military action in the Purysburg theatre took place at Zubly's Ferry on January 1, 1779,

as recorded in Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell's journal (Campbell 1981:32-34). After capturing Savannah on December 29, the British wasted no time in moving upstream and establishing additional posts at Cherokee Hill and at Abercorn. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell set out from Cherokee Hill at 4:00 a.m. that morning and marched his forces to Zubly's Ferry while enroute to Ebenezer. Campbell wrote in his journal,

When the Light Infantry had got nearly opposite to Zubly's Ferry, our scouts brought me Intelligence, that the Rebels were carrying off a large Body of Negroes to Pursiburgh in South Carolina, which belonged to the Loyalists of Georgia. The Light Infantry pursued with the utmost Dispatch; but the Rebels got over the River before it was in my power to come up with them.

Observing that the Negroes were scarcely 100 Yards from the other Side of the River, and that the Two Ferry Boats were hauled up close to the opposite Shore, I fell upon the following Expedient to recover a part of them for their proper Owners.

To a Confidential Mulatto, who had attached himself to me after the Action at Savannah, I gave a Musket, and sent him forward with a Number of Negroes to the Bank of the River to call out to the Rebels for God's Sake to send over the Boats and save his Master's Slaves from falling into the hands of the King's Troops. Captain Lieutenant Charles Campbell of the 71st Regiment with his Company of Light Infantry was ordered to pass through the Wood and get as near to the River as possible without shewing themselves to the Rebels on the opposite Shore. The Mulatto had Orders to shew his Negroes on the Bank of the River, and to make them all cry out in the most pitiful manner for Relief. He had likewise Orders to fire off his Musket the Moment the Ferry Boats reached our Side of the river, which Captain Campbell was to notice as a Signal for his party to rush out of the Wood, seize the Boats, and push across the River in quest of the Slaves who lay there. This stratagem succeeded; the Rebel Boats came over, and Captain Campbell with

infinite Alacrity, and without the Loss of a Man, took 83 Negroes in Sight of General Lincoln, who was then parading 1000 Continental Troops within Eight hundred yards of the Ferry; Having stationed the 3d Battalion of Delancy's Provincials upon the Heights commanding the Road to Zubly's Ferry, and marked out Ground for 2 Redoubts and a Battery to secure this Inlet to the Province, I proceeded with the Light Infantry to Ebenezer, and joined the Rest of the Army about 5 o'Clock before they reached the Town (Campbell 1981:33-34).

Researchers were unable to locate any documents giving the Patriots' version of this engagement but Campbell's rendition probably is mostly factual. One error noted, however, is his reference to General Lincoln being present, as Lincoln did not arrive at Purysburg from Charleston until two days later (Moultrie 1802, vol. 1:254). As Campbell stated, no British soldiers were reported killed or wounded in the engagement and any losses on the American side, other than the loss of two ferry boats, were not reported. Campbell's observation that the Continental Troops were "within Eight hundred yards of the Ferry" on the South Carolina side of the Savannah River, indicates that the two forces were too widely separated for any small arms engagement and he did not mention the use of any artillery by either side. Regarding Zubly's Ferry, regimental orders in January 1779 stated, "One Captain Two Subalterns, three Sergeants, three Corporals, and 45 Privates from the Second Brigade to Relieve the Guard at Zubly's Ferry this Morning, & to be visited by a Field Officer from that Brigade, who will make his Report at Head Quarters daily" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:99). General orders issued later in January stated, "The Field officer of the Day is to Visit the Guard at Zubly's, the Piquet on the River above & the Piquet at the Cross Roads" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:110).

After February 11, 1780, General Patterson [Royal Artillery] was ordered to cross over to Purysburg with a strong detachment and march through the southern parts of South Carolina By March 8, 1780 General Patterson had crossed the Savannah River at Zubly's Ferry with "the Legion Infantry and New York Volunteers" (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:45; Prevost 1780:100).

By early 1782 the British had abandoned its fortifications on the Georgia side of Zubly's Ferry. David Gugel, a fifer in the Georgia militia, attested that he enlisted in 1781 for nine months and among his duties,

keeping sentry at the different fortifications and performing all the duties of a soldier was also on duty at a fort at Zubly's ferry, in said County of Effingham and at the Commissarys Store within ten miles of Savannah (Gugel 1832 [R4378]).

Federal pension records indicate that another skirmish took place at Zubly's ferry in 1779, likely prior to the battle of Stono Ferry. This skirmish involved Captain Robert Moore's Company, Colonel William Lytle's North Carolina Regiment (Burton 1822).

The Charles Town militia was encamped at Zubly's Ferry on September 22, 1779. The ferry was used by the Patriots in their preparations for the siege of Savannah. The ferry also was used by Major General Lincoln and his troops in their retreat from Savannah in October, 1779. The British were aware of the Patriots' passage across the Savannah River at Zubly's ferry in both September and October but made no attempt to intercept or attack them, as Major General Prevost noted in a November 1779 letter to Lord Germain (*The Pennsylvania Gazette* 1779; *The Virginia Gazette* 1779b:2; *The Maryland Gazette* 1779a:2; *The Edinburgh Advertiser* 1779a:1-2).

Zubly's Ferry served another military role as an exchange for British and American prisoners in early 1779. With British fortifications on its Georgia side and Patriot fortifications on its South Carolina side, the ferry was a mutually secure location for the exchange. On January 29, 1779, General Lincoln wrote from his headquarters at Purysburg to Brigadier General Prevost, who was headquartered at Ebenezer, stating, "Major Pinckney will meet the officer you shall appoint at Zublys ferry tomorrow morning at 10'Clock, to confer on the subject of a reasonable exchange of prisoners". By January 31, 1779 Lieutenant Colonel Prevost, 60th Royal Regiment, who was designated by his brother as the Commissioner for the Exchange of Prisoners, had submitted a formal proposal to Major Pinckney regarding prisoners of war. In response on February 1, 1779, Major Pinckney submitted his articles of agreement for the prisoner exchange to Lieutenant Colonel Prevost. By January 9, Lincoln was

planning for prisoner exchanges and he wrote to British Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell and recommended Major Thomas Pinckney, 1st South Carolina Continentals, as the American officer for prisoner exchange negotiations. By January 29, plans for the exchange were formed for the following day. Lieutenant Colonel Prevost submitted a proposal for prisoner exchange at a conference held at Zubly's Ferry on January 31. The plan called for an exchange to take place on March 15. The British plan was rejected by the Americans, however, and the talks were delayed. The two parties apparently reached an agreement and by April 15, 1779, General Lincoln reported to Congress,

We have lately exchanged some prisoners; those who have come out are in a most miserable condition, --few of them fit for service. Their treatment on board the prison-ships, where they were confined, and the measures adopted to oblige them to renounce their allegiance to the United States and engage them in the British Service have been cruel and unjustifiable; many inlisted with them, many are dead and others are in a weak dying state (Fold3.com 2015).

The Middlesex Ferry continued in operation after the American Revolution. In a 1784 letter detailing his grueling journey from South Carolina to Georgia one traveler, who accompanied James Martin Gibbons, wrote that on September 27, after leaving Mrs. Allison's he arrived at 2:30 p.m., "at Middlesex ferry the flat being on the Georgia side we were under the necessity of tarrying 'till morn.- abt 5 p.m. Mr. Gibbon's Horse was taken sick we drenched him with [illegible], salt & water, then pushed the guts immediately taken from a fowl down him which cured by 8 o'clock. The flat arrived abt 6 p.m. & the next morn. Being Tuesday 28th Sept. after breakfasting at 8 a.m. we went into the flat & never arrived on the Hill in Georgia 'till 11.20 a.m. owing to a fresh in the river, which obliged us to be taken thro' the swamp for six miles for which we paid 7/6d Sterlg for rider & Horse—We then mounted our Horses & rid to Spencers were we could not be accomadated we however rented there half an hour owning to Mr. G.s indisposition" (Gibbons 1784).

Zubly's Ferry is most likely the same location as Beck's Ferry. The approximate location of Beck's Ferry is determined by following Beck's Ferry Road to its western terminus at the Savannah River. Beck's Ferry Landing remains in use today. John Beck, who operated the ferry, was born in 1755. John Beck continued to reside at Beck's Ferry until sometime after 1810 (United States Patent Office 1872:80). In September 1808, John Beck advertised Charleston Stage-coach service, which passed by Beck's Ferry (Beck 1808:3). Researchers were unable to determine how long into the nineteenth century the ferry operated but Beck's Ferry remained a river landing for steamboats throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Yemassee Bluff

Yemassee Bluff was located four miles south of Purysburg, according to William Moultrie. A bluff on the east side of the Savannah River four miles below Purysburg would be in the vicinity of the railroad crossing today. General Moultrie noted in correspondence to Colonel Pinckney a reported British camp at Yemassee Bluff, which Moultrie later retracted.

Black Swamp

Black Swamp, a very large wetland in northern Jasper and southern Hampton counties, South Carolina, was used as a refuge and headquarters for the Patriot army in 1779. A long, low sand ridge, known today as Tillman Sand Ridge separates Black Swamp from the Savannah River. The sand ridge is composed of numerous ancient alluvial dunes that are in xeric vegetation. The Black Swamp is irregularly shaped and has many small streams feeding into it. Other places associated with Black Swamp are discussed in the following and these include Turkey Hill, Two Sister's Ferry, New Landing Robertville, and White House. Colonial and Early Federal period plats of land in Black Swamp in Beaufort District that are on file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History with online images include:

- Campbell, Thomas, 100 acres, 8/7/1769
- Cartledge, Joseph, 150 acres, 10/8/1771
- Cattle, William, 450 acres, 5/19/1770
- Cunningham, Andrew, 500 acres, 6/29/1774
- Daniel, Thomas, 500 acres on the Savannah River, 4/8/1769
- Davis, Nathan, 100 acres, 10/6/1772
- Dewett, James, 300 ac, 12/14/1764
- Dunn, Drury, 1,300 acres, 3/8/1765

- Gindrat, Henry, 250 acres, 5/11/1772
- Grimball, John, 105 acres, 3/9/1773
- Hart, Josiah, 400 acres, 5/2/1775
- Jaudon, Peter, 150 acres on Savannah River, 9/5/1771
- Maine, William, 700 acres on Cypress Creek, 1/18/1772
- Manon, Samuel, 100 acres, 10/8/1771
- Moore, William, 250 acres, 1/17/1764
- Patterson, Thomas, 100 acres, 11/23/1771
- Smith, Edward, 100 acres, 8/28/1769
- Smith, John, 2,100 acres, 12/20/1771
- Smith, Sara, 100 acres, 8/28/1769
- Stewman, Martin, 100 acres, 10/7/1771
- Sweet, Elizabeth, 150 acres on a branch of Black Swamp, 4/8/1769

Colonial and Early Federal plats of land in Black Swamp in Beaufort District that are on file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History but have no online image available include:

- Becket, John, Sr., and Daniel Peak, 676 acres on Branch of Black Swamp and Wolf Bay, 8/27/1838 (Volume 41:266)
- Blount, James, unrecorded plat not granted, 100 acres, 1/4/1786 (Box 1:86)
- Bostick, Richard, 320 acres, 2/18/1786 (Volume 12:67)
- Chesher, Sarah, 50 acres, 11/28/1789 (Volume 26:12)
- Cossey, Allen, 426 acres, 11/25/1840 (Volume 53:50)
- Craig, Alexander, unrecorded plat not granted, 100 acres and 200 acres and 100 acres, 6/23/1775 (Box 1:265-267)
- Cunningham, Andrew, 500 acres, 1802 [surveyed in 1774] (Volume 38:615)
- Dupuis, William, unrecorded plat not granted, 250 acres, 2/18/1765 (Volume 2:372)
- Ellis and Johnson, 206 acres, 9/22/1813 (Volume 43:404)
- Gilchrist, Adam, 411 acres on branch of Black Swamp, 6/23/1787; 220 acres on branch of Black Swamp, 9/11/1787; unrecorded plat not granted, 75 acres, 10/16/1788; 1,000 acres on Little Black Swamp and Woolf Bay, 8/2/1813 (Volumes 19:185; 23:346; 38:14; Box 2:452)
- Graham, Eliza, 50 acres, 7/17/1807 (Volume 37:91)

- Gray, James T., 12,172 acres, 8/4/1846 (Volume 54:416)
- Homan, Thomas Hatfield, 413 acres on Black Swamp and Beaver Dam Creek, 10/6/1794 [surveyed for John Fitzgerald in 1787] (Volume 34:101)
- Jones, John, unrecorded plat not granted, 100 acres, 5/16/1769 (Volume 3:695)
- Kettles, Mary, 156 acres, 8/30/1791 (Volume 28:12)
- Lawton, Alexander, 5363 acres on Cypress Creek and Black Swamp, 10/25/1854 (Volume 43:250)
- Lawton, Joseph, 17 acres, 4/2/1804 (Volume 36:477)
- Lehre, Thomas, 167 acres surveyed for Martin Shumann, and 400 acres surveyed for Samuel Stafford, both on 11/25/1786 (Volume 12:129)
- Maner, William, 230 acres, 5/18/1808 and 8.5 acres, 9/3/1811 (Volume 37:107, 305)
- Muckinfuss, Michael, 500 acres, 12/31/1798
 [surveyed in 1794] (Volume 35:287)
- Parker, Jesse, 1,000 acres on Jones Pen Swamp and Black Swamp, surveyed for Matthew Redaught, 8/7/1793 (Volume 30:309)
- Ridaught, Mathew, 734 acres on Old Field Branch, 11/23/1846 Swamp and 493 acres on Savannah River, 3/9/1824 (Volumes 54:444; 40:82)
- Ridaught, Mathew, Sr., 313 acres on Little Black Swamp (Volume 53:67)
- Rittles, John, 288 acres, 2/13/1794 (Volume 30:321)
- Robert, Elias, 250 acres on North Fork of Black Swamp, 5/24/1784, and 390 acres, 10/9/1784 and 305 acres on Walls Branch, 10/5/1793 (Volumes 9:61; 16:155; 30:94)
- Robert, Grimball, 1,000 acres on Long Branch, 7/25/1793 and 894 acres, including 500 acres intended to be conveyed to Drury on Black Swamp, 9/9/1793 (Volume 30:183, 263)
- Robert, James, 1,000 acres on Walls Branch, 7/25/1793 (Volume 30:310)
- Robert, Peter, 300 acres on branch of Black Swamp, 10/14/1784 and 55 acres on Cypress Creek and Black Swamp, 4/14/1787 (Volumes 16:159; 12:25)
- Ruberry, John, 150 acres on branch of Black Swamp, 6/2/1784 (Volume 8:430)

- Rutledge, John and William Williamson, plat for resurvey and division of 1,910 acres, originally granted for 2,000 acres to Robert Wright, 9/19/1768 (Volume 2:85)
- Scott, Moses, 500 acres, 7/22/1797 (Volume 35:41)
- Scott, Moses, Jr., 205 acres, 4/4/1809 (Volume 37:159)
- Shuman, James A., 190 acres, 5/24/1853 [surveyed in 1840] (Volume 43:193)
- Shuman, Joseph M., 353 acres, 10/31/1840 and Shurman, Joseph M., 431 acres on Wolf Bay, 2/29/1840 (Volumes 53:240; 42:48)
- Simmons, Charles Howell, 480 acres, and 400 acres on Old Field Branch, both on 2/6/1790 (Volume 26:122, 126)
- Singellton, Thomas Benjamin, 154 acres, 5/23/1808 and 708 acres, 9/23/1808 (Volume 37:103, 136)
- Smith, Sidney, 1,384 acres, 8/10/1842 (Volume 53:401)
- Stafford, Edward, 874 acres, 8/6/1793 (Volume 30:338)
- Stafford, Edward, Jr., 1,000 acres on Long Branch, 4/3/1792 and 750 acres, 8/6/1793 (Volume 30:166, 366)
- Stafford, William, Sr., 582 acres, 6/4/1784 (Volume 10:97)
- Stafford, William, 400 acres, 12/27/1785 (Volume 16:56)
- Stokes, John B., 486 acres on Black Swamp, 11/25/1840 (Volume 53:49)
- No name given, plat of Turkey Hill Settlement, 1868 (Series L10005, Reel 8: Plat 4480).

Colonial and Early Federal plats of land on Cypress Creek (with no mention of Black Swamp) in Beaufort District that are on file at the South Carolina Department of Archives and History include:

- Garvin, John, 100 acres on Coosawhatchie, 4/5/1759 and 300 acres on Cypress Creek, 5/21/1771 and [Gravin, sic] 100 acres, 5/31/1771 (Volumes 7:72; 20:326; online versions available)
- Goettee, George, 250 acres on the waters of Coosawhatchie on a branch called Cypress Creek, 8/8/1772 (online version available)
- Hartstone, Joacom, 400 acres, 9/8/1764 (online version available)

- Kettles, Jacob, 600 acres, 12/15/1770 (online version available)
- Peters, Christopher, unrecorded plat not granted, 500 acres near Purisbourg Township, 3/3/1761 (Box 4:1003)
- Williamson, John, unrecorded plat not granted, 450 acres, 5/18/1761 (Box 4:1169)

Memorials for land on Black Swamp with no online versions available consist of:

- Cartledge, Joseph, 150 acres, 8/30/1773 (Volume 12:407)
- Cunningham, Andrew, 500 acres, 12/31/1774 (Volume 13:198)
- Davis, Nathan, 100 acres, 11/15/1774 (Volume 13:106)
- Disher, Henry, 150 acres, 4/19/1770 (Volume 10:90)
- Gendraw, Henry, 250 acres, 10/15/1772 (Volume 11:464)
- Gordon, James, 400 acres, 5/7/1761 (Volume 14:62)
- Grimball, John, Jr., 105 acres, 8/6/1773 (Volume 12:351)
- Hart, Josiah, 400 acres, 11/15/1775 (Volume 2:452)
- Maner, Samuel, 100 acres on Savannah River, 1/20/1773 (Volume 12:75)
- Patterson, Thomas, 100 acres, 7/28/1773 (Volume 12:327)
- Robert, Elias, 500 acres, 8/11/1773 (Volume 12:365)
- Shumann, Martin, 100 acres, 1/5/1775 (Volume 13:221)
- Williamson, William, 980 acres, 3/13/1769, summarizing a chain of title to a Grant to James Kinloch, 1736 (Volume 8:361)

Turkey Hill

Turkey Hill, an elevated landform surrounded by the Black Swamp in northwestern Jasper County, South Carolina, was a major Patriot camp in 1779. Turkey Hill was formerly a plantation owned by the Middleton family. This elevated area was used as a major military camp by the Patriots early in 1779 and it served as an encampment for the British immediately following their capture of Purysburg. A "Plat of Land Called Turkey Hill Settlement in St. Pauls Parish, Beaufort District" was surveyed in 1868 (SCDAH 1868). The "Turkey Hill" place name remains on modern maps, which suggests continuity at this location from the eighteenth century. It presently lies within property owned by a hunting club. The landform measures about 1 km northwest-southeast by 300 m northeast-southwest. Unfortunately, the property owners of this real estate did not respond to the LAMAR Institute's request for access in the battlefield survey, so the area was not physically explored.

"Turky Hill" (without the "e") is identified on a British map of Prevost's troop movements and this location corresponds to the modern location of Turkey Hill (Anonymous 1779a). Turkey Hill also served as a British military camp. It is referenced in Major Skelly's order book, where he noted the British Army camped there on April 30 and May 1, 1779.

Numerous Continental troops and State militiamen mention Turkey Hill where they finished their period of service in March and April and were discharged. This was a few weeks prior to General Prevost's invasion of South Carolina (see for example, Brookes 1832 [S6721]; Crawford 1833 [S3226]; Fairchild 1834 [S15420]; Gilmore 1833 [S13151]; James Gilmore 1832 [W4680]; Guess 1832 [W8878]; Hardin 1832 [S31732]; Jones 1833 [S31170]; McPheeter 1832 [S16950]; Reed 1832 [W5671]; Rice 1832 [W2437]). British troops occupied Turkey Hill as they pursued General Moultrie's army. Turkey Hill also may have been the scene of a Revolutionary War battle in May or June, 1782 but more research is needed to confirm this (Andrew Ridingour 1834 [S32486]).

Two Sister's Ferry

Two Sister's Ferry, also known as Sister's Ferry, was the next ferry crossing on the Savannah River upstream from Zubly's Ferry. The west side of the crossing was fortified by the British in 1779 and the east side by Major Grimké commanding the 4th Regiment, South Carolina Continental Artillery. Treutlen's, or Governor John Treutlen's plantation was located at Two Sister's Bluff in Effingham County, Georgia.

Campbell wrote in his journal for January 4, 1779,

About 7 o'Clock [a.m.] the Troops reached Troitland [Treutlen's] Plantation...At this Ferry [Two Sisters Ferry]

I seized two of the Enemy's Flatts by stratagem, and destroyed them...Having improved the Defences at Troitland's [Treutlen's] Plantation, by shutting up the Avenues between the Houses, and opening Loop Holes in all the Buildings that could afford any Degree of Defence, I placed the York Volunteers [New York Volunteers] in possession of this Post (Campbell 1981:37-38).

On January 20 Campbell wrote to Lord Germain informing him that at the Two Sister's Ferry, he stationed the New York Volunteers (175 men) and the Light Infantry (about 25 men), although he added that the latter, along with a newly raised Rifle Dragoons, "kept floating along our Frontiers fifteen Miles higher up the Country" (Campbell 1981:42, 46).

On February 23 Major General Augustin Prevost wrote from his headquarters at Ebenezer to Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell at Hudson's Ferry advising Campbell,

I have received intelligence that the 21st [February 21] General Lincoln has sent 2000 men up the river with intentions to cross the river at the two Sisters having been advised that the King's Troops were all coming down. If I find this to be true I hope to have the pleasure to see you to morrow to concert what will be proper to be done in Consequence of it (Prevost 1779b).

By March 2, Campbell (1981:71) listed the British troop strength at the various posts on the lower Savannah River, which included 600 soldiers in Sir James Baird's Light Infantry and the 1st Battalion 71st Regiment at Troitland's [Treutlen's or Two Sisters Ferry].

General Griffin Rutherford wrote to General Lincoln from "Camp Two Sister's Ferry" on March 10 stating,

The great apprehensions that I was under of my People disgracing themselves by their Behaviour this Day are totally vanished. I have sent down four Light Horse for three Deserters from my Camps & I desire they may be sent to the Sisters. I keep Horse Men constantly patrolling round the Camps but have made no

discoveries, of the Enemy attempting to cross. The Light Horse you promised me are not yet come. I sent a small Party to Matthew's Bluff, there to cross & reconnoitre the Ground Gen. Ashe left expecting that they may collect a number of arms and accoutrements (Rutherford 1779b:1).

Soldiers in Colonel Lytle's Light Infantry (detached to the North Carolina Continentals) erected a breast works at the Two Sisters (Hughes 1834 [W25805]). James Altorn, soldier in Captain John Nelson's Company, North Carolina (new levy troops), stated that he served at Purysburg, Black Swamp and at Two Sisters, "where head quarters was established for a while", from which his company served, "occasionally marching out to Support and defend other points on the River, Supposed to be vulnerable and liable to attack by the enemy" (Alton 1832 [W21611]). Philip Evans, a private in Colonel Francis Locke's Regiment of North Carolina militia stated that he was posted at Purysburg, Sister's Ferry and Turkey Hill and that, while at Sister's Ferry he served, "at a public store or magazine near the latter place called the White House" (Evans 1832). Many other American soldiers in the South Carolina and North Carolina militia reported serving at Two Sister's in early 1779 in their pension applications. Examples include (Akens 1832 [W4625]; Carson 1832 [S8173]; Hammond 1832 [S21803]; Reavis 1832 [S7380]; Swearington 1833 [W6113]; Walden 1834 [R11011]).

The South Carolina militia returned to Two Sisters Ferry and established a camp there later in 1779. Major Alexander Noble, commanding a detachment of Colonel Pickens' Regiment, wrote to General Moultrie from his camp at Two Sister's Ferry on December 18, 1779. On January 19, 1780 General Lincoln advised General Lachlan McIntosh that General Williamson was to move a sizeable number of his South Carolina militia troops to Augusta, "except those at the Two Sisters" (Noble 1779; Lincoln 1780).

British General Paterson left Savannah on March 5 with 1,500 men on a campaign into South Carolina. Paterson's force crossed the Savannah River near Two Sister's on March 11 and they encamped one-fourth mile from the river. The following day (March 12) a foraging party of Georgia Light Dragoons, commanded by Captain Archibald Campbell, encountered and dispersed

a party of Patriot light horse. Campbell was slightly wounded in the skirmish. Captain Felix Warley was Patriot commander in this engagement (O'Kelley 2004).

Lieutenant Anthony Allaire (with Paterson's detachment) wrote in his journal for March 10:

The American Volunteers and British Legion marched three miles up the Augusta road to Tuckasse-King. Here we encamped, and took breakfast in the morning. A Rebel Lieut. Johnson with twenty men surrounded a poor man's house here this morning. They heard we were in motion, but not being certain of it, they came to find out the truth. They did no damage to the family; neither did they tarry long, being informed that we were in possession of the Two Sisters, they thought it proper for the brothers to take themselves off. This is the first Rebel party we have heard of. At three o"clock in the afternoon received orders to take the ground we left in the morning, where I and part of the detachment lay all night. One division crossed the river -- the others to follow as expeditiously as possible (Allaire 1881)

The New York Volunteers also formed part of the British force that advanced into South Carolina. This regiment guarded the baggage train (DePeyster 1780).

On March 18, J. Lewis Gervais at Charlestown, wrote to Henry Laurens advising Laurens that:

...A few militia are coming in. Col. Garden brought in 100 two days ago. But the enemy have crossed a body of three or four hundred men from Georgia, at the Two Sisters, and some horse from Port Royal, which, it is said, are at Sheldon. ...(O'Kelley 2004:382).

By June, 1780 the British had abandoned their post at Two Sister's. Colonel Andrew Pickens wrote to Major General Nathanael Greene on June 4, 1780 reporting that about 150 enemy regulars and militia have collected at "the Two Sisters," a bluff near Ebenezer on the Savannah River. A party of this force crossed the river and "killed two men in Carolina" (O'Kelley 2004).

The SCIAA site file includes site 38JA1027 on record for Sister's Ferry. No site form or other paper records exist for this site number, however, so the record is incomplete. The site was listed in a preliminary inventory of historic resources of Jasper County compiled by the Lowcountry Council of Government in the 1970s and the site was not verified by archeological survey (Keith Derting personal communication March 1, 2015). No archeological sites are recorded on the Georgia side of the Savannah River at Two Sister's Ferry (GASF 2015).

On January 17, 1782, Major General Anthony Wayne's headquarters were on the Savannah River "near the two sisters" (Fishbourne 1782:1-4). This marked the entry of General Wayne and his troops in their attempt to retake the lower Savannah River region for the United States. For most of his time in Georgia, General Wayne made his headquarters at Ebenezer.

Two Sister's Ferry was established "at the Two Sisters' Bluff, on Savanna River" by the South Carolina government in 1769 (McCord 1841:227). William Williamson was vested as ferry operator for a term of 14 years. On February 24, 1787, James Hamden Thomson petitioned the South Carolina government, "asking that the Ferry at Two Sisters Bluff be vested in William Williamson." On January 21, 1788 in two separate petitions, the inhabitants of the Two Sister's Ferry and the inhabitants in the neighborhood of Two Sisters Ferry petitioned the state, "asking that the said ferry be vested in the heirs of William Williamson for a term of years" (Thomson 1787; SCDAH 1788a-b). January 15, 1788, Elizabeth Williamson petitioned the South Carolina government. "asking that a ferry be established at Two Sisters, Savannah River, in her name, and that a certain road be continued" (Williamson 1788:1-2). These documents clearly demonstrate the long association of the Two Sisters Ferry with members of the Williamson family.

White House

Brigadier General Andrew Williamson, who commanded a brigade of South Carolina militia, owned a long-established plantation in the South Carolina piedmont near Ninety Six (in present-day Greenwood County) known as White Hall (Toulmin 2012:1-46). Williamson also owned a plantation near Two Sister's Ferry known as the White House. The plantation, which

was used as a frequent bivouac for the American forces, was fortified and contained an ammunition magazine. The exact location of Williamson's White House remains unconfirmed. One early map that shows settlements in the Black Swamp vicinity depicts numerous Williamson dwellings, including one relatively near the Two Sister's Ferry. Goodwin's (1833 [S6900]) pension statement is significant because it refers to the geographic proximity of the White House as being "near the Sisters ferry". North Carolina militia and continental troops were garrisoned at the White House in early 1779 (Goodwin 1833 [S6900]; Hamilton 1834 [R4516]). Christopher Bundy, a Private in Captain Enoch Davis' Company, Matthew Locke's Regiment, North Carolina militia stated in 1833 that he had,

marched to a ferry called 'the two sisters' on the Savannah River, where we halted and where I volunteered as one of a company of 100 men who were stationed to guard the magazine under Captain William Gilsiene [sic, Gilriene]" (Bundy 1833 [S17309]).

This magazine at the Two Sister's may have been the same one referenced for the White House.

New Landing

The New Landing is shown as a landing on the Savannah River on modern topographic maps. It is situated upstream from Two Sister's Ferry. A sketch map of the vicinity, formerly in possession of Benjamin Lincoln and likely dating to 1779, identifies the location as "New Landing", which suggests that this place is several centuries old. Ironically, the ca. 1821 map of the Beaufort District identifies this general location as "Old Ferry", while "The Two Sisters Ferry" is depicted further south.

A newspaper notice posted on July 12, 1773 was addressed to, "All Owners and Managers of Plantations in St. Peter's Parish, whose Slaves are obliged to work upon the new Road, leading from the Two Sisters' Ferry to the Fifteen Mile Post on the Purrysburg old Road" (South Carolina Gazette 1773). This road may have led to the New Landing.

Robertville is located on the east side of Black Swamp. It was a minor early settlement of the Robert family,

who descended from Pierre Robert, a Huguenot minister from Switzerland. Reverend Robert came to Carolina about 1690 and settled in French Jamestown on the lower Savannah River (Robert 1879; Perry 1947:16-17). In 1779, this vicinity contained the encampment of about 300 North Carolina militia troops under General Rutherford. Soon after the American Revolution the residents of Black Swamp formally established a Baptist church (Charleston Association 1789:1-7; Townsend 2005:34-35). That church, which was burned in the American Civil War, was located near present-day Robertville. Its minister in 1789 was Alexander Scott and deacons were John Lawton, William Cheney, John Robert, Elias Robert and John Night. The church is shown on early nineteenth century maps of Beaufort District, west of Robertville and just northwest of the road leading across Black Swamp to Two Sister's Ferry. Townsend (2005:34-35), however, places the location of the Black Swamp Baptist Church about three miles north of present-day Robertville. She noted that Baptist church meetings were held there as early as 1762. The meeting house was built about 1781 on a two acre lot on a tributary of Black Swamp and was later relocated to Robertville (Dowling 1913). One oral informant suspects that North Carolina militia troops were encamped in the vicinity of Robertville in early 1779. This assertion is supported by the writings of Robertville resident Pierre Robert (1880). He was a descendant of the town founder by the same name. Roberts described the landscape in the Robertville and Black Swamp vicinity,

> Following the road towards Augusta, upon the outskirts of the village of Robertville, we come to Black Swamp, a stream about one hundred and fifty yards wide and generally two feet deep. It is crossed by a causeway...On the right of the first bridge is the baptismal ground. or font, which has been used for generations past as such...After leaving the swamp four hundred yards we arrive at a large cluster of evergreen trees. It was here that General Rutherford, with three hundred troops, was stationed for a while during the Revolution, to be in supporting distance of General Lincoln with his main army of twelve hundred men, at Purysburg...After the war, in 1785, the place was purchased by Captain Samuel Maner, who had served as captain under General Marion. He erected quite a

commodious framed dwelling. It was here that the court-house and jail stood- the county seat of Granville County...After a few years he transferred the place to his brother Captain William Maner... The old house, with some improvements and additions, stood until thirty years ago, when it was pulled down by one of the heirs of Captain William Maner, and a palatial residence erected in its stead, which was destroyed by Sherman...Mrs. Mullette lived to the advanced age of 106 years [died in 1823], and lies buried above here about two miles in a private graveyard.

Robert also described the burning of the church at Robertville by the U.S. Army in 1865 and he noted that a smaller church building later was erected on the same site. This church, now known as the Robertville Baptist Church, was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1972 (McCorkle 1971).

Ora C. Paul recounted information provided by J.C. Tison in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries on some plantations that were located between Robertville and the two Sister's Ferry road, which included: "Cotton Hill, belonging to the Lawtons, which later became Pineland Club. This adjoined the Carroll plantation, which became the village of Tarboro. Below these were Turkey Hill belonging to the Reuben Tisons; Hoover plantation belonging to a Robert who married a Bolan; Kirk plantation, and Saussy plantation" (Paul n.d.).

Hardstone's

Captain Joachim Hardstone commanded a company of the Granville South Carolina militia (Salley 1908:45). His fortified home served as an American guard post in early 1779 (Pinckney 1779). On April 22, 1779, the house was attacked and burned. Its location remains undetermined, but based on the land grants that he received, the headwaters of Coosawhatchee Creek is one likely candidate. Joachim Hardstone/Hartstone originally settled in Georgia around 1757 and was living in Purysburg Township, St. Peter's Parish as early as 1761. Hardstone owned 1,600 acres in St. Peter's Parish, which included 800 acres in Purysburg Township (Lockley 2009:49). Hardstone received

numerous colonial grants for property in St. Peter's Parish, including 400 acres on Cypress Creek and 400 acres on the "branches of Black Creek of Coosoohatchie" in Granville County (Hartstone 1764, 1774). In August 1769 the South Carolina colonial government appointed Joachim Hardstone as a commissioner,

for laying out, making and keeping in repair...a public road from the said ferry [Two Sisters Ferry], across the Savanna, to Turkey Hill; from thence the best and nearest way to the fifteen mile post on the main road leading from Coosawhatchie to Purysburg"

In March 1778, the South Carolina (state) government appointed Hardstone as a commissioner of "the road leading from Charleston to Purysburg", and, of a road, "from New River bridge, to intersect the said road" (Candler 1907,vol. 8:442-443; McCord 1841:227, 257; Humbert 1769). Hardstone survived the American Revolution and continued to live in St. Peter Parish and was active in South Carolina government in the post-war years (Salley 1917:196; Lockley 2009:49).

Related Places

Military Hospitals

Military hospitals were an essential component of the American Revolution and all sides of the engagement had them. No historical records were located to indicate that the British ever established a hospital at Purysburg, although some of the soldiers who may have been wounded in the April 29th battle likely received first aid for their wounds on April 29 and 30 while the British army was at Purysburg.

The Patriots established both temporary (flying) and more permanent (fixed) hospitals in the Purysburg and Black Swamp locales. Colonel Roberts' regimental after orders in January 1779 noted the establishment of a "fixed Hospital at Mr. Heywards Plantation" and a "flying Hospital in Purisburgh" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:102). Lancelot Johnston, who served as a military surgeon for the North Carolina Continentals beginning in December, 1776, was appointed Regimental Surgeon to the "New Levies" and North Carolina Continental troops who marched from North Carolina to Purysburg in late 1778. His service at Purysburg

was relatively brief, however, as noted in a certificate by Brigadier General Jethro Sumner, who wrote from Camp Purysburg on March 15, 1779 stating, "This is to certify that Dr. Johnston resigned to his appointment in the United States service at this day. He has been diligent in his department, and we are sorry to part with him" (Sumner, in Johnston 1846 [W5114]).

John Allison, a private in Colonel Lytle's detachment, stated that, after marching to Purysburg in 1779 he "was taken sick and placed in the Hospital" (Allison 1832 [W8]). Allison was rescued by his brother who took him home to North Carolina, where he recovered. Many other patients in the hospital at Purysburg were probably not so lucky.

Abercorn

Abercorn was a small village on Abercorn Creek in present-day Effingham County, Georgia. The settlement had dwindled from its maximum population in the 1730s to nearly vacant by the time of the American Revolution. The British established a military post at Abercorn in early January, 1779. It was manned by "half a Battalion of Delancy's Regiment" on January 1 and by March 2 Abercorn was defended by 100 Grenadiers with the 60th Regiment, commanded by Major Beamsley Glazier, who were garrisoned at a redoubt (Campbell 1981:33, 71; Wallace 1879). On January 20 Campbell wrote to Lord Germain with a summary of the British Army's progress in Georgia, which included brief descriptions of the various military posts that he had established. For Abercorn, Campbell installed, "The 1st Battalion of Delancy's Brigade [180] men], and an Armed Galley" (Campbell 1981:42, 46). In January, 1780 Abercorn was defended by Georgia Loyalist militia, who were commanded by Major Wright. The force consisted of, "about sixty men in a Redoubt with Abittis around it" (Marion 1780:1). On January 4, 1782 Lieutenant Captain Atwood rode his Calvary troop of King's American Regiment, along with Colonel Thomas Brown and his Ranger Dragoons to Abercorn (Braisted 1991:22). Archeologists with the LAMAR Institute located the remains of a small, earthen redoubt at Abercorn in 1989, which was likely built by the British in 1779 (Elliott 1989). A present-day boat landing, which may be the same entry point used by the British on April 28, 1779 is located a short distance from this redoubt.

Coosawhatchee, Tullifinny and Bee's Creek

Coosawhatchee was an early settlement on Coosawhatchee Creek, a tributary of the Broad River in present-day eastern Jasper County, South Carolina. Tullifinny Creek and Bee's Creek are both tributaries of Coosawhatchee Creek (or Harbour River).

Ebenezer

Ebenezer was a village located at the Red Bluff below the confluence of Ebenezer Creek and the Savannah River, approximately five miles from Purysburg. This town was settled by Lutherans who spoke German. Purysburg and Ebenezer shared many ethnic similarities but also displayed distinct differences. For most of the colonial period at Ebenezer, the Reverend John Martin Boltizus ruled the town with a firm hand, whereas Purysburg went for extended periods without any religious leadership. The British occupied Ebenezer in early January, 1779, heavily fortified it and established it as a headquarters complex (Wilson 1779). It continued in this capacity and was garrisoned by Hessian troops at the time of the April 1779 battle at Purysburg. LAMAR Institute research at Ebenezer documented its Revolutionary War history and archeology (Elliott 2003).

Mathews Bluff

Mathews Bluff is located in Allendale County, South Carolina, north of the Purysburg and Black Swamp study area. Matthews Bluff was important in the March 3, 1779 battle of Brier Creek, as it served as the escape route for Major General John Ashe. The Patriots established a small fortification at Mathews Bluff and it was garrisoned in 1779 and in 1781. The only archeological study conducted near Mathews Bluff was the Chicora Foundation's study at Cohen's Bluff, located a short distance north of Mathews Bluff (Adams and Trinkley 1992). That report included no reference to any Revolutionary War resources in the vicinity.

Palachacolas

Palachacolas, Parachucla, or Apalachicolas is a location and a bluff on the Savannah River, north of Black Swamp. Prior to the Yamassee War, a village of Apalachicolas Indians were settled in what is now southern Hampton County, South Carolina. After the war the South Carolina government established a ranger fort at that location. The area is known today as Stokes Bluff

and recent archeological survey and testing by SCIAA has identified important eighteenth century deposits in that area. Hampton County was not included within the present battlefield boundary (Caldwell 1949; Cooke 1936; Elliott 2012; Sloane 1908).

Sheldon

Sheldon was a major plantation in coastal South Carolina long owned by the Bull family. The Prince William Parish Church, a large brick sanctuary was burned by the British, along with many other homes at Sheldon, in early May 1779. The Sheldon Church ruins remain the most prominent landmark of the American Revolution in the area (Rowland et al. 1996:222). Major General Lincoln, Colonel Francis Marion and other Patriots occupied Sheldon at various times during the American Revolution. The church later was rebuilt but again was burned by the U.S. Army in January, 1865. Its ruins remain an important cultural resource in northern Beaufort County, South Carolina. Sheldon is about 30 miles from Purysburg and Black Swamp but it is mentioned here because it was another place in the Carolina lowcountry that was used by the Americans for military purposes, both before and after April 1779.

Purysburg - American Camp and Headquarters

Purysburg was used as a staging ground for the Patriot's East Florida campaign in the spring of 1778. Major General Robert Howe, commander of the Southern Army, gave orders to Brigadier General William Moultrie on April 14, 1778 to march men under his command, specifically "fifty men from the first regiment [1st South Carolina Continentals], and also thirty men from the artillery, with two field-pieces, with every thing proper for action" and Moultrie was ordered to proceed, "with all possible expedition to Purisburgh, where they will receive directions as to their further conduct." General Howe added, "You will take care that they are provided with every military requisite, as this state [Georgia] cannot furnish them." On April 19, Moultrie wrote to Henry Laurens reporting, "The president [Rawlins Lowndes] has ordered three hundred men from Bull's, and four hundred from Williamson's regiment, to rendezvous at Purisburgh, ready to support them [Major General Howe's forces in Georgia], which I think will be quite sufficient, &c". General Moultrie replied to General Howe on April 24 informing him of preparations to send troops to Howe's assistance, noting, "Our number of continental troops belonging to this state, amount to about fifteen hundred. I doubt not but that you will have boats ready to convey the troops from Purisburgh to Savannah" (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:377-378).

On May 1, 1778, General Moultrie wrote to Major John F. Grimké regarding Colonel Thomson's troops, noting,

The excuse you request should rather be asked by me, as I neglected to inform you, that your orders were very explicit, and I accordingly put them in execution, excepting for Thomson's, in lieu of which I sent the first regiment, as they are better clothed and disciplined. I hope this last detachment will reach you by Sunday next. I can scarcely have time to order them to the Alatamaha: their orders were to proceed immediately to Purisburgh. I think it will still be the best way, as I have sent the galley round to Savannah, with a quantity of stores and officers' baggage (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:379).

Following the fall of Savannah in December 1778, General Moultrie and his men retreated to South Carolina. Moultrie was at Purysburg by January 3 and the remainder of his men marched from Two Sister's Ferry to Purysburg the following day. Moultrie reported in a letter to Colonel Charles C. Pinckney on January 10, 1779,

We are (I mean the continentals) encamped at Purisburgh, the N. Carolinians on the road leading to this place, about two miles from us. Our numbers are about 500 privates (continentals) and the North-Carolinians about 1200 of all ranks (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:258).

Major John Faucheraud Grimké was an American officer who served at Purysburg and while he was not present for the battle on April 29, his writings provide relevant information. Grimké was born in 1752 and died in 1819. His maternal grandparents were Huguenot refugees who fled France for South Carolina. He joined the Continental Army in South Carolina in 1776 and was commissioned Captain in Charleston's Regiment of Artillery (Wilson and Fiske 1900). Major Grimké commanded a South Carolina Continental Corps of Artillery, which was posted at various times at Purysburg, Two Sister's Ferry and Black Swamp. Grimké also served as the Deputy Adjutant General for the Southern Army under Major General Benjamin Lincoln's command. Grimké's order book, which spans the period of interest at Purysburg and Black Swamp, has survived and it provides a wealth of details about military life in the camps. Although Grimké was not present for the engagement at Purysburg, his writings attest to the intensity of the military encampment and the physical conditions on the eve of battle.

In a February 1, 1779 letter from the Purysburg camp to his father John Paul Grimké, John F. Grimké stated,

I have the pleasure of informing you that I arrived in camp a few days ago after four & an half days difficult riding; never surely were roads in so bad a condition, many parts of them so totally impassable that travelers were obliged to quit the direct rout & pursue their journey thro' the woods. I found the Army in a state quite unprepared to march owing to the fairness of men who had as yet arrived in camp; neither was there a possibility of our being reinforced during the continuance of the bad roads. But I presume it will be more agreeable to you to hear of our present situation, which has lately grown better, by an increase of about 1500 men under Gen: Ash [Major General John Ashe] (Colo [Colonel] Kirkland: but even with this addition it does not appear feasible to cross the River. Colo: Elbert is Detached to the Westward with 400 men there to join Colo: Hammond & Gen: Williamson & collect the Scattered Friends of America still remaining in Georgia. His Force it is supposed will consist of 1500, or 1800 men when collected, but to prevent such an Union in the back country the Enemy have already Detached a considerable number & We are in hourly Expectation of receiving express, some intelligence of Importance. It is a great Chagrin to Us Carolinians whose first Pride & continual boast it was, that we have always distinguished Ourselves by a ready compliance with orders that we should find the militia is slow, naw so averse to serve during the Campaign, & that in some cases they have shewn how little is to be expected from them. Tho' I do not charge my country men with want of spirit, but think that

they are deficient in that virtuous Principle which should at this present Critical juncture animate them to turn out & remain in the field until we have expelled the Enemy from our vicinity. We are just informed that the militia under General Bull, have resolved that if Port Royal is attacked that they will spike the cannon in the fort & relinquish the Island: Genl: Moultrie has this day set off for Beaufort; I hope his Endeavors may meet with Success, but I apprehend that little is to be expected from the present temper of the People, unless for Severe Laws are without delay passed by the Legislature for the future Regulation of the militia, the other States of America have been compelled to draught their militia to Serve in the Continental Battalions & by permitting those gentlemen who were draughted to purchase substitutes, a good & well organized Corps was immediately formed from the town class of People, who are more willing in general to obey orders & are more capable to endure the fatigues of a Campaign. The northern states after having Experimented many different modes, were negotiated at length to pursue this latter measure in order to obtain Recruits & fill up their Quota in the Continental Battalions. If the present disorganized aspect of affairs does not Extract some Positive & Resolute Determination from the House of Assembly, [illegible] very little else that we have to do, than to make the best terms possible with the Enemy & submit to their Government. But I have a great deal to hope from the Good Sense & great Spirit of my Countrymen, which have upon many occasions been very Conspicuous & which is as much, if not more, required at Present, than at any other Crisis of our affairs, which the Chance of War has occasioned. I hope as the subject of this letter is so delicate, interesting & important that you will not send it, or any part to the Printers, since we learn from good information that the Enemy have persons who transmit them such of their Points as may be necessary & intelligent to them....P.S. Express arrived 300 of the Enemy landed at Hilton head & burnt several Houses. In a skirmish lately with the Enemy near Bryar creek in the back Country of Georgia

Colo: Brown was wounded & 7 of his men were killed. Our People maintained this Ground & the Enemy fled upon the above loss (Grimké 1779a).

Immediately after the defeat at Savannah, the Patriots gathered their forces at Purysburg, which became their headquarters and base of operations. On January 3, 1779 Major General Lincoln issued these orders from Headquarters at Purisburgh: "The Troops will immediately after dinner remove to the height near the River at the lower end of the Town where they will take possession of the Camp marked out by the Dep: Quarter Master General" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:98).

General Lincoln also issued numerous after orders that provide details of the military encampment at Purysburg. Lincoln's after orders stated, "The Waggons belonging to each Regiment are daily to supply this respective Corps with wood under the Direction of the Reg". General Lincoln further ordered,

Upon an alarm the Regt': are immediately to Parade in front of their respective Encampments, & there continue under arms, until Orders are given to the Contrary...Corps will order Vaults to be dug & Privies built around them at convenient distances in the rear of the Encampment...The adjutants of the different Regiments will attend for orders every day at 12 6 Clock, until the Troops are Brigaded (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:98).

A slight variation on one of Lincoln's orders of January 3 substitutes the word "bowers" in place of "Privies" (Hyrne 1779-1780:2).

Private John Jones, a soldier in Major Henry Dixon's Company, Colonel Archibald Lytle's detachment of light infantry, North Carolina Continentals, stated in his application that he, "Joined General Lincoln at Purrysburg Old field on the Savannah River sometime in January of the same year [1779]" (Jones 1832 [S13542]). Jones' description of the "Purrysburg Old field" is significant, as it implies that a large portion of this town displayed a fallow or abandoned appearance.

General Lincoln ordered the following troops for Guard duty on January 4:

1 Capt. 2 Subalterns 3 Sargeants 3 Corporals & 45 Privates" and for Piquet

[Picket duty], 4 Subalterns 8 Sargeants 8 Corporals 50 Privates". Lincoln's orders for January 4, included, "1 Subaltern 1 Sargeant 1 Corporal & 12 privates to be detached from the main guard to a convenient place on the bank of the River, at the lower end of the Town, with orders to stop all boats going down the River without a pass from Headquarters (Hyrne 1779-1780).

General Lincoln ordered an increase from 50 to 75 Privates on Picket duty for January 5.

Colonel Owen Roberts ordered the Deputy Quartermaster General to,

make out the encampment of the ^{1st} Brigade (agreable to the Plan of the Inspector) in one line the right supported by the River. As soon as the ground is marked out, the Troops will take possession of it" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:100).

Colonel Roberts further ordered that Colonel Jethro Sumner's North Carolina regiment,

is to encamp on the left of the 1st [SC]", and Colonel Roberts further ordered, "The Two Companies of Light Infantry draughted from the North Carolina Militia are immediately to be removed to Purysburgh & to encamp with the Company under the Command of Lt Coll: Lydell on the left of Col: Sumners Regiment. The men of the Carolina Artillery are to be equally divided between Capt: Mitchell & Davis: the former with Lt Budd to take charge of the Two Guns on the Right of the Park; Capt: Davis with Lt Tate are to command the other Two Carolina Pieces. When they move each Division is to have an Ammunition waggon with it. (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:102-103).

Colonel Roberts further ordered, "The Artillery Quarter Guard to be placed about 40 paces in the front of the Park where a Tent must be pitched for that purpose which be delivered by the [Commanding] Officer" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:106). Colonel Roberts later ordered the Quartermaster, "to take a fatigue Party & Remove the artillery Guns & Timbers about three feet further to the front, where they now stand, &

be particularly nice in ranging them on a line" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:111).

In January 1779 General Lincoln ordered,

Three Companies of Expert Riflemen of fifty each with a proper number of Officers to be immediately draughted from Genl Richardson's Brigade, to act as light Infantry: He will appoint an officer to take the Command of them. They will tomorrow Morning encamp on the ground where the Light Infantry from North Carolina are now encamped (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:106).

General Lincoln's orders stated,

It is expected that officers will use every means in their Power to Prevent the Soldiers from destroying the fences or wantonly injuring the Inhabitants in any respect whatever".

Colonel Roberts stated in a follow-up order,

The General is sorry to find that the Order relative to the burning of fences has not been so strictly attended to as it ought to have been. He once more expressly forbids it; & any Person found sitting by a fire made of rails shall be answerable for the same & punished as the offender (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:101).

In February 1779 General Lincoln stated, "The Light Troops on the left of Coll Sumners brigade are to join Coll Kershaws Corps immediately & to be encamped under his Direction" (Grimké 1913, vol 14:163). On February 11 and 12 the American Camp was removed from Purysburg as recorded in Grimké's order book, "Camp 5 miles to the westward of Purysburg" (Grimké 1913, vol 14:165). The camp was organized as follows,

Twenty eight Files are to be draughted out of the S". Carolina Brigade to act as Light Infantry with that of the N°. Carolina Brigade under the Command of one of the Field-Officers of the former: they are to be formed & Officers agreeable to the Rules given for the formation of Troops, the remainder of the Brigade is to be told off & formed into three equal Battalions of eight Platoons each, Organized & officered as directed in the formation

of Troops, the Command to be rotted [sic, rotated] by the Brigadier according to Sinrority & reported at H.O.

The North Carolina Brigade is to be told off & formed into two Battalions of 16 Platoons each the officers & Non-commissioned officers are to be equally divided & placed into two Battalions according to former Instructions.

The Corps of Pioneers belonging to that Brigade are to be included in the Line of it & told off with the rest.

The first Battalion is to be on the Left of the Brigade [and] is to be commanded by Col". Armstrong & a Major & the 2". Batl. by L'. Col". Thackson & a Major.

The Light Infantry of both Brigades are to encamp, & draw up on the Right & Left of the Division so as to cover most effectually the flanks of the order of Battle &

Encampment in the position that Gen'. Moultrie will think best from the Nature of the ground" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:165-166).

On February 17, General Lincoln ordered, "The Light Infantry of Coll Sumners Brigade are to encamp this Evening on the bank of the River to the northward of Purisburgh". By February 14, 1779 the troops under General Moultrie had returned to Purysburg from the battle at Beaufort, South Carolina (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:169). On February 20, General Lincoln's general orders assigned, one captain, two lieutenants, two sergeants and 40 rank and file to, "Relieve the Guard at Zubly's to march immediately" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:219).

General Lincoln ordered a detachment of troops to march from Purysburg on February 27. His orders provide details of the American camps north of Purysburg and noted that the detachment,

> marched off the ground at 9 o Clock next morning & reached M'. Williamsons Plantation (the Magazine) about 5 in the

Evening 16 miles distant from Purisburgh & Proceeded next Morning at 5 oClock to Cap': Staffords, a march of 10 Miles... at M". Neyles where the Detachment encamped on the Evening of the 2". March after a disagreable & Tedious March of 12 Miles thro a rotten deep Pine barron, in which the Waggons were frequently stalled. At 12oClock in the Subsequent Day the Detachment arrived at Matthews Bluff 10 Miles distant from their last encampment (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:222-224).

While on their march the detachment encountered General Ashe as his army retreated in defeat from the Brier Creek battlefield and on their return from Matthews Bluff to Purysburg they recorded additional landmarks including Mr. Porcher's plantation (6 miles beyond Williamsons Plantation) and the Sisters (Two Sister's Ferry) where "The Troops are forming an abbatis round the Encampment". The stores in the magazine at Williamson's plantation were ordered removed "to Pocotaligo at the Church near Sheldon" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:222-224).

Drainage was a problem for the military encampments at Purysburg in 1779, as it remains today. The American camp at Purysburg almost immediately had drainage issues and the soldiers dug drainage ditches for relief. In January, 1779, General Lincoln ordered the Deputy Quartermaster General at Purysburg, "to furnish the different Regiments with Tools which are to be returned as soon as the ditches are dug to carry off the Water from the Encampment" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:106). Waste disposal also proved to be a problem for the American camp at Purysburg. General orders issued at Purysburg on February 19, 1779 stated, "All Carcasses & Filth in & about Camp are to be thrown in to the River below the Encampment or buried" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:170).

Regimental orders issued by Colonel O. Roberts at Purysburg included:

The Quarter Master of the Artillery will daily & as early as possible issue Provisions to the Officers & Men of that Corps. The Coll": & his Servant only excepted; & as soon as conveniently afterwards Forage for the Artillery & Waggon Horses; Com[manding] officers of Companies

&c to make Morning Reports daily to the adjutant by 9 oClock precisely, or be answerable to a Court-Martial for their Neglect...One Serg': One Corp: & 12 Privates from Gen': Rutherfords Brigade to Relieve the Guard of the Hospital, & to take their Order from the [illegible] general: The Steward of the Hospital is to apply to the Dep: Commissary of the Army for Provisions (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:98-99).

Colonel Roberts further ordered, "The Discharge of Three Pieces from the Park of Artillery is to be the Signal of Alarm; when all officers and soldiers will, without relay, repair to their respective Posts" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:100).

General Moultrie wrote to his cousin, Colonel Charles C. Pinckney on January 26, 1779, noting the estimated British troop strength across the Savannah River,

they increase the strength of their different posts every day, and have extended themselves as far up as Hudson's bluff, about 16 miles above the Two-sisters; their strong post is now at Two-sisters, the 71st regiment is there, 1100 men, the others are at Ebenezer and Abbercorne; this intelligence we got from a deserter yesterday" Moultrie also added a bit of humor in his letter, "We had a grand representation of an action; owing to 2 or 3 days rain, by general orders, 'all the arms that were loaded, must be discharged at retreat beating, and the cannon on board the gallies and armed vessels, should also be fired off. 'The officers of the different corps, drew up their men on their respective parades, and discharged their arms by platoons' which continued the firing for some time; before our firing was over, the enemy began theirs, at their lower post, Abbercorne, and it run along the river as far as you could hear them; the gallies began as soon as the small arms were over, it kept the swamp in a continual roar for about half an hour; perhaps ere long we shall have this grand noise realized: I dare say the people within ten miles of this place, thought we were engaged (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:275-276).

General Moultrie later summarized the status of the American troops on the Savannah River in his memoirs,

The different divisions of our army formed several camps, one at Purisburgh, commanded by Maj. Gen. Lincoln, of between 3 and 4,000 men: one at Brier-Creek, on the west side of the river commanded by Maj. Gen. Ash, of about 2,500 men; and one at Williamson's house, on Black Swamp, under Gen. Rutherford, of 7 or 800 men; besides Gen. Williamson's division at Augusta of about 1200 men: all these together made a pretty strong army, and we began to prepare to cross the river, and give the enemy battle (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:321-322).

General Moultrie noted on April 20 that General Lincoln began his march [from Black Swamp] that day, "with about 2,000 men, light troops and cavalry, for Augusta, leaving his baggage and artillery behind to follow" (Moultrie 1802:377). General Lincoln wrote to General Moultrie on April 22 from Mr. Galphins advising him of the army's progress,

I arrived here to-day between twelve and one o'clock. You will please to order to this place all the continental troops, excepting the 2d and 5th regts. of South-Carolina [comprising a detachments of about 220 men], with all the artillery except the two pounder. You will please also to direct the quarter master to move with his department, reserving such articles as may be absolutely necessary for you: no time should be lost in marching the troops, they must commence as soon as possible and pursue it with the greatest dispatch: the commissary must be directed to take on rice, for three days, including the one in which they leave camp. Meat he must provide daily on the road. I will send waggons to meet the troops with corn and flour. The quarter-master must send some person forward to supply forage; corn I suppose can be had in plenty. You will please to remain in your present encampment with the two regiments and Col. Simon's brigade of militia. And keep, as long as you have it in your power, a post at Purisburgh.... If the enemy should discover an inclination to attempt you in force, and to move towards Charlestown; you will please as soon as

possible to possess yourself of the several passes, and delay them as much as is in your power, and give time for us to come up. I wish the matter, that the troops' are to join us here, might be kept secret as long as possible (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:377-378).

Two days after General Lincoln left Black Swamp hostilities were reported in the region. Moultrie, who learned of the attack in a letter from Colonel Henderson, wrote to South Carolina Governor Rutledge from Black Swamp on April 23, 1779 noting,

Yesterday afternoon a party of Indians, and white men all painted, (about thirty) came over the River at Yamassee; and had almost taken one of our small guards of six men, two of them are still missing; they proceeded and burnt Capt. Hartstone's [Joachim Hartstone] house. Col. Henderson, who commanded there, sent off a party of forty men, but could not come up with them: if your excellency could send us thirty or forty horsemen, and some Catawba Indians, they would be of infinite service; the few horsemen we have here (about 20) are quite insufficient for the duties absolutely necessary for this post and Purisburgh: Gen. Lincoln who left this place three days ago for Augusta, took away all the continental horse with him; which were about thirty-five: I will send off to Gen. Bull) to-morrow to keep some of his men on the scout in that part of the country; or these Indians I fear will do a great deal of *mischief:* we are informed that the enemy have about fifty Indians at Abbercorne: I hope your excellency will be able to spare us a reinforcement before any movement takes place from hence (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:379-380).

Moultrie added in his memoir, "Black-swamp, about 25 miles from Purisburgh, where we kept a guard of 100 men, and relieved them every week (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:379-380).

In a letter from General Moultrie to General Lincoln, written on April 24, Moultrie gave a summary of the April 22 attack at Captain Hartstone's fortified house,

a party of Indians, or people painted like Indians, about thirty or forty in number, had come through the swamp at Yamassee that evening, above where the guard is usually posted, and had burnt down Hartstone's house. It is unfortunate that neither the guard which was posted at the entrance of the swamp, nor the party they had relieved which was at Hartstone's house, when the Indians appeared, never fired a gun; by which means the alarm was not communicated in time, to allow the party that was sent after them to impede their retreat. The circumstance of their having bayonets, makes Colonel Henderson conjecture, that they were only Indians to appearance (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:382).

On April 24, Brigadier General Andrew Williamson wrote from his camp near Adams Ferry [nearly opposite Augusta, Georgia] to General Lincoln, who was on the march, with news of a pending British attack.

in the night came into my hands a letter from which the following is an Extract— 'A person I sent down has this moment returned from Colo Maitland's Camp at Cadis's [Cadiz] Plantation—he is certain there's a move on the Carpett, for, altho' he was deemed their friend, he was not permitted to speak to the Soldiers, he had Business lower down the Country, but they would not permit him to Pass, but said if he returned in two days he might go where he pleased. They were more than commonly strict with every person who came into Camp, and permitted no body to go below Cadis's—He says they are in fine spirits—he met in his return, between Maitlands and Hamiltons Stations, a regular, who told him, a reinforcement was arrived and [way then?] on their march up the Country—they seemed busy in Camp, and making every necessary preparation for a march—All these circumstances concurring together makes me apprehend they mean crossing or marching up some where between Hutsons {Hudson's} & Galphins, whether my Suspicions are well founded or not, you will do well to keep a good look out. I shall do the same and you will receive every necessary and authentic information

that comes to my knowledge as quickly as Possible'—

'Hamilton, is, as I told you before, with not more than 120 men. The fort is Roundwell's House on the Hill and a Pickett is on the road on the end of this land, and another at the Bridge' (Williamson 1779:1).

General Williamson added to the end of his letter to General Lincoln, "I have just now received advice, that the Enemy have been Strongly reinforced, and that they mean to cross the Savannah at some place above Ebenezer, whilst another strong body advances to cross higher up. This advice is received from the Several Persons and leads me to Believe that some fresh Troops are arrived and that this means to make an attempt to cross into this State" (Williamson 1779:1-2). General Moultrie sent an express letter from Black Swamp to Colonel Alexander McIntosh on April 29, after learning of the British advance into Purysburg,

You must endeavor to join us, if you can without any great risk: I wish you could have given me an account of the enemy's number, I could better judge how to act; the light horseman informs me you imagine them upwards of 300 men. I think you were right to retreat in time, as your force [Moultrie later added in his memoir, "a guard of only 100 men] would not be equal to theirs by any means. I expect soon to have accounts from you, and more particulars; as you have no baggage you may cross the country to this (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:386).

General Moultrie wrote from Black Swamp to General Bull on April 29, in which he understated the size of the British invaders,

I am to acquaint you that the enemy landed upwards of 300 men at Purisburgh, which obliged Col. M'Intosh to retreat from that post. I am to request you would order a strong detachment of as many men as can possibly be spared from your men, to take post at Coosohatchie, and there wait to support us, should we be obliged to retreat to that place; I must also request you will send for what field-pieces you have got in your camp, and

have them carried to Coosohatchie. I fear the enemy will soon have more men over; as by four deserters who came in to day, I am informed their strong post is at Ebenezer (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:387-388).

The following day at 10 a.m. General Moultrie wrote from Black Swamp to General Lincoln informing him of the British invasion into South Carolina,

From all the intelligence I have been able to gain; I am induced to think that the enemy are landed in force at Purisburgh, and that they mean to enter our country: this added to the difficulty of getting proper and speedy information, makes it adviseable to quit this post for Coosohatchie.... Our little army will accordingly march in half an hour. The baggage and hospital stores were sent off this morning" (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:388).

That same day General Moultrie again wrote from Coosawhatchee to General Lincoln advising him,

I this moment arrived at this place. The men under my command I expect in half an hour: we are informed the enemy have 1500 men at Purisburgh, and it is said they are to have as many as will make 2,000; we have very few men in arms in this part of the country, and I fear if we are not strongly reinforced they will get to Charlestown; I hope you will consider the situation of this state, and repair to Charlestown with your army as soon as possible (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:388-389).

Lieutenant Colonel Alexander McIntosh wrote from Coosawhatchee to General Moultrie on April 30 stating,

Last night two deserters from the enemy came to Bee's-creek; they were of the light-infantry: they say Col. Maitland commanded yesterday; that he had the light-infantry, and the second battalion of the 71st regt. amounting to 8 or 900 men; that they were to send for three field-pieces, and three six-pounders, with a reinforcement to make them up 1500 men; that they did not know the Colonel's plan, but that they heard it said that he intended to proceed to Charlestown, and that he had 50 or 40 Indians with him. I

have given Gen. Bull and Col. Skirving information of those particulars; the men are so lame that I cannot be up before tomorrow night. We are all safe (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:390).

That evening General Moultrie wrote from his camp at Coosawhatchee to Governor Rutledge on advising him.

> I arrived here about two hours ago; I was lucky enough to remove all our baggage and most of our stores this morning early; myself marched off about 2 o'clock, and proceeded for this place; I had left the ground three hours, when the enemy was at my camp. I cannot tell their numbers, but I believe vastly superior to mine; so I think I may say, I escaped a trimming; but I naturally concluded after Colonel M'Intosh retired, they would come to look for me, knowing my weakness: yet weak as I was, I thought I should be of more service this way; which determined me to make a sudden retreat; in which I happily succeeded: I think it is absolutely necessary, that you should send some reinforcements to meet me, and that immediately, as I am in hourly expectation of being alarmed by the approach of the enemy; I shall use my best endeavors to retard their march; but be assured it requires your utmost exertions; as I am vastly inferior to them; they, by all accounts, 2,000, and I have not 1200. I think if you could march out 2 or 300 regular troops to meet me, they would be of infinite service. You have not a moment to lose to collect a body together; as you well know what my troops consist of, which should be double their number to cope with them.

* P. S. I have sent off to Gen. Lincoln this afternoon, to request he will return to this state (Moultrie 1802:390-391).

General Moultrie's May 1 letter from Coosawhatchee to General Lincoln implored Lincoln for assistance,

I wrote you last night, informing you that the enemy had marched to Black-swamp; since which I have further accounts, by

which I am told they are still at Purisburgh; their numbers I cannot be informed of; but from different accounts they are allowed to be from seven to fifteen hundred; by deserters who have come from them, we are told they intend making up their number to 2,000, and to proceed immediately for Charlestown; I have with me now here about 1,200 men. Gen. Bull tells me he expects 200 more to-day. I have sent dispatches to the Gov. at Orangeburgh, and to Charlestown: I will impede the enemy's march as much as possible: if you could spare us 1,000 men, I think they would be sufficient to prevent their going to Charlestown (Moultrie 1802:391).

General Moultrie also wrote from Coosawhatchee on May 1 to Governor Rutledge,

I wrote you last night via. Charlestown, since which I am informed the enemy still remain at Purisburgh; their number I cannot get any certain acounts of; some say 1,500, others say less; by two deserters who came in yesterday, we are informed their number consists of the light infantry, and the second battalion of the 71st, with three field-pieces, six-pounders ; they also say, they are to make up their number to about 2,000, then proceed immediately to Charlestown: I have here with me about 1,200 men: I wish your excellency would reinforce me speedily; and with as many field-pieces as possible. I will do my utmost to prevent the enemy from going to Charlestown.

Moultrie sent another letter from his position at Tullifinny to the governor at 5 p.m. that same day with new intelligence,

I am informed by Col. Bourquin that he had got information from very good authority, that the enemy's numbers are 2,000; and that Gen. Provost is certainly with them; this makes me imagine they must be in great force: I received a letter from Gen. Lincoln, of the 29th ult. in which he says it is agreed by all their accounts, that the enemy's main body is at Ebenezer: 'he had not yet heard of my retiring to this place: I wrote him two letters yesterday, informing him of the same

: I have also requested of him, to send me 1,000 men, but if I can get speedily reinforced from the country, I will countermand my request. Gen. Bull gives me great hopes of 5 or 600 men in two days, which I hope will be time enough, without breaking in upon Gen. Lincoln's plan. Gen. Bull has just now informed me, that another account confirms the first, of the enemy's fleet having left Savannah (Moultrie 1802:392-393).

The following day Moultrie, while remaining at Tullifinny, provided the South Carolina governor with an update,

This morning, two deserters from the British camp; by whom I am informed that the enemy's main body is at Middleton-plantation (Turkev-hill) on Blackswamp; they say their numbers are about 5,000 with six 5 pounders; and that Gen. Provost is with them: that they are to proceed up the river, after Gen. Lincoln. I wish they may continue of that opinion, as I think he may be able to give a good account of them: I am greatly too weak to face them, should they move this way. This account nearly agrees with that given me by Capts. Hampton and Newman; whom I sent out to reconnoitre: they saw one battalion at the Two-sisters; about 300 at Middleton's; and their main body at Williamson's: I think I made a lucky escape from them; as the very evening I moved off from my ground, they moved towards me, and halted about 5 miles off; intending to attack in next morning; but they were informed that I was gone. I wish I could have some field-pieces (Moultrie 1802:393-394).

General Moultrie wrote from Tullifinny to South Carolina Lieutenant Governor Bee on May 3, stating,

I send you 4 prisoners of war; if you examine them, they can give you all the information they have given me: from other intelligence, the enemy are with their whole force about Black-swamp: it is uncertain which way they will turn; I keep out scouting parties close to them, to give me the first intelligence of their movements; which you shall be informed of as soon as possible. The enemy begin

to destroy every thing before them: they have burnt the two Dupont's houses, on the great swamp: if I could collect 100 horse, I could prevent it, in a great measure. I am much surprised that I have not heard from the governor, or yourself, since I arrived here: I am very much at a loss, to know what measures the enemy mean to pursue; I think they have not any preparations for a sea expedition (Moultrie 1802:394-395).

By early May 1779 Purysburg had lost most of its strategic value as a military place. The theatre of war shifted to the Charleston area. Major General Prevost mounted a failed attempt to capture the city and his army retreated back to Georgia. In September and October the Patriots and French forces combined in a failed assault on Major Prevost's stronghold in Savannah. Following that defeat Major General Lincoln withdrew to Charleston. Then, in May 1780, British forces again assaulted Charleston and achieved a resounding victory. Major General Lincoln and much of the Southern Army were captured.

As mentioned previously, Zubly's Ferry served another important role in early 1779 as an exchange point for prisoners of war. Even after the Patriot's evacuation of Purysburg on April 29, this area probably continued to serve that purpose. One example is John Newman, a private in the Georgia Continentals, who fought and was captured at the December 1778 battle of Savannah. Newman stated in his pension application that he, "fought on the 29th day of December, 1778, where the declarant lost his right arm, which was shot off near to his shoulder by a cannon ball. He was, after the fighting was over taken prisoner by the British, and kept in Savannah till his arm was healed (about 3 months) and was then sent on board a prison ship some fifteen miles below the Town of Savannah. He remained there till about the last of August 1779 when he was exchanged, and delivered over to the American Troops at Puyrersburg [Purysburg] on Savannah river in South Carolina. At the time he was exchanged he was so swollen, he could not travel, and remained there about one month, and then went to Augusta" (Newman 1837 [S1299]).

Zubly's Ferry was once again used in September and October 1779 by the patriots as they prepared their campaign against British-held Savannah. General Lincoln wrote to Governor Rutledge wrote from Zubly's

Ferry on September 12 stating, "A few of our troops crossed the Savannah last evening- the remainder are nearly over- I crossed this afternoon to be on the main road between Ebenezer and Savannah Town with most of the Troops- It will be with difficulty that we shall transport the artillery, whether it will be possible to pass it a rise of the river has caused a great embarrassment again. I hope we shall conquer them- I will write you again this day if possible" (Rutledge 1779 [Boston Public Library, Lincoln letterbook]).

General Lincoln wrote from Zubly's Ferry (west side) to Count D'Estaing on September 13 advising him,

I had the honor of writing to you yesterday afternoon by one of my family, who meeting with the enemy's posts, and from the insufficiency of his Guide was obliged to return—I now send this by Major McCleweir [sic, unidentified?] to whom I have communicated my sentiments concerning our junction—If you have any dispatches for me you may return to charge him with them-I have no doubt but they will be delivered speedily and with faithfulness— I can't venture to communicate to your Excellency my ideas relative to our future movements lest my letter should fall into the enemy's hands—several other expresses are sent different ways—some of which I am hopeful will arrive (Lincoln letterbook).

General Lincoln wrote to General Casimir Pulaski from Zubly's Ferry (west side) on September 14 at 11:00 a.m. stating,

I just sent your favor of this date with letters from Count D'Estaing; they were only duplicates of what we sent yesterday—I have no line from him relative to his landing his troops—all I learn is by the postscript of your letter wrote by Capt. [William] Washington. I wish you would send some person to see the Count and let him know our situation and that we are ready to co-operate with him as soon as he is ready. I sent off two expresses yesterday afternoon—I hope one at least reaches him, and that I shall soon have certain intelligence of his movements—I have ordered on your cavalry- they will join you before you recd this (Lincoln letterbook).

Uriah Odam, a dragoon in Pulaski's Legion, recalled Pulaski's rendezvous with Major General Lincoln at Black Swamp on their way to Savannah in September 1779, stating, "We marched to the South to join General Lincoln, which we did at a place called black Swamp in South Carolina" (Odam 1832 [R7810]).

Major General Prevost was preparing Savannah's defenses for the pending siege by the French and Americans and his knowledge of American troop movements was helpful in this endeavor. He wrote in his journal for September 14,

We learn through clever spies, who went over with him, that Lincoln has crossed Zubly's ferry. He has in the neighborhood of fifteen hundred men, and others are enroute from all parts of Carolina. Pulaski, already on this side of the Savannah river, has been joined by the cavalry, and is about eight miles from the town (Prevost 1897 [1781]).

General Lincoln wrote from Charleston to Samuel Huntington, President of Congress, on October 22 informing him of events in September 1779:

Orders were immediately given for assembling ye Troops—they reached Zubly's ferry and its vicinity on ye 11th and some were there on --the 12th & 13th --were spent in crossing ye troops and baggage, which was effected. Tho' not without fatigue from ye badness of ye roads through a deep swamp of near three miles, in which are many large creeks—ye bridges over them the enemy has broken down (Lincoln letterbook; see also Fold3.com 2015).

The combined French and American forces were unable to capture Savannah. The siege of the town ended with an attack on October 9, which ended very badly for the French and Americans. Suffering heavy losses, the French and American troops withdrew from Savannah and the British held Savannah.

Reeling from the disaster at Savannah, Major General Lincoln retreated up the Savannah River and by October 23, most of them had crossed into South Carolina at Zubly's Ferry. Lincoln wrote to Colonel Garden on October 20 stating,

I have desired the commanding officer at Zubly's to remain there until the sick, wounded and the stores are removed, and then take post at Sheldon and if he has an opty [opportunity] he is to distress the enemy in May River, or elsewhere if there is a prospect of distressing them, you will please to let Col. Thomson know of it" (Lincoln letterbook). General Lincoln reported in a letter to Congress on October 22, "the same evening, [October 18] having previously sent off our sick, wounded, and heavy baggage, the American troops left the ground, reached Zubly's ferry the next morning, re-crossed, and encamped that night in Carolina" (Scots Magazine 1780:78).

Colonel Barnard Beekman, 4th Regiment of South Carolina Artillery, wrote to an unspecified General [likely Moultrie or Lincoln] from his camp at Sheldon, South Carolina. informing him of the status of the retreat via Zubly's Ferry,

I arrived at this Post on the ev'ning of yesterday; with the Army & Stores.—I left Capt. Hale of the 2d with a command of Fifty men at Zubly's, to cover the removal of the Corn Meal, &c, under the Direction of Col Wylley D. Q. M. General [Thomas Wylly]. I am sorry to observe that that Gentleman overtook the Army at Alleston's on the march, where he inform'd me that he could not obtain the Ox teams & carts, and doubted of means to bring the Corn Meal on.—I have sent off Capt. Spencer (of the Q'r master's Department) with orders to collect what carriages he can on his way to Zubly's ferry and Directed him to bring off the Corn Meal if possible so far as Mr. Heyward's plantation, from whence it may after be brought to camp. I have posted a strong Picquet at Port Royal ferry & such other Guards as our safety required & number would afford. The large Boats at Zubly's ferry are sunk in a deep lagoon on the So Car'o. side a little higher up the River have decided that the Boat which brought the Corn meal be sunk in like manner (Abbatt 1905:321).

The *Royal Georgia Gazette* in Savannah (Johnston 1780:7) published the news of the Continental Army's retreat from Savannah for October 19, "the Rebels were crossing the river with all expedition at the Two Sister's, and the Rev. Mr. Zubly's ferry."

From March 7-17, General Lincoln's headquarters was in "camp at the Sisters" or "Two Sisters Ferry". Orders for March 15 and 16 were issued at the Two Sister's, and provide important clues to the American defenses in that vicinity:

Guards as usual excepting the Guard at the Savannah, which form a Corp, to a Serjts . Guard, & be posted on the other side the Savannah, which Guard in Case of an Alarm will discharge their pieces, retreat & break the Bridges in order to impede the progress of the Enemy — A Party of 4 Light Horse will be detached & take Post where the back road leads from Mr. Smiths to Turkey-Hill & reconoitre the roads from that Post down the Black Swamp & up towards Aparichocola...The Commanding Officer at the White House will keep a Picquet Guard at Cypress Creek Bridge, Videtts on the other Side the Bridge. In Case of the Enemys approach the Picquet will destroy the Bridge & retreat to their Quarters — he will also keep a Picquet where the Black swamp & river swamp join... Col". Sanders to take Post on the Right by the upper Flush, Col". Lock & Colo. Brevard on the left of the lower one — Capt. Nicholas of Col°. Locks Reg', with 50 Men will take Post on the left of the Greater piece of Artillery & Cap'. Jamison with 50 Men from Col°. Sanders's regt will take Post on the left of the smaller Piece...A Picquet Guard will be detached from the Main Guard & take Post at the Narrows between this & Williamson's Quarter. It is expected that each officer without Distinction will attend the Parade & take their Posts, & continue there until discharged (Grimké 1914, vol. 15:51-56).

By March 20, General Lincoln moved his headquarters back to Purysburg. A detachment of South Carolina Continental Corps of Artillery remained encamped at Two Sister's Ferry. General Lincoln was encamped at Black Swamp on April 2 where he wrote to John Jay, President of Congress. On April 15, General Lincoln explained in a letter to Congress the shift of headquarters from Purysburg to Black Swamp:

> On information that the enemy was moving most of their force farther up the river it was thought necessary, after leaving

about three hundred men at Purysburgh to take post at this place which was done on the 26th ulto." (Fold3.com 2015).

Major Grimké and the artillery detachment remained at several posts several miles north of Purysburg until General Lincoln's main force began its march towards Augusta on April 24 (Grimké 1914, vol. 15:82-90).

Colonel Charles Cotesworth Pinckney wrote from camp at Purysburg to General Lincoln at Black Swamp on March 29, stating,

> I detained your militia light horsemen' till late this morning, and received intelligence that the enemy are moving up from the Galleys toward this Post in Boats. The swamp guard heard very loudly the noise of the Horse, so did the guard at Hardstone's [Captain Joachim Hartstone, Granville County regiment], & Capn Caile's Family. I sent out two Reconnoitering parties to discover their movements & ordered a light Boat down the River to watch their motions; each of these Parties informing me on their Return that they could discover nothing of the Enemy, I thought the horse could only proceed from a reconnoitering Boat or two, and therefore took no notice of it when I dispatched the Light Horseman. Since I sent the Militia Light Horsemen away, a Deserter from the Enemy has come to the Guard at Hardstone's, he's a german in the 60th Battalion, he says that last night at 12 o'clock 70 men belonging to the 60th and 16th regiments under a Major Wambram set out from Abercorn in Boats and rode to the Gallies & landed at Yamasee about 2 oclock, & were conducted by some Negroes to a deserted Plantation in the swamp, then one of the Negroes told him it was half a mile to the place where we had a guard of a corporal and six men. At this deserted Plantation they halted about an hour and then retreated, at this time the Sun had just risen. The reason they gave for retreating was that they had not been joined by an hundred men whom they expected from Savannah-- it was commonly said that they would cross tonight or tomorrow night both at that place & from Ebenezer & out of this post, by getting us between

two Fires. He says the chief body of the enemy are not at Ebenezer. You will judge from this relation of it if it is the intention of the Enemy to endeavor to draw your strength from the Black Swamp, or whether it is a serious design against this post. The deserter's name is George Wyland.

Pinckney added this postscript, "Major General Lincoln—if you shall be of opinion that the design is against this post, is there not a noble opportunity to cut them off" (Pinckney 1779).

Grimké's order book indicates that from April 28-May 2, when the action took place at Purysburg and Black Swamp, General Lincoln and most of the Patriot forces were at Silver Bluff, South Carolina (Grimké 1914, vol. 15:124-131). Silver Bluff is approximately 100 miles upstream (by land route) from Purysburg.

Extracts from another British orderly book contain entries about General Prevost's advance into South Carolina in April 1779. Relevant entries include:

> [April 28] Lt Colonel Provost and Lt. Colonel Maitland are appointed to the Rank of Colonels in the armey [sic] under the Command of Brigadier Genl Provost..." It is reccomended [sic] to the officer to have at hand exclusive of tomorrow, two Days provisions Cooked and Leiguor [sic] in proportion -- In case the Battn. should be ordered to march the women to remain at this post whence the *Qur: Mr or Some Com[m]issioned officer* employed by him will rec[e]ive provision for them all officers Servants to be under arms and fall in with there [sic] respective Companys [sic] when the Battn. is ordered to march....[May 2] General O[rder]s H[ea]d Q[ua]r[ters] [Arthur] Middleton's plantation South Carolina, 2d. May 1779...all Cattle Drove in for the use of the armie [sic] to be paid for on Dollar per heade [sic] to those who Drove them... [May 7] "proper Distinction between them & those who Continue obsinsly [sic] in arms against his Majesty and expects that all officer will aid him in making it, and be always Vigilant & attentive for their own honours to being all marauters [sic] plunderers to justice, and

he is Determine to make very severe one example (Heritage Auctions 2008).

Major General George Washington (1779:1) had learned the news of the British move against Purysburg by May 26, when he wrote from his headquarters at Middlebrook, New Jersey to John Jay. General Washington cited a sea captain's report from a ship that had left Charleston harbor on May 5 and the captain stated that, "the enemy were on this side of Purisburgh, and superior in numbers to our army".

The Gazette of the State of South Carolina published this account of the actions around Purysburg on May 5, 1779,

The Campaign in Georgia and the Southern Part of this State, between the Royal Army commanded by Brigadier General Provost, and ours commanded by his Excellency Major General Lincoln, seems to be opening fast, and with stuttering Appearances to us, if the Enemy will venture from the Banks of Savannah River. The Enemy it on the 22d Instant by ... Coup d Etat, that is they sent a Party of about 50 Indians or white Men painted and dressed like them, the River to the Plantation of Capt. Hardstone a few Miles below Purrysburg in this State; were they performed the heroic Feat of burning the deferred Buildings and murdering an old Negro Woman that left behind, whom they afterwards scalped. — On the 28th in the Evening, another Party of the Enemy crossed the River at another Place, to the Plantation of Mr. Hayward, called Barnesover, about 8 Miles below Purrysburg; of which Intelligences being given to Col. M'Intosh, who was at Purrysburg with 200 Men, he immediately marched half his Force to attack the Enemy; but when they reached Mr. Heyward's they found nothing but a Number of bayoneted Sheep, Hogs and Poultry scattered about the Plantation, and that the Enemy had withdrawn themselves into ... Swamp; he therefore returned to his Post at Purrysburg .—On the 29th (Thursday) Col. M'intosh received Information, That the Enemy who had crossed the River the preceding Evening, were in full March to attack him, and consisted of 500 Men, chiefly Light Troops; His Number (only 200, and chiefly inexperienced Militia)

being insufficient to withstand, to advantage, so superior a Body of the Enemy's Regulars, it was thought advisable to abandon Purrysburg, and endevour to draw them farther into the Country: Purrysburg was accordingly quitted to the Enemy, when they came in view, and Col. M'Intosh withdrew his little Force, with so much regularity (taking the distressed habitants at the same Time, Protection) that they never ventured to pursue him, and he reinforced Brigadier General Moultrie at Black Swamp, without the least Loss. — On Friday the 30th Brigadier-General Moultrie retired, with the Troops under his Command, from Black Swamp, to Coosawhatchee, where he occupies a more defensible post, and will make a Stand. —The same Day, a large Body of the Enemy, said to be 1500 Men, crossed the River at Zubly's Ferry, and next Day took possession of the Camp at Black Swamp that had been occupied by General Moultrie. Since then, we have not heard of any Movemnts made, either from Coosawhatchie, Purrysburg or Black-Swamp, except that the Enemy, who seem cautious of quitting the Backs, of the River, have sent out Parties of Light Horse to collect Cattle, Horses and other Plunder. — In the mean Time, Major general Lincoln who was near Augusta, with the main Body of the Army sent several Detachments down the Country, on the Georgia Side of the River, who had already proceeded at far as Briar-Creek, burnt three Forts by the Enemy, and taken 25 Prisoners. — It is generally thought, that as soon as General Lincoln's Troops crossed into Georgia, the Enemy's Out-Posts were all called in, and collected together near Savannah, and at Ebenezer, from whence the Movements to this Side of the River have been made, to draw that Generals attention from his object: But the Enemy pretend that as soon as they shall be 2000 strong, they are to march directly for Charlestown, or to attack General Lincoln. If they should think proper to attempt either, we have not the least doubt of their meeting a proper Reception. — His Excellency our Governor marched, with a Body of Men from his Camp, last Saturday Morning, to reinforce General Moultrie; and our Southern

Militia are so animated, by the news of the Enemy's having entered this Country, that the Roads have ever since been thronged with Volunteers going to General Moultrie's Camp. —- It is certain, that the Enemy since their first landing in Georgia, have received no Reinforcements, except the Troops that were drawn from St. Augustine, Col. Browns Rangers, the Turn-Coats of Georgia, a Number of poor deluded Inhabitants of the Frontiers of this State and North-Carolina, all the most notorious House-Thieves, Felons and Banditti that have fled or been driven from this State, and about 80 Indians; and that they expect Reinforce from New-York is hardly probable, from the Pay of the Troops being trusted on board the Ship Jason, lately taken.

The Manchester Mercury and Harrop's General Advertiser (1779:1) and the Edinburgh Evening Courant (1779:2) both reprinted two accounts from American newspapers in their June 29 issue. This news article reveals the speed that news traveled in 1779, with news of the Purysburg reaching Savannah by May 2, New York by May 17, Edinburgh, Scotland by June 28 and in Manchester, England by June 29. The first account was from Rivington's Royal Gazette with the dateline, New York, May 15, which stated,

By Advices from Savannah, dated May 2, we have Confirmation of the British Troops having driven the Rebel Army from their advantageous Post at Purysburg, and now possessing in the most severe Tranquility the whole Province of Georgia, where Law, Order and the British Constitution are perfectly restored, to the inexpressible Felicity of the Inhabitants. The Rebels have retired toward's Charles-town, and great Numbers daily resort to the British Standard (Manchester Mercury and Harrop's General Advertiser 1779:1).

The second news report was reprinted from the May 17 edition of the *New-York Gazette*, which stated,

Captain White, of the Spitfire armed Brig, is arrived here from Georgia, and says, that just before he sailed an Officer came on board the Vigilant Man of War from Lieutenant Colonel Maitland giving an Account, that with the 71st Regiment and

Light Infantry he had crossed the River Savannah, and attacked the Rebel Army, consisting of 2000 Men, which he put to flight, killing 120, and taking 300 Prisoners, with a vast Quantity of Arms, Ammunition, Cannon, and other Stores. This Coup de main was effected in the Night, without a single Cannon Shot, and the Loss only of ten Men on our Side. The Possession and the Loss was of the greatest Consequence on many Accounts, the above Troops were commanded by General Lincoln, and much the best they have (Manchester Mercury and Harrop's General Advertiser 1779:1).

The *Maryland Gazette*, a Loyalist newspaper, printed a different version of this story in its June 4 issue:

Capt. White of the privateer brig Spitfire, arrived here from Georgia, informs us, that fifteen hundred of the royal army, under the command of col. Maitland, crossed the river Savannah, on the evening of the twenty-seventh ult. To Purisburgh, on the Carolina side, where they surprised the rebel gen. Lincoln with two thousand congress troops, killed about one hundred and fifty, took about three hundred prisoners and obliged the remainder to run, many of them almost naked, into the woods (Maryland Gazette 1779b:2).

The Purysburg battle story relayed via the *Spitfire* likely contains a mix of fact and fiction. The number of American troops at Purysburg (2,000) is greatly exaggerated (although this same number is cited by Major General Prevost, see below) and the claim of 120 Rebels killed and 300 taken prisoner also is an exaggeration, as this number exceeds the total American forces left at Purysburg in April 1779. The loss of 10 British soldiers may be accurate.

The *Virginia Gazette* described Prevost's move into South Carolina in their August 14 issue, citing information from Charleston dated July 7. It includes a description of Prevost's army,

consisting of two battalions of highlanders (the 71st regiment) two regiments of Hessians, one battalion of the 60th, two regiments of North American new levies, Colonel Brown's corps of dragoons

or light horse, to which were attached a large body of the most infamous banditti and horse thieves, that perhaps ever were collected together any where, under the direction of M'Girt (dignified with the title of Colonel) a corps of Indians, with negro and white savages disguised like them, and about 1500 of the most savage disaffected poor people, seduced from the back settlements of this state and North Carolina (Virginia Gazette 1779c:2).

The article went on to describe British troop movements across South Carolina after Prevost,

entered this state the 30th of April last: By a rapid march, the assistance of the best guides, a season uncommonly favourable, and taking routs that could not be suspected, this respectable body arrived before the town [Charleston], quite unexpectedly the 11th of May (Virginia Gazette 1779c:2).

Major General Prevost wrote to Lord Germain on June 10 summarizing the campaign in South Carolina. Extracts from this letter were printed in the *Pennsylvania Packet* and the *Scots Magazine* (1779:498). The relevant portions of the letter stated:

Towards the latter end of April, I received information that General Lincoln (who till then had occupied a position on the North Side of Savannah river, by which he equally covered every part of a river at all times extremely difficult, but deemed impassable in times of freshes, and in the face of an army) had marched the best part of his army towards Augusta, to penetrate from thence into Georgia, and to protect a meeting of the rebel Delegates appointed to meet at Augusta on the 10th ultimo; this consideration added to a wish to preserve the reputation of his Majesty's arms, by acting on the offensive, and to oblige Mr. Lincoln to quit his project, and to procure provisions from this province for our army, induced me to penetrate into Carolina. The corps of observation of the rebel army being about 2000 men, but chiefly militia, under the command of Brigadier General Moultrie, surprised to see the British troops emerging from swamps deemed impassable, were struck with such a panic as to make but a weak

resistance, at the several strong passes through which we had to pass in pursuit of them, and fled with the greatest hurry and consternation, towards Charles town (Pennsylvania Packet 1779:2).

General Prevost gave a similar account of the military activity in South Carolina in an August 4 letter to Lord Germain (Burke 1780:603). This letter also was published in the *London Gazette* and the *St. James's Chronicle or British Evening*-Post (1779:1). Edmund Burke summarized,

The latter end of April General Prevost having received information that the rebel General Lincoln, (who till then had occupied a position on the north side of the Savannah river) had marched the best part of his troops towards Augusta, with a design to penetrate into Georgia, to protect a meeting of the rebel Delegates; to oblige Lincoln to quit his project, and to procure provisions for the army, he was induced to penetrate into Carolina. The corps of observation of the rebel army being about 2000 men, chiefly militia, under the command of Brigadier Moultrie, surprised to see the British troops emerging from swamps deemed impassable, were struck with such a panic as to make but a weak resistance at the several strong passes through which they had to pass in pursuit of them, and fled with the greatest hurry and consternation towards Charles Town. The enemy were so well persuaded that the British forces only meant to forage the country, that it was some days after the progress of the royal army into South Carolina, before Gen. Lincoln could be persuaded to retreat, and come to the assistance of Charles Town (Burke 1780:603).

The *Annual Register* for 1779 printed similar accounts of the battle,

Such continued, pretty nearly, the situation of the two small hostile armies until the latter end of April. Separated by a river, which neither of them could venture, to pass in the face of the other, they were both secure in their posts, and each covered his respective province. A movement at that time made by General Lincoln, presented, however, a new face

of affairs, and opened a way for consequences, which he evidently did not apprehend, and Which he undoubtedly would not have hazarded if he had. In order to protect either a meeting, or an election, of delegates for the province of Georgia, which was appointed to be held at Augusta in the beginning of May, he quitted his situation on the lower part: of the river, which effectually 'enabled him to secure Charles Town, as well as to cover the province in general, and marched with the best part of his army towards that place. Indeed it did not appear easy to suppose, that this measure was liable to any dangerous consequences. The freshes were then out, which seemed to render the river in itself a sufficient rampart; but the deep swamps on the other fide seemed utterly impassable; or if these could even be evaded, the general appearance of the fiat flooded country along the coast, every were intersected with rivers and creeks, seemed to forbid all military operations at that season on that side. But Lincoln did not trust entirely to natural difficulties; he besides left, under the conduct of General Moultrie, a body estimated at about 1500 men, and composed chiefly of the provincial militia, to guard the passes of the river and swamps (Annual Register

The *Remembrancer* published an April 28, 1779 account from Charleston, South Carolina, which added:

Our last advices from Georgia are, that the British army and navy there begun to be very sickly, and sensibly to feel the want of provisions, having already exhausted that part of the country which is in their possession. That they suffer most from the want of flour; and had not been able to procure even Indian corn meal.—That their dependence had been upon New-York or Great Britain, as well for bread and flour, as for reinforcements, but had received neither from either; and now clearly see the impossibility of subsisting the troops already there much longer (Remembrancer 1779:179-180).

The *Annual Register* printed this post-war summary of Prevost's 1779 campaign in South Carolina,

This movement inspired General Prevost with an idea of attempting to penetrate into Carolina. He considered, that offensive operations were necessary to support and increase the reputation of the British arms in that quarter; that his force was already considerably increased by the accession of loyalists in that province as well as Georgia, from whence there was reason to hope, that his appearance in the country might induce great bodies of the well-affected to declare in his favour; and, in any case, it would be the sure means of obliging Lincoln to abandon his design, and would at the same time afford an opportunity of procuring a plentiful supply of provisions, which he wanted.

Under the influence of these considerations, he passed the river in different parts near the end of April, with a force which, so far as can be gathered, may be estimated at about 3,000 men. Moultrie's militia were struck with such a panic, at seeing the British troops traversing a country, and emerging from swamps which they deemed impassable, that they made but a weak resistance in defending the several strong passes which might have effectually checked their progress; and at length, as the country became more practicable, gave way on all sides, and retired towards Charles Town,

The facility with which the army had triumphed over the extraordinary natural impediments of the country, together with the feeble resistance of the enemy, served to extend the views of the general to objects of greater moment, than those which had operated in engaging him to undertake the expedition. The loyalists, in the eagerness of their hopes and wishes, which no failure or disappointment could ever slacken or dump, failed nor to improve this disposition, which was so favourable to them. They assured the general, as a matter of undoubted certainty, that Charles Town would surrender without resistance, at his first appearance. The object was so important, and the temptation so great, that inclination and duty must have been equally urgent to its acquisition. Nor did it seem well in

the power of a commander, in a matter of so much consequence to the state, to have slighted the information as those, who had the best means of knowing- both the state of the place and the disposition of the people; it would be no easy matter afterwards to (hew that it deserved no credit, and that the design was utterly impracticable. General Prevost, notwithstanding, did not think it fitting entirely to rely upon his own opinion, and therefore called all the field officers of his army to consultation upon the subject, who unanimously concurred in their advice for his advancing directly to Charles Town. The conduct of General Lincoln served greatly to strengthen this opinion, who was so positively persuaded, that General Prevost intended nothing more than to forage the country, that it was not until some days after the British forces had passed the river, that he could be induced to return to the defence of the capital. But when he was at length convinced of the real danger of that city, he immediately detached a body of infantry, mounted on horseback, for the greater expedition, to its defence, and collecting the militia of the upper country, returned with his whole force, to act as circumstances might offer for its relief.

In this situation of things, the British army were some days march a-head of Lincoln, in the way to Charles Town, and Moultrie's Militia, and Polaski's Legion, retiring from one creek and river to another towards that place, as they were pressed by the former. So many bridges and passes could not be gained without some skirmishes, that the resistance was still so weak, that they were attended with no circumstances of any consequence; it is however to be observed, that as the families and effects of Moultrie's Militia lay pretty generally in the line of march, these considerations touched them so closely, that his force suffered a continual diminution from the outset, which, besides the weakness it produced in lessening his numbers, served necessarily to dishearten those who remained (Annual Register 1796:182-184).

Another secondary account of the battle at Purysburg was published in the July 13 edition of the *Edinburgh Advertiser* (1779b:1). The paper quoted an unattributed letter from New York, dated May 14, which stated: "Col. Maitland crossed the Savannah River, surprised and attacked Lincoln at Purisburgh on the South Carolina side, killed 120 rebels, made 300 prisoners, put the rest to flight, and took all their baggage, cannon, & c."

The *Remembrancer*, published in 1779, information it's editor had received from New York, dated May 29,

By the Vigilant's tender from Georgia, we are informed, that the head-quarters of the Royal army are at Purysburg, in South Carolina; Mr. Lincoln having retreated to Orangeburgh, and that it seems to be the intention of General Prevost to take possession of Beaufort; things go on very prosperously in that now happy province (Remembrancer 1779:180).

This magazine also published an extract of a letter from Captain Henry, written from Savannah on May 23, which noted, "The King's troops, about 3000, under Major-general Prevost, crossed Savannah River on the 29th of April, and marched from Purysburg towards Charles-town, the rebels abandoning every strong post as our army approached" (*Remembrancer* 1779:182).

The *Remembrancer* printed extracts of May 5, 1779 correspondence from South Carolina Lieutenant Governor Thomas Bee in Charleston, South Carolina to Patrick Henry, in which Bee stated,

The enemy having crossed from Georgia to this State and by a rapid movement got between General Lincoln and Charlestown, are bending their whole force this way; they were this morning within sixty-eight miles of us, and are pursuing General Moultrie, who, with about fifteen hundred men, is retreating before them (Remembrancer 1779:181; Scots Magazine 1779:375).

The *Remembrancer* also printed information from patriot newspapers, such as one from Philadelphia that reported on June 2, 1779:

Saturday arrived at New London, the brig _____, Captain Phipps, in ten days, from Charlestown, South-Carolina, who

informs, that the British army, consisting of 7000 men, had made a circuitous march by way of Purysburg, and got into the rear of General Lincoln's army, of 3000 men, and is in the front of General Moultrie's army, also of 3000, within fifty miles of Charlestown; that Charlestown was picketed, and walled by the inhabitants, who were determined to defend the town to the last extremity, provided the enemy should be hardy enough to proceed to that place (Remembrancer 1779:180).

Several British historians addressed the action at Purysburg in the years immediately following the war. Historian John Andrews compiled a four volume history of the war in 1785. He makes no mention of the action at Purysburg. In his description of the 1778 capture of Savannah by the British, Andrews stresses the value of the British light infantry, commanded by Colonel Maitland and Sir James Baird. He also mentions that General Lincoln had been wounded in the action with General Burgovne (Andrews 1785:270, 322). Historian William Gordon (1788, vol. 3:254) was living in Boston and gathering information, including correspondence with South Carolina historian David Ramsay, for his four volume set on the American Revolution. Gordon returned to London in 1786 and completed his work. Gordon stated that General Lincoln, "began his march, leaving at Black-swamp and Purysburgh the 5th and part of the 2d regiment of South Carolina, and about 800 militia under gen. Moultrie". In 1794 historian Charles Stedman stated that General Lincoln established his headquarters at Purysburg on January 3, 1779. His description of General Prevost's invasion into South Carolina is lacking in detail, noting,

> General Lincoln's force now amounted to five thousand men: Of these he left about one thousand to garrison Purysburg and Black Swamp, the former of these places under the command of colonel Macintosh, and the latter under general Moultrie; and with the rest, on the twenty-third of April, he began his march up the Savannah. Five days after his departure general Prevost, with a view of obliging him to return, passed over the greatest part of his army into South Carolina. The American posts at Purysburg and Black Swamp were immediately abandoned; and general Moultrie, unable to withstand the force to which he was opposed, retreated

hastily towards Charlestown destroying all the bridges in his rear as he passed them (Stedman 1794, vol. 2:106).

Historian Barlow (1795:119-120) noted that General Prevost's invasion force that crossed into South Carolina contained "about 2400 men" and these included a, "considerable body of Indians". He further reflected that, "the absence of the main army under Lincoln, the retreat of Moultrie, the plunderings and devastations of the invaders, and above all, the dread of the Indian savages which accompanied the royal army, diffused a general panic among the inhabitants" and that as a result of this terror, "many were induced to apply for British protection". William Belsham wrote in 1795 that, "general Prevost was no sooner apprised of this movement [Lincoln's march up the Savannah River] than he determined to pass the Savannah at Purisburg, and make a rapid march towards Charlestown. This, the small force left by general Lincoln to guard the passage of the Savannah was not able to prevent; and the English army, consisting of about 4000 men, including Indians, arrived in the vicinity of that city on the 11th of May" (Belsham 1795:404). English historian William Winterbotham also wrote about the invasion,

> Lincoln had no sooner quitted his post, than it was judged a proper time by the British general to put in execution the grand scheme which had been meditated against Carolina. Many difficulties indeed lay in his way. The river Savannah was so swelled by the excessive rains of the season, that it seemed impassable; the opposite shore, for a great way, was so full of swamps and marshes, that no army could march over it without the greatest difficulty; and, to render the passage still more difficult, General Moultrie was left with a considerable body of troops in order to oppose the enemy's attempts. But in spite of every opposition, the constancy and perseverance of the British forces at last prevailed. General Moultrie was defeated, and obliged to retire towards Charlestown (Winterbotham 1795, vol. 1:539)

Several British historian in the first decade of the nineteenth century summarized the battle. Scottish historian Robert Beatson gave this 1802 account, On the 29th of April, when he [Major General Prevost] supposed, that General Lincoln and his army had got to a convenient distance, he crossed the Savannah, with near three thousand of his best troops and some Indians, and made a forced march, in hopes of surprising Brigadier-General Moultrie and the corps under his command, posted at Black Swamp; but the country being alarmed, the rebels had got notice of the approach of the British troops, and quitted the ground, three hours before they reached it (Beatson 1802:493).

John Adolphus provided another 1802 summary,

Leaving one thousand under colonel Mackintosh and general Moultrie, to garrison Purysburg and Black Swamp, he [Lincoln] began his march up the Savannah. Colonel Prevost, in hopes of inducing him to return, crossed over the greatest part of his army into South Carolina, the detachments under generals Mackintosh and Moultrie retiring before him, or offering only a feeble resistance; the American general, however proceeded on his march, notwithstanding the frequent expresses which arrived demanding his presence (Adolphus 1802, vol. 3:156).

Scottish historian Thomas Campbell wrote in 1807:

Until April, General Lincoln kept his post, but marched towards Augusta about the beginning of May, leaving 1500 men to guard the swamps and passes of the river. On his departure, Prevost conceived it practicable to effect an inroad into Georgia [sic, South Carolina]. The enemy's militia, astonished to see our troops advancing over morasses which had been deemed impracticable, made scarcely the shew of resistance, but retired on all hands towards Charlestown. After consultation with his officers, the British commander determined to continue the pursuit, and to attempt the siege of the capital of the province (Campbell 1807, vol. 2:2).

Secondary patriot accounts of events in the lower Savannah River appeared in American newspapers and in post-war histories, although the Georgia and South

Carolina Patriot press was silenced during this period. The Georgia Gazette was shut down with the British capture of Savannah and Whig newspapers in South Carolina stopped the presses once it was apparent that the British had entered their state in force. As related in the previous section, many American newspaper reports from 1779 were reprinted in British newspapers. *The Virginia Gazette* (1779a) reported news (prior to March 24, 1779) from Charleston, South Carolina in their April 24 issue, which included,

Five deserters who came last week to Purysburg, informed that the British were moving down the country to Savannah, from whence they said, a body of them was to go to Port Royal. They also mentioned there having been a mutiny among the soldiers, occasioned by their allowance of rum being stopped by Prevost, who was knocked down in the night, but the person not discovered.

David Ramsay was a physician, public official and historian born in Pennsylvania in 1749 attended Princeton College in New Jersey and lived his adult life in Charleston, South Carolina, Dr. Ramsay served in the South Carolina militia as a field surgeon in Charleston in 1780, when the city was threatened by the Sir Henry Clinton. When the city was taken by the British in May 1780 Ramsay was captured and held prisoner at St. Augustine, East Florida. He was exchanged and later served as a delegate to the Continental Congress from 1782-1783 and from 1785-1786. He died in 1815. Ramsay was related by marriage to several of the key leaders in South Carolina in the Revolution. Consequently, he had access to conversations with many men who had served at Purysburg and Black Swamp, although he does not explicitly identify his sources in his works.

Ramsay (1785, vol. 2:20-21) wrote,

General Prevost availed himself of the critical time when the American army was one hundred and fifty miles up the Savannah river, and crossed over into Carolina from Abercorn to Purysburgh, with two thousand four hundred men. In addition to this number of regular troops, a considerable body of Indians, whose friendship the British had previously secured, were associated with the royal army on this expedition. Lieutenant-colonel Mackintosh, who commanded a few

continentals at Purysburgh, not being able to oppose this force, made a timely retreat. It was part of general Prevost's plan to attack general Moultrie at Black-Swamp, to effect which he made a forced march the first night after he landed on the Carolina side, but he was about three hours too late. General Moultrie had changed his quarters, and being joined by colonel Mackintosh's party, took post at Tulifinny bridge, in order to prevent the incursion of the British into the state and to keep between them and its defenceless capital".

Ramsey described "outrages and depredations" by the British on their march from Black Swamp, including "they burnt all the buildings on major Butler's plantation at the Eutaws. The day before they burned the Episcopal church, in prince William's parish, and general Bull's house at Sheldon".

Historian Abiel Holmes (1805:412) summarized military movements on the lower Savannah River this way,

Five days afterward [on April 28, 1779], general Prevost, to oblige him [General Lincoln] to return, passed two thousand four hundred men over the same river, near its mouth, into South Carolina. The posts at Purisburgh and Black Swamp were immediately abandoned; and general Moultrie, unable to withstand the force, which advanced against him, retired toward Charlestown, destroying all the bridges in his rear.

Writing in Boston in 1805, Mercy Warren pointed out a possible reason why General Lincoln opted to march to Augusta in late April,

General Lincoln, zealous to procure an election of delegates to congress from Georgia, which he expected would be impeded by violence, left his advantageous situation on the lower part of the river, and moved towards Augusta.

She goes on to describe how,

The active Prevost seized the moment of advantage; suddenly crossed the river in different parts, and penetrated into South Carolina, with little or no opposition. The party under Moultrie, consisting chiefly of militia, on seeing themselves surrounded on all sides by British troops, retreated hastily, and secured themselves within the city of Charleston"

Warren's tone in her discussion of General Lincoln as a military leader is derogatory as she added, "While General Lincoln was canvassing for the election of a delegate to congress, the commander of the forces of his antagonist [Prevost] was intent only on winning success in the field" (Warren 1805, vol. 2:171-173). Also in 1805 historian Richard Snowden summarized the military situation following the battle of Brier Creek,

General Prevost was now enabled to extend his posts further up the river and to guard all the principal passes: so that general Lincoln was reduced to a state of inaction: and at last moved off to Augusta, that he might protect the assembly, which sat at that place...The British general now began to put into execution the grand scheme which had been mediated against Carolina. Notwithstanding many difficulties lay in the way, the constancy and perseverance of the British forces prevailed. General Moultrie, who was stationed with a body of troops to oppose their passage, was obliged to give way and retreat towards Charleston (Snowden 1805:117).

In 1811 John Lendrum gave this summary of events at Purysburg,

Lincoln had no sooner quitted his post, than it was judged a proper time by the British general to put in execution the grand scheme which had been meditated against Carolina. Many difficulties indeed lay in his way. The river Savannah was so swelled by the excessive rains of the season, that it seemed impassable; the opposite shore, for a great way, was so full of swamps and marshes, that no army could march over it without the greatest difficulty; and, to render the passage still more difficult, general Moultrie was left with a considerable body of troops in order to oppose the enemy's attempts. But in spite of every opposition, the perseverance of the British troops at last prevailed. Gen. Moultrie was obliged

to retire towards Charleston (Lendrum 1811, volume 2:92)

McCall (1816:188) described the tactical advantage of Lincoln's position at Purysburg,

The position which general Lincoln had taken at Purysburg, was well calculated to observe the movements of general Provost [sic, Prevost], and wait for enforcements: the freshets in Savannah river at season of the year, overflowed the swamps to the extent of two to four miles in breadth, and upwards of one hundred miles in length from the sea, so that neither general could assail the other with any prospect of advantage

McCall (1816:230-231) gave this account of the action in April, 1779,

On the 23d of April, a party of about forty Indians, and white men painted like Indians, passed over the river at Yamasee, four miles below Purysburgh, and attempted to surprise the guard: they were pursued, but escaped into the swamp. On the 25th, general Moultrie received intelligence that the enemy was in motion, and that some parties of them had passed over into South Carolina, below the town of Savannah: he ordered lieutenant-colonel Henderson to retreat with his command from Purysburgh to Coosawhatchie, and two days afterward, a party of the British passed over from Abercorn to Purysburgh, and attempted to surprise Moultrie at Black swamp. Moultrie filed off toward Charleston for the purpose of keeping in the enemy's front and sent an express to general Lincoln to apprise him of their movements, and his intentions to harass and retard their progress, until he received re-enforcements. General Provost's [sic, Prevost] army consisted of two thousand chosen troops, and seven hundred loyalists and Indians.

Allen and his colleagues wrote in 1819 about the 1779 British invasion of South Carolina,

Leaving one thousand men under General Moultrie, at the Black Swamp and Perrysburg [sic, Purysburg], he [Lincoln]

commenced his march for Augusta on the 23d of April.

General Prevost almost immediately determined to take advantage of this movement of Lincoln, and penetrate into South Carolina. With this view, having collected a force of more than 3000 men, he crossed the river in several places, and moved towards the posts occupied by Moultrie. They traversed swamps that had been deemed by the Americans impassable, and appeared so unexpectedly, that Moultrie's militia made but a feeble resistance and retreated towards Charleston (Allen et al. 1819:231).

Frost gave this assessment of the battle at Purysburg,

Colonel McIntosh, who was stationed there with a small detachment, retreated to General Moultrie at Black Swamp. General Prevost advanced rapidly into the country; and Moultrie was obliged to retire hastily before him, destroying the bridges in his rear. The militia who were in the field showed no courage, and could not be prevailed on to defend the passes with any degree of bravery. The militia of the state did not appear in arms as had been expected; and Moultrie experienced an alarming diminution of his strength, by the desertion of many of those under his command (Frost 1854:220).

Dawson (1858, vol. 1:496) gives another mid-nineteenth century summary of the action at Purysburg,

> on the twenty-ninth of April, General Prevost crossed the Savannah, at the head of twenty-four hundred men, besides a considerable body of Indians. He entered South Carolina at Purysburg, and Colonel McIntosh, who had been left there with detachments from the Second and Fifth South Carolina regiments, numbering two hundred and twenty men, retired before him and joined General Moultrie at the Black Swamp. Thither, on the thirtieth, General Prevost pursued him, but General Moultrie, with his combined forces, had moved from there three hours before the enemy arrived, and taken post at Coosohatchie Bridge. On the following day (May 1st), both parties appear to have

advanced—the main body of the enemy, which had been increased to about three thousand men, to Middleton's plantation in Black Swamp, and General Moultrie to Tullifiny Bridge, the latter leaving one hundred men at Coosohatchie as a rear guard.

Dobbs (1906:83) repeated previous historian's British troop count at Purysburg of 2,400 men and added, "a body of Indians". These statistics were cited by Ramsay (1785), Gordon (1788), Barlow (1795), and likely others. It remains unclear as to the original source of these troop figures, as they are not found in the writings of any of the participants or the commanding officers. Interestingly, Ramsay, who is the earliest to cite the 2,400 number, reduced it to 2,000 in his later history of South Carolina (Ramsay 1809, vol. 1:172).

Maritime Engagements in 1779

Purysburg was a river town that was located near the head of tidal flow. Vessel traffic on the river provided key transport for men and materiel in the eighteenth century. The Patriots and the British quickly maneuvered for control of the Savannah River above Savannah. Once the British controlled the mouth of the river, the Patriots were forced to retreat upstream.

During the East Florida campaigns in 1776 and 1778 Patriot troops marched to Purysburg from the Carolinas and Virginia. From there many boarded vessels that took them to Savannah, where they continued their trek down the coast. One example from pension records of the maritime military activity at Purysburg in 1778 is found in the application of Thomas Harlow, a Sergeant in the 3rd Regiment South Carolina Continentals. Harlow recalled that his company,

went under Colonel [Charles C.] Pinckney (who had taken the command of Colonel Thompson's Regiment) to Purrysburg on the Savannah River. About thirteen hundred soldiers marched to that place at this time under the command of General Howe. He remained with the Army at Purrysburg about three weeks, and then descended the Savannah in boats to the town of Savannah at which place they remained one night...and then started

on their way to Fort Barrenton [sic, Barrington] (Harlow 1832 [R4615]).

Joseph Johnson noted that Colonel William Thomson, who commanded the 3rd Regiment South Carolina Continentals, developed a fever, "when in the neighborhood of Purisburg, and he retired for a while under furlough" (Johnson 1851:98).

As the British fleet approached Savannah in late 1778, Georgia's Governor Houstoun feared for the safety if its public records. These documents were packed up and loaded on the *Hinchenbrook*, but the vessel's draft was too great and the public records were off loaded into small boats and taken to Purysburg, and then to John Bryan's plantation at Union (McCall 1816:167).

The capture of Savannah by the British in late December 1778 disrupted the patriot's free use of the river as an outlet to the Atlantic Ocean. The Patriot fleet that was available to assist and defend Purysburg were limited to a variety of vessels that happened to be upstream from Tybee Island at the time the British fleet entered Georgia. An assortment of other vessels, both military and domestic, quickly moved upstream to avoid British capture. American and French vessels that were not immediately captured by the British included the *Congress* galley, *Lee* galley, and the armed French sloop *Mary Magdalen*. Hyde Parker, who commanded the British naval forces at Savannah in late 1778 and early 1779 provided a list of the vessels that were captured at Savannah and to the southward.

The construction of the four galleys was authorized by the Continental Congress. The galleys Congress, Lee, Washington and Bulloch were built in 1776 and 1777 for coastal defense and for supplies (Fraser 2005:119). No drawings or renderings of these vessels are known (Fleetwood 1995). Captain Oliver Bowen purchased supplies for the vessels and Edward Telfair acquired timber for their construction. Fraser (2005:119) speculates that the galleys were "lateenrigged craft with twenty oars and armed with small guns". In late December, 1778 the Lee and Congress galleys were in the Savannah River, while the Washington and Bulloch galleys were in the Sunbury River (Mordecai Sheftall Papers 1778a-f). The Lee galley was a row galley that was built in Georgia in 1776 for use by the Continental Army. Its construction was authorized by the Continental Congress. Captain John Braddock commanded the *Lee* galley on January 23, 1779. He was not in command of the vessel when she was captured in March 1779, however. At her capture the *Lee* was commanded by Captain Boitar [or Boitard], a Frenchman (Lincoln 1778-1779a). The *Congress* galley also was a row galley that was built in Georgia in 1776 for use by the Continental Army. The *Defence* and the *Peggy* were schooners and the Ranger is listed as a brigg and a schooner.

A "Return of Galley's, Vessels, Men, Guns & Stores under the command of Colonel John White, Savannah River (above Mulberry Grove, December 31st 1778" provides details of five vessels (4 armed military vessels, four armed private vessels, and one unarmed flat) that were present on the Savannah River. The military vessels in Colonel White's return include the *Congress* and *Lee* galleys, the *Matalen* sloop [sic, *Mary Magdalen*], the Defence and the Betsy (both described as armed boats) and the *Irish Village*, which was a large flat without ammunition. The private vessels were the schooner *Peggy*, Brig *Ranger* and two unspecified sloops (Lincoln 1777-1778, Reel 2:100; White 1778).

The sloop *Mary Magdalen* was an armed French vessel commanded by Captain Correight. As Moultrie (1802, vol. 1:259-260) noted, it carried ten guns. The *Irish Village* was a flat boat used to haul personnel and equipment. No additional information was located for the *Betsy* "armed boat" (Lincoln 1778-1779a, Reel 2: 100; Mordecai Sheftall Papers 1778a-f; Lincoln 1778-1779b:12; Silverstone 2006:17-19). Colonel John White likely referred to the *Irish Village* flat boat when he noted in a January 1, 1779 letter to General Lincoln, "I have a flatt which with a trifling cost & trouble might be made of equal force with a Galley by mounting two twelve pounders one on her head and one in her stern, besides carrying a 7 inch Howitz in her center" (White 1779:2).

Historical documents, including letters and returns (inventories), provide a glimpse of who was aboard the galleys during the war. The Mordecai Sheftall papers include many records pertaining to the Georgia galleys. One example is a, "Return of Rations" for one week of rations for the crew of the *Congress* galley, dated April 27, 1778. It stated,

A Return of Reashons [rations] for 44 Men on Board of the Congress Galley from the 20 of Aprill to the 27 of Doto", providing for, "I Captain, 2 Leutts [Lieutenants], 1 Clarke [Clerk] 40 privets [Privates]. Their rations included: "127^{lb} Beef, 250 ½ Pork, 308 Q^{ls} rice---, 18 Gall^s Molasses, 24 b soap, 24 Candles---, 15 Q^{ls} Salt" (Sheftall 1778g:204).

This document provides some insight into the number of soldiers that manned the row galley's (44 total) and what was supplies were required to sustain them. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown of the East Florida Rangers, wrote to East Florida Governor Peter Tonyn on April 6, 1778 and informed him that, "the [Georgia Continental] Gallies are laying manned intirely with Governor Wright's Negroes at the following places, one at Sapelo high point—one at Sunbury—one at Ossabaw opposite to Shannons point, and the other at Savannah" (Thomas Brown 1778:44-45). The Georgia Continental Navy in April 1778 consisted of the galleys Bulloch, Congress, Lee and Washington. In January, 1779, Colonel Roberts ordered, "The Detachments sent to assist the vessels up the River are ordered to Return to their respective Regiments" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:101). General Lincoln ordered the Deputy Quartermaster general at Purysburg in January 1779 to,

appoint a convenient landing to which all Boats are to be removed & made fast & a Sentry from the Main Guard to be put over them with orders to suffer No Person to Remove either Boats or Oars without an Order from Head Quarters, from the Dep: Quarter Master Gen; or from the Field Officer of the Day" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:105).

Colonel John White, 4th Georgia Continentals, offered his services to General Lincoln and commanded the small flotilla (White 1779:1-2). Soldiers from the 4th Georgia comprised a substantial portion of the galley crews. Other soldiers from the 3rd Georgia Continentals also found themselves under Colonel White's command in early 1779. Two soldiers, Basil Hatton, a sergeant, and Jesse Peters, a private, both in the 3rd Georgia Continentals were among the Georgia soldiers that served on board. Hatton stated,

at a place he thinks called the Bull Swamp he was in an engagement where his Col. James Screven fell thence to Salisbury [sic, near Sunbury, Georgia], thence he was detached with others and sent on board a Row galley called the Lee, that he remained on board until they discovered the enemy's Fleet when she was run into a Creek called Cockspur, thence he went with an express to General Robert Howe who lay at Savannah; that he returned the same night to the row galley in which he continued until he reached Purrysburg (Basil Hatton 1833 [S8665]).

Jesse Peters, a private in the 3rd Georgia Continentals, stated in his pension application:

he marched through the Country from Wilkes County to Savannah thence to Tiby Island [sic, Tybee Island] thence on an expedition on board the Congress Rogally [sic, Congress row galley]--under Captain Unogate [sic, unknown?] to the mouth of the St. Mary's River thence back to Savannah thence to Sunbury thence to Midway Meeting house thence to Purrysburg South Carolina thence to Augusta Georgia and joined General Ash and was at Ashe's defeat at the mouth of Briar Creek --he made his escape & joined General Linkhorn [Lincoln] at Black Swamp, thence to Augusta (Peters 1833) [S16506]).

General Moultrie mentioned the vessels at Purysburg in a letter from there to Colonel Charles C. Pinckney on January 10, 1779,

We have the Congress and Lee, gallies, a ten gun sloop, and two schooners, now lying under this bluff (they pushed up here to get out of the way of the British) they may be of some service to cover our crossing, should it be expedient to land below this place, or to establish any post on the other side of the river. I believe they cannot go much higher than where they now are" (Moultrie 1802, vol. 1:259-261).

Moultrie further noted in a January 14, 1779 letter the advance of the British up the Savannah River, "they have at this time a post on our side the river, called Yamassee bluff, not more than 4 miles below our camp; it is reconed a secure place, surrounded by a deep swamp, and opposite Abbercorne bluff, one of their

strong posts; they have a galley, a sloop, and a flatt with boats lying between these two bluffs, to support each other", and Moultrie added, "I have detached from my brigade, a captain, and 40 men, to endeavor to get through the swamps, and surprize them; or to discover what they are about; I expect every moment to hear them begin to fire" (Moultrie 1802, Vol 1:262-263). General Moultrie corrected this statement in a letter to Colonel Pinckney written two days later, adding, "I mentioned to you that I had sent a party to Yamassee bluff, where we thought the enemy had a post; but we were misinformed; our party went over the land; they discovered the enemy had been there, but had left it."

Moultrie summarized the British troop strength in the vicinity in mid-January 1779,

By two deserters who came in last night, we are informed that the enemy are in force about 4,000: 600 at Two-sisters; about 200 at Zuby-Ferry; their main body at Abbercorne: and 1,000 Hessians at Savannah. These deserters inform that 1500 more are expected from Augustine, when they arrive, they intend to march for Charlestown" (Moultrie 1802, vol. 1:264-265).

The British wasted no time in their efforts to control river traffic on the Savannah River. British prison ships were moored at Savannah and Tybee Inlet. By mid-January 1779 the British had stationed two vessels, the *Comet* galley and the *Greenwich* sloop, at Ebenezer, Georgia upstream from Purysburg. Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell wrote to Lord Germain on January 16, 1779 an account of the capture of Savannah, in which he noted, "The *Comet* Galley and armed Sloop *Greenwich*, are now stationed to cover the Mouth of Ebenezer Creek; the two Rebel Galleys, who were formerly there, have retired to Purisburg" (Campbell 1779c).

The *Greenwich* sloop was a 10 to 12 gun sloop that was captured from the Americans in 1778. The vessel had been used by the Americans to haul provisions since at least November 1777. In early 1778, the vessel engaged in battle with a British ship, "of Fourteen Guns and Fifty men" and the *Greenwich*'s Captain Joseph Gardner, wrote that the vessel, "being Cutt and much shatterd to pieces was oblig'd to Quit her" (Gardner 1778:496). The vessel is listed by

Major General Howe in his October 30, 1778 prize list where it is identified as the "Rhode Island privateer sloop Greenwich, Joseph Gardner, commander" (Crawford et al. 2014:150, 304). This sloop appears in a watercolor illustration by French artist Dominic Serres (1719-1793) entitled, "The *Phoenix*, the *Vigi*lant, the Greenwich sloop, the Kepple and the Comet reducing the town of Savannah to capitulate..., 1779. This signed watercolor, dated January 1779, sold at auction in 2011 (Artsalesindex.artinfo.com 2015). Muster lists for this ship, covering the period from October 1, 1778-February 28, 1779, are preserved in the Admiralty records (ADM 36/9918) at Kew, England. Lieutenant Spry of the British Navy reported that the Greenwich was burned prior to May 25, when Major General Prevost's convoy was attacked on its way to James Island, South Carolina (Evans-Hatch 2003:59). At Savannah the Greenwich sloop was commanded by Lieutenant Walbeoff (Schomberg 1802, vol. 1:466; Campbell et al. 1817:489).

The *Comet* galley was a Royal Navy ship. Previously, however, the vessel served as a rebel [South Carolina?] brig, but was, "cut down, rigged, and fitted as a galley", and then, "towed all the way from New York by the *Fowey*, her metal one 18 pounder in her bow, and 6 sixes, in her waste" (*The Virginia Gazette* 1779d:2). In early 1779 the Comet was commanded by British Lieutenant Stone. This galley was posted at mouth of Ebenezer Creek soon after the arrival of the British in interior Georgia in January 1779. Muster lists for the period June 1, 1780-July 31, 1782 and pay books for the period October 11, 1780-July 16, 1782 for this vessel are preserved in the Admiralty records (ADM36/10258 and ADM 34/210) at Kew, England.

The *Vigilant*, commanded by Captain Sir Hugh Clobery Christian, was an armed ship (merchantman converted to a warship) that was active in Georgia and South Carolina in the 1779-1780 campaign. The ship was completed in 1774 at Whitby, England. She originally weighed just over 308 tons, was 130 feet in length and had a beam of 36 feet. She sported a 150 man crew. The ship was outfitted with heavy armament from April to June, 1775, which included fourteen 24 pounders, two 9-pounders and four 6-pounders. These additions rendered the ship top heavy and not well suited for ocean travel. She arrived in Savannah on December 28, 1778. After nearly sinking from the weight of the armaments), the two 9-poundershad

removed leaving her with 18 guns. The ship served as an escort for six transports in May, 1779 during Major General Prevost's advance against Charleston (Sessions in, Evans-Hatch 2003:59). The ship was decommissioned on April 9, 1780 after she was condemned as "utterly unfit for sea" and then (according to one source) burnt at Beaufort, South Carolina, later that year (Syrett 1978:57-62; Colledge and Warlow 2006). Lavery (2003, vol. 1:181) states that subsequently she served as a prison ship and was not broken up until 1816. Lavery also gives different characteristics for the ship, including: Tons burthen 1347 bm (builder's old measure), length 159 feet, 6 inches (gundeck), beam: 44 feet, 4 inches and depth of hold, 19 feet. He lists her armaments as 64 guns, including twenty-six 24 pounders on the gundeck, twenty-six 18-pounders on the upper gundeck, ten 4-pounders on the quarterdeck and two 9-pounders on the forecastle. Stripped of her sails, the Vigilant was used as a floating battery prior to the Battle of Beaufort in February 1779 (Rowland et al. 1996:216). Given its weight and size it is unlikely that the Vigilant ever sailed upstream as far as Purysburg on the Savannah River. Historical records do suggest, however, that the British entertained the idea of sending the Vigilant that far upstream.

Private William McGarity, a militiaman in Captain John Nixon's Company, Colonel John Winn's Regiment, South Carolina militia, described British aggressions on the Savannah River in early 1779. McGarity stated that after marching to Purysburg he,

lay there some time; there being a vessel called the Vigilance [sic, HMS Vigilant] and a tender came up Hazard River [sic, Savannah River] burning & plundering. General Lincoln called for volunteers. Declarant & company & still more companies volunteered and marched to Hazard River to prevent them from burning & plundering; lay there sometime then was called back to the Army after the British disappeared; lay there till the defeat of General Ashe at Briar Creek in State of Georgia then marched to Augusta (McGarity 1835 [R6713]).

Sister's Ferry, January 1779

The first recorded naval engagement to occur on the interior section of the Savannah River between the

British and American vessels in the 1778-1780 campaign was in the vicinity of Sister's Ferry in January, 1779. Captain Hyde Parker, captain of the *Phoenix* and the British squadron at Savannah, listed the number of prisoners taken "by the Boats up the River" by the British Squadron in this action at 23 (Parker 1779a). Captain Parker described the British Naval action on the lower Savannah River region in a January 18 letter to Lord Germain,

On the 30th of December having received Intelligence that the two Rebel row Galleys were about five Miles above the Town, with some other armed Vessels, it was determined to endeavor to surprise them by the Troops on the Banks of the River, but either the Intelligence being false, or that the Enemy had moved up during the Night, we found, by information of the Negroes, that they were five Miles farther up; however the Boats took Possession of a Spanish Ship of Sixteen Guns, that was aground and deserted.

On the 1st of January, Lieut. Clarke of the Phoenix was detached, with Row Boats, about 17 Miles up the River above Savannah, upon Information that the late Rebel Governor of Georgia [John Adam] Treutlen] was at a Plantation on the South-Carolina Shore; unfortunately he did not get the Governor, but returned with one Bryan [probably John Bryan], a notorious Ringleader in Rebellion, 1 Captain-Lieutenant, and about 12 or 14 Prisoners of other Denominations, and a Gun-Boat which the Rebels had fitted for the Defence of the River. From this Period the Galley [Comet] and Greenwich Sloop, with a Number of Boats under the Command of Capt. Stanhope, were kept advancing up the River, in hopes of being able to come up with the Rebel Gallies and other armed Vessels, but such was the Diligence of the Rebels, with the Difficulties attending our armed Vessels drawing more Water than those of the Enemy in a very intricate Navigation, notwithstanding the greatest Exertions made on the Part of the Officers employed upon that Service, the Rebels have been able to secure their Gallies under the Town of Purisburgh; as also two Sloops; one loaded with Gunpowder, the other with

Stores: Four others were taken, viz. a Sloop of 10 Guns and another of 4 burnt; a Brig and a Schooner brought off. By the Station the King's armed Vessels now occupy, we are enabled to transport Provisions and Stores for the Army to Abercorn, within ten Miles of Ebenezer, the most considerable Post of the army. Above the advanced armed Vessels the River is no longer navigable for anything but Flats, and for them only by Means of Ropes being made fast to Trees upon the Shore, as there is constantly a Stream runs down so strong as to make it impracticable for a Boat to row against it, and the River so full of Logs of Wood as to render it impossible for Vessels to anchor (Parker 1779a).

Captain Parker included a list of vessels captured at Savannah in January 1779, including vessels caught "In the Savannah's river above the town". These were:

A ship, three hundred tons, sixteen guns, (Spanish) with some Deer-skins.

A brig, 140 tons, with lumber.

A sloop, seventy tons, one hundred negroes, with flour and some Indigo.

A sloop, 40 tons, with furniture.

A schooner, 60 tons, with some Indigo and tobacco.

All of the above were delivered into the care of Mr. McCulloch, agent for the navy at Savannah.

A sloop, 90 tons, 15 men, 10 guns, burnt.

A sloop, 90 tons, 8 men, 4 guns, burnt (Parker 1779b).

Purysburg, March 19-21, 1779

By mid-March 1779 the British had advanced two additional vessels, the *Hornet* and *Thunderer* gallies, upstream to just below Purysburg. Six naval vessels engaged in a battle on the Savannah River at Purysburg on March 21, 1779 (Almon 1779; London Magazine 1779; McCall 1816; Jones 1883: vol. 1, 355; Smith 2006). Two Patriot vessels in the battle were the Congress and Lee. The Congress galley was manned by 70 men and 17 guns, in addition to 36 men of an independent company of seaman, and the Lee galley contained 130 French sailors and 12 guns (Lewis 2009). Four British vessels were engaged in the battle, including the: Comet, Hornet and Thunderer gallies and the armed sloop *Greenwich*. The *Hornet* galley was commanded by Lieutenant McKenzie. Ships' Pay Books for the *Hornet* (possibly the same vessel) are preserved in the Admiralty records at Kew, England. The Thunderer galley was commanded by Lieutenant Terrill and the Greenwich armed sloop was commanded by Captain Stanhope and (at Savannah) Lieutenant Walbeoff (Schomberg 1802). Ships' Pay Books for the *Thunderer* (possibly the same vessel) covering the period from October 1, 1779-October 31, 1780 are preserved in the Admiralty records and ships' musters from March 1, 1778-December 31, 1778 at Kew, England (ADM 34/396, 765, 770; ADM 36;/78356, 8359).

On March 19, General Lincoln gave orders to Captain Milligan for the *Congress* and *Lee* gallies and the French sloop *Mary Magdalen* to, "fall down river & attack the enemy Gally in the Savannah, about 6 miles below this [Purysburg], opposite to Ramsay's Bluff" (Lincoln 1778-1779a). Colonel Owen Roberts (1779c:2) wrote from Purysburg on March 21,

We have sent our gallies down to attack the British one at Yammasee, I expect every moment to hear the cannonade commence, how the affair will be conducted, or end, I cannot divine; but we have every reason to hope success, as ours are exceedingly well manned.

On the following day Roberts (1779e:1) wrote again from Purysburg with news of the defeat, "our Naval Enterprize Failed, failed damnably in the execution for, Thro' misconduct, mischance and misbehavior our two Gallies are fallen into the Enemys Hands; The Crews having abandoned them, for they were

not taken, returned, except a few killed and wounded, who are supposed to be about 30 in Number".

Two Patriot row galleys, the Congress and Lee galleys, were engaged in the battle. The Congress galley was commanded by Captain Robert Campbell, who was killed in the engagement and his vessel captured at Purysburg on March 20, 1779. The galley was added to the British Navy and renamed the Scourge on May 3, 1779. Its commander was Lieutenant George Prince, who commanded until April 30, 1782. In 1786, Lieutenant William Smith served as commander when she sailed for Jamaica and was sold. The Lee galley, commanded by Captain Jacob Milligan, also was captured by the British at Purysburg and renamed Vindictive. Its new commander was acting Lieutenant Tylstone Woolam, who commanded until 1782, and possibly Lieutenant James Every, when she sailed to Jamaica and was sold in 1786 (Winfield 2007; Sailingnavies.com 2015).

The Remembrancer published a March 25, 1779 report of the engagement from an unknown source in Savannah:

On the 21st instant, in the morning, his Majesty's armed vessels, under the command of Lieut. Spry and McKinley, being at anchor off Yammasee-bluff, a party of General Lincoln's troops, consisting of sorty, were discovered on a rising ground behind a house; and soon after the crews on board their galleys from Purysburgh were heard huzzaing and coming down the river; at half past nine they anchored, began an attack on his Majesty's vessels assisted by the above forty men out of the bushes; their sire was soon returned, from cannon so well pointed, that after an hour's Contest they quitted their galleys, and got away in boats, leaving an officer and surgeon with some wounded, whom they would not stay to take with them.

The Congress and Lee galleys consequently soil into our hands: on board the former a Captain Campbell and one seaman were killed, four badly wounded, and ten prisoners; on board the latter two killed, two mortally wounded (since dead) and one with his leg shot off; the wounded were carried to the hospital at

Savannah last night. The Congress galley was manned with one hundred and five Americans; and the Lee galley with one hundred and fifty Frenchmen. Much credit is due to the officers and seamen on board his Majesty's vessels, and to Mr. O'Farrel, who commanded the Thunderer galley, from St. Augustine, for their gallantry on this occasion (The Remembrancer 1779:171-172).

The London Magazine printed this report of the engagement,

Rainbow, off Portsmouth, in Virginia, May 22, 1779

In a letter received from Captain Henry, the senior officer of the King's ships at Georgia, just before I left New-York, dated 16th April, from Savannah, he mentions two rebel galleys, called the Congress and Lee, the former carrying an eighteen pounder, and a twelve in her prow, two 9 pounders and two fixes in her waste, and manned with 100 men; the other with 130 French, carrying a twelve, and a nine pounder in her prow, two 4 and two 1 pounders, besides swivels, in her waste, attacking the Greenwhich armed sloop, Comet, Thunder, and Hornet Gallevs off Yamasee Bluff, and that the action has ended with the capture of the two rebel galleys. Captain Henry writes, that the officers and men all behaved well, and that he was repairing the gallevs, which would be soon ready for service, and that they were fit vessels, if the crown chose to purchase them: I have therefore directed an exact valuation to be made; and as such vessels are materially wanted there, I have, at the request of Sir Henry Clinton, caused them to be purchased for his majesty's service; and commissioned the Congress, by the name of the Scourge, and appointed Lieutenant George Prince, from half pay, lieutenant and commander of her; and Mr. Edward Ellis Watmough to the Lee, called now the Vindictive (London Magazine 1779:287).

General Lincoln wrote from his headquarters at Black Swamp to John Jay, President of Congress, on April 2nd with this version of the maritime engagement:

On the retreat of our troops from Savannah two of the public Row-Gallies, the Congress & Lee, were saved and brought up to Purysburgh, where they lay under cover of the army for a considerable time, being almost unmanned. About the 15th ulto. [March 15, 1779] His Excellency Governour Rutledge sent to Purysburgh about two hundred seamen, to go on board them, or act in batteries, as the service should require. They immediately manned the Gallies and an armed French Sloop (lying also at Purysburgh) and soon as they had filled them for action (viz 19th) they fell down the river to attack one of the enemy's Gallies, which lay six miles below our camp; Because by that vessel they commanded the Savannah, covered all their posts twenty miles from the town of Savannah, were able thereby to draw off most of their troops from the lower part of the country & prevent our making any incursions there, while they were operating in the upper; and by that they also covered such light parties as they thought proper to send across the river to annoy our out-posts, and if it was also an asylum for our deserters (too many of whom we have had) and negroes who were daily leaving their masters. Unfortunately for us about three miles from our camp, the sloop got on ground. She was left and all her men except 6 or eight, were put into boats, and proceeded therein to assist in boarding, which seemed to be the mode adopted by our Captains as the best for carrying the enemy; but by the time they had dropped down two miles further the Congress Galley also got on ground, and so remained till the close of the next day (20th). About ten o'clock on the 21st they weighted anchor and fell down till the Congress (more unfortunate than ever) ran on shore within short cannon-shot of the enemy, who were reinforced while Captain Milligan was on ground the day before.—a circumstance unknown to him till the attack began. He was soon obliged to leave his Galley; upon that the Lee was abandoned by her crew although a float & might have been easily brought off; but the officers had not sufficient authority over the men to keep them to their duties; and both the Gallies were lost.— Thus unluckily ended a measure, which

was thought by all, who were acquainted with marine matters, almost certain of success.—It is said that Captain Milligan, who commanded the Congress, and Captain Boitar, a French gentlemen, who commanded the Lee, behaved well in the action (Fold3.com 2015).

Historian Hugh McCall gave this later description of the naval battle,

> While general Lincoln was encamped at Purysburgh, there was frequent skirmishing between small parties of his troops, with the enemy toward Savannah. On the night of the 20th of March, the Congress and Lee gallies, commanded by captains Campbell and Milligan, were ordered to attempt to surprise two British gallies, the Comet and Hornet, commanded by lieutenants Stone and M'Kenzie, which were at anchor near Yamasee bluff, between Purysburgh and Savannah. To aid in the enterprise, forty militia were ordered to pass down by land, and take possession of a house opposite the enemy, in order to commence the attack at day-light the next morning. The militia got possession of the house in due time, but the gallies got aground, and could not take their stations until nine o'clock, a.m. when the firing opened on the British gallies, by land and water: the Thunderer British galley, commanded by lieutenant Terrill, advanced to the assistance of the other two, dislodged the militia and compelled them to retreat. After an hour's conflict, the enemy manned their boats with the intention to board: the Americans knowing what would be the result, from the enemy superior force, took to their boats, and as many as could be accommodated, escaped. Captain Campbell and three Americans were killed, six wounded, and ten were made prisoners. The British lost one killed, and one wounded. The Congress galley had a crew of seventy men, and the Lee galley thirty-four (McCall 1815:224-225).

Historian Charles C. Jones, Jr. (1883:v.1, 355) offered this summary of the engagement,

General Lincoln, after Ash's defeat, retained his headquarters at Purrysburg and maintained a close watch upon the enemy who was in force on the right bank of the Savannah River. Two British galleys, the Comet and the Hornet, commanded by Lieutenants Stone and McKenzie, were lying near Yemassee Bluff, below Purrysburg. On the night of the 20th of March the American galleys Congress and Lee, in charge of Captains Campbell and Milligan, were ordered to attempt their surprise and capture. Forty militia were detailed to proceed by land and take possession of a house just opposite the point where the enemy's galleys were at anchor that they might assist in the attack which was to be opened at daylight the next morning. They occupied the house in due season, but the American galleys in descending the river got aground. It was nine o'clock before they reached a position whence they could bring their guns to bear upon the enemy. The British galley Thunderer, commanded by Lieutenant Terrill, promptly advanced from below to the assistance of the Comet and the Hornet galled by the fire from shore as well as by the cannon of the American galleys. The militia were quickly dislodged by the Thunderer's battery. After an engagement, which lasted an hour, the British manned their boats with the intention of boarding the Congress and Lee. Knowing that they could not successfully contend against this demonstration, the crews of the American galleys took to their boats and made their escape, leaving their vessels and some of their companions to the mercy of the enemy. On the part of the Americans Captain Campbell and three men were killed, six were wounded, and ten captured. The British loss was represented by one slain and one wounded. The capture of these American galleys left the Savannah River entirely open to the navigation of the enemy's armed vessels (Jones 1883:355).

This engagement is variously referred to by different authors as the naval battle of Purysburg, Yamasee Bluff and Ramsays Bluff (Elliott 2003:212; Lipscomb 2007:107). The vessel losses in this battle combined with the losses of two Georgia Continental row galleys sustained in the January 1779

action at Sunbury effectively evaporated the Patriot's naval capabilities in Georgia. The British fleet, which included several large warships and row galleys, blocked the Savannah River mouth. Any boat traffic by the Americans upstream was accomplished with small craft and then only with stealth.

The Americans continued to harass the British offshore, including the capture of the British ships *Jason*, Maria; the Brigantines Patriot, Frederick, Bachelor and John; and the Schooners Hibernia and Chance, by American privateers on April 7th. The ship Jason was bringing reinforcements to Savannah from New York, including a portion of Rall's Regiment (Fitzpatrick 1936a:443). Thomas Digges mentioned the capture to Benjamin Franklin in a letter written from London on June 11, 1779, "Seven Sail of Victualling transports under convoy of the Jason frigate bound from N York to Georgia with supplys for the Army in the South, were taken convoy & all by three American Cruisers on the Coasts of Carolina" (Digges 1779). The capture of these ships bound for Georgia caused great concern for Major General Prevost, who was fast running out of supplies for his army. Despite these American victories at sea, the British had nearly complete control of the lower Savannah River by April 1779.

When General Prevost and his forces (numbering at least 2,500 men) departed Abercorn on April 28, 1779 they had a number of British vessels at their disposal for transporting the troops. The available vessels included several row galleys (including the Comet, Hornet, Thunderer and the two Georgia galleys now renamed the *Vindictive* and *Scourge*), several sloops (armed sloop *Greenwich* and the captured armed sloop Mary Magdalen and two other unidentified captured sloops), several troops transports (aka flat boats, flats or flatts) and other small, local watercraft (canoes, piragaus and other civilian boats). Larger British vessels, such as the Vigilant, could not navigate the narrow, shallow channels and assisted in the Prevost's campaign by following the coastal route. The logistics of moving several thousand soldiers and equipment to Purysburg was no minor task. Today Abercorn Creek is small stream that only allows small vessels with very shallow draft. A row galley from the Revolutionary War period was capable of hauling more than 100 men and supplies. None of the written accounts detail exactly how this was accomplished, or if it required multiple boat trips. That no Patriots were alerted to this massive troop movement also is remarkable.

Samuel Vermillion, a private in Colonel William Smallwood's 1st Maryland Continentals, was weak with smallpox in November 1776 and while on a trading vessel traveling to Philadelphia, he was, "taken prisoner by a British vessel and was keep as such one year and eight months confined in the vessel all that term of time and was taken by watter round to Savanah in the State of Georgia and between that place and Purysburg made his escape from the vessel in the month of April 1779" (Vermillion 1832 [S7790]). The date of Vermillion's escape coincides with the month of the British movement from Georgia to Purysburg. While he was not likely involved in the engagement at Purysburg, his escape from the prison ship may be connected in some way to the British movements.

Watercraft played an important part of the British land attack on Purysburg in April, 1779. When Major General Prevost embarked the British Army from Abercorn, Georgia on April 28, he had a variety of watercraft available for transporting more than 3,000 troops, horses and supplies. These included the six galleys: Comet, Hornet, Scourge, Snake (half galley), Thunderer and Vindictive; the four or five sloops: Greenwich, Mary Magdalen, and 2-3 other unidentified sloops; seven or more flatts (troop transports); several ferry boats; and other available local vernacular watercraft (canoes, flatboats and trading boats). These vessels had to negotiate a two-mile trip down Abercorn Creek, which is a narrow stream, and then navigate for several miles up the Savannah River. Timing for this trip was important, as ascending the Savannah River with the incoming tide and slack water periods would have been far better than fighting the strong current of the Savannah River.

Several larger vessels were available to General Prevost, but these were ocean-going ships of such large draft to be unusable in the narrow, shallow confines of Abercorn Creek or the Savannah River. These included the *Fowey, Rose, Vigilant, Germain* Provincial armed ship, Savannah armed ship; an unidentified Spanish ship (300 tons), *Keppel* armed brig and an unidentified brig (140 tons); Alert tender; and two unidentified schooners; as well as the prison ships *Nancy, Whitby, Eleanor, Munificence*, the hospital ship *Eleanor* and possibly others.

Sir Henry Clinton's British fleet in 1780 consisted of an estimated 150 ships and 8,000 men when it arrived at Savannah by late January and early February (Willcox 1954; Lincoln letterbook). The British now had a combined strength of about 13,500 men in the Savannah area and they moved quickly towards Charleston by land and water, their transit bypassing Purysburg (Faden 1787). By March 3, Clinton's headquarters were on James Island, South Carolina. By March 29, the British and Americans fought at Charleston, a siege ensued and on May 12, Major General Lincoln surrendered his army of 4,650 Continental soldiers (including himself and his staff) and the city of Charleston to Sir Henry Clinton (Clinton 1780:97).

Purysburg Order of Battle

British

Following the battle of Brier Creek on March 3, 1779, the British returned to several camps. Major Grimké noted in a March 19 letter from the American camp at Sister's Ferry to his father that the British then had 1,200 men at Ebenezer, 400 at Governor Treutlens [located at Two Sisters Ferry, Georgia side], 1,200 men at Hudson's Ferry and an unspecified number of light infantry commanded by Captain McDonald at Paris' Mill on Brier Creek. In addition Grimké reported that 1,000 Indians were expected to join the British (Grimké 1779c). British historian Gordon noted that Major General Prevost's advance force into South Carolina consisted of about 2,400 British and Loyalist troops and "a considerable body of Indians" (Gordon 1788:254-255). An anonymous British orderly book records that women were left at Ebenezer and were not part of the march into South Carolina. Servants, however, were among the invading force (Heritage Auctions 2008). While no detailed official documents have survived, the order of battle for the British invading Purysburg on April 29, 1779 is reconstructed in the following section.

71st Regiment of Foot, 1st and 2nd Battalions (800 men), Lieutenant Colonel John Maitland

The 71st Regiment was formed in Scotland in 1775 and it was disbanded in 1783. Simon Fraser was its Colonel

and Archibald Campbell its Lieutenant Colonel. Neither officer was present in America in April 1779. The two battalions of the 71st Regiment were commanded by Major John Maitland in April 1779. Over its involvement in the American Revolution, the 71st Regiment sent 2,693 soldiers to America. Of these only 862 (32%) returned to Scotland (Dziennik 2011: Figure 4.3). The Order of Battle for the Battalion of the 71st Regiment, as ordered on June 30, 1778, consisted of:

The 1st Company, or the General's, to form to the right of the Colours in the Center.

The 2nd Company, or Lieut Colonel's, to the left of the Colours in the center,

The 5th Company, or 3rd eldest captain's Company on the right of the 1st.

The 6th Company, or 4th eldest Captain's Company, on the left of the 2nd,

The 7th Company, or 6th eldest Captain's, on the right of the 5th.

The 8th Company, or the 6th eldest captain on the left of the 6th.

The 3rd Company, or eldest Captain's on the right of the 7th.

The 4th (Company), or 2nd eldest Captain on the left of the 8th.

The Grenadier Company to form on the right of the Battalion, the light infantry on the left and to be considered at all times, defensive. Bodies to be applied as the Commanding Officer shall direct without interfering with the disposition of the Battalion Companies in the established Order of Battle.

After an action, or in any particular loss, the Battalion Companies to be

immediately squared and reduced to a level with each other.

The Grenadier and Light Infantry Companies to be completed to the strength of the Battalion.

One piece of cannon upon the right and one upon the left to dress in a line with the battalion between the Grenadiers and Light Company.

The 1st and 2nd Companies five a serjeant and 3 files each for the Colour Reserve, these men to be of unexceptionable Character, the two youngest Companies to give an Ensign each for the Colours (Brumby 2013).

The number of rank and file fluctuated frequently. On January 22, 1779 the 1st Battalion, 71st Regiment consisted of 359 rank and file and on March 3 that number had decreased only by three to 356 (Campbell 1981:46; Wilson 2005:98-99). On March 2, 1779 the 2nd Battalion, 71st Regiment consisted of 400 effective rank and file (Campbell 1981:71). On January 22, 1779, Sir James Baird's Light Infantry consisted of 299 rank and file. On March 2 the 1st Battalion, 71st Regiment and Baird's Light Infantry (combined) had 600 rank and file (Campbell 1981:46). The 1st Battalion, 71st Regiment may have been reduced because of sickness in the ranks.

Sir James Baird's Corps of Light Infantry, Major Colin Graham

1st Battalion,

71st Regiment of Foot, Light Company (91 men)

Captain John Coffin, New York Volunteers, Light Company (50 men)

Captain Thomas Conkling, DeLancey's Brigade, 1st Battalion, Light Company (64 men)

2nd Battalion

Captain Charles Campbell, 71st Regiment of Foot, Light Company (93 men)

Captain Peter Campbell, New Jersey Volunteers, 3rd Battalion, Light Company (90 men)

Unknown commander, DeLancey's Brigade, 2nd Battalion, Light Company

16th Regiment of Foot, Light Company (111 men), Major Colin Graham

O'Kelly (2004, volume 1:255-256) lists the order of battle for Captain Sir James Baird's Corps of Light Infantry, as it was organized in March 1779. Captain Baird had left North America on a ship later that month, so he was not in command when the Light Infantry invaded South Carolina. The 16th Regiment of Foot, Light Infantry Company was composed of a detachment of the 16th Regiment and selected soldiers from several other regiments (Cannon 1848:22; Troiani et al. 1998:45).

East Florida Rangers (Loyalist Creeks) (70-90 men), Captains John and/or James Goldwire (Draper 1881:484)

No order of battle is known for the Loyalist Creek warriors who fought as part of the East Florida Rangers. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown, commander of the East Florida Rangers, may not have been present for the battle. Additional British forces arrived at Purysburg after the battle had ended. These military units are listed below.

60th Regiment, commanded by Major Beamsley Glazier

60th Regiment, grenadiers, about 200 men

East Florida Rangers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown

Royal Artillery, 4th Battalion, Number 7 Company, commanded by Captain Jonathan Fairlamb or Lieutenant William Johnstone, about six guns (Moultrie 1802, vol. 2:43-44).

Royal North Carolina Volunteer Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Hamilton

South Carolina Royalists, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Innes

South Carolina Dragoons, 1st Troop, commanded by Captain Thomas Tawse

New Jersey Volunteers, commanded by Colonel Isaac Allen

New York Volunteers, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel George Turnbull

Delancey's Corps, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel John Harris Cruger

Georgia militia, commanded by Major James Wright

Knoblock Regiment commanded by Major General Hans von Knoblauch

The Patriots

The Patriot forces at Purysburg and Black Swamp in early 1779 included Continental soldiers from Georgia, North Carolina and South Carolina, as well as South Carolina and North Carolina militia. General Robert Howe and many of his troops recoiled to Purysburg following his defeat at Savannah in late December 1778. Brigadier General William Moultrie and about 1,200 South Carolina and North Carolina troops joined

them at Purysburg on January 3, 1779. Major General Lincoln also arrived at Purysburg in early January. A sizeable contingent of North Carolina Continental and militia troops commanded by Major General John Ashe arrived at Purysburg in February 1779. A large number of these troops were poorly disciplined.

Many soldiers in the North Carolina militia had served their enlistment by mid-February and most had left by April 1779 (McCrady 1901:331). Military leaders, including generals Lincoln and Moultrie, lamented the organizational problems in the militia and even among the continentals. Frustrated with the mutinous condition of the militia, General Lincoln turned over their command to General Moultrie but Moultrie fared no better in controlling the troops (McCrady 1901:342-343).

McCrady estimates Patriot troop strength in the lower Savannah River valley in early 1779 at about 5,200 to 7,100 soldiers. Citing Moultrie's *Memoirs*, McCrady listed the strength at various camps including,

One [camp] at Purrysburg, commanded by General Lincoln in person, which Moultrie estimated at between 3000 and 4000 men. One at Brier Creek, on the west side of the Savannah, — that is, in Georgia, — commanded by General Ashe of North Carolina, which Moultrie estimated at about 2300, but which proved to be not more than 1500 strong, 100 of which were the remnant of the Georgia continentals under Colonel Elbert, the rest North Carolina militia. One at Williamson's house on Black Swamp, east of the Savannah, in South Carolina, under General Rutherford, of 700 or 800 men. Besides these there was a body of militia of about 1200 at Augusta (McCrady 1901:343-344).

By April 29, 1779, only a small force of Patriots were stationed at Purysburg. William Butler's biographer described Moultrie's troop at Purysburg during this period as, "a corps of observation" (Slider 1885:15). An undetermined number of soldiers under Major McIntosh's command may have been detached to Captain Hardstone's fortified house in Purysburg Township, which had been attacked seven days earlier. General Lincoln had ordered nearly all available artillery to accompany him on his march to Augusta, but at least some artillery remained as evidenced from

historical accounts and battlefield evidence. The absolute number of American troops at Purysburg remains undetermined. It may have been as many as 350 or as few as 100. Artilleryman Private Edward Conner's account contains some inaccuracies but his reference to "about 200 men" stationed at Purysburg may be close to the actual troop numbers that were present at Purysburg on April 29. The 4th Regiment South Carolina Continental Artillery had accompanied Major General Lincoln on the march towards Augusta and was not present for the Purysburg battle, however.

Troops left at Black Swamp and Purysburg under Brigadier General's command after General Lincoln's departure included a detachment of the 2nd South Carolina Regiment, the 5th South Carolina Regiment and approximately 800-1000 South Carolina militia (Gordon 1788:254). The troops assigned to Purysburg were commanded by Major Alexander McIntosh.

2nd South Carolina Continental Infantry (detachment)

A detachment of the 2nd Regiment, South Carolina Continentals was at Purysburg and was likely engaged in the April 29 battle. Alexander McIntosh served as a Major in the 2nd Regiment and he had overall command of the Patriot forces at Purysburg at the time of the battle. Captains in the 2nd Regiment included Barnard Elliott, Francis Marion, Daniel Horry, Francis Huger, William Mason, James McDonald, Peter Horry, Nicholas Eveleigh, Isaac Harleston and Charles Motte. The regiment was commanded by William Moultrie and Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Motte (DeSaussure 1886:216). Many of these officers, including Marion, were not at Purysburg in April, 1779 but had remained in garrison near Charleston. An undetermined portion of the 2nd South Carolina Continentals were at Purysburg.

The 2nd Regiment was authorized June 6, 1775 in the South Carolina State Troops as the 2nd South Carolina Regiment. It was organized in summer 1775 at Charleston and consisted of ten companies from eastern South Carolina. On 4 November 4, 1775 the 2nd Regiment was adopted into the Continental Army. It was assigned on February 27, 1776 to the Southern Department (McMaster 1971). The 2nd Regiment was assigned on November 23, 1776 to the 2nd South Carolina Brigade, as an element of the Southern Department. The 2nd Regiment was relieved August 26, 1778 from the 2nd South Carolina Brigade and assigned

to the 1st South Carolina Brigade, an element of the Southern Department. It was relieved January 3, 1779 from the 1st South Carolina Brigade. The 2nd Regiment was assigned on June 15, 1779 to McIntosh's Brigade, as an element of the Southern Department. It was relieved 14 September 1779 from McIntosh's Brigade and assigned to Huger's Brigade, as an element of the Southern Department. The 2nd South Carolina Continentals were consolidated on February 11, 1780 with the 6th Regiment South Carolina Continentals and the two were designated as the 2nd South Carolina Regiment, which was to consist of nine companies; concurrently relieved from Huger's Brigade and assigned to the South Carolina Brigade, an element of the Southern Department. On May 12, 1780, the 2nd Regiment was captured by the British at Charleston and many of its soldiers were imprisoned. Colonel Marion and others who eluded capture regrouped and continued to fight across South Carolina. By that time, however, Purysburg had diminished in its military importance. It was not totally forgotten, as indicated in an April 7, 1781 letter from Colonel William Harden to General Marion, in which Harden states, "I have been able to keep from Purisburg to Pon clean that two or three men may ride in safety" (Gibbes 11853:50). The 2nd Regiment South Carolina Continentals was disbanded on January 1, 1783 (Wright 1983:305-307).

The most famous officer associated with the 2nd South Carolina Regiment was Francis Marion. Marion, or the Swamp Fox, achieved most of his notoriety after the capture of Charleston in May, 1780 (Bass 1974; James 1821; Simms 1846; Weems 1837). Francis Marion had seen service at Purysburg, probably on several occasions. The 2nd South Carolina passed through Purysburg enroute to the East Florida campaigns in 1777 and 1778 and Marion was at Purysburg in early 1779. Brigadier General Moultrie issued these orders to Lieutenant Colonel Marion on February 22, 1779: "Sir you will order from your Regt one field Offr, 2 Drums 2 fifes with one hundred & fifty rank & file to March to Purisburgh with all Expedition you will apply to Colo. Drayton for flints, Kettles Waggons & all Nessesarys that may be wanted for their march" (O'Kelley 2006:395). Marion's junior officer Peter Horry recalled, "In the spring of 1779, Marion and myself were sent with our commands, to Purysburgh, to re-enforce general Lincoln, who was there on his way to attack the British in Savannah, which a few months before had fallen into their hands. As

the count D Estaing, who was expected to co-operate in this affair, had not yet arrived, general Lincoln thought it advisable to entrench and wait for him" (Weems 1837:53). By April 1779, however, Francis Marion had returned to Fort Moultrie and primary documents attest that he was not present for the April 29 battle of Purysburg (James 1821; O'Kelley 2006).

Eight companies of the 2nd South Carolina Regiment, comprising 300 men, participated in the standoff at Charleston Neck from May 11-13, 1779 (Lewis 2009). Researchers were unable to determine which of these companies, if any, formed the detachment at Purysburg, several of them likely were present for the April 29 engagement. While researchers were unable to locate a list of the detachment from the 2nd South Carolina Regiment who were assigned to duty at Purysburg, a review of Lieutenant Colonel Francis Marion's orderly book provides evidence, by a process of elimination, for several companies who were at Fort Moultrie at that time and, therefore, were not engaged at Purysburg. Captains Thomas Hall, Daniel Mazyck, Richard Mason, Charles Motte and Adrien Proveaux, 2nd South Carolina Regiment, were at Fort Moultrie in late April 1779, so their companies were not in the Purysburg battle (O'Kelley 2006:408-411).

2nd South Carolina companies that may have been at Purysburg in April 1779 include the following:

Captain Baker's Company--Richard Bohun Baker was a Captain in the 2^{nd} South Carolina Regiment.

Captain Dunbar's Company--Captain Thomas Dunbar led a company in the 2nd South Carolina Regiment. Dunbar's Company likely participated in the April 29 battle at Purysburg, although the documentary evidence for this assertion is indirect. In his pension claim, James Oliver, who was a sergeant in Dunbar's Company, stated that, "Colonel Mott commanded the Regiment & Major Alexander McIntosh the Battalion to which his company was attached; that at the time of his enlistment for the war General Lincoln was commander in chief (Oliver 1832 [S32421]).

Captain Roberts' Company--Captain Richard **Brook** Roberts commanded a company 2^{nd} South the Carolina Continentals (Rob-1850 [R8866]; Hickmon 1832 [S9581]). Lieutenant Colonel Marion's orders for January 6, 1779 mentions, "Lieut Capers & men sent to Purisburgh" (O'Kelley 2006:382). William Capers served in the 2nd South Carolina Regiment as a 1st Lieutenant (O'Kelley 2006:186). Private Samuel Hickmon stated in his 1828 pension claim that he, "was attached to Captain Brook Roberts' Company from thence was marched by Lieutenant Capers to Purrysburg where he Joined General Linkhorn's [sic, Benjamin Lincoln's] Army and was attached to Captain James Mitchell, Ephram Mitchell, Roberts or Davises Company (but does not recollect which) of the 4th Regiment of Artillery Commanded by Colonel Roberts & Major Grempkey [sic, John Faucheraud Grimké] from there to the two Sisters ferry on the Savener [sic, Savannah] River where we Joined General Rutherford [Griffith Rutherford] from thence to Mattises or Silver Bluff as well as he recollects in order to Joined General Ash [sic, John Ashe] on Brier Creek [sic, Briar Creek], but was not in time he was marched back to the two Sisters ferry to Purrysburg where he Joined General Mutre [sic, William Moultrie] from thence to Charleston from thence out to Bacon Bridge [sic, Bacon's Bridge] and Joined General Lincoln, then to Stono at which place Colonel Roberts was killed" (Hickmon 1832 [S9581]).

Captain Blake's Company--Another company of the 2nd South Carolina Regiment that may have been detached for service at Purysburg in April 1779 was Captain John Blake's Company. Isaac Williamson, Sr. (Isaac Williamson, Sr. 1833 [S7911]).

Captain Moultrie's Company--Thomas Moultrie was a Captain in the 2nd South Carolina Regiment.

5th South Carolina Continental Infantry (1st South Carolina Rifle Regiment)

The 5th Regiment South Carolina Continentals, also known as the 1st Regiment of Riflemen, was commanded by Colonel Isaac Huger. However, the 5th Regiment was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Alexander McIntosh at Purysburg in April 1779. Other officers in the regiment included Major Benjamin Huger and Captains Hezekiah Maham, Benjamin Tutt, George Cogdell, William Richardson, John Brown, Francis Prince, David Anderson and Thomas Potts (DeSaussure 1886:217).

The 5th Regiment was authorized on February 22, 1776 in the South Carolina State Troops. It was organized in spring 1776 at Charleston to consist of seven companies from eastern and northern South Carolina. The 5th Regiment was adopted March 25,1776 into the Continental Army and assigned to the Southern Department. The regiment was assigned on November 23, 1776 to the 2nd South Carolina Brigade, as an element of the Southern Department. It was relieved on January 3, 1779 from the 2nd South Carolina Brigade. It was assigned on February 1, 1779 to the South Carolina Brigade, as an element of the Southern Department. The 5th Regiment was relieved 1 May 1, 1779 from the South Carolina Brigade. It was assigned June 15, 1779 to McIntosh's Brigade, as an element of the Southern Department. It was relieved September 14, 1779 from McIntosh's Brigade. The 5th South Carolina Continentals were consolidated on February 11, 1780 with the 1st Regiment South Carolina Continentals and thereafter they were known as the 1st South Carolina Continentals (Wright 1983:308-309). The 1st Regiment was captured by the British at Charleston on May 12, 1780 and many of its soldiers were imprisoned. The 1st Regiment was reorganized on December 11, 1783 and its men furloughed at Charleston on May 14, 1783. The regiment disbanded on November 15, 1783 (Wright 1983).

Brigadier General Moultrie left approximately 100 men of the 5th Regiment South Carolina Continentals at Black Swamp. They were meant to delay the British and allow Moultrie's other troops to evade Major General Prevost's army (O'Kelley 2006:412).

The LAMAR Institute's historical research was unable to locate any detailed troop returns, payrolls, or other registers of the 5th South Carolina Regiment from 1779. None are preserved at NARA, or in various South Carolina archives. The regiment was reduced in size following the December 1778 battle at Savannah, as revealed in an undated return by Colonel Isaac Huger of the officers and men in the 3rd and 5th South Carolina regiments missing after that action. Among those missing were one captain, one lieutenant, one sergeant, one fifer and 45 rank and file (Huger 1778). Researchers were unable to determine how many of these 49 men eventually returned to the regiment. As noted above, the 5th Regiment was subsumed under the 1st Regiment in February 1780. One

surviving record for the 1st South Carolina Regiment, a troop return from February 1780, provide a partial list of soldiers formerly in the 5th South Carolina regiment. The list of names include notation "fr. 5th" for soldiers formerly with the 5th regiment.

Lewis (2009) compiled a list of 37 captains in the 5th South Carolina Regiment. Many on the list were not actively serving in that capacity in April 1779. The LAMAR Institute's research identified an additional four captains in the regiment. These include Jonathan Buchanan, Thomas Gordon, Alexander Keith, and [__] Logan. Ideally, regiments were composed of no more than 10 companies. A number of officers in Lewis' list were not in command in April 1779 and may be eliminated from consideration. These include Captains Thomas Boyden, Calvin Spencer, William Tate, and Edward Walsh. Captain Robert Pasley/Paisley, who appears on Lewis' list actually served in the 5th North Carolina Continentals. Dates of service for other officers in Lewis' list remain unknown. Lewis' list includes:

David Anderson (June 1776)

John Armstrong (date unknown, possibly 6th Regiment)

William Ayres (date unknown)

William Blameyer (1778)

John Brown (date unknown)

George Cogdell (1776-?)

Clement Convers (date unknown)

William Convers (date unknown)

Leonard Cooper (date unknown)

William Ransom Davis (May 1779)

Thomas Harvey (1776-1780)

George Jervey (February 1779)

William Nettles (1779)

William Parsons (1780)

Alexander Patrie (1778-1780)

Francis/Frank Prince (1776-?)

[?] Shackleford (?-1777)

Benjamin Tutt (1776-1780)

Richard Tutt (unknown date)

Edward Welch (1778-1780)

Captain Bowie's Company--John Bowie was a Captain in the 5th South Carolina Regiment. Lewis (2009) notes Captain Bowie's company involvement in the action at Charleston Neck in May 1779. By that time, however, Captain Bowie, who was commissioned as a captain in the 5th regiment, commanded an independent company (Bowie 1820 [SC12]). In 1779, Captain John Bowie was stationed in the South Carolina piedmont at Fort Charlotte and Independence. Bowie's correspondence with Brigadier General Andrew Williamson attests to his service there.

Captain Buchanan's Company--Captain Jonathan Buchanan served in the 5th South Carolina Regiment according to a document that Buchanan signed in the 1818 pension claim of Benjamin Rowan (Rowan 1818 [S35049]; Buchanan [BLWt271-300]).

Captain Conyers' Company of Grenadiers--Captain James Conyers, Jr. commanded a Company of Grenadiers in the 5th Regiment South Carolina Continentals. His company likely was engaged in the Battle of Purysburg, although this was not verified in documents. As the name implies, grenadiers threw grenades (hollow cast iron balls filled with explosives and

shrapnel) and participated in assault operations and defense of fortified posts. Soldiers in grenadier units typically were physically powerful soldiers. Nathaniel Saunders stated in his pension application in 1828 that he enlisted for three years as a private in Captain Convers' Company of the 5th South Carolina Regiment. Four years later (1832) Saunders stated that he enlisted in 1776 as a musician in Convers' Company. He noted his participation in the 1778 and 1779 battles at Savannah (Saunders 1828, 1832 [S7444]). Thomas Hale joined Captain James Convers' Company of Grenadiers for three years in late 1776. He stated that their company lost 87 rank and file in the December 29, 1778 battle of Savannah (Hale 1818 [S37975]). Abram Garrett attested in 1832 that he had served for several years as a soldier in Captain James Convers' Company of Grenadiers in the 5th South Carolina Regiment and that Joseph Hiatt served as a drummer in the same regiment. Hezekiah Row enlisted in June, 1776 and served for three years in Captain James Conyer's Company. Saunders, Garrett and Row all were in Conyers' company at the Siege of Savannah (September-October 1779). Row also stated that he "was in the Battles of Stono, and the Black Swamp in South Carolina" (Garrett 1832 in Hiott 1832 [S21817]; Row 1832 [S32496]). Private Henry B. Baker enlisted in Captain Convers' Company in Colonel Mc-Intosh's 5th South Carolina Regiment in 1779 but his pension statement includes no reference to Purysburg or any action nearby (Baker 1818 [S39171]).

Captain Davis' Company--Captain William Ransom Davis led a company in the 5th South Carolina Regiment. Lewis (2009) notes the participation of Davis' company in the action at Charleston Neck in May 1779.

Captain Farrar's Company--Captain Field Farrar led a company in the 5th South Carolina Regiment who were later placed in the 3rd South Carolina Regiment. He was captured by the British upon the capture of Charleston in 1780 and confined at Haddrell's Point and later placed on parole in 1781 (Pinckney (1802) in Farrar 1803 [BLWt70-300]).

Captain Gordon's Company--Captain Thomas Gordon commanded a company in the 5th South Carolina Regiment. James Neal recalled that he enlisted for three years in Captain __ Gordon's Company, 5th South Carolina Regiment, where he served until the surrender of Charleston when he was taken prisoner.

Neal also noted that he fought in the battles of Eutaw, Stono and Savannah (Neal 1825 [W26574]). An undated affidavit in David Scott's pension papers was signed by Thomas Gordon "formerly Captn. In 5th S. Carolina Contl. Regimt." (Scott 1818 [S9473]).

Captain Guerry's Company--Stephen Guerry was a captain in the 5th South Carolina Regiment. Lewis (2009) notes the participation of Guerry's company in the action at Charleston Neck in May 1779.

Captain Hogan's Company--Captain James Hogan led a company in the 5th South Carolina Continentals. In Joseph Hiott's 1832 pension claim he stated that he entered the service for 16 months in the spring of 1779 as a drummer in Captain James Hogan's Company, 5th South Carolina Regiment. Hiott also stated that, "____ Lining was a Lieutenant in the same company—there was a Sergeant named Cornelius Keith—and that his Drum Major was called Brown". Hiott noted his participation in the battle of Stone [sic, Stono] and the Siege of Savannah and that he was discharged at Haddrell's Point (Hiott 1832 [S21817]). Lewis (2009) notes the participation of Hogan's company in the action at Charleston Neck in May 1779.

Major Benjamin Huger--Major Benjamin Huger served in the 5th South Carolina Regiment in 1779 and likely was present at the April 29 battle. He was killed near Charleston on May 11, 1779 (Huger 1832 [BLWt1817-400]).

Captain Jervay's Company--Captain Thomas Jervey led a company in the 5th South Carolina Regiment that participated in the December 29, 1778 Battle at Savannah. Private David Scott recalled enlisting in Jervey's company where he served for three years until his discharge in November 1779. An undated affidavit included in Scott's pension application corroborated his service in the 5th Regiment and it was signed by Thomas Gordon "formerly Captn. In 5th S. Carolina Contl. Regimt." (Scott 1818 [S9473]). Private William Gillihan served in Jervey's Company in early 1779 but he made no reference to service at Purysburg (Gillihan 1820 [S38731]).

Captain Keith's Company--Captain Alexander Keith led a company in the 5th South Carolina Continentals. Sergeant Robert Crosson, whose name appears in the 1780 return of the 1st Regiment, enlisted in the 5th South

Carolina Regiment in Charleston and served in Captain Alexander Keith's Company (Crosson 1818 [S41498]).

Captain Logan's Company--Captain Logan led a company in the 5th South Carolina Continentals. Peter Horry attested in 1802 that Captain Logan served in the 5th Regiment (Horry 1802 in Martin 1802 [BLWt173-300]).

Captain Martin's Company--Captain Lewis Daniel Martin led a company in the 5th South Carolina Regiment. Joseph Hiott recalled that part of his 16 month's service was with the 5th South Carolina Regiment in Captain Martin's Company. General Andrew Pickens attested in 1802 that Captain Louis Daniel Martin received a commission as Captain in the 5th Continental Regiment of South Carolina in 1778 and he served until the regiment was reduced in April 1780 (Martin 1802 [BLWt173-300]; Hiott 1832 [S21817]).

Captain Potts' Company--Captain Thomas Potts led a company in the 5th South Carolina Continentals. Thomas Kolb attested in 1819 that he served as a private for 15 months beginning in 1776 under Captain Thomas Potts' 5th South Carolina Regiment (Kolb 1819 [S38901]).

Captain Richardson's Company--Captain William Richardson led a company in the 5th South Carolina regiment. Nathan Gwaltney remembered that he enlisted in Captain William Richardson's Company of the 5th South Carolina Regiment in 1776. Gwaltney was discharged in May 1777, however, and was not present for any action at Purysburg in 1779 (Gwaltney 1818 [S41596]). Private John Walker enlisted for a term of 15 months in 1775 in the "5th Regiment of foot riflemen of the South Carolina line" in Captain Richardson's Company (Walker 1820 [S39118 and R11042).

Captain Shubrick's Company--A Captain Shubrick led a company in the 5th South Carolina Continentals that likely was engaged in the April 29th battle at Purysburg. The full identity of this Captain Shubrick remains a mystery however since there were three officers with that surname in South Carolina. Lewis (2009) identifies the most likely candidate as Thomas Shubrick. Lewis notes that Shubrick's company participated in the May 3, 1779 battle of Coosawhatchie, where Captain Shubrick led about 100 men of the 5th South Carolina Regiment. David Pone, a fifer in Captain Shubrick's Company, 5th South Carolina Regiment recalled that he enlisted in 1778 but that he also

was in Captain William Connier's [Conyer] Company. Pone recalled that his company served at the Two Sister's (Pone 1839 [S7330]). Captain Thomas Shubrick, commanded a company in the 2nd South Carolina Regiment (Cook 1818 [S39332]; Thomas Burbage 1834 [S17868]). A portrait of Captain Jacob Shubrick by artist Henry Benbridge is displayed at Anderson House in Washington, D.C. Jacob is painted in his South Carolina Continental uniform. Zlatich (1994:10) identifies Jacob Shubrick as a Captain of a grenadier company in the 2nd South Carolina Regiment who died at Fort Moultrie in June 1778. Another source notes, however, that Jacob was born on July 2, 1757 and died April 27, 1778. Either way, Captain Jacob Shubrick was not alive in April 1779. Jacob had two brothers, Richard and Thomas (New York Art Resources Consortium 2015; Clark 2005; Zlatich 1994:10).

Captain Warren's Company--Captain Samuel Warren led a company in the 5th South Carolina Regiment in April 1779. In an affidavit he provided for Peter Rowland's pension application, Warren stated, "in 1779 the Regiment lay at Black Swamp, under the command of Lt. Co. Commd A. McIntosh.... The Regiment was originally commanded by Colonel Isaac Huger, & sometime before the Regiment went to Black Swamp, Huger was promoted to a Brigade & before the end of 1779 Lieutenant Colonel McIntosh resigned, which may account for his not being on the pay roll. Lieutenant Colonel Peter Horry commanded the Regiment at Savannah" (Warren 1819 (BLWt1859-300]; Rowland 1819 [S39047]).

South Carolina Continental Corps of Artillery

Purysburg, as well as Black Swamp, Sister's Ferry and Zubly's Ferry, were fortified with Continental artillery in early 1779. A "Weekly Return of the South Carolina Continental Corps of Artillery" was taken at Purysburg on February 22, 1779. It lists a total of 64 men, which included Colonel Owen Roberts, Major John F. Grimké, Captains Ephraim Mitchell, John DeTreville, Harman Davis and William Mitchell. The muster roll of Captain R.B. Roberts' Company of Continental Artillery was taken at Purysburg on March 19, 1779 (Christies.com 2015; Society of the Cincinnati 2014; Salley 1995:7). Colonel Owen Roberts wrote a series of letters from Purysburg to Major Grimké at Two Sister's from March 3 to 22, 1779 (Roberts 1779b-f).

Major Henry Moore, who served in Colonel Roberts' artillery regiment, wrote a summary of his service in 1779 following his involvement in the February battle at Beaufort:

While we encamped at Sheldon, Gen. Lincoln, with the main Army occupied Purysburg and Black Swamps on the Savannah River. Gen. Lincoln had detached Gen. Ashe with 1500 men into Georgia to awe and hinder the Tories from joining the enemy at Savannah. Gen. Ashe posted himself at Briar Creek and was, on Mar. 3, 1770 [sic, 1779], surprised in his camp and defeated by Col. Prevost with his whole detachment, killed, wounded, prisoners, and deserters, with all his artillery and stores. This was a disastrous affair to our army and deranged Gen. Lincoln's plan of campaign. To remedy in some measure its consequences, Gen. Lincoln crossed the Savannah River into Georgia to prevent the enemy from extending themselves farther into the country, and to hinder the Tories and Indians from uniting with the British Army. Gen. Rutledge had marched to Orangeburg with the Militia, and was encamped there as an Army of Observation, and to secure Charleston, or Gen. Lincoln, if it were necessary. This was an excellent plan, worthy of a Rutledge, and was what saved Charleston from being taken soon afterwards by Gen. Prevost. Pursuant to this plan, I was ordered to Charleston to take charge of detachment of thirty men and two field pieces, with four ammunition wagons to join Gen. Lincoln at Augusta. The enemy being informed of Lincoln's movement to Augusta, crossed the Savannah River, in his rear, and obliged Gen, Moultrie to retire from his position at Black Swamp, and form a junction with Gen. Rutledge to save Charleston (Dawson and Jennings 2015).

It remains unclear if any elements of Colonel Roberts' 4th Regiment of Artillery was present at Purysburg on April 29. The regiment did participate in the action at Charleston Neck on May 11-13, however, so it may also have been in the Purysburg or Black Swamp area in the previous weeks (Lewis 2009). Major General Lincoln's forces did not unite with Brigadier General Moultrie's troops until after May 13, so it is unlikely

that the 4th Regiment was with Lincoln's troops by early May. At that time the 4th Regiment of Artillery included about 60 men in at least six companies. These included companies led by captains Harman Davis, John Francis DeTreville, Thomas Grimball, James Mitchell, William Mitchell and Richard Brooke Roberts (Lewis 2009). Captain John Francis DeTreville's Company participated in the February 3, 1779 battle on Port Royal Island and the May 11-13, 1779 standoff at Charleston Neck (Lewis 2009). General Moultrie gave orders to General Bull on February 9 for "Captain Treville, and his party, with the field-pieces" to join up with General Lincoln's force (Moultrie 1802, vol.1:308). Private William Allen, Captain Harman Davis' Company recalled that they served at, "Charleston and Georgetown & the neighboring country" (Allen 1818 [W20288]). Sergeant Elias Jeanret, Captain Davis' Company recalled that he, "was marched from George Town to Purrysburg where he joined General Linkhorn's [Lincoln's] Army and was marched to Augusta then down the River to brier [Briar] Creek from thence pursued the British Army to Stona [Stono]' (Jeanret 1832 [S8958]). Jeanret's statement indicates that Captain Davis' Company marched with General Lincoln in late April 1779, so that particular company was not involved in the April 1779 action at Purysburg. Colonel Owen Roberts was killed in the battle of Stono on June 20, 1779 (Roberts 1844 [BLWt 2359-500).

John Wickly, a junior officer in the 4th Regiment of Artillery in April 1779 was promoted to command a company. Corporal Nicholas Prince, Captain John Wickly's Company, recalled that, when, "the Regiment was ordered to march to Purrysburg in the month of March [1779]...he & 2 others were ordered to remain in Charleston to work in the laboratory in preparing cartridges for canon & small arms, rocket, port fires, tubes and canister shot" (Prince 1833 [W8289]). Private Edward Conner, another soldier in Captain John Wickly's Company, remembered this of his service on the Savannah River in 1779,

From thence he was marched to Fort Johnson where he was stationed and sometimes in Charleston working in the Laboratory –from Charleston he was marched to Purrysburg. That while the American forces consisting of about 200 men were stationed at Purrysburg, the British Army advanced as the American forces retreated up the River to Black

Swamp -the British Army at that time encamped opposite to them in the State of Georgia -the Army remained at Black Swamp about two weeks -the British Army marched then up the River with a view of crossing the River into Carolina -the American forces advanced up the River having been greatly increased by the militia who joined them. On the march -the American Army crossed the Savannah River at Augusta upon which the enemy retreated down the River to Bryer Creek where they crossed to the Carolina side of the River -the American Army crossed at the same place & continued in pursuit in the direction of Charleston –near Dorchester they were joined by General Lincoln at which time the American forces were still greatly increased (Conner 1833 [S21123]; John Wickly 1819 [S39132]).

Many other military units saw service at Purysburg and Black Swamp but their participation in the April 29 battle cannot be well established. Others assuredly were not present, but they are discussed in the following section since many of them may have left an "archeological footprint" on these military sites. Many units were serving with Brigadier General Moultrie at Black Swamp and were alarmed when notified of the British advance at Purysburg by Lieutenant Colonel McIntosh's courier. Consequently, the action at Purysburg had a direct effect on their immediate actions to flee from Major General Prevost's advance and then to dog the British on their approach to Charleston.

1st South Carolina Continental Regiment

The 1st South Carolina Continental Regiment was formed in 1775 and served until May 1780 when it was captured at Charleston in May 1780. The regiment was reorganized in December 1782, its troops were furloughed in May 1783 and the regiment disbanded in November 1783. The 1st South Carolina Continentals saw service at Purysburg in 1778 and early 1779. None of its troops were at the battle in April 1779. The most prominent officers associated with Purysburg were Colonel Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and Major Thomas Pinckney. Colonel Charles C. Pinckney was involved in establishing the defenses at Purysburg in early 1779 but spent the following months at

Charleston. Major Pinckney served in the 1st Regiment but he also served as an Aide-de-Camp in General Lincoln's staff. He accompanied General Lincoln on the army's march towards Augusta in late April 1779.

3rd South Carolina Continental Regiment

The 3rd South Carolina Continental Regiment, also known as the Ranger Regiment, was commanded by Colonel William Thomson. It was formed in 1775 and serviced until its troops were captured at Charleston in May 1780. The regiment was disbanded in January 1781. The regiment was at Purysburg but not at the time of the April 29 battle. In 1778 about 1,300 soldiers in the 3rd South Carolina Regiment marched to Purysburg as part of Major General Howe's East Florida Campaign under command of Colonel Pinckney and Major General Howe. Thomas Harlow, a private in Captain Brown's Company of the 3rd South Carolina, stated, "he remained with the Army about three weeks, and then descended the Savannah in boats [from Purysburg] to the town of Savannah" (Harlow 1832 [R4615]). The use of boats to haul Continental South Carolina troops from Purysburg to Savannah demonstrates the early importance of Purysburg for the military in terms of logistics and troop movements.

Charles Town Militia

The city of Charles Town, as Charleston frequently was referred to in the 1770s, and the surrounding parishes that composed the Charles Town Militia District formed its own Patriot militia regiment. The unit was formed in 1775 and served until the troops were captured at Charleston in May 1780. The Charles Town Militia District included Christ Church, St. Andrews, St. George, St. Philips and St. Michael's, St. Thomas and St. Denis' parishes. The regiment was disbanded in January 1781 (Lewis 2008a). A detachment of the Charles Town District militia brigade was commanded by Colonel Maurice Simons (DeSaussure 1886: Appendix; Salley 1995:8). Soldiers from the Charles Town militia saw service at Purysburg and Black Swamp in 1779. It remains unclear whether Charles Town militia participated in the engagement at Purysburg on April 29. In May 1779, the troop strength of the Charles Town militia was about 780 men, who were divided into at least 13 companies. In October 1779 the troop strength of the Charles Town militia dwindled to 350 men (Gordon 1788:330; Snowden and Cutler 1920:370). Captains in the regiment in May, 1779

included: John Baddeley, James Bentham. Peter Bocquet, Archibald Brown, Daniel Cannon, Joseph Darrell, William Fraser, William Hassell Gibbes. Thomas Heyward, Jr., John Raven Matthews, John McQueen, Edward Rutledge and Charles Shepherd (Lewis 2009).

The Charles Town militia included a Battalion of Artillery (Ervin 2011:63). This artillery battalion may have served at Purysburg in late April 1779. The battalion had performed well in the February 1779 battle at Port Royal, where they were commanded by captains Heyward and Rutledge (Ramsay 1809:298). General Moultrie issued orders for Captain Heyard to march to Purysburg, "with their field-pieces" on February 9 and the following day, General Stephen Bull wrote back to Moultrie on February 10 and 12 informing him that he had "ordered Capt. Heyward to march with his corps and two field-pieces" to Purysburg. Governor Bull gave similar orders to Captain Treville and his detachment of South Carolina Continental Artillery. Treville and his men were reluctant to obey, however, as they had expected to be outside of Charleston only until March 1 (Moultrie 1802, vol. 1:307-308, 312-313). Major Henry Moore, who was attached to Captain Treville's artillery, recollected that Captain Treville's detachment encamped at Sheldon and that he returned to Charleston and was later ordered to join General Lincoln with an artillery detachment on the April 1779 march towards Augusta (Dawson and Jennings 2015).

Charleston's Jewish community was an important part of the Charles Town militia. Captain Richard Lushington's company also was engaged in action at Port Royal (South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine 1902:113). Captain Lushington's Company included about 26 Jewish men (Elzas 1905:88; Hühner 1903). Captain Peter Boquet's Company of Grenadiers also included Jewish soldiers. John Sullivan, a Sergeant in Captain Peter Boquet's Company of Grenadiers stated that, "the Regiment lay at Orangeburg until May 1779, was thence ordered into Black Swamp to reinforce General Moultrie, on the second days march heard of Moultriess being on the retreat and received orders and marched to Charleston arrived there the 9th day May in the evening and General Moultrie arrived there the 10th" (Sullivan 1832 [S22002]). David Nunez Cardozo, a 1st Sergeant in Captain Boquet's Company, stated that their company assisted in the defense of Charleston on May 11, 1779 and that following that action their company,

"occupied the adjacent Islands to the South", while "the Regular Continental Army under General Lincoln" was "then at Black Swamp" (Cardoza 1832 [R20830]). Cardoza was part of Charleston's Jewish community (Wolf 1895:40; Hühner 1903:50).

Enrollment in the Charles Town militia troops under command of Colonel Maurice Simons in 1779 was not restricted to residents of Charleston but included militiamen from other parts of South Carolina. Pension records pertaining to the militiamen under Colonel Simons' command at Black Swamp or Purysburg are confusing. Numerous militiamen in other regiments arrived in the theatre and were transferred to Colonel Simons' regiment. Private Samuel McElhany, a soldier in Captain Philip Walker's Company, Colonel John Winn's (later Colonel Edward Lacey's) Regiment, served at Purysburg and Black Swamp, but left the area under Colonel Simons' command (McElhany 1832 [W12455]). David Morrow, a private in Captain Philip Walker's Company, stated that he and Captain Walker began service in Colonel Winn's Regiment but were later under Colonel Simons command. Morrow stated that he was in a skirmish near Black Swamp (1833 [S7253]).

Two militiamen in Captain Thomas Ellerbe's Company probably fought in the battle at Purysburg on April 29. Private Thomas Prestwood recalled that the company marched form Orangeburg, "to Black Swamp - thence to Purysburg where they stayed about two weeks when the British from the State of Georgia came upon them and forced them to flee to Charleston for safety" (Prestwood 1832 [S7337]). Private Daniel Hicks, Sr. remembered marching from Orangeburg where,

General Lincoln left the troops of which he formed a part, at Black Swamp, as a guard; and after remaining there some weeks these latter troops were divided, and that part to which he was attached marched to Purrysburg, about 25 miles above Savannah, on Savannah River, where Colonel Henderson took the command of the troops –That he remained there until the British troops crossed the Savannah, at Purrysburg and Black Swamp, into South Carolina, when he was again United with the troops at Black Swamp, Colonel Morris Simmons [sic, Maurice Simons] having the command, and retreated, before the enemy,

into Charleston, arriving in Charleston General Moultrie assumed the command (Hicks 1832 [S5533]).

Private Samuel Cox, Captain Tristan Thomas's Company of the Marlborough District Regiment, remembered marching from Orangeburg to Black Swamp, "where Colonel Simmons [sic, Maurice Simons] appeared to be the officer in Command -from thence to Purrysburg fifteen miles north of Savannah Georgia. At this place, news reached the Americans that the British were crossing the River above & below them; upon which they traveled night & day to Charleston (Cox 1832 [S21705). Private Alexander Walden, Captain Thomas Company remembered the march from Orangeburg "to the Black Swamp or Sisters Ferry and from there to Purrysburg, where we were Stationed one week as a guard, were marched back again to Black Swamp, and having been transferred from Col Hicks regiment to Col Simmons regiment, we were marched to Charleston" (Walden 1834 [R11011]). Private Richard Whittington, Captain Thomas' Company, recalled he was, "stationed for three weeks at Purysburg when the British Army came across the Savannah River in pursued our militia to Coosahatchie Creek" (Whittington 1832 [W535]).

Several South Carolina militiamen arrived at Purysburg under one command but were transferred to Colonel Simons' Charles Town militia before leaving the area. Private Elias Veatch arrived a private in Captain Lang's Company, Colonel [James] Mason's Regiment, but by the middle of April was "under General Simmons [Colonel Maurice Simons]. Veatch recalled that he, "marched from Camden [South Carolina] to the Black Swamp below Augusta Georgia. That General Moultrie was commander at that place; that the enemy pursued us from the Black Swamp to Charleston" (Veatch 1832 [R10926]).

South Carolina Militia

South Carolina militiamen saw extensive military service at Purysburg and Black Swamp. Historic records indicate that none of its regiments were engaged in the April 29 action at Purysburg, although many of the militiamen were posted at Black Swamp and they retreated towards Coosawhatchee once they learned of Prevost's crossing at Purysburg. Some small detachments of South Carolina militia may have been at Purysburg at that time and may have been battle participants but

the written evidence for this is lacking. South Carolina militia regiments that served at Purysburg in 1779 included those under colonels Garden, Goodwin, Hammond, Henderson, Hicks, Kershaw, Kolb, Neel, Richardson, Singleton, Taylor and Winn and Major Beam.

Colonel Garden's Regiment--Colonel Benjamin Garden commanded a regiment of South Carolina militia. This regiment saw service at Purysburg. Private William Rawls of Captain John Garvin's Company recalled that in 1779 he was,

stationed at Purrysburg on South Carolina ... the length of time he served during that tour he does not distinctly recollect but it was until the arrival of the French Fleet at Savannah that he was then released from service for a short time but was again called in this service about four weeks afterwards and was marched down the Savannah and arrived there two days after the attack was made on Savannah by the French and Americans". Rawls added that he later marched from "Savannah to Purrysburg under the command of Colonel Garden and Captain Garvin and remained at Purrysburg about one month when he was released from further duty at that time he was called into service again in about two months under the same officers and acted on the Savannah River and continued to perform duty occasionally on said River until Charleston fell into the possession of the British (Rawls 1832 [S47905]).

Colonel Goodwin's Regiment--Colonel Robert Goodwin commanded a regiment of South Carolina militia that served at Black Swamp in early 1779. Benjamin Majors, a private in Captain William Lang's Company, stated that, "he never was in any battle, but he was with the Army of General Moultrie who retreated from Black Swamp to Charleston pursued by General Prevost" (Majors 1833 [S32392]).

Colonel Hammond's Regiment--Colonel LeRoy Hammond, Sr. commanded a regiment of South Carolina militia and it served at Purysburg and Two Sister's ferry in early 1779. Captain Samuel Hammond, Colonel Hammond's Regiment, described his service in early 1779 on the Savannah River following an engagement in the Ogeechee River watershed, "On return from that expedition, Applicant was put in charge

of a fatigue party & Boat builders to prepare Flats for the Passage of Genl. Lincoln's army across Savannah River. Genl. Prevost crossing that river below and his advance towards Charleston caused a change of purpose with Genl. Lincoln. The Boats were left & your Applicant deposited them where directed, followed on after the Army" (Hammond 1832 [S21807]). Lieutenant Joshua Hammond, Captain John Hammond's Company stated that in 1779 he, "marched to the Two Sisters ferry on Savannah...and was stationed there three months as a guard", and elsewhere he again stated that he served, "three months at the Two Sisters ferry on the Savannah River" (Hammond 1832 [S21803])

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Private William Smith, Captain Henry Foster's Company, recalled that he was, "in the fight at Rocky Comfort Creek and the Battles at Purrysburg and Stono" (Smith 1837 [W3729]). His pension statement is the only one discovered during this research that suggests participation by Colonel Hammond's regiment in the April 29 battle. William Nelson, private in Hammond's Company, "was marched to the Two Sisters Ferry" (Nelson 1833 [R7594]). Private Henry Timmerman, Captain John Ryan or Captain Hunter's Company, served in Colonel Hammond's Regiment. William Dawson attested in 1832 that he "saw Henry Timmerman during the war at Purrysburg with arms in the American Army" (Timmerman 1832 [S18247]). Private John Buie, Captain Henry Foster's Company, stated that in April 1779, his company, "marched to Purrysburg & remained there a short time, from there we marched to Pon Pon river" (Buie 1835 [R1417]). Buie's pension application was rejected, however, for lack of proof of service. Sergeant Thomas Swearingen, Captain Benjamin Hatcher's Company, served under command of Major Middleton in the fall of 1779 and he recalled, "They were stationed at the Sisters Ferry on the Savannah River, and employed in patrolling from Puresburg [sic, Purysburg] to Parachickla [sic, Palachacolas]" (Swearingen 1833 [W6113]).

Colonel Henderson's Regiment--Colonel William Henderson commanded a regiment of South Carolina militia that served at Purysburg. Private Absalom Hooper, Captain Richard Doggett's Company, stated that he marched under General Lincoln's command from Charleston, "he was marched under him to Purysburg in South Carolina above Savannah & after Nashes defeat [sic, John Ashe's defeat] at Brier Creek he was marched up to August Ga. & crossed the river into

Georgia about that time the enemy crossed Savannah River at Jubley's [sic, Zubly's] ferry & marched in the direction for Charleston and the war moved down the river & crossed it at a place called the three Sisters [ferry] & pursued them when the Americans arrived at Bacon's Bridge on the Edisto River". Hooper further stated that Captain Doggett was killed in the battle of Stono on June 20, 1779, following which Colonel Henderson's regiment remained for some time at "Seldon" [sic, Sheldon] and "thence the American army marched by way of Purysburg, Zubley's ferry & c." to the Siege of Savannah (Hooper 1833 [W7813]).

Colonel Hicks' Regiment--Colonel Hicks commanded a regiment of South Carolina militia that served at Purysburg. Private Alexander Walden, Captain Thomas' Company, recalled his company marched,

to the Black Swamp or Sisters ferry and from there to Purrysburg, where we were Stationed one week as a guard, were marched back again to Black Swamp, and having been transferred from Col Hicks regiment to Col Simmons regiment, we were marched to Charleston, where I served out my tour of three months and was discharged and returned home" (Walden 1834 [R11011]).

Walden also described his participation in a skirmish at Black Swamp, but here he refers to an event that happened in the Pee Dee River watershed of South Carolina. Walden's dates are incorrect, as Leonard Anderson and Christian Peters, other veterans of that engagement provided a more detailed description of it and placed the event in 1780 or 1781 (Walden 1834 [R11011]; Anderson 1832 [W8329]).

Colonel Kershaw's Regiment--Colonel Joseph Kershaw commanded a regiment of South Carolina militia who served at Purysburg and Black Swamp but were not engaged in the April 1779 battle (Kirkland and Kennedy 1905). Thomas Glaze, a sergeant (and later ensign) in Captain Middleton McDaniel's Company, recalled that his company marched to Purysburg, "where they had a slight [text missing] Enemy --here the 2 forces again separated & Lincoln put his forces on the road towards Charlestown South Carolina the remaining forces under the command of Colonel Kershaw marched up the Savannah River to join General Williamson & was discharged"

(Glaze 1832 [S10748]). Private Archibald McCorkle, Captain Hugh White's Company, recalled that he marched under Colonel Kershaw on February 1, 1779,

to headquarters at black swamp, but then the command of the Regiment devolved on Coln Simmons [Maurice Simons] in consequence of Kershaw leaving the army for some cause he cannot now recollect...General Moultrie commanded this army of observation but a short time before the expiration of declarant's tour the british suddenly fell down the Savannah river & crossed in to the South State which caused General Moltrie with all his forces to decamp & with forced marching to gain the junction of the Purisburg & Black Swamp Roads, then to throw evry possible obstruction in the way of British troops whose aim appeared for Charleston (McCorkle 1833 [S2771]).

Colonel Kolb's Regiment--Private Israel Baxter of Captain William Dewitt's Company, Colonel Kolb's Regiment, South Carolina militia, stated in his pension application that he "marched to Purysburg on the Savannah River. Remained there a few weeks then went to Charleston, SC. Fought the British at the battle between them and the Americans at Coosa Hatchie Bridge" (Baxter 1833 [R21696]).

Colonel Neel's Regiment--Colonel Thomas Neel commanded the New Acquisition militia regiment of South Carolina militia that was ordered in March 1779 to march from Orangeburg to join General Moultrie at Black Swamp. The regiment participated in the battle of Brier Creek where it suffered heavy losses (Benjamin Merrell 1833 [S8891]). Colonel Neel was killed in the battle of Stono on June 20, 1779. Private John Craig in Colonel Neel's Regiment, recalled that General Moultrie had,

retreated to Coosahatchie [Coosawhatchie] where there was a call for 130 men to burn down Chulifinny [sic, Tullifinny] Bridge under Colonel John Laurens who was wounded in the engagement". Craig later added that his company joined, "General Moultrie as stated before at Black Swamp from which place the General retired early in May in consequence of the advance of General Provost [sic, Prevost] with the British

Forces. This applicant comprised one of the members who was engaged in the affair at Tulifinny [sic, Tullifinny] Bridge and was the identical Soldier who bound of the wounded arm of Major John Laurens being shot through the right arm just below the wrist—joint" (Craig 1832, 1833 [W22864]).

Private James Fergus, a wagon master in the South Carolina militia, was posted with Colonel Neel at Orangeburg, South Carolina in late April, 1779 and he kept a journal in which he wrote (Fergus 1832 [W25573). He was not present for the battle of Purysburg but his journal includes some useful details. While he was at Orangeburg, Fergus wrote that,

Col. Senf laid of the ground for a Fort, and employed our men in cutting turf & working on it until we heard that the British had crossed Savannah River & got to Purysburg...On the first of May '79, we received intelligence that the enemy had got possession of Purysburg."

Fergus' journal entry for May 2nd noted, "preparation for marching to meet the enemy was made to set out on the following morning. Towards evening 28 or 29 wagons from Charleston arrived loaded with Arms, ammunition, entrenching tools, 2 Howitzers, shells & cannon balls &c &c..." Fergus also stated that while at Orangeburg, South Carolina militia colonels Wynn, Brown, Neel and others all were placed under the command of Colonel Senf, who was "a foreign Officer who it was said was sent out to discipline our Southern men" (Fergus 1832 [W25573]). Colonel Charles Senf/Senff was a Danish engineer who assisted Lincoln's army in 1779 (Walker 1981:263).

Colonel Richardson's Regiment--A Colonel Richardson commanded a regiment of South Carolina militia that saw service at Purysburg and Black Swamp. Captain William Gaston's return of his company, dated December 1778 and taken at Moncks Corner, South Carolina shows it was in the Upper Battalion of Colonel Richardson's Regiment. At that time Gaston's company consisted of four officers and 25 men (Graves 2009). Private John Kirkpatrick, Captain William Gaston's Company, stated that in February 1779 he marched to Purysburg,

where he joined Genl. Williamson & was stationed there about a month after serving out a term of three months he went home, remained at home about a month & was recalled to Plurusburg (sic, Purysburg), when he got back there Genl. Lincoln then had command who had arrived there in the interval, hearing that the British were at Charleston we were marched to about four miles of that place (Kirkpatrick 1832 [S1845]).

Colonel Singleton's Regiment--Redden McCoy, a private in Captain Nathaniel Moore's Company stated that in 1779 he was marched from Charleston to Purisbourg [Purysburg] (McCoy 1832 [S7198]).

Colonel Taylor's Regiment--Hugh Randolph, a private in Captain William Simmons' Company, stated that in the fall of 1777 he, "went to Purrysburg down the mouth of Savannah River served not less than 2 months and 2 weeks to keep the British from coming up to Savannah" (Randolph 1833 [S14252]). Randolph's statement is puzzling and his timing may be incorrect.

Colonel Winn's Regiment--Colonel John Winn commanded a regiment of South Carolina militia. William Lewis, a soldier in Captain John Smith's Company, stated that the regiment marched from Winnsborough to participate in the 1779 Siege of Savannah, and that after leaving Orangeburg the regiment, "arrived at the village of Purisburg on the Savannah River. There were no troops at Purisburgh excepting Col. Jno. Winns Regiment two or three hundred strong" (Lewis 1832 R6335]). Private John Mc-Dill, Captain John Nixon's Company, marched to Purysburg to join Lincoln's army after March 18, 1779. McDill also was at Purysburg earlier in December, 1778 and January 1779 with Captain Alexander Turner's Company, under General Richardson's command (McDill 1833 [S21879]).

Colonel Winn's Regiment also may have served at Purysburg in 1777 and 1778. Sergeant Arthur Parr, Captain Joseph Kirkland's Company, Winn's Regiment recalled that following the Florida Campaign, their regimental headquarters was at Purysburg. He stated,

When we returned I was continued in the service variously stationed on the Savanah our headquarters being at Purisburgh until the fall or early in the winter of 1778 I went to Charlestown a vollinteer and continued there and in the visinity untill the fall of the year we went again to Purisburgh where we ware discharged. in the Spring of 1779 I entered the servise a vollenteer under Cap Joseph Kirkland and was imployed under Gen Huger in destroying the road from savanah to Charlestown (Parr 1926:389).

Major Beam's Regiment—Private George Campbell in Captain John Olson's Company, Major Beams' Regiment, recalled they marched from Orangeburg to, "Black Swamp on Savannah River and from thence to Purrysburg and from Petersburg [sic, Purysburg] to Coosawhatchie where he was in the battle with the British". Private Campbell stated in a separate deposition in 1834 that he, "marched to black swamp under the command of Captain John Olson of the detachment of troops commanded by Colonel Keating Simmons [Keating Simons] and joined the Army under General Moultrie", and from Black Swamp he marched to Purysburg, "under the command of Colonel Henderson of the Continental Army when he was placed under the command of Lieutenant Colonel McIntosh. When the British Army under the command of General Prevost crossed the Savannah River at Purrysburg Colonel Mc-Intosh retreated to Tulifenny bridge where we joined General Moultrie" (Campbell 1834 [S10436]). If Campbell's statement is accurate, then he likely fought in the battle of Purysburg on April 29. His regimental affiliation is confusing, however, since he arrived in the theatre as a North Carolina soldier but somehow transitioned into the 5th South Carolina Continentals.

Undetermined S.C. Militia Regiment—William Smith, a Private in Lieutenant Buckner's company his participated in the battle at Parker's

Ferry, August 31, 1781. He stated of his military service in late 1781, "I was also stationed and served out my time at Purrysburg under the command of Buckner" (Smith 1838 [R9875]).

North Carolina Continental and Militia Regiments

North Carolina troops had a major presence in the study area in early 1779. This included both a Continental Light Infantry Detachment, commanded by Colonel Archibald Lytle, comprised of three regiments (including soldiers from 4th and 5th North Carolina Continentals Infantry Regiments) and seven regiments of North Carolina militia, commanded by colonels Hugh Brevard, William Caswell, Thomas Eaton, Francis Locke, Solomon Perkins, Thomas Pugh Williams, and a mounted militia regiment, commanded by Colonel Philip Alston. While their history is important to military affairs in the Purysburg and Black Swamp region, these troops did not participate directly in the April 29 Battle of Purysburg so they are only briefly mentioned here. Brief summaries of each of these North Carolina regiments, including extensive pension accounts that refer to Purysburg, Black Swamp and other landmarks in Jasper County, South Carolina, are included as Appendix 2. Specific quotes by these soldiers that help identify military features are extracted in the body of this report.

Georgia Continentals

Georgia's continental troops did not participate in the April 29 Battle of Purysburg. Many of the Georgia troops were ravaged by British victories at Savannah, Fort Morris/Sunbury and Brier Creek. Only a fraction of the troops were available for service after March 3, 1779. Soldiers in the 4th Georgia Continental Battalion, commanded by Colonel John White, weathered this trying period relatively unscathed and the regiment saw naval service at Purysburg in early 1779. They participated in maritime battles in the Savannah River near Purysburg.

The 4th Georgia Battalion was formed in 1777 and was composed of men enlisted from places as distant from Georgia as Pennsylvania (Wright 1983:108). It originally consisted of eight companies. The battalion fought at Savannah in December 1778 where soldiers suffered heavy losses. The remainder joined with the Americans at Purysburg (George St. George 1818 [S39090]).

The regiment also fought in the battle of Brier Creek, suffering considerable losses (Wylly 1844 [R11535]). Following the defeat at Savannah in December, 1778, remnants of Georgia Continentals made their way to Purysburg. Many of these regular soldiers were assigned service on the row galleys in the Savannah River. Colonel White commanded these Georgia troops on the row galleys (White 1779:1-2). Colonel White had served in the British Navy and had commanded the 4th Georgia Battalion from its formation.

A Muster Roll of the 4th Continental Georgia Battalion commanded by Colonel John White, Augusta, August 2, 1779 listed White as absent (Rodgers 2001). Colonel White's name appears again in October 1779, when he led a few Continentals to capture a small fleet of British vessels at Savage Point on the Ogeechee River in Georgia. Eight days later he led his men in the attack on Savannah where he was wounded and captured by the British. Colonel White died from his wounds shortly thereafter. The 4th Georgia was disbanded on January 1, 1781 (Wright 1983:314). Thomas Wylly, Sr., a 2nd Lieutenant in Captain Hovington's Company and Deputy Quartermaster of the 4th Georgia, described his unit's condition, "When the British took Savannah -- Our troops -- was compelled to retreat to South Carolina --on our getting to Purrysburg--of the 4 George [sic, Georgia] or Continental Battalions -- there was about 60 privates --a Captain's Command -- Numbers of the privates died natural deaths --many killed, in action and several made prisoners by the British. This made or caused, a number supernumerary officers --myself one of the number" (Wylly 1844 [R11535]).

Thomas Wylly, Sr. had a duel roll in the American cause, serving as a spy. Wylly's family was torn in their loyalties. His oldest brother Alexander was a staunch Loyalist officer and his other brother Richard was a Quartermaster General for the Georgia Patriots. As a younger brother to Alexander, Thomas was able to circulate and gather information about the British intentions. He relayed information to Major General Lincoln and Brigadier General Moultrie, and as he stated,

he [Thomas] notified General Moultrie, of the British Army wanting to cross the Sisters Ferry across the Savannah River to attack him the General on that information removed his troops near Charleston that during which time his life was often exposed having for the purpose of obtaining information, often to mix with the British officers & having to sleep in the woods (Wylly 1844 [R11535]).

George St. George, a Private in Captain Day's Company, described his participation in the December 1778 battle at Savannah and how, after the battle,

he escaped to the United States Galley "Congress" laying in Savannah River, having no discharge, & the corps never after assembled. That he demanded from the Galley at Purrysburg where he found General

Moultrie commanding and through the favor of Colonel Habersham was placed in the Commissary's Department. That he accompanied General Moultrie's Troops to Charlestown (George 1818 [S39090]).

Griffeth Dickenson, a musician in the Georgia Continentals, was serving at Fort Morris near Sunbury in January 1779 when, "he was drafted by lot to go on board one of the American Galleys and continued on board about four Months". Dickenson did not remember the name of the galley's captain or the vessel's name, although he stated that he was, "on board when the British fleet came up to Savannah Town. After firing on them one time the Gallies retreated up the River carrying a French Schooner before us Laden with ammunition & landed at a village in S. Carolina called Purisburg [sic, Purysburg]". From there Dickenson was marched to Augusta (Dickenson 1833 [S20896]).

Thomas Baker, a Private in Colonel Stirk's Regiment, Georgia Continentals, stated that following the defeat at Savannah in December 1778, he and his fellow soldiers, "collected on the Cherokee Hill 8 miles from Savannah and part of the Army crossed the Savannah River at Tubley's ferry and part at the Two Sisters [ferry]a few miles above Purysburg and made Purrysburg in the State of South Carolina our headquarters, our Commander now was General Lincoln who took the place of Howe" (Baker 1833 [S15299]).

Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Pannell/Pannill and Captain Hornby was captured along with several soldiers in the 4th Georgia at Sunbury in January 1779. Lieutenant Colonel Pannell is listed as absent on the

August 1779 muster roll and he was not likely present at Purysburg. Daniel Dampeer/Dampier, also in the 4th Georgia, was captured at Sunbury and imprisoned for three months and 17 days. He was exchanged along with Lieutenant Colonel Pannell (Dampeer 1843 [R2639]). Captain Hornby, 4th Georgia, also was captured at Sunbury and remained there on parole until he was killed in September 1779 (Sheftall Sheftall 1832 [S31959]). Jesse Parker, a private attested that he was held on a "Prison Ship at Savannah about 5 or 6 months" before he was able to escape (Jesse Parker 1832 [S11217]). Continental Army officers who were captured at Sunbury were placed on parole. David Childers, another soldier in the 4th Georgia, also was captured at Sunbury and imprisoned for five or six months (Childers 1818 [S39298]).

Selected Biographies--Patriots

Bee, Thomas, Lieutenant Governor--Thomas Bee served as South Carolina's (Patriot) Lieutenant Governor in 1779 and 1780.

Bull, Stephen, Brigadier General--Stephen Bull commanded the 1st Brigade, South Carolina militia in 1779. He served at Purysburg in early 1779 (Heitman 1914:107).

DeBrahm, Ferdinand I.S., Major--Major Ferdinand DeBrahm was a U.S. Army engineer and staff officer for General Lincoln in 1779. Major DeBrahm also had served as a staff officer for Major General Robert Howe in 1778. He entered the service on February 11, 1778, commanded at Fort Moultrie in March and September 1779, kept a journal of the British siege of Charleston and was taken prisoner there on May 12, 1780. DeBrahm was exchanged on April 22, 1781 and retired from the service on February 6, 1784. Heitman incorrectly identifies DeBrahm as a French officer. He was the nephew of William DeBrahm, who formerly served as King's Surveyor in the South (Heitman 1914:97; DeVorsey 1971).

Grimké, John Faucheraud, Major--Major John Faucheraud Grimké was an officer in the 4th South Carolina Regiment of Artillery. He served at Purysburg and Black Swamp but was not present in Purysburg on April 29, having accompanied General Lincoln on the march towards Augusta. Grimké was

promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the South Carolina Artillery on June 20, 1779; was taken prisoner in the British Siege of Charleston on May 12, 1780 (Heitman 1914:202). The survival of Grimké's order books for 1779 provide a wealth of information pertaining to Purysburg and Black Swamp (Grimké 1912-1914).

Lincoln, Benjamin, Major General--Major General Benjamin Lincoln was appointed by the U.S. Congress to command the Southern Army in 1778. General Lincoln had been wounded in the battle of Saratoga. He commanded the troops at Purysburg after his arrival on January 3, 1779. He was taken prisoner in the British Siege of Charleston in May 1780. Major General Lincoln's papers provide a wealth of information about events at Purysburg and Black Swamp in 1779.

McIntosh, Alexander, Lieutenant Colonel--Lieutenant Colonel Alexander McIntosh was the commanding officer for the Patriots at Purysburg on April 29, 1779. Sadly, he left no written record of the event other than his quickly scribbled messages that were conveyed to Brigadier General William McIntosh at the time of the battle. Consequently, his importance in military affairs along the Savannah River in 1779 are under appreciated.

Alexander McIntosh was a prominent resident of the Cheraw District (Pee Dee River region) of South Carolina at the onset of the American Revolution. He was born in Scotland, possibly in 1702 or 1721, and came to South Carolina after being banished to America for his participation in the Jacobite rebellion in the early 1740s (Dobson 1983:28). He established Lynwilg plantation on the east side of the Pee Dee River, a few miles below Long Bluff, in the Welsh Neck section (Gregg 1867:89). He married Eleanor James and they had three children. Upon her death Alexander married Elizabeth Mikell (Bailey 1981:458).

Alexander McIntosh's public service in South Carolina began during the Cherokee War, when he served as a militia captain. He also participated in the Regulator movement in the late 1760s. He was a member of the Welsh Neck Baptist Church (1761), president of St. David's Society (1778) and also served as Justice of the Peace for Craven County (1765) and Cheraw District (1774). He served as a representative from St. David Parish in the South Carolina General Assembly from 1776-1778 and as a member of the

Provincial Congress in 1775 and 1776. In 1778 he was elected the first senator from St. David's Parish (Moultrie 1802, volume 1:14-18; Bailey 1981:458; Daughters of the American Revolution 1910:355).

When the revolution erupted in South Carolina, Alexander McIntosh heeded the patriot call. He was elected major in the 2nd Regiment of the South Carolina Continentals on June 17, 1775 and promoted to lieutenant colonel in the Rangers in July 1775. In March, 1776 McIntosh was elected lieutenant colonel in the 1st Regiment of Rifles (Moultrie 1802, vol. 1:65; Gregg 1867:196, 236, 256). He was commissioned as a Brigadier General of the 4th Brigade of South Carolina Militia by the Council of Safety on March 25, 1778. This brigade consisted of regiments from Cheraws and Georgetown, and Lower and Upper Craven County districts. The Kingstree Regiment was added to this brigade in late 1779 or early 1780 (Lewis 2008a).

By 1780 McIntosh held the rank of Brigadier General in the South Carolina militia. McIntosh was captured, taken prisoner and paroled by the British in Charleston on May 12, 1780. According to a family descendant, Alexander McIntosh died on November 18, 1780 in St. David's Parish (or possibly Charleston) South Carolina (Bailey 1981:458; Gregg 1867:346; Heitman 1914:371; Lewis 2014; Moss 2006:630; Prather 1909:228). He died leaving almost no paper trail of his service at Purysburg in 1779.

Moultrie, William, Brigadier General--Brigadier General William Moultrie, 2nd South Carolina Continentals commanded the South Carolina line in 1779. He is one of the most celebrated heroes of the American Revolution in South Carolina. General Moultrie was left in command of the troops at Black Swamp and Purysburg when General Lincoln's army marched north towards Augusta in late April 1779. General Moultrie was at Black Swamp at the time of the April 29 Battle at Purysburg.

Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, Colonel--Colonel Pinckney commanded the 1st South Carolina Continentals in 1779. He commanded the regiment in 1778, when it participated in the East Florida campaign. Colonel Pinckney was at Purysburg in late March 1779 but was not there for the battle at Purysburg. The 5th South Carolina (which did participate in the Battle of Purysburg) was absorbed by the 1st South Carolina in early 1780.

Colonel Pinckney was captured in the British Siege of Charleston in May 1780 and was kept in confinement until 1782 (Heitman 1914:329; Zahniser 1967).

Pinckney, Thomas, Major--Major Thomas Pinckney, 1st South Carolina Continentals, served at Purysburg and Black Swamp in 1779 as an Aide-de-Camp to General Lincoln. He accompanied General Lincoln on the march towards Augusta in late April and was not present for the April 29 battle at Purysburg (Heitman 1914:329-330).

Roberts, Owen, Colonel--Colonel Owen Roberts commanded the 4th Regiment South Carolina Continental Artillery. A weekly return of the regiment was taken at Purysburg (Roberts 1779a). He served as a Major in the 1st South Carolina Regiment in 1775 and was promoted to Lieutenant Colonel of the South Carolina State Artillery later that year. Colonel Roberts was killed on June 20, 1779 at the battle of Stono (Heitman 1914:347).

Rutledge, John, Governor--John Rutledge was the South Carolina (Patriot) Governor in 1779 and 1780. Governor Rutledge was actively involved with the South Carolina militia, who were encamped at Orangeburg.

Simons, Maurice, Colonel--Maurice Simons (also spelled Simmons) (1744-1785) was a planter at Watboo Landing in St. John's Parish, South Carolina. He commanded the 1st Battalion of Charles Town militia in 1779 (Marin 2007:185, 241-242). The Charles Town militia was left under command of General Moultrie in late April 1779 and a portion of the regiment was present at Purysburg on April 29. Colonel Simons was killed in a duel with William Clay Snipes at Round O, South Carolina on November 12, 1785 (*Charlestown Gazette* 1785).

Selected Biographies—British and Loyalists

Brown, Thomas, Lieutenant Colonel--Thomas Brown, a Loyalist who arrived in Georgia on the eve of the American Revolution, commanded the East Florida Rangers in 1779 (Cashin 1989). Brown's Rangers were supplemented by Creek Indian warriors. It is likely that an undetermined number of Indians were selected from Brown's forces to participate in the initial assault on Purysburg.

Graham, Colin, Major--Major Colin Graham commanded a company of the Light Infantry (16th Regiment) in 1779 (Cannon 1848:22; MacLean 1900). In April 1779 Graham commanded the two light infantry companies of the 71st Regiment in the absence of their previous commander, Sir James Baird. Baird had departed for England with Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell in March 1779.

Maitland, John, Lieutenant Colonel--John Maitland led the initial British assault on Purysburg in April 1779. Like his Patriot counterpart in the battle, Alexander McIntosh, Maitland died not long after the battle in 1779, so he left no written accounts of the battle. His accomplishments in the April-May 1779 campaign have not been fully appreciated. Maitland assumed control of the 71st Regiment after the departure from Georgia of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell and Major James Baird in early 1779 (Reynolds 1779).

Maitland was the son of British General Alexander Maitland, Earl of Lauderdale. He was born in 1732 and he died of malaria in Savannah, Georgia on October 22, 1779. Lieutenant Colonel Maitland's military service began in 1757 when he was commissioned a Captain of Marines. He served in the Seven Years' War and lost his right arm in battle in the East Indies in the Seven Year's War. In 1775 he was promoted to Major. Maitland arrived with other British troops in Boston, Massachusetts in October, 1775 (Maitland 1775; Cole 1982:93). Maitland served as a commander of British light infantry in the northeast from 1776 to 1778. After the British evacuation of Boston, British General Sir William Howe issued orders on May 14, 1776 from his headquarters in Halifax, Nova Scotia to form two light infantry battalions by temporarily withdrawing the companies from their regiments and assigning them to the two battalions (Howe 1884 [1776]). The 2nd Light Infantry Battalion was commanded by Major John Maitland, Marines. The 2nd battalion was composed of soldiers from the 40th, 43rd, 44th, 45th, 49th, 52nd, 55th, 63rd and 64th Companies (Howe 1884 [1776]). Major Maitland commanded the 2nd Light Infantry Battalion at the battle of Harlem Heights on Manhattan Island in New York on September 16, 1776 (Johnston 1897; Crimmins 1912:132-4). The Americans held a slight advantage in this battle and British retreated. On March 23, 1777 the 37th, 46th and 57th Companies were added to the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry (Kemble 1777). The 37th Company was transferred to the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry around August, 1778. The two light infantry battalions served with the British Army until it returned to New York from Philadelphia in July, 1778. On July 31, 1778, the light infantry battalions were ordered to assemble at Bedford, Long Island. Ten companies were taken from the two light infantry battalions for Major General James Grant's expedition to the West Indies and the remaining companies of light infantry were consolidated into a single battalion. Command of this consolidated battalion was given to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Abercrombie (Clinton 1778-1782). Abercrombie was still in command of the Light Infantry Battalion on April 25, 1779, when it filed a troop strength report at Southampton (Library of Congress 1779). These were not the troops in South Carolina in April 1779, although many did participate in the 1780 Charleston campaign. On December 15, 1779 orders were issued from New York that assigned the 17th, 23rd, 38th, 43rd, 57th, 64th, 76th, 80th and 84th Companies to the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry (Pace 2011).

Major Maitland commanded a detachment of Marines in Delaware in 1778. On September 27 and 28, 1778 Major Maitland commanded six companies of light infantry at the Tappan Bridge in New Jersey, better known as the Tappan Massacre, or Baylor Massacre. There Maitland's men massacred a greatly outnumbered troop of Lieutenant Colonel George Baylor's 3rd Continental Dragoons, who were stationed at Blauvelt's barn. The British staged a surprise bayonet attack upon the sleeping and unarmed Americans, many of whom were killed, injured or taken prisoner (Wright 2015; Rivington's Royal Gazette 1778). Maitland commanded the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry at the Battle of Brandywine, Pennsylvania on September 11, 1777. The two battalions of British Light Infantry, both part of Major General Charles Cornwallis' Division, numbered approximately 1,130 men (Chester County Planning Commission and John Milner Associates, Inc. 2013). Maitland commanded the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry at the battle of Paoli, Pennsylvania on September 20-21, 1777 as part of Major General Charles Grey's British forces. The battle pitted about 2,500 Americans against 1,200 British. A surprise bayonet night attack on the sleeping Americans,

in which the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry played a prominent role, gave the engagement the nickname, "Paoli Massacre". General Grey's strategy, which was protested by the Americans, proved effective and gave the British a victory, despite superior odds (McGuire 2010). Maitland commanded 14 companies of the 2nd Light Infantry Battalion on October 4, 1777 at Germantown, Pennsylvania where they assaulted the pickets (Pinckney 1866 [1820]). These included the 43rd, 44th, 45th, 46th, 49th, 52nd, 55th, 57th, 63rd, 64th, 71st, 37th and 40th companies. That battle, which pitted about 11,000 Americans against 9,000 British, is considered a British victory (Gilbert 1988). Maitland again commanded 14 companies of the 2nd Light Infantry Battalion at the battle of Monmouth, New Jersey on June 28, 1778. The battalion, which was part of the 2nd Division commanded by Lieutenant General Wilhelm von Knyphausen was not engaged in the battle. This battle, which pitted about 12,500 British against 11,000 Americans was a British victory.

In October 1778, Maitland transferred into the army where he was appointed Lieutenant Colonel of the 1st Battalion of the 71st Regiment. He arrived in Georgia as part of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell's force and he led the 1st Battalion, 71st Regiment and Light Infantry in the capture of Savannah in December 1778. Lieutenant Colonel Maitland led the 2nd Battalion, 71st Regiment in the slaughter at Brier Creek on March 3, 1779. When Campbell left Georgia for England, Maitland was in command of the 71st Regiment. When the British invaded South Carolina on April 28-29, Lieutenant Colonel Maitland commanded the first assault force, which consisted of the Light Infantry, two battalions of the 71st Regiment and Loyalist Indians—approximately 2,500 men total (MacLean 1900).

After his command of the British advance forces at Purysburg Lieutenant Colonel Maitland fought at the battle of Stono Ferry in June 1779, where he commanded the British redoubt. He was assigned duty at Beaufort, South Carolina and it was from there in September 1779 that he led reinforcements through the marshes and back channels to assist in the defense of Savannah. Once he arrived in Savannah, he sickened and died. John Maitland's corpse was interred in John Graham's family vault in Savannah's Colonial Cemetery in late October 1779. His remains were exhumed in 1981 and reburied in a family vault beneath the Lauderdale Aisle in St. Mary's Church,

Haddington, East Lothian, Scotland (MacLean 1900). John Maitland's death was commemorated by Scottish poet Robert Colvill, whose long poem was published in London in early 1780 (Colvill 1780). Cole (1982) discusses Colvill's poem and its significance. He also traces subsequent treatment of Maitland in English and Scottish newspapers. John Maitland was most remembered by his countrymen for his heroic efforts to bring reinforcements through the marshes from Beaufort, South Carolina to Major General Prevost, who was under siege in Savannah in September 1779, without Maitland's efforts, Prevost would likely have surrendered the town to the French and Americans.

Prevost, Augustin, Major General--Major General Augustin Prevost commanded the British forces in Georgia and South Carolina duirng its 1779 campaign. His campaign began in South Carolina in April 1779, although he was not present for the April 29 battle. Rather, Prevost sent an advance force on a night march through the Savannah River swamp while he remained encamped on an island about four miles downstream from Purysburg. The march began at 11:00p.m. on the evening of April 28 and troops arrived at Purysburg with the balance of his invasion force by the next morning. Prevost arrived at Purysburg by boat to witness the aftermath of the battle and once his men were rested he took the command of the army as they pursued General Moultrie's men.

Tawse, Thomas, Captain-Captain Thomas Tawse, 71st Regiment, commanded a company of about 50 light dragoons at Brier Creek on March 3, 1779 (Beatson 1802:492). He was likely a participant in the April 29 Battle at Purysburg. Captain Tawes was killed in the defense of the British redoubt at Spring Hill in Savannah on October 9, 1779.

Chapter 5. Archeological Evidence from the Battlefield Landscape

Battle Loci

Researchers defined a series of 13 battlefield loci based on their findings. Battlefield loci are shown in Figures 32-34. The attributes of each of these areas are discussed in the following section. These include Loci A-M:

- A-Suspected fort area on west side of Purysburg
- B-Area of southwestern Puryburg, west of Purysburg Road
- C-Area of southeastern Purysburg, east of Purysburg Road
- D-Army encampment, lead ball manufacturing area
- E-Northern Purysburg, north of Church Street
- F-Area north of Purysburg, Argent Subdivision
- G-Black Swamp, Two Sisters Ferry and New Landing
- H-West central Purysburg, west of Purysburg Road, south of Church Street
- I-East central Purysburg, east of Purysburg Road, south of Church Street
- J-Pottery kiln/workshop area, southwestern Purysburg
- K-Entrenchments, southeastern Purysburg
- L- Southwestern Purysburg, trailer community and fringes
- M- Becks Ferry

Locus A

Locus A is a suspected fort on the west side of Purysburg. Although historical records attest to the existence of early fortifications at Purysburg dating to the first years of the town's existence, documents do not provide information on their location. None are identified on town plans or regional maps and no detailed plan drawings of these defenses have survived. These fort(s) defended the town during King George's War, the Seven Years War and the American Revolution. Aerial photography from 1938 provides one clue to a possible fort site on the west side of Purysburg (Figure 35). LAMAR Institute's team used this information as Geographic Information System (GIS) overlay to project the modern location of this potential fort. Based on the 1938 photograph the approximate dimensions of the suspected rectangular earthwork are 30 m east-west by 24 m north-south. This redoubt would have enclosed an area slightly less than 700 m2. Using the UTM coordinates from this GIS overlay, the field crew went to this location and conducted close interval metal detector transects, followed by GPR survey and one test slot trench (Test Unit 2) to assess the areas potential for containing vestiges of an early fort. The survey located 164 artifacts from Locus A, which are summarized in Table 1. Metal detector transects in Locus A were spaced at 10 m overall and the core area received coverage at 2 m intervals. A was the scene of military action involving small arms and possibly artillery. Lead balls, including six dropped and 10 fired, and three iron case shot were among the metal artifacts recovered from this area. One case shot was found less than 50 m north of the suspected fort and the others were recovered less than 15 m northeast of it. These telltale artifacts attest to an artillery position within Locus A and this artillery likely was employed by the Patriots using case shot to repel an attacking British force in the April 29 invasion.



Figure 32. Battlefield Loci in Purysburg.

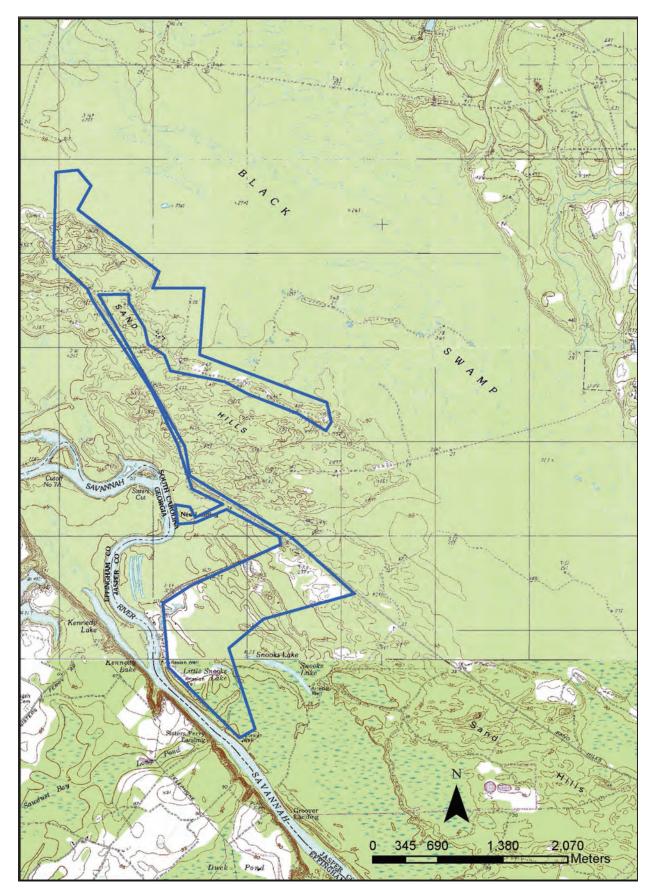


Figure 33. Locus G, Black Swamp.

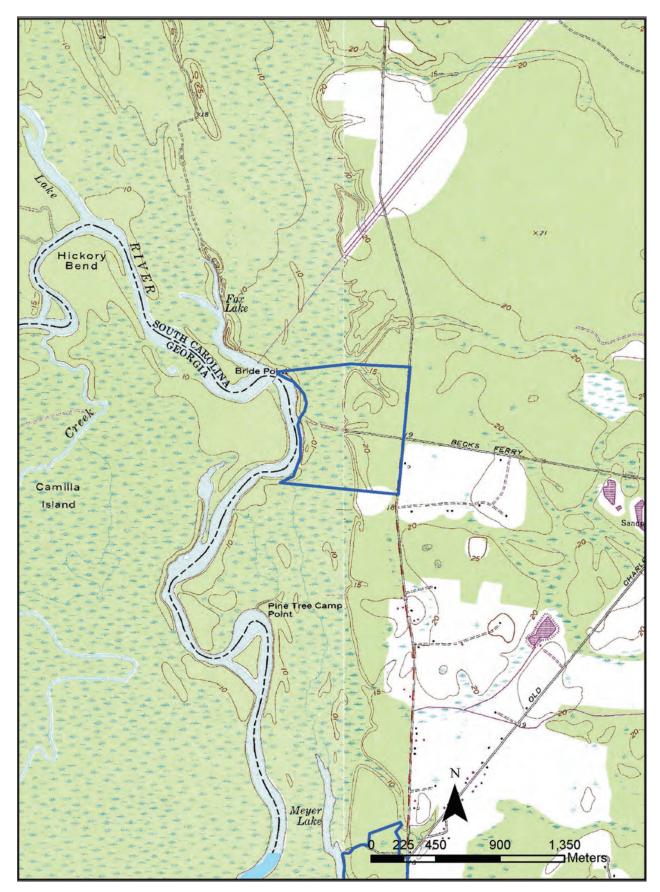


Figure 34. Locus M, Beck's Ferry.



Figure 35. Portion of 1938 aerial photograph showing potential military features in Southwestern Purysburg.

Locus A produced 26 artifacts associated with small arms. Gun hardware included one decorated brass side plate and threaded brass piece (Hamilton 1982, 1987). Ammunition artifacts from Locus A included:

- Rifle, n=7
- Rifle or Fusil, n=3
- Fusil, n=3
- Charleville, n=2
- British Standard, n=1
- Buck shot, n=8

The fired bullets from Locus A are concentrated northwest of the suspected redoubt. These are thought to represent weapons fired at the British by the Patriots on April 29, 1779. This suggests that the British had outflanked the Patriots to their west. The British either passed unnoticed as they approached from the south along the Savannah River floodplain, or any

shots fired towards them by the Patriots lie buried in the deep alluvial soils below metal detector range. If this flanking tactic was successful any Patriots remaining in the fort were likely killed or captured. Very few fired balls were recovered from within the suspected redoubt. This further supports the premise that the British attack was made without any (or minimal) firearm support owing to their soaked ammunition. Legg considers the single .75 caliber ball that was recovered from Locus A to have been fired from a Patriot weapon, owing to the crude manufacture of the bullet. Numerous other metal artifacts from Locus A lend support to an interpretation of this area as a concentrated military camp or fort. Cast iron cookware sherds were abundant at Locus A. While this artifact class is associated with both domestic and military occupations, their distribution in Locus A appears to exceed normal domestic consumption.

Description	Count
Indeterminate ceramic, residual	1
Daub	3
Nail, wrought	18
Nail, unidentified	15
Nail, cut or wrought, square	1
Spike	5
Hinge, strap, wrought, fragment	1
Button	3
Buckle, decorated, brass	1
Cufflink, silver-plated brass	1
Furniture lock, iron	1
British brown salt glazed stoneware	1
Gray salt glazed stoneware	1
Refined white salt glaze stoneware	1
Creamware, plain	1
Redware, glazed, coarse	2
Cast iron cookware	32
Table knife, iron blade/hilt fragment	1
Iron fragment, unidentified	22
Ring, brass finger ring	1
Clasp knife	1
Coin	2
Buck shot	8
Lead ball, unfired	7
Lead ball, fired	9
Gun side plate, brass	1
Gun part, other, brass, threaded	1
Lead ball, altered	1
Case shot, iron	3
Axe, iron	1
Game piece, lead	1
Strap, iron	1
Buckle, iron	2
Flatiron (sad iron)	1

Description	Count
Padlock hasp, iron	1
Lead scrap, melted	4
Thin brass strip fragment	1
Thin brass coiled strip	1
Brass, unidentified	4
Iron object, unidentified, wrought	1
Lead, unidentified, wedge shaped	1
TOTAL	164

Table 1. Locus A Artifact Summary.

Clothing artifacts at Locus A attest to an eighteenth century presence. The area yielded two metal buttons, one undecorated brass Type 7 and one engraved Tombac Type 9. It also contained one large brass buckle fragment. None of these artifacts bear any military marks.

Locus A was explored by Test Unit 2, a hand excavated slot trench measuring 50 cm north-south by 6 m east-west. It was placed to intersect any potential palisade wall on the western side of the suspected fortification. This excavation revealed a shallow historic feature tentatively considered fort-related.

Locus A also was sampled with one GPR survey block, which was designated GPR Block A. The GPR block was placed on the western part of the suspected fort. Researchers hoped that by this placement the subsurface radar imagery would provide supporting evidence for fort construction, particularly any remnants of deep ditches. Ground conditions for the GPR survey were less than ideal. The area was deeply rutted by recent logging activity, groundwater was present at the surface in several of these ruts and the groundcover consisted of stubby understory saplings and thick weeds. All of these environmental factors created a rough terrain for the data collection.

Locus B

Locus B was an area of southwestern Puryburg, west of Purysburg Road, which contained a linear military ditch feature and several early dwelling sites (Figures 36 and 37). Locus B was explored by surface



Figure 36. Linear earthwork, Southwestern Purysburg, facing North.



Figure 37. Cannon embrassure, facing West.

inspection, systematic metal detection, and by the excavation of one test unit. Archeologists conducted metal detector survey at a 60 m intervals initially, supplementing it with 20 m and 2 m transects in selected Archeologists areas. excavated Test Unit 5 in the northwestern part of Locus B. The area east of the military ditch, except for wooded narrow margin, was in cutover timberland that was deeply bedded for silvaculture. The western portions of Locus B were relatively undisturbed, except for the cannon embrasures that had eroded into the Savannah River

Previous archeologists misinterpreted the military feature as one of

Civil War-era construction, although these sources do provide some important details on the condition and configuration of this ditch work prior to the present study (Smith 1985; Trinkley and Fick 2000b). Smith (1985; Figure 5) provides a sketch map of Field Site 24 (State Site 38JA158) that identifies the ditch work, as well as the systematic shovel tests that were excavated to define the site. By his sketch, which was based on compass and pacing, the ditch extends approximately 300 meters north-south and includes three possible cannon emplacements along it. The northern and southern terminus of the ditch was not established by Smith but it extends throughout his study area. A trailer is shown at the northern end of the feature. A cannon emplacement also is shown west of the trailer. Archeologists observed no visible signs of that earthwork in 2015, which may indicate it was leveled by heavy equipment in the years since 1985. The southernmost cannon emplacement is shown by Smith to be truncated by river bank erosion but the two northern cannon emplacements are shown as complete. Smith shows 27 positive and 30 negative shovel tests on his grid. Two tests located within the earthworks were devoid of artifacts. Smith's report contains a summary of the artifacts recovered from this site but it is not itemized for each shovel test.

Trinkley and Fick, who visited the site in a 2000 Civil War Fortifications Survey, described the surface features at 38JA158, stating the, "site represents a rifle pit overlooking the Savannah River and running south from Purrysburg to another landing...Earthworks consist of a low parapet with a ditch in front (toward the river). The parapet is about 4 feet in width at the base and about 2 feet in height. The ditch is about 2 feet in depth and about 3 feet in width. There is much erosion of the parapet into the ditch... The earthworks are found within about 25-30 feet of the river, but there is no active erosion. To the east about 50 feet the old fields are now in planted pines with very distinct plow ridges. The trees appear to be about 15-20 years old and were likely planted immediately after Garrow survey. The feature begins at Mill Stone Landing (no evidence of it to the south of this landing and it continued up to the small trailer settlement just south of the site of Purrysburg. We did not attempt to see if it picked up again and continued further north" (Trinkley and Fick 2000b:1). Trinkley and Fick's site form includes a sketch map of the fortifications (Trinkley and Fick 2000b:2). Their sketch indicates the fortifications extended from the property boundary at Mill Stone Landing and continued north and then northwestward to a grassed yard. It also shows two breaks in the parapets, which were confirmed in the present study and are interpreted as artillery emplacements. The pines described by Trinkley and Fick (2000b) as likely planted circa 1985-1986 had been recently logged prior to our 2015 study.

Trinkley commented, "We have not identified any maps which show this line. The only mention of the area is in December 22, 1864 when 'a section of artillery and 200 men' were sent to protect the Purysburg Landing from a possible visit of the enemy's

steamers' (OR 92: 976). It may be that these lines were thrown up at that time" (Trinkley 2000:4).

The LAMAR Institute's evaluation of the military parapet and ditch in 2015 provides important new evidence as to the age and configuration of this military fortification. The entire length of the ditch and areas adjacent to the ditch were covered by metal detector transects spaced at varying widths. Civil War artifacts were not associated with this entrenchment feature but round lead balls were present at several locations along its length including minor clusters near the two surviving suspected artillery emplacements. The northernmost artillery position, which is shown in the 1985 sketch by Smith, was not observed in the present study.

The survey located 205 artifacts from Locus B, which are summarized in Table 2. The metal detector survey of Locus Byielded some evidence of military use, including 10 artifacts associated with small arms. These were:

- Rifle or Fusil, n=1
- Fusil, n=3
- Buck shot, n=2
- Altered lead ball, n=2
- Lead bullet casting sprue, n=2

It remains unclear whether Locus B was the scene of any military action on April 29, as most artifacts that were recovered appear camp-related. Since the entrenchment was oriented parallel to the Savannah River and the British attack came from a different direction, this trench would have provided little protection by an attack from the south. Most likely any troops that were located in this vicinity were quickly repositioned at more defendable spots further north. The two (or possibly 3) cannon emplacements along this trench line may not have had any cannons in them at the time of the battle. Archeologists found no evidence of any artillery-related artifacts or accoutrements in Locus B. The discovery of two buried iron shovels provides solid evidence from the trench's construction. Both examples were recovered from beneath the earthen berm that flanked the west side of the trench. Other artifacts from Locus B attest to the occupation of this area in the eighteenth century. One undecorated Type 7 brass button and another undecorated brass button were recovered from Locus B.

Table 2. Locus B Artifact Summary	Count	Description	Count
Description	Count	Description	Count
Nail, cut	17	Delftware, blue h.p.	1
Ironstone	1	Bottle, pharmaceutical, aqua hand blown	1
Whiteware, plain	2	Bottle, dark green bottle glass	1
Simple Stamped ceramic	1	Bottle, olive green unidentified	1
Check stamped ceramic	4	Cast iron cookware	9
Indeterminate decorated ceramic	3	Iron fragment, unidentified	8
Cordmarked ceramic	1	Chain, decorated, brass jewelry	1
Indeterminate ceramic	2	Cane tip, brass hexagonal with wood	1
Bottle, embossed letters	2	Buck shot	2
Minie ball, melted, 3 ringer	1	Lead ball, unfired	1
Lead scrap, thin wad	1	Sprue, lead	2
Buck shot, fired	1	Lead ball, fired	3
Daub, kiln furniture	8	Lead ball, altered	2
Daub, kiln furniture	12	Military related object, shoulder strap buckle, brass	1
Lead scrap	2	Tobacco pipe bowl, kaolin, plain	1
Chipped stone debitage	5	Axe, iron, fragment	1
Daub	11	File, iron	1
Brick, handmade	9	Rake, wrought iron tine	1
Nail, wrought	1	Shovel, iron (beneath berm)	2
Wrought nail, T head	4	Bridle parts, iron	1
Nail, cut or wrought, square	30	Horseshoe	2
Spike	1	Wagon hardware, iron	1
Staple, iron	1	Buckle, iron	2
Hinge, wrought	1	Bolt, iron	1
Mortar	3	Chain, iron	1
Button, brass	3	Rivet, brass	1
Buckle, brass	2	Padlock hasp, iron	1
Tack, upholstery, brass	1	Lead scrap	13
Refined white salt glaze	1	Thin brass fragment	1
Creamware, plain	1	Sheet brass, small	1
Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	4	Brass, unidentified	1
Redware, glazed, coarse	2	Lead, unidentified	1
		TOTAL	205

Table 2. Locus B Artifact Summary.

Researchers conducted a brief walkover of a portion of the Savannah River bluff south of the Mill Stone boat landing, which yielded an absence of any visible earthworks. A linear depression, running east-west marked the southern boundary of Purysburg town. Unfortunately, this road trace contained a thick veneer of modern metal trash and fencing, which made metal detector survey nearly impossible.

Locus C

Locus C is an area of southeastern Purysburg, east of Purysburg Road. The ground in this area is low and wet as it grades into the swampy floodplain of Mill Stone Creek. The survey located 198 artifacts in Locus C, which are summarized in Table 3. Battlefield evidence

Description	Count	Description	Count
Nail, cut	2	Lead ball, fired	20
Minie ball, 3 ringer	2	Trigger guard, brass	2
Brick, handmade	3	Gun side plate	1
Wrought nail, rosehead	1	Gun barrel fragment	1
Nail, wrought	1	Lead ball, altered	4
Wrought nail, L head	2	Cannon ball, hollow shell fragment	1
Wrought nail, T head	2	Case shot, lead	1
Nail, unidentified	5	Bayonet, iron	1
Nail, cut or wrought, square	6	Mattock, iron	1
Wrought tack	1	Game piece, lead	4
Spike	6	Strap, iron	3
Button, brass	2	Bridle part, rosette, domed	1
Button, white metal (Tompac), Type 7	1	Harness parts, iron ring	1
Buckle, decorated brass, knee britches	1	Horseshoe	6
Cufflink, brass, sunflower motif	1	Saddle, iron	1
Gray salt glazed stoneware	1	Buckle, brass and leather	1
Bottle, aqua bottle glass	1	Bolt, iron	2
Bottle, olive green spirit bottle	1	Chain, iron	1
Cast iron cookware	22	Rivet, brass	1
Tablespoon, pewter, handle fragment	1	Hook, wrought	1
Knife blade, iron	2	Ring, iron	1
Iron fragment, unidentified	27	Lead scrap	17
Buck shot	5	Brass, unidentified	1
Lead ball, unfired	26	Brass, unidentified disc with sunburst design	1
Sprue, lead	1	Iron object, unidentified	1
		TOTAL	198

Table 3. Locus C Artifact Summary.

demonstrates that Locus C was clearly the scene of military action. Locus C produced 60 artifacts associated with small arms. Gun hardware included two brass trigger guard fragments, one brass side plate and one iron gun barrel fragment. Ammunition from Locus C included:

- Rifle, n=14
- Rifle or Fusil, n=3
- Fusil, n=21
- Charleville, n=8
- Charleville or British Standard, n=1
- Buck shot, n=6
- Altered lead balls, n=3
- Chewed ball, n=1
- Unspecified, n=1

Locus D

Locus D is a suspected army encampment and lead ball manufacturing area in southeastern Purysburg, east of Purysburg Road. The camp was probably occupied by South Carolina Continental troops, some of whom participated in the April 29 battle. The camp also may have been used by other South Carolina soldiers and possibly North Carolina soldiers in the weeks prior to April 29. DeBrahm's 1779 plan map shows South Carolina troop positions in the vicinity of Locus D. To the east of the Purysburg Road were the 6th and 3rd Battalions. The 4th Battalion is shown straddling the Purysburg Road and the 1st Battalion was positioned west of the 4th Battalion.

General Rutherford's Brigade of North Carolina Continentals, Levies and Militia were ordered to quarters in Purysburg on January 4, 1779 (Hyrne 1779-1780:3). Colonel Jethro Sumner's regiment was ordered "to encamp on the left of the first Brigade" on January 11. On January 13, General Lincoln noted that Colonel Lytle's Light Infantry detachment encamped on the left of Sumner's Regiment, where they were joined by other light troops. Later, however, Rutherford's men were assigned to duty north of Purysburg at Zubly's Ferry and the Light Troops were ordered to join Colonel Kershaw's Corps and encamp under his direction. On February 17 Lincoln's after orders noted, "The Light Infantry of Col. Sumners Brigade are to encamp this evening on the banks of the River to the Northward of Purysburgh". Many of these North Carolina troops later went with General John Ashe to Brier Creek, Georgia where they were encamped on March 3, 1779, when the British attacked.

The survey located 70 artifacts from Locus D, which are summarized in Table 4. Metal detector transects in Locus D were spaced at 2 m intervals. Locus D produced 20 artifacts associated with small arms. Gun hardware included one gunflint fragment and one lead gunflint patch. Only one lead ball was fired, while nine were dropped. Ammunition from Locus D included:

- Rifle or Fusil, n=3
- Fusil, n=7
- Charleville, n=2
- Sprue, casting bullets, n=4
- Altered lead balls, n=2

Locus D was explored by Test Unit 3. That test unit contained a small historic feature likely associated with the American camp.

Locus E

Locus E was assigned to surveyed portions of northern Purysburg. This area is dominated by modern residences with large lawns. It also includes the Huguenot Cross memorial, which was erected and dedicated in 1941 (Summerall 1941). The area contains the only state historical marker commemorating Purysburg. Ferdinand DeBrahm's January 1779 plan map shows "Head Quarters" at the north boundary of Purysburg, immediately west of the Purysburg Road.

Table 4. Locus D Artifact Summary	
Description	Count
Bottle, applied finish	2
Bolt, possible carriage bolt	1
Flake unspecialized <50% cortex	1
Projectile point, Yadkin, large triangular, proximal fragment	1
Nail, wrought, fragment	2
Wrought nail, T head	1
Spike	1
Mortar	3
Porcelain, blue painted	1
Redware, glazed, coarse	1
Glaze only	1
Bottle, pharmaceutical, aqua hand blown	3
Cast iron cookware	3
Iron fragment, unidentified	2
Lead ball, unfired	9
Sprue, lead	4
Patch, lead, folded, flattened	1
Lead ball, fired	1
Lead ball, altered	2
Case shot, lead	1
Gunflint, fragment, French (honey) flint	1
Lead scrap	14
Brass container, bucket fragment	14
TOTAL	70

Table 4. Locus D Artifact Summary.

These are presumably Major General Lincoln's command headquarters and are symbolized by a pink rectangle (DeBrahm 1779). While only a small portion of Locus E was systematically surveyed, the sparsity of military-related artifacts suggests that this area was not the scene of heavy fighting. The spot corresponding to General Lincoln's headquarters did not yield any military artifacts. The survey located 30 artifacts from Locus E, which are summarized in Table 5. Locus E produced only three artifacts associated with small arms. These were one fired Fusil ball and two brass trigger guard fragments.

Locus F

Locus F is an area north of Purysburg, presently occupied by the Cypress Harbour Subdivision. Previous

Table 5. Locus E Artifact Summary	
Description	Count
Door latch, brass, screen door	1
Button, brass	2
Buckle, brass, suspender	1
Cordmarked ceramic	1
Minie ball, fired	1
Harmonica reed plate, brass	1
Nail, cut or wrought, square	1
Spike	3
Hinge, wrought	1
Pintel hinge, wrought	1
Brad, decorative, tompac, oval, plain	1
Cufflink, brass	1
Creamware, plain	1
Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	1
Cast iron cookware	1
Iron fragment, unidentified	2
Lead ball, fired	1
Trigger guard, brass	2
Wagon hardware, brass reins guide	1
Chain, iron	1
Rivet, brass	1
Ring, iron	1
Lead scrap, melted	1
Sheet brass scrap	1
Brass strip with hole	1
TOTAL	30

Table 5. Locus E Artifact Summary.

cultural resource survey for the Cypress Harbour Subdivision resulted in the location of several archeological sites, including one large domestic site (39JA232) yielding eighteenth century artifacts. That survey did not employ any metal detection and, consequently, yielded no military-related artifacts. That study area was resurveyed in the present study with metal detector transects. The only early metal artifacts were in the vicinity of 38JA232 but these were not found in sufficient quantity to suggest a battle or skirmish took place there. The survey located six artifacts from Locus F, which are summarized in Table 6. Metal detector transects were spaced at 20 m intervals in Locus F.

Table 6. Locus F Artifact Summary	
Description	Count
Button, pewter	1
Umbrella part, cone, brass	1
Axe, iron	1
Hoe, iron	1
Padlock, iron and brass	1
Lead sheet	1
TOTAL	6

Table 6. Locus F Artifact Summary.

Locus G

Locus G is the extreme northern part of the present study area that includes Black Swamp, New Landing, Turkey Hill, Two Sisters Ferry and Brigader General Andrew Williamson's White House (Figures 38-41). This locus covers a vast area of Jasper County, South Carolina. Researchers consulted with a long-time relic collector of this vicinity, who helped to narrow the search for the Patriot camp and headquarters. Unfortunately, the area most likely to contain these resources were on property where the LAMAR Institute was unable to gain access. Several large tracts surrounding the likely target area were explored, but none of these areas displayed sufficient resources to suggest they were part of the main encampment. Many outlying picket camps or minor skirmish sites are likely contained in Locus G. The survey located 119 artifacts from Locus G, which are summarized in Table 7. Battlefield survey in Locus G produced only 14 artifacts associated with small arms. Of the larger balls, three were fired and two were dropped. The relatively low frequency of occurrence of bullets suggests that no major firefight took place in the areas that were examined. These were all lead ammunition and included:

- Rifle, n=3
- Fusil, n=1
- Charleville, n=1
- Buckshot, n=9

The survey team examined one section of an abandoned causeway/corduroy road that crosses Black Swamp towards Robertville. Civil War era artifacts were located on this road. Our informant, Brett Cullen, stated that he had metal detected a 1st South Carolina

Continental button from this same road but several hundred meters beyond where the highwater forced our team to stop surveying. If Cullen is correct, then this road was a cultural landscape feature in 1779. Remote sensing provides some clues as to potential military features in the Black Swamp region. One earthen battery appears clearly in LiDAR imagery. This feature was ground-truthed and confirmed by the survey team. According to informant Cullen, the age and association of this battery remains a mystery. The battery would have provided artillery fire against vessels on the Savannah River. It is flanked on the northwest side by a corduroy road of unknown antiquity. Another potential earthwork was identified from LiDAR imagery late in the survey process. It is a rectangular enclosure on a low ridge above Cypress Creek. This feature was not ground-truthed so it remains to be verified on the ground. It is located on public property and it should be considered a high priority target for future surveys in the vicinity.

Locus H

Locus H is an area of west central Purysburg, situated west of Purysburg Road. This locus surrounds Locus A and is north of Locus L. The southern half of Locus H contains battle evidence but most of northern part was devoid of battle-related artifacts. Survey data from Locus H contributes to the definition for the core of the battlefield in Purysburg. Metal detector transects in Locus H were spaced at 20 m intervals. One important colonial building that was standing in early 1779 in Locus H was the church. DeBrahm's January 1779 plan map shows several features near the church including a row of five "Field Pieces" and the South Carolina Artillery troops. (DeBrahm 1779). Researchers identified a general location for the church, based on historical information and a small scatter of handmade



Figure 38. Causeway in Black Swamp, facing East.



Figure 39. LiDAR Image of the Mystery Battery in the Black Swamp/Savannah River area.



Figure 40. Mystery Battery confirmed.

brick immediately south of the Purysburg Cemetery, southwest of Church Street and west of Purysburg Road. The only potential battle evidence from the church vicinity was a single impacted lead ball. It should be noted, however, that a large part of the area south of the cemetery was heavily impacted by the recent timbering episode and this greatly hampered systematic metal detection in this vicinity.

The Purysburg Cemetery is a prominent cultural landscape feature in Locus H. While the cemetery currently has no marked graves dating to the eighteenth century, it almost certainly contains graves from that era. Over the centuries the cemetery has undergone a considerable amount of abuse to its above ground resources. Figure 42 shows a photograph of one portion of the cemetery from the period around 1941. It remains an active cemetery today and serves as a general landmark for the town of Purysburg (Beulah Glover Photograph Collection 1941).

The 1938 aerial photograph, discussed for Locus A, also reveals a potential structure in Locus H that may have had a military purpose. It is a rectangular enclosure that measures 18 m east-west by 14 m north-south and contains an area less than 260 m2. This feature is located less than 25 m south of the suspected fort in Locus A. The survey located 747 artifacts in Locus H, which are summarized in Table 8. Locus H produced 38 artifacts associated with small arms. Gun hardware included one brass sideplate and one English spall type gunflint. Of the larger balls, nine were fired and five were dropped. The ammunition from Locus H included:

- Rifle, n=13
- Rifle or fusil, n=2
- Fusil, n=7
- Charleville, n=2
- British Standard .75 Cal. Musket, n=1
- Buck shot, n=11



Figure 41. LiDAR Image of the Mystery Redoubt in the Cypress Creek/Black Swamp area.

Table 7. Locus G Artifact Summary Description	Count
Nail, cut	9
Pearlware, plain	2
Underglazed h.p. pearlware	1
Pearlware, polychrome h.p.	1
Pearlware, green edged	2
Plain ceramic, aboriginal	2
Solarized bottle glass	1
Bullet, 3 ringer, fired	1
Bullet, 2 ring	1
Bullet, Williams Cleaner	1
U.S. rifle musket bullet, Burton pattern, fired	1
Rimfire shell casing	1
Rifle bullet, Civil War	1
Tobacco pipe, kaolin, molded elbow	1
Car wheel rim	1
Spike, railroad	5
Brick, handmade	1
Nail, wrought	4
Wrought nail, T head	4
Nail, unidentified	25
Nail, cut or wrought, square	3
Spike	1
Hinge, wrought	2
Button, brass	2
Tack, ud square	1
Stoneware, unidentified	1
Creamware, plain	4
Yellow slipware, trailed	2
Bottle glass, light green	1
Cast iron cookware	1
Iron fragment, unidentified	3
Buck shot	9
Lead ball, unfired	2
Lead ball, fired	3
Hatchet, iron	1
Strap, iron	1
Bridal part, brass	3
Horseshoe, 1/2 with nail	$\frac{3}{2}$
Stirrup, iron	1
Buckle, iron	2

Description	Count
Bolt, threaded	1
Chain, iron	1
Washer, iron	1
Ring, iron	3
Lead scrap	3
TOTAL	119

Table 7. Locus G Artifact Summary

The Purysburg cemetery served a military role in later conflicts. When Major General William T. Sherman's army advanced from Savannah to South Carolina in January 1865, Purysburg was a major transit point. Several thousand Federal troops were stationed at Purysburg for more than a week. At least one Union officer made the cemetery his headquarters. These officers made no mention of any church associated with the cemetery and the church was likely long gone by 1865.

Archeologists explored Locus H with Test Unit 1 measuring 2 m by 1 m. It was located a short distance north of Locus A. This test revealed features associated with the colonial period. Other than one British spall type gunflint, no arms-related artifacts were recovered from this test. It did demonstrate, however, the potential for well preserved historic features in this portion of Purysburg.

Locus I

Locus I is an area of east central Purysburg, positioned east of Purysburg Road and south of Church Street. This area is west and north of the headwaters of Millstone Creek and portions of the tract are poorly drained. Drainage ditches were noted at the edge of Locus I. Cultural material was relatively sparse in Locus I. All of Locus I was covered by metal detector transects (20 m separation) and several areas where older metal was detected were examined with closer intervals. Archeologists also explored the northern portion of Locus I fronting Church Street with a line of shovel tests. An important potential feature in Locus I is General Howe's residence. Major General Robert Howe made his residence in a dwelling house in Purysburg and its location is shown as, "Genl. Howes Quarters" on

Table 8. Locus H Artifact Summary

Description	Count	Description	Count
Brick, modern	1	Redware, unidentified, coarse	16
Nail, cut	3	Delftware, blue h.p.	8
Nail, wire common	3	Delftware, polychrome h.p.	1
Clasp, overalls, brass button, "REGA" crown motif	1	Delftware, plain	8
Bead, gold plated, fluted sphere	1	Delftware, sherd without glaze	1
Plain ceramic, aboriginal	1	Delftware, unidentified	3
Deptford Check Stamped	1	Glaze only	2
Indeterminate ceramic, residual	6	Bone, unidentified	2
Bottle, clear bottle glass	1	Bottle, dark green bottle glass	1
US rifle musket bullet, unfired, Williams' patent	1	Bottle glass, light green	1
Confederate rifle musket bullet	4	Bottle, melted olive green	23
Buck shot	4	Bottle, olive green unidentified	46
Daub, kiln furniture	46	Bottle, olive green spirit bottle	9
Kiln lead for glaze	1	Cast iron cookware	29
Manuport, stone, large flat	1	Iron fragment, unidentified	20
Chipped stone debitage	7	Slag	1
Daub	281	Coin	1
Brick, handmade	7	Umbrella part, flat brass rib	1
Nail, wrought	6	Buck shot	7
Nail, rosehead, fragment	1	Lead ball, unfired	5
Nail, unidentified	8	Lead ball, fired	9
Nail, cut or wrought, square	6	Gun side plate, brass fragment	1
Nail fragment, unidentified	2	Military related object, nipple wrench, iron	1
Spike	5	Gunflint, spall type, English (Grey/Black)	1
Hinge, wrought	2	Tobacco pipe bowl, kaolin, plain	3
Button, brass	2	Tobacco pipestem, kaolin, 6/64"	1
Buckle, D-shaped, brass and leather	1	Bottle glass flake	1
British brown salt glazed	1	Axe, iron	1
Gray salt glazed stoneware	4	Hoe, iron	1
Refined white salt glaze stoneware	6	Strap, iron	4
Brown glazed refined salt glazed stoneware	2	Stirrup, iron	1
Brown salt glazed stoneware	9	Hook, iron	1
Stoneware, engine turned dry bodied	1	Ring, iron	2
Slipware, combed clear glaze	2	Lead scrap	8
Slipware, trailed yellow	2	Thin brass sheet fragment	2
Coarse earthenware	43	Sheet brass, w iron rivet	1
Redware, unglazed, coarse	4	Brass, unidentified, melted	2
Redware, glazed, coarse	37	Iron object, unidentified	8
Redware, glazed, coarse	37	TOTAL	747

Table 8.Locus H Artifact Summary



Figure 42. Photograph circa 1941 of Purysburg cemetery facing West (Beulah Glover Photograph collection 1941).

DeBrahm's January 1779 plan map (DeBrahm 1779). General Howe, who had commanded the Southern Department of the Continental Army in 1778 and suffered a devastating loss at Savannah, had left Purysburg by mid-January 1779 for Charleston. He left Charleston with his family on March 18 and arrived in Philadelphia on April 26, 1779 (Howe 1779a-c; Bennett and Lennon 1991:100). General Howe's Purysburg house headquarters was almost certainly standing at the time of the April 29 battle, so this area was targeted by the LAMAR Institute's surveyors. The vicinity of Major General Howe's quarters was carefully examined by the survey team but they discovered almost no archeological footprint of a dwelling in this vicinity. Researchers observed one handmade brick on the surface, which was displaced, but found no diagnostic metal objects. Extant land disturbances include a linear drainage ditch leading to the Millstone Creek floodplain. While no initial evidence was located associated with Howe's quarters the potential for preserved subsurface features cannot be discounted.

The survey located 25 artifacts from Locus I, which are summarized in Table 9. Locus I produced only

Table 9. Locus I Artifact Summary	
Description	Count
Canning jar lid, "Ball"	1
Jewelry, pin, white metal in with paste blue glass	1
Brick, handmade	1
Nail, wrought	1
Nail, unidentified	4
Nail, cut or wrought, square	3
Spike	2
Porcelain, blue underglaze h.p.	1
Slipware, trailed yellow	1
Bottle, olive green unidentified	1
Bottle, olive green spirit bottle	1
Iron fragment, unidentified	1
Lead ball, unfired	2
Cannon ball, hollow shell fragment	1
Tobacco pipe bowl, kaolin, plain	1
Axe, iron	1
Washer, iron	1
Ring, iron	1
TOTAL	25

Table 9. Locus I Artifact Summary

two artifacts associated with small arms. These were dropped lead balls—one rifle and one rifle or fusil types. Given the extent of land surveyed at Locus I these data indicate that only minimal gunplay took place at this location. Survey of Locus I helped to define the perimeter for the core area of the battlefield.

Locus J

Locus J is the redware pottery kiln/worshop area in southwestern Purysburg. Archeological excavation demonstrated that this pottery operation predated the American Revolution by several decades. Surveyors recognized two, and possibly a third depression associated with this industry. The largest depression was oval in plan and measured approximately 7 m eastwest by 5 m north-south and was about 60 cm deep. The smaller depression measured 7 m east-west by 4 m north-south and was about 80 cm deep. Archeologists explored Locus J with Test Units 4, 6 and 7. Test Unit 4 examined the side of a large depression, which was nearly devoid of artifacts. That feature later was interpreted as a pottery quarry pit. Test Units 6 and 7 sampled portions of a pottery discard feature.

Buildings associated with the former pottery may have been standing at the time of the Battle of Purysburg and this could not be determined with the evidence obtained. LAMAR Institute's surveyors recovered one musket ball from within the large depression associated with this activity and it appeared to have impacted wood (possibly striking the building's wall). Battle evidence, particularly impacted lead balls, was scattered over Locus J. Archeologists also surveyed one section of Locus J, south of the primary ceramic waster deposit, with GPR Block B. Archeologists surveyed this same sample block, which had the vegetation removed and the detritus raked, at two meter intervals with metal detectors. A modern trash dump was located on a portion of Locus J, which hindered (and reduced the effectiveness) of the metal detector and GPR survey.

The survey located 4,721 artifacts in Locus J, which are summarized in Table 10. Locus J produced only three artifacts associated with small arms. These were one brass gun hardware piece and two fired lead balls—one rifle and one fusil type. While Locus J lies within the Purysburg battlefield, it does not appear to be the scene of major fighting.

Locus K

Locus K is an area of military entrenchments and berms in southeastern Purysburg. These fortifications may have been extensive. Presently, the remnants consist of several berms and trenches whose overall configuration remains unclear. The full extent of these entrenchments was not apparent from surface evidence as a result of the logging road activity and other modern logging land modifications. The area west and north of the surviving earthworks was recently windrowed and bedded for pine seedlings, which obliterated any surface remains of the ditch work. Some portions of the entrenchments appear relatively intact and may have been intentionally protected by previous landowners, as evidenced by historical aerial photographs. Several large depressions, which may represent cellars or other military features, also are present in this area. Slight vestiges of these fortifications were recognized in the airborne LiDAR image. Locus K is a suspected artillery position in the April 29 battle. Locus C, which surrounds Locus K, yielded two hollow bomb shell fragments that were likely fired from this position. Both shell fragments were located within 100 meters of Locus K.

Trench A consisted of a wide ditch flanked on its east side by an earthen berm. It followed a bearing of 308 degrees for about 11 meters and then turned to a bearing of 355 degrees for about 8 meters. Trench B consisted of a wide ditch with no obvious berm. It followed a bearing of 20 degrees for about 14 meters. Trench C consisted of a wide ditch flanked by an earthen berm. It followed a bearing of 220 degrees for about 10 meters.

One water-filled depression was located at the junction of two military trenches. It was irregular in outline and measured approximately 4 m by 4 m. Another water-filled depression was sub rectangular in plan and measured about 4 m by 2 m. Its long axis was oriented at a bearing of 170 degrees. Researchers did not determine the function of these depressions but they are likely associated with the military component.

In addition to these earthworks an old road trace, approximately five meters wide, was followed for a distance of about 60 meters from near the earthworks to the Millstone Creek swamp. The age of this trace was not determined. Metal detector coverage in Locus K included 20 m and closer interval transects.

Table 10. Locus J Artifact Summary

Description	Count	Description	Count
Plain ceramic, aboriginal sand tempered	2	Cparse eartjemware. lead glazed	40
Plain ceramic, aboriginal	8	Coarse earthenware, unidentified	759
Simple Stamped ceramic	2	Redware, unglazed, coarse	692
Indeterminate stamped ceramic	3	Redware, brown glazed, unrefined	5
Cordmarked ceramic	1	Redware, glazed, coarse	936
Indeterminate ceramic	78	Redware, decorated, coarse	4
Milk glass	1	Redware, unidentified, coarse	239
Petrified wood, unworked	10	Redware, Astbury, refined	1
Bullet, 1 ringer	1	Delftware, blue h.p.	1
Brick, pavers	15	Delftware, plain	1
Non paver kiln brick	8	Bone, unidentified	3
Brick or paver	96	Pit, other	2
Daub, kiln furniture	1329	Bottle, pharmaceutical, light green	2
Saggar, kiln furniture	54	Bottle, dark green bottle glass	69
Trivet, kiln furniture	26	Bottle, aqua bottle glass	1
Other kiln furniture	50	Bottle, olive green unidentified	5
Glaze globs, kiln related	22	Bottle, olive green spirit bottle	1
Kiln lead for glaze; with red pigment	1	Cast iron cookware	4
Core, random	1	Iron fragment, unidentified	15
Chipped stone debitage	12	Material, unidentified	1
Fire cracked rock	1	Lead ball, fired	2
Daub	2	Other gun part, brass	1
Window glass	1	Tobacco pipe bowl, kaolin, plain	1
Nail, wrought	17	Tobacco pipestem, kaolin, 4/64"	1
Nail, rosehead, fragment	3	Tobacco pipestem, kaolin, 5/64"	5
Nail, wrought, T-head	18	Tobacco pipestem, kaolin	1
Nail, unidentified	2	File, iron	1
Nail, cut or wrought, square	3	Bridle part, iron	1
Iron hardware, unidentified, possible	3	Bolt, iron	1
hinge			
Mortar	3	Chain, iron	1
Buckle, brass, shoe	5	Rivet	1
Cufflink, decorated, hexagonal, silver	1	Strap iron	7
British brown salt glazed	1	Lead scrap, melted	3
Refined white salt glaze stoneware	6	Thin brass, large fragment	1
Slipware, yellow, plain	2	Brass, unidentified	3
Slipware, combed clear glaze	1	Iron object, unidentified	5
Yellow slipware, trailed	1	Finial, brass	1
Coarse earthenware	114	TOTAL	4721

Table 10. Locus J Artifact Summary

Locus K was the scene of military action involving small arms and light artillery. A concentration of fired musket balls located southeast of Locus K in Locus C indicates an area of engagement with the attacking British troops. The survey located 28 artifacts in Locus K, which are listed in Table 11. Metal detection of Locus K located eight lead balls and one buck shot indicative of battle action. Of the larger balls, two were fired, five were dropped and one was chewed. The ammunition from Locus K included:

- Rifle, n=6
- Fusil, n=2
- Buckshot, n=1

Locus L

Locus L includes a somewhat-disorganized mobile home community and its fringes, located in south-western Purysburg. This area proved to be the most challenging for the survey team because of the many scatters of modern metal debris. Because of the masking of historic metal signals, archeologists excavated a partial grid of shovel tests on Locus L. The area south and southeast of the trailers contained less modern metal debris and this area was carefully searched by metal detector survey. Metal detector transects in this portion of Locus L were spaced at 5 m intervals.

Table 11. Locus K Artifact Summary	
Description	Count
Nail, wrought	1
Nail, unidentified	3
Serving spoon, pewter, flattened fragment	1
Iron fragment, unidentified	3
Buck shot	1
Lead ball, unfired	5
Lead ball, fired	2
Lead ball, chewed	1
Strap, iron	2
Chain, iron	1
Brass ring	1
Lead scrap	7
TOTAL	28

Table 11. Locus K Artifact Summary

One of the most celebrated local features at Purysburg, the Jug Well, lies within Locus L. The Jug Well is a very large brick, domed, subterranean cistern. The exact age of this cistern is unknown but oral tradition assigns it to antiquity. Lepionka and others mention the brick feature and one source mentioned that the brick wells were noted in an 1862 letter (Lowcountry Council of Governments 1979). The author (Elliott) made a brief visual inspection of this historic feature in 1985 and again as part of this study in 2015. It appears to be a large brick cistern, constructed with handmade bricks and having a large sheet iron collar constricting the cistern's neck at the ground surface (Figure 43). The ground surface surrounding the aperture is depressed suggesting some slumpage or collapse of the underground structure. It's depth was estimated at 3-4 meters and at least 10-15 meters in diameter. While this feature may have existed at the time of the American Revolution, it is not inherently military. Cisterns rely on collection of water, typically funneled from rooftops. If, as we suspect, this area was a large colonial-period fortification for the town of Purysburg, then a reliable fresh water source would have been essential. A cistern located inside a fort wall would have been vital in the event of a siege. This cistern, and possibly others in Locus L that are not well-defined at present, may have served that purpose. A chimney base, which clearly post-dates the eighteenth century is located a short distance northeast of the cistern.

The military resources at Locus L remain problematic. This area contains large, deep linear trenches that may have served a military or drainage function. These trenches also may correspond to a portion of the rectangular vegetative outline that appears on the 1938 aerial photograph. In reviewing the early cartography of Purysburg, researchers noted several colonial period maps (dating prior to the French and Indian War) that show a large rectangular enclosure south of the main domestic area of Purysburg. While it is tempting to conclude that the trenches at Locus L correlate to this early cartographic feature, such a conclusion remains unconfirmed.

Locus L contained 496 artifacts, which are listed in Table 12. Most of these artifacts were brick fragments (n=349). Locus L produced 20 artifacts associated with small arms. Gun hardware included one brass musket butt plate, one brass pistol butt plate and one lead gunflint patch. Ammunition from



Figure 43. Jug well in Locus L, Purysburg.

Locus L included six fusil shot. None of these shot displayed evidence of firing, so the artifact evidence does not indicate any small arms fire in this vicinity.

Locus M

The cultural resources at Locus M (Beck's Ferry) remain the least understood of this survey project. Researchers studied several areas as potential candidates for the Zubley's Ferry landing from the time of the American Revolution. One popular hypothesis is that Beck's Ferry was located on the original site of Zubley's Ferry. Other historical and cartographic data suggests that the location was further to the south. The present research effort was unable to resolve this question. The southern location was partly explored by the survey team in Locus F but evidence for a ferry landing was not confirmed. Beck's Ferry, which remains an active public boat landing, is flanked by privately owned land and the owner declined to grant access to survey his property. Consequently, no historical artifacts were located by the survey and no cultural features have been delineated. Military records attest to Patriot troops encamped on the South Carolina side of Zubley's Ferry. These troops stayed there for several weeks or months. Patriot pension records also include several references to the construction of batteries and redoubts at Zubley's Ferry. The role that Zubley's Ferry played in the April 29 battle is not contained in the historical records researched in this study. Since it was an important, strategic and well-known crossing on the Savannah River, the Patriots likely kept at least a picket post manned at Zubley's Ferry throughout early 1779. Most of the British troops in General Prevost's invasion force left via Abercorn, well to the south of Zubley's Ferry, but some elements of the British army may have crossed over further north at several potential ferry crossings. The historical evidence indicates that Zubley's Ferry was not within the core area of the Purysburg battlefield.

Patriot fortifications and soldier camps likely left an archeological footprint that could be discerned by careful field investigations. At present, however, this topic remains unresolved and will remain for future cultural resource investigators. Given the current land use conditions and forest cover, the potential for intact cultural deposits in this area appears to be high.

Table 12. Locus L Artifact Summary			
Description	Count	Description	Count
Brick, handmade, chimney stub	10	Bottle, olive green spirit bottle	1
Nail, cut	1	Cast iron cookware	26
Plain ceramic, rim, aboriginal, grit tempered	1	Tablespoon, pewter, bowl fragment	1
Coin, Buffalo nickel, worn, n.d.	1	Serving spoon, iron	1
Bullet, 2 ringer	1	Iron fragment, unidentified	6
Lead shot in wood	1	Book cover corner, brass	1
Spike, railroad	1	Buck shot	5
Jasper Co. Dog Tag 1925, white metal	1	Lead ball, unfired	4
Daub	1	Patch, lead	1
Brick, handmade	359	Lead ball, fired	8
Nail, wrought	2	Gun butt plate, brass	1
Nail, unidentified	2	Brass, pistol buttplate	1
Nail, cut or wrought, square	5	Military related object, buckle, brass triangle	1
Spike	8	Plowshare, iron	1
Pintel hinge, wrought	1	Game piece, lead	2
Button, brass, flat, Type 7	1	Strap, iron	2
Button, white metal (Tompac), flat, plain, Type 7	2	Horseshoe, fragment	1
Buckle, iron keeper	1	Wheel, iron	1
Buckle, brass, britches	1	Chain, iron	1
Buckle, silver, shoe fragment	2	Hook, cast iron	1
Scissors, iron	1	Flatiron (sad iron)	1
Tack, upholstery, brass	1	Ring, iron	1
Escutcheon plate, domed brass	1	Scrap pewter, unidentified, melted	1
Porcelain, blue underglaze h.p.	1	Lead scrap	14
Refined white salt glaze stoneware	1	Thin brass strip fragments	2
Bottle glass, light green	1	Brass, unidentified	2
Bottle, olive green unidentified	1	TOTAL	496

Table 12. Locus L Artifact Summary

Metal Detecting

Controlled metal detector survey provided the most extensive and comprehensive dataset generated by the present study. Shovel tests were used sparingly in the Purysburg survey. Archeologists employed shovel tests as a last resort in areas containing very dense metal debris and where regular metal detecting was not an effective discovery method. Such was the case in a wooded area of southwestern Purysburg (Locus L) where numerous mobile homes are located. The

yard area adjacent to these dwellings is heavily littered with metal objects of various sizes and concentrations.

Many areas of Purysburg were less than conducive for metal detecting (Figures 44 and 45). Surveyors encountered many obstacles in the cut-over woodlands. Thick layers of logging debris prohibited survey in some areas. Other areas were submerged, and while some artifacts were recovered in these swampy areas, most were accessed less easily. Despite these many obstacles and hindrances our survey crew persevered and covered most of southern Purysburg with 20 m



interval metal detector transects. Closer interval metal detector samples were conducted at several areas around Purysburg. The first of these was an area on the southeastern side of the battleground. Close interval sampling also undertaken was in the suspected vicinity of the redoubt in Locus A.

Figure 44. Metal detecting in swamp conditions, Locus H, Purysburg.



Figure 45. Surveyors Joel Jones and Greg Beavers examine a lead ball at Purysburg.

Ground Penetrating Radar Survey

Archeologists employed Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) technology on two locations at Purysburg (Figures 46-50). These were small samples that targeted specific areas of interest. GPR Block A investigated Locus A of Purysburg where our examination of early twentieth century aerial photographs displayed an unusual image of interest that formed the outline of a possible earthen redoubt. The GIS specialist calculated the approximate UTM locations for this suspicious image and researchers reached the area with the aid of GPS devices. After clearing the underbrush, the GPR team established Block A and collected radar data within it. The findings from GPR Block A were less clear-cut than we had hoped. The western side of the sample possessed stronger radar reflections than the east side. A linear pattern crossed the survey block, although it remains unclear whether this is part of an organized structure.

GPR Block B investigated an area of Purysburg where archeological testing revealed an early eighteenth century pottery factory. The GPR block was placed



Figure 46. GPR data collection in Block A, Purysburg.

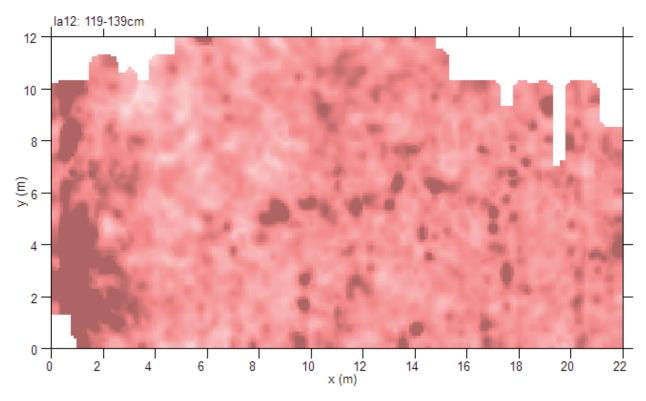


Figure 47. Overlay plan of GPR Block A, Purysburg..

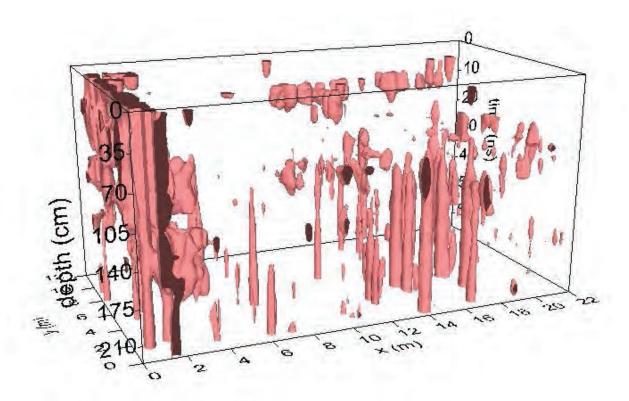


Figure 48. Isomorphic view of GPR Block A, Purysburg.

south and east of the areas where Test Units 4, 6 and 7 yielded pottery wasters and kiln furniture and where large, visible surface depressions were present. GPR Block B revealed strong radar reflections in the northwestern corner of the block. This area of the radar anomaly measures approximately 3 m in diameter. These reflections are possibly related to the pottery discard feature observed in Test Units 6 and 7.

Given the shallow soil deposits revealed by test excavations in the vicinity of both GPR blocks, the survey likely would have benefitted from using the 800 MHz antenna, which is best for imaging shallow depths, rather than the 500 MHz. Time did not allow for resurveying these two areas. Perhaps future remote sensing researchers can apply this knowledge.

Surface Evidence and LiDAR Mapping

Surface evidence provides additional clues concerning early historic settlement at Purysburg and Black Swamp. Surveyors observed bottle glass, brick,

ceramics, iron and stone objects during the survey and these were recorded as GPS waypoints. Several artifact clusters indicated former house locations and this was confirmed by metal detecting in these areas. Surveyors observed a small cluster of handmade bricks on the surface southwest of the Purysburg Cemetery fence, which may indicate the location of the Purysburg church. This church stood for several decades before it likely was burned by the British in April 1779. Oral tradition places the church in this general vicinity as does DeBrahm's January 1779 plan map. This vicinity was heavily impacted by the most recent logging episode and this hindered surveying in this vicinity.

Surface observation also proved helpful in locating vestiges of the military earthworks and early road traces in the study area. This information then was greatly enhanced by the addition of LiDAR maps of the study area.

Test Units

Seven test units were excavated by the project team. Test Units 1, 4, 5 and 7 measured 2 m by 1 m. Test Unit 2 was a 6 m by 50 cm slot trench aimed at intercepting

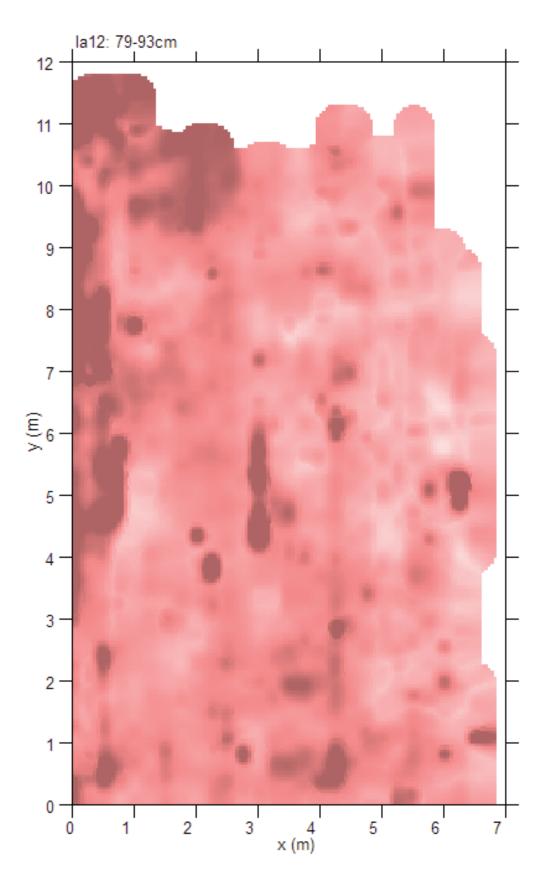


Figure 49. Overlay plan of GPR Block B, Purysburg..

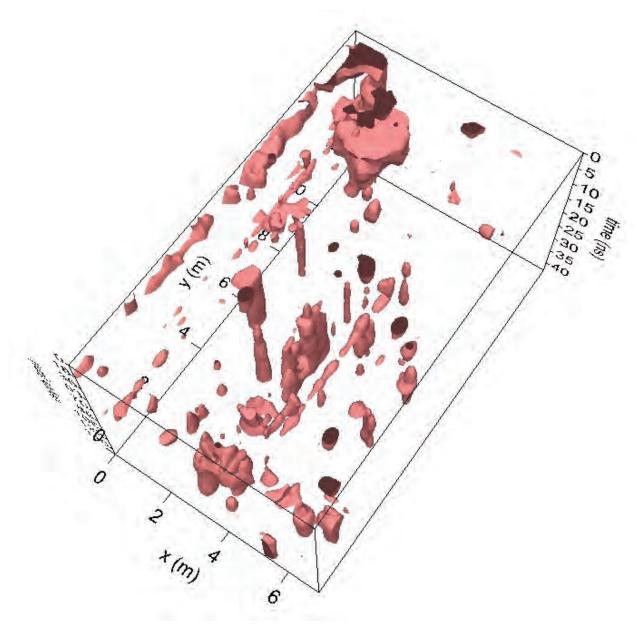


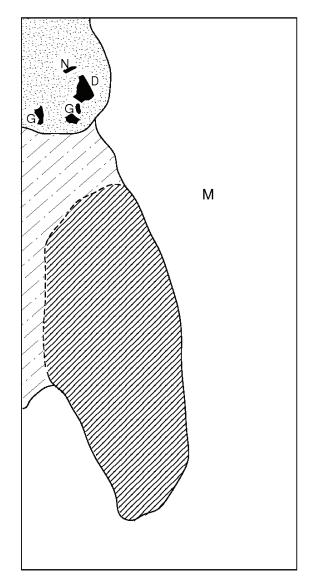
Figure 50. Isomorphic view of GPR Block B, Purysburg.

a suspected fortification wall. Test Unit 3 was a 75 cm by 50 cm test that explored an intriguing metal detector find, later designated Feature 4. Test Unit 6 was a 1 m by 50 cm test that explored another intriguing metal detector and brick rubble find, later designated Feature 5.

Test Unit 1

Test Unit 1 was located in Locus A and measured 2 m north-south by 1 m east-west (Figures 51-53). This test unit explored a cultural deposit (designated Feature 1) that was encountered at GPS waypoint B308. Test Unit

1 was excavated in five levels to a maximum depth of 44 cm below ground. The test unit contained two features, Features 1 and 2. Level 1 soils were very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay loam and humus. Level 2 soils were dark gray (10YR4/1 and 10YR4/2) sandy clay in the northern two-thirds of the unit and grayish brown (10YR5/2) clayey sand in the southern one-third. Level 3 soils were gray (2.5Y5/1) sandy clay with yellow brown (10YR5/6) sandy clay. Levels 4 and 5 were devoid of any artifacts. Level 4 soils were dark gray (10YR4/1) sandy clay and brown (10YR5/3) sandy clay, grayish brown (10YR5/2) sandy clay, yellowish red (10YR5/6) clay, and red (2.5YR4/8) sandy



Test Unit 1 Base of Level 3

- Feature 1. Very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay with common mottles of brown (7.5YR4/4) sandy clay and in Southern half light mottling of red (10R4/8) clay.
- Feature 1. Same as above, but with less very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay.
- Feature 2. Dark gray (10YR4/1) sandy clay with charcoal and burned daub.
 - M Matrix. Gray (2.5Y5/1) sandy clay with yellow brown (10YR5/6) sandy clay with brown (7.5YR4/4) sandy clay clumps.
 - N Nail.
 - G Dark green bottle glass.
 - D Blue and white delft sherd.



Figure 51. Plan of Test Unit 1, Features 1 and 2, Base of Level 3.

clay. Level 5 was a shovel test excavated to a depth of 34 cm below ground in the south wall of the test unit. Soils in this test were red (2.5Y4/8) sandy clay mottled with yellowish red (5YR5/6) sandy clay and minor mottles of greyish brown (10YR5/2) sandy clay.

Test Unit 1 contained a total of 527 artifacts (Table 13). Archeologists recovered 243 historic artifacts, excluding daub, brick and food bone, from Test Unit 1. The test yielded one handmade brick fragment and 279 daub fragments. Other architecture group artifacts included wrought nails, unidentified nails and a spike. The test yielded 135 historic sherds, including salt glazed stonewares, delftware, slipware, coarse earthenware and redware,

which attest to an eighteenth century occupation. A small sample of 26 datable ceramics from the test unit yielded a Mean Ceramic Date (MCD) of 1741.

Test Unit 1 also yielded one Deptford Check Stamped sherd, six residual sherds and seven pieces of chipped stone debitage, which were nondiagnostic. The Deptford sherd indicates a minor habitation in the Early Woodland period.

As noted, Feature 1 designation was assigned to the cultural material encountered with a metal detector at GPS waypoint B308. It was a thin sheet midden. Soils in Feature 1 were grayish brown (10YR5/2) sandy clay mottled with strong brown (7.5YR4/6) sandy clay.

Test Unit 1 West Profile Α A Hummus and dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam plowzone. B Feature 1 [MD 308B] strong brown (7.5YR4/6) sandy clay mottled with grayish brown (10YR5/2) sandy clay. B1 Same as B although this is part of Feature 2. C Feature 2. Black (10YR2/1) charcoal with burned and unburned daub. Test Unit 1 D Tree fall. Gray (10YR5/1) sandy clay. North Profile E Dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy clay. F Subsoil. Brown (7.5YR4/3) clay with yellowish red (5YR4/6) clay mottles. Α Ε

Figure 52. Test Unit 1, North and West Profiles.



Figure 53, Northeast view of Test Unit 1, excavated.

Table 13. Test Unit 1 Artifact Summary	
Description	Count
Level 1	
Daub	88
Nail, rosehead, fragment	1
British brown salt glazed stoneware	1
Refined white salt glaze stoneware	1
Brown glazed refined salt glazed stoneware	1
Coarse earthenware	5
Redware, unglazed, coarse	3
Redware, glazed, coarse	7
Redware, unidentified, coarse	3
Indeterminate ceramic, residual	3
Bottle, melted olive green	15
Bottle, olive green unidentified	20
Cast iron cookware	1
Gunflint, spall type, English (Grey/Black)	1
Tobacco pipe bowl, kaolin, plain	2
Iron object, unidentified	2
Total Level 1	154
Level 2	
Daub	83
Gray salt glazed stoneware	3
Refined white salt glaze stoneware	1
Brown glazed refined salt glazed stoneware	1
Brown salt glazed stoneware	3
Slipware, combed clear glaze	2
Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	6
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	3
Redware, glazed, coarse	11
Redware, unidentified, coarse	4
Delftware, blue h.p.	3
Delftware, polychrome h.p.	1
Delftware, plain	2
Indeterminate ceramic, residual	1
Bone, unidentified	1
Bottle, melted olive green	4
Bottle, olive green unidentified	12
Bottle, olive green spirit bottle	3
Cast iron cookware	1
Iron object, unidentified	1
Flake, unspecialized 0% cortex	1
Total Level 2	147

Description	Count
Level 3	
Daub	97
Brick, handmade, fragments	1
Nail, wrought	1
Nail, unidentified	3
Spike	1
Refined white salt glaze stoneware	4
Refined white salt glaze stoneware	4
Brown salt glazed stoneware	3
Slipware, trailed yellow	2
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	11
Redware, glazed, coarse	7
Redware, unidentified, coarse	9
Delftware, blue h.p.	3
Delftware, plain	3
Deptford Check Stamped	1
Indeterminate ceramic, residual	2
Bone, unidentified	1
Bottle, clear bottle glass	1
Bottle, melted olive green	2
Bottle, olive green unidentified	9
Bottle, olive green spirit bottle	4
Cast iron cookware	1
Tobacco pipe bowl, kaolin, plain	1
Bottle glass flake, olive green	1
Metal object, unidentified	1
Flake, thinning 0% cortex	1
Flake, fragment >50% cortex	1
Flake, fragment <50% cortex	1
Flake, fragment 0% cortex	3
Total Level 3	175
Feature 2	
Daub	11
Nail, unidentified	1
Brown salt glazed stoneware	2
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	15
Redware, glazed, coarse	9
Delftware, blue h.p.	2
Delftware, unidentified	3

Table 13. Test Unit 1 Artifact Summary. (continued next page).

Table 13. Test Unit 1 Artifact Summary				
Description	Count			
Feature 2 (continued)				
Bottle, melted olive green	2			
Bottle, olive green unidentified	5			
Metal object, unidentified	1			
Total Feature 2	51			
TOTAL TEST UNIT 1	527			

Table 13. Test Unit 1 Artifact Summary. (continued).

This location yielded daub, gray salt glazed stoneware, delftware, possible slag and a kaolin tobacco pipe fragment. The Feature 1 midden lens graded into Feature 2.

Feature 2 was a midden remnant in the northwestern corner of Test Unit 1. It measured 1.30 m north-south by 56 cm east west. The feature continued into the north and west walls of the test unit, as shown in the soil profiles. The feature was defined at the base of Level 2 (plowzone) and continued to Level 5. The feature fill consisted of dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay mottled with small charcoal flecks and burned daub. Artifacts in Feature 2 (n=51) were more numerous than in the surrounding excavation levels. It yielded daub, one

unidentified nail, delftware, brown salt glazed stoneware, redware and coarse earthenware sherds, olive green bottle glass and one unidentified iron object.

None of the historic artifacts in Test Unit 1 postdate the eighteenth century. The absence of common ceramic types from the late eighteenth century, including creamware and pearlware, may indicate that the historic occupation in this vicinity was abandoned prior to the American Revolution. While this test unit is located within an active area of the Purysburg battlefield, no battle-related artifacts, with the possible exception of one English spall type gunflint, were contained within the test unit.

Test Unit 2

Test Unit 2 was placed in Locus A an effort to intersect the suspected wall of a Revolutionary War fortification that was suggested by a 1938 aerial photograph. This test unit also explored a suspected cultural feature that was encountered in the metal detector survey. Test Unit 2 was a slot trench that measured 0.5 m north-south by 6 m east-west (Figures 54-57). Slot trenches have been shown to be an effective method for locating

Test Unit 2
Base of Level 1



- A Mottled gray (10YR5/1) and strong brown (7.5YR5/6) sandy clay.
- B Gray (10YR5/1) sandy clay loam with mottles of dark gray (10YR4/1) and brown (10YR4/3) clay and rare red (2.5YR4/6) clay mottles.
- C Reddish brown (2.5YR4/4) clay with occasional small mottles of red (10R4/8) clay.
- D Reddish brown (5YR4/4) clay.
- MD Metal Detector Survey hole.



Stump/Root.

GIS estimated corner of fort.

0 100 cm

Figure 54. Plan of Test Unit 2, Base of Level 1.

Test Unit 2 North Profile

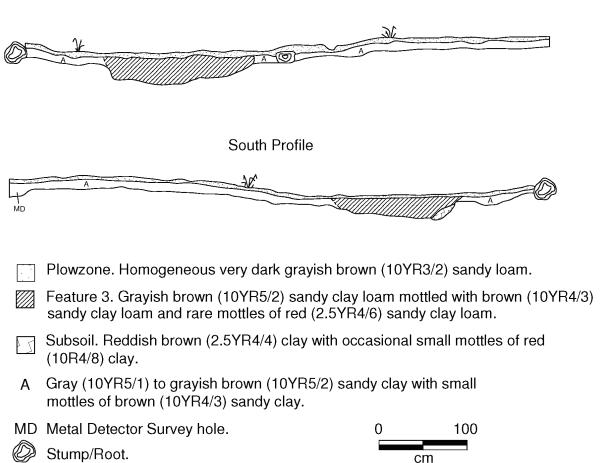


Figure 55. Test Unit 2, North and South profiles.

Revolutionary War fortifications in other parts of South Carolina (South 2006). Soil was removed in two levels to a maximum depth of 43 cm below ground. The test unit contained one feature, designated Feature 3. Feature 3 was a shallow pit that continued north and south of Test Unit 2. Only 11 artifacts were recovered from Test Unit 2 and these included two redware sherds, a wrought nail, five unidentified iron fragments, two daub and one residual ceramics. The contents of this exploratory trench were not screened, which accounts for the low artifact representation.

Test Unit 3

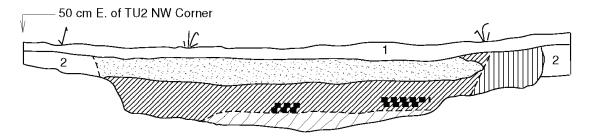
Test Unit 3 was placed in the vicinity of a metal detector find within Locus D. Test Unit 3 measured 50

cm north-south by 50 cm east-west. It was excavated in three levels to a maximum depth of 40 cm below ground (Figures 58 and 59). Twenty-five artifacts were recovered from Test Unit 3, as detailed in Table 14. These included eighteenth century artifacts and one modern shotgun shell. The test unit contained one small pit feature that was designated Feature 4. This feature contained a large portion of a brass kettle, a French gunflint fragment, the neck of a medicine bottle and other items.

Test Unit 4

Test Unit 4 was located within Locus J. It measured 2 m north-south by 1 m east-west (Figures 60 and 61). The archeological excavation explored the side of a large rectangular depression that was noted by the

Feature 3 North Profile



- 1 Plowzone. Homogeneous very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) sandy loam.
- 2 Mostly homogenous brown (10YR4/3) sandy clay with very minor grayish brown (10YR5/2) sandy clay mottling.
- Brown (10YR4/3) sandy clay lightly mottled with grayish brown (10YR5/2) sandy clay.
- Highly mottled grayish brown (10YR5/2) clay loam, red (2.5YR4/6) and brown (10YR4/3) clay and rare mottles of red (10YR4/8) clay and charcoal lenses.
- Highly mottled grayish brown (10YR5/2) clay loam and brown (10YR4/3) clay with large mottles of red (2.5YR4/6) and rare charcoal lenses and mottles of red (10YR4/8) clay.

Charcoal lenses.

- Highly mottled grayish brown (10YR5/2) clay loam, red (2.5YR4/6) and brown (10YR4/3) clay and mottles of red (10YR4/8) clay.
 - 3 Red (2.5YR4/6) clay.
 - 4 Red (2.5YR4/6) clay mottled with red (10YR4/8) clay and small mottles of gray (10YR5/1) clay.
 - 5 Root or rodent burrow undercutting Feature 3 wall. Gray (10YR5/1) sandy clay loam with mottles of red (2.5YR4/6) clay.

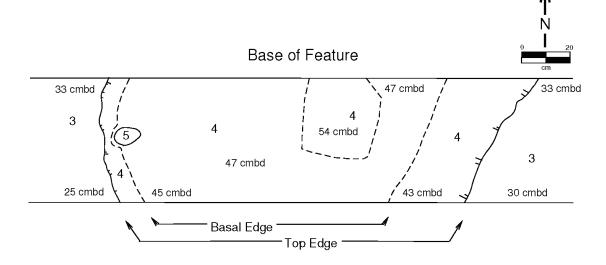


Figure 56. Feature 3, North profile and plan, Test Unit 2.

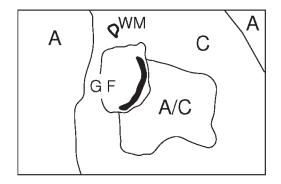


Figure 57. Plan of Test Unit 2, facing East (Feature 3 excavated).

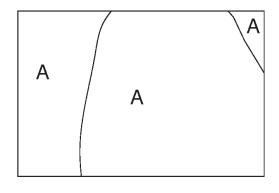


Figure 58. Northern view of Test Unit 3 and Feature 4 with brass kettle in situ..

Base of Level 2 Feature 4



Base of Level 3 Afer Feature 4 Excavated



South Profile D A/C A & C mottled

Test Unit 3 Plans and Profile

- A Pale Brown (10YR6/3) sandy loam.
- B Grayish brown (10YR5/2) sandy loam.
- C Gray (10YR5/1) sandy loam.
- D Dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) sandy loam.
- G F Gunflint.
- WM White metal.



Brass kettle rim.



Figure 59. Test Unit 3, Feature 4, plan and South profile.

Table 14. Test Unit 3 Artifact Summary	
Description	Count
Level 2	
Bottle, applied finish	2
Nail, wrought, fragment	1
Redware, glazed, coarse	1
Glaze only	1
Brass container, bucket fragment	4
Total Level 2	9
Feature 4	
Flake unspecialized <50% cortex	1
Nail, wrought, fragment	1
Mortar	3
Bottle, pharmaceutical, aqua hand blown	3
Brass container, bucket fragment	4
Cast iron cookware	3
Gunflint, fragment, French (honey) flint	1
Total Feature 4	16
TOTAL TEST UNIT 3	25

Table 14. Test Unit 3 Artifact Summary

survey team. Soil was removed in three levels. Level 1 was a thick zone of leaf mat, humus and very dark gray (7.5YR3/1) sandy loam that contained no artifacts. Level 2 was very dark gray brown (7.5YR2/2) sandy clay with mottles of red (2.5YR4/8) clay. Level 3 was only excavated in the south one-half of Test Unit 4 and it contained yellowish red (5YYR4/6) clay mottled with red (2.5YR4/8) clay. The underlying subsoil was red (2.5YR4/8) clay. No features were located and only 11 artifacts were recovered from the unit (Table 15). These included redware sherds, one kiln saggar, two wrought nails, an iron file, and iron chain links. It also yielded a single simple stamped sherd, one residual sherd and two coastal plain chert debitage. The sparse historic artifact finds from Test Unit 4 suggest that the large depression that it explored was not a cellar or a military feature but likely was a soil borrow pit for the nearby pottery factory. This depression was left open by its original excavators and apparently experienced little use for refuse disposal by later residents.

Test Unit 5

Test Unit 5 was placed near a suspected Patriot cannon emplacement on the Savannah River bluff in Locus

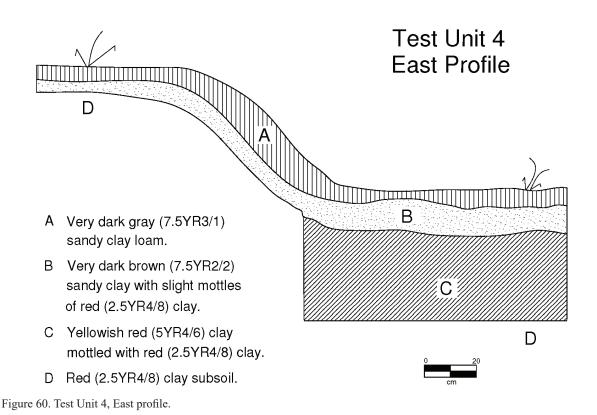




Figure. 61 Photograph of plan of Test Unit 4, facing North.

Table 15. Test Unit 4 Artifact Summary	
Description	Count
Level 2	
Simple Stamped ceramic	1
Indeterminate ceramic	1
Flake, thinning 0% cortex	2
Redware, glazed, coarse	1
Total Level 2	5
Level 3	
Saggar, kiln furniture	1
Nail, wrought, fragment	1
Nail, wrought, T-head fragment	1
Redware, unglazed, coarse	1
File, iron	1
Chain, iron	1
Total Level 3	6
TOTAL TEST UNIT 4	11

Table 15. Test Unit 4 Artifact Summary

B. Metal detecting in this vicinity yielded several lead balls and the area was considered a possible soldier's encampment. Test Unit 5 measured 2 m east-west by 1 m north-south (Figure 62 and 63). It was excavated in two levels to a maximum depth of 25 cm below ground. This test unit yielded a mix of eighteenth and nineteenth century artifacts in a shallow plow-disturbed zone. The test unit contained no cultural features and only yielded 59 artifacts (Table 16). The historic artifacts included eighteenth and nineteenth century ceramics, bottle glass and metal. Aboriginal artifacts included check stamped, simple stamped and cord marked wares and coastal plain chert (chalcedony) and petrified wood debitage. No military or arms related artifacts were discovered in this test unit.

Test Unit 6

Test Unit 6 was a small, exploratory test unit in Locus J that

measured 1 m north-south by 75 cm east-west (Figures 64 and 65). This area contained a metal detector find consisting of one burned wrought nail above a concentration of brick rubble. This initial find was located on the slope of a slight depression that appeared to be of cultural origin. Initially archeologists surmised that the brick rubble may represent the remnants of a brick wall of a dwelling or other structure and the adjacent depression represented surface indications of an associated cellar. Archeologists established Test Unit 6 immediately west of the metal detector survey find and perpendicular to the surface depression in order to investigate the area further.

The ground surface of Test Unit 6 sloped, resulting in a 5-15 cm thick Level 1. The unit datum was located at the ground surface in the northeastern corner of the unit. This level terminated at 15 cm below datum in the northern half of the unit and 20 cm below datum in the southern half. Level 1 soil consisted of an upper humus layer overlying a very

Test Unit 5 South Profile

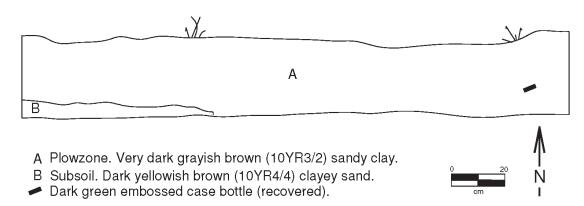


Figure. 62. Test Unit 5, South profile.



Figure. 63. Photograph of plan view of Test Unit 5, facing west.

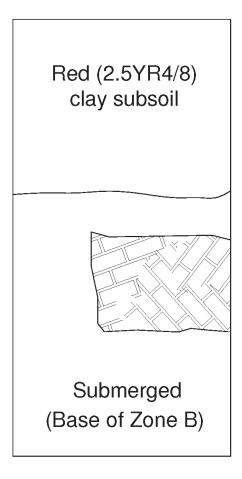
Table 16. Test Unit 5 Artifact Summary		
Level	Description	Count
Level 1		
	Ironstone	1
	Check stamped ceramic	2
	Indeterminate ceramic	2
	Daub, kiln furniture	8
	Flake, thinning 0% cortex	1
	Nail, cut or wrought, square	1

Table 16	Table 16. Test Unit 5 Artifact Summary (continued)	
Level	Description	Count
Level 1		
	Refined white salt glaze	1
	Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	1
	Redware, glazed, coarse	2
	Bottle, pharmaceutical, aqua hand blown	1
	Total Level 1	20
Level 2		
	Nail, wire common	1
	whiteware, plain	2
	Simple Stamped ceramic	1
	Check stamped ceramic	2
	Indeterminate decorated ceramic	3
	Cordmarked ceramic	1
	Bottle, embossed letters	1
	Bottle, embossed letters	1
	Daub, kiln furniture	12
	Flake, fragment 0% cortex	3
	Shatter 0% cortex	1
	Nail, cut or wrought, square	2
	Mortar	3
	Creamware, plain	1
	Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	2
	Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	1
	Delftware, blue h.p.	1
	Bottle, dark green bottle glass	1
	Total Level 2	39
	TOTAL TEST UNIT 5	59

Table 16. Test Unit 5 Artifact Summary

Test Unit 6

Base of Level 2

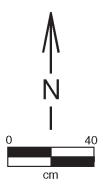




Plowzone. - Humus and very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay loam.

Zone A - Dark gray (10YR4/1) clayey loam.

Zone B - Very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clayey loam.



East Profile

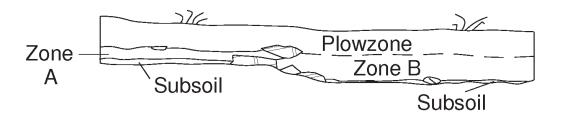


Figure. 64. Test Unit 6, plan at Base of Level 2 and East Profile.



Figure. 65. Photograph of plan of Test Unit 6, facing North.

dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay loam plowzone. Archeologists terminated Level 1 at a soil change. Level 2 consisted of Zones A and B. The northern half contained Zone A, which consisted of grayish brown and yellowish brown sandy clay loam. Zone B lay in the southern half of the unit and had dark gray, wet sandy clay. Archeologists excavated Zone A to subsoil, which they encountered at 22 cm below datum, resulting in a seven cm thick level. Zone A appears to lay on the uppermost edge of the depression first noted on the ground surface and further clarified in the east profile stratigraphy of Test Unit 6. The extremely wet and muddy conditions of Zone B made it difficult to follow. It is possible that Zone B was originally thicker than the two centimeters revealed during excavation. Or it may have been deposited originally, or accumulated, as a thin lens across the base of the depression. Both Zones A and B overlay red (2.5YR4/8) clay subsoil. Brick rubble served as an arbitrary divider between Zones A and B. This rubble zone extended approximately 30 cm out of the eastern wall of the unit, in the southern half of the excavation. The rubble zone measured approximately 20 cm north-south. Test Unit 6 was terminated during the excavation of Level 3 because of an increase in groundwater. Only one piece of glazed redware (possibly kiln furniture) was retrieved from that level.

Test Unit 6 yield 130 artifacts (Table 17). Fortyfour artifacts in Level 1 included eighteenth century ceramics (refined white salt glazed stoneware, yellow slipware, redware and coarse earthenware), one wrought nail, three dark green bottle glass, and brick and daub kiln furniture. Level 2 contained 85 artifacts, which included 17 from Zone A and 68 from Zone B. Historic artifacts included eighteenth century ceramics (refined white salt glazed stoneware, coarse earthenware and redware), 15 wrought nails, dark green bottle glass, milk glass, one tobacco pipe stem and brick, daub and saggar kiln furniture. One artifact was retrieved from Level 3, which was a redware sherd, possibly used as kiln furniture.

The relative abundance of low-fired earthenware sherds in Test Unit 6 indicated more than a simple domestic refuse deposit. Rather, the many sherds and pieces of kiln furniture suggested that a pottery industry had operated in the vicinity. In profile the fill zone appears to follow the slope of the depression. The brick rubble was not recovered from this unit. Test Unit 6 contained an unusual abundance of coarse earthenware in relation to the size of the excavation unit. This fact and the confirmation that the depression was cultural led archeologists to excavate Test Unit 7 in an effort to uncover more information about the function, nature and date range of the feature.

Test Unit 7

Archeologists established Test Unit 7 adjacent to a portion of the eastern wall of Test Unit 6. (Figures 66-71). Test Unit 7 extended two meters east-west and was one meter north-south. It lay along the northeastern edge of the depression. The unit datum was located at the northeastern corner of the unit, 10 cm above the ground surface.

Test Unit 7 was the most productive of the archeological excavations, yielding a total of 4,548 artifacts (Table 18). The vast majority of these date to the colonial period and are associated with the pottery manufacture and are not directly related to the 1779 battle. Minor amounts of aboriginal artifacts also were contained in the test unit fill and these included simple stamped and undecorated sherds and coastal plain chert and petrified wood debitage and fire cracked rock.

Level 1 extended to 22 cm below datum in the northern portion of the unit and 30 cm below datum in the southern portion. The level averaged approximately 15

Table 17. Test Unit 6 Artifact Summary

Table 17. Test Unit 6 Artifact Summary		
Description	Count	
Level 1		
Brick or paver	3	
Daub, kiln furniture	16	
Nail, wrought, fragment	1	
Refined white salt glaze	2	
Slipware, yellow, plain	2	
Coarse earthenware	2	
Coarse earthenware	1	
Coarse earthenware	1	
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	1	
Redware, unglazed, coarse	4	
Redware, glazed, coarse	3	
Redware, glazed, coarse	3	
Redware, glazed, coarse	2	
Bottle, dark green bottle glass	3	
Total Level 1	44	
Brick, pavers	1	
Daub, kiln furniture	5	
Saggar, kiln furniture	1	
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	1	
Redware, glazed, coarse	9	
Total Level 2, Zone A	17	
Level 2, Zone B		
Indeterminate ceramic, residual	1	
Milk glass	1	
Petrified wood, unworked	5	
Brick, pavers	1	
Non paver kiln brick	4	
Daub, kiln furniture	12	
Saggar, kiln furniture	3	
Nail, wrought, fragment	5	
Nail, wrought, T head	10	
Nail, unidentified	2	
Refined white salt glaze	1	
Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	1	
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	1	
Redware, unglazed, coarse	7	
Redware, glazed, coarse	10	
Bottle, dark green bottle glass	3	
Tobacco pipestem, kaolin, 5/64"	1	
Total Level 2, Zone B	68	

Table 17. Test Unit 6 Artifact Summary (continued)

Description	Count
Level 3	
Redware, glazed, coarse	1
Total Level 3	1
TOTAL TEST UNIT 6	130

Table 17. Test Unit 6 Artifact Summary

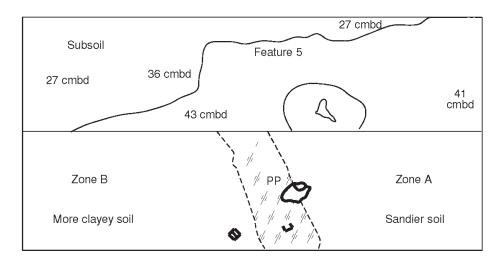
cm thick. Level 1 soil was very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay loam underlying the humus layer. Archeologists terminated Level 1 when they observed soils becoming defined in two discrete zones. Artifacts in Level 1 (n=222) included historic ceramics (refined white salt glazed stoneware, coarse earthenware and redware), dark green bottle glass, one wrought nail, other iron fragments, glaze globs, and daub and saggar kiln furniture. It also yielded 47 residual low-fired pottery sherds of indeterminate cultural association (aboriginal or historic).

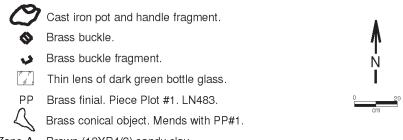
Soil at the top of Level 2 appeared as two discrete areas. At this elevation the southern 6/7ths of the test unit was very dark gray silty sand. The remaining 1/7th of the unit lay along the northern edge and consisted of dark yellowish brown sandy loam. Archeologists excavated the southern area separately from the northern area, dividing the unit in half on an even east-west axis.

Level 2 in the southern portion of Test Unit 7 measured 8 cm thick, to a depth of 38 cm below datum. The soil was extremely saturated, resulting in very sticky clay that was difficult to trowel and more difficult to document. Archeologists noted potsherds throughout the unit, with large ones and some large brick fragments along the western edge of the unit. Probes of this area suggested that a "pavement" of sherds, brick fragments, and other debris extended to the east of the unit, just beneath the base of Level 2. The base of Level 2 on the southern portion of the unit revealed a thin lens of dark green bottle glass. Archeologists observed a small area of window glass and surrounding soil variations in the southcentral portion of the unit. Level 2 artifacts in the southern section of Test Unit 7 (n=920) included: historic ceramics (Astbury ware, delftware, refined white salt glazed stoneware, coarse earthenware and redware), dark green bottle glass, pharmaceutical bottle glass, cast iron pot sherd, wrought nails, tobacco pipe stem, brass shoe buckle fragments, other

Test Unit 7

Base of Level 2 (North Half)
Level 2 In Progress (South Half)





Zone A Brown (10YR4/3) sandy clay.

Zone B Very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clay loam. Brick rubble and sherds at base of level.

Feature 5 Dark grayish brown (10YR4/2) clay.

Subsoil Red (2.5YR4/8) clay subsoil.

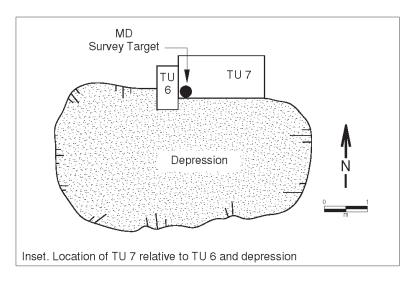
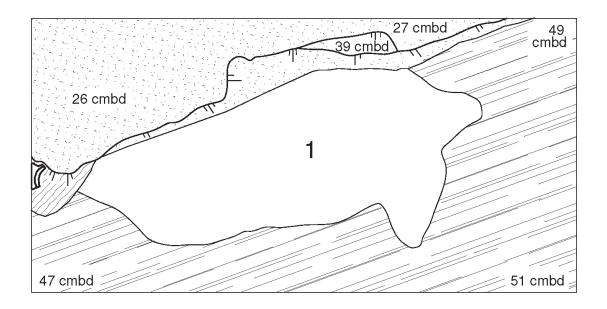


Figure. 66. Test Unit 7, plan of Level 2 with inset showing locations of Test Units 6 and 7 in relation to surface depression.

Test Unit 7 Base of Level 3



- Subsoil. Red (2.5YR4/8) clay.
- Grayish brown (10YR5/2) clayey sand with small mottles of brown (7.5YR4/4) sand and small mottles of light yellowish gray (10YR6/2) sand with abundant manganese inclusions.
- Red (2.5YR4/8) clay with small, common mottles of dark brown (10YR3/2) slightly sandy clay.
- Piece Plot #2. Coarse earthenware saggar.
- 1 Very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay with mottles of yellowish red (5YR5/6) sandy clay and rare charcoal flecks.

Figure. 67. Test Unit 7, plan at Base of Level 3.

Test Unit 7 Base of Level 5

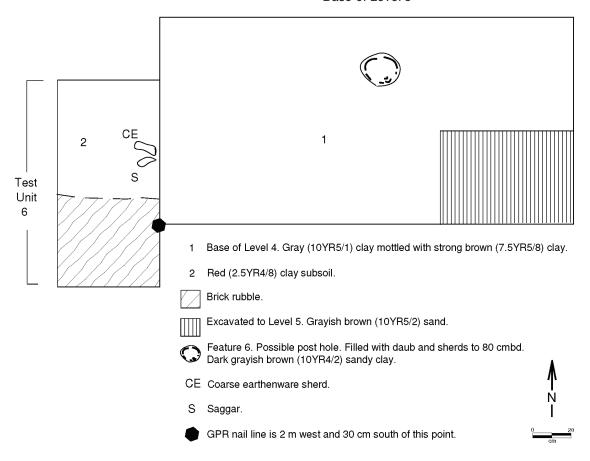


Figure. 68. Plan of Test Units 6 and 7.

metal objects, glaze blobs and brick, daub, saggars, trivets and other kiln furniture. This level also contained aboriginal ceramics (simple stamped, undecorated and indeterminate decorated motifs), coastal plain chert debitage and petrified wood debitage.

The northern half of Test Unit 7, Level 2 extended from 22-27 cm below datum in the northwestern corner of the unit and 22-41 cm below datum in the northeastern corner of the unit. Artifacts in the northern part of Level 2 (n=1,541) included: historic ceramics (yellow slipware, coarse earthenware and redware), olive green bottle glass, wrought nail, a brass lamp part, two tobacco pipe stems, iron objects and glaze globs, brick, daub and trivet kiln furniture.

The research team documented the various soil stains and piece plotted the artifacts at the base of Level 2, in

the southern and northern halves of Test Unit 7. Note the irregular line diagonally bisecting the northern half of the unit. This represents a severe and vertical boundary of the feature depression, marked by a red clay subsoil edge bounded along the western exterior by a red clay slope. Archeologists named this Feature 5, which includes the soils filling the depression and its outer edges in Test Units 7 and 6, as well as the entire depression visible on the ground surface.

Level 3 excavations ranged from 8-13 cm thick. The base of Level 3 terminated at a depth of between 47-51 cm below datum, except for the northwestern quadrant which was already at subsoil. The slope of the subsoil and the vertical wall created in it by the construction of the feature is visible running from the northeastern corner of the unit, diagonally toward the center of the unit's western wall. The remainder of the unit at this

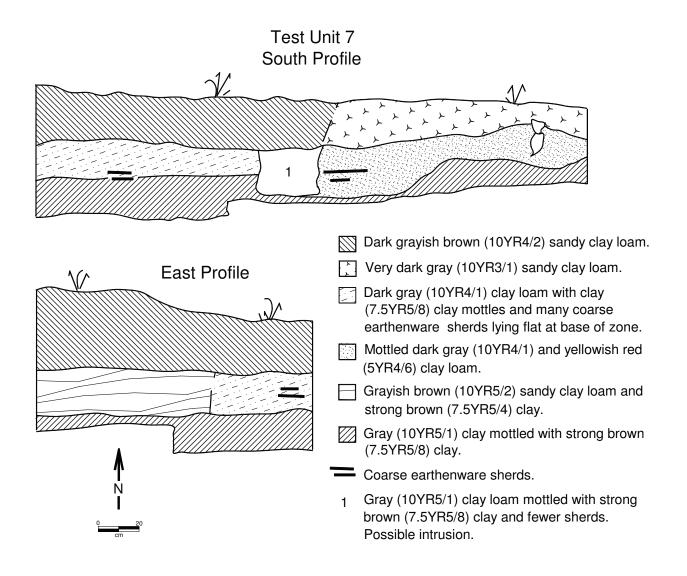


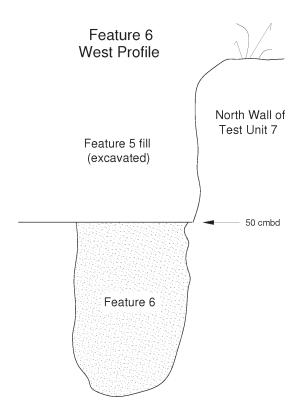
Figure. 69. Test Unit 7, South and East profiles.

elevation reveals two areas of different feature fill. The majority of Level 3 artifacts were coarse earthenware sherds. Many of the ceramics represented kiln furniture, such as saggers, ceramics with broken edges covered in glaze, wasters, kiln brick and kiln pavers.

Archeologists suspected that the concentration of glass and domestic debris might represent a secondary deposit within Feature 5. In an effort to avoid contamination of this deposit with the remainder of the feature, they excavated this area as a Zone A of Feature 5 within Level 3. Zone A was concentrated in the south-central and southeastern quadrant of the unit. Soil in Zone A was brown (10YR4/3) sandy clay. Zone B was located in the southwestern portion of Test Unit 7 and contained very dark grayish brown (10YR3/2) clay loam.

Artifacts in Zone A (n=73) included historic ceramics (blue hand painted delftware, coarse earthenware and redware), a miscellaneous iron object and brick and daub kiln furniture. Artifacts in Zone B (n=1,555) included: historic ceramics (combed yellow slipware, coarse earthenware, redware), aqua and olive green bottle glass, wrought nails, tobacco pipe stems, a brass rivet, glaze globs, and brick, daub, saggar, trivet and other kiln furniture. This zone also yielded aboriginal ceramics (cord marked and indeterminate decorated) and Coastal Plain chert debitage.

Test Unit 7 became increasingly difficult to excavate as the loamy and clay fill of Feature 5 got wetter with depth, especially in the eastern portion of the unit. The base of Level 3 revealed two



Feature 6. Mottled gray (10YR5/1) and strong brown (7.5YR5/8) clay with daub, rubble, and sherds.



Figure. 70. Feature 6, West profile.

slightly different soils. The center area consisted of a very dark gray (10YR3/1) sandy clay with mottles of yellowish red (5YR5/6) sandy clay while the area surrounding it to the east and south contained grayish brown (10YR5/2) clayey sand with mottles of brown (7.5YR4/4) sand and light yellowish gray (10YR6/2) sand. These mottled clay soils were poorly defined in reality, and archeologists excavated both areas as Level 4, extending to 61 cm below datum.

This 10-14 cm thick Level 4 contained far fewer artifacts than Level 3. Many of the artifacts present in Level 4 were recovered from the center part of the unit, in an intermittent dark lens near the top of the level or in the mottled area immediately below this, as well as in pockets of fill along the northern edge of the feature where the feature depression was initially dug into the subsoil. Soil in the eastern quarter of the unit became mottled gray and orange clay with a gray clay lens near the arbitrary base of Level 4.

Artifacts in Level 4, Feature 5 (n=146) included: historic ceramics (British brown stoneware, redware, and coarse earthenware), dark green bottle glass, one tobacco pipe bowl, window glass, two square nails and brick, daub and saggar kiln furniture. Level 4 also yielded 10 aboriginal pottery sherds and three coastal plain chert debitage.

Archeologists determined that Feature 5 represented the remains of an early pottery operation at Purysburg. Test Units 6 and 7 uncovered only a 2.5 by 1.2 m section of a much larger industrial feature. The feature appeared on the ground surface as a depression measuring approximately 4.75 m east-west by 2.75. This likely represents only the central slumpage of the depression and does not include the infilled edges, as reflected in the continuation of the feature to the northern wall of Test Unit 7 beyond the surface depression. The depression was filled historically with wastage from a pottery kiln operation. Saggers, trivets, kiln daub or "squeezes", kiln brick, kiln pavers, sherds with glaze over breaks, sherds with multiple glaze trails, pooling of lead glaze and or slip inside hollowware vessels, and other kiln furniture represent clear and unmistakable evidence of pottery production. The initial creation of Feature 5 and not its infill, however,



Figure 71. Photograph of plan of Test Unit 7, facing East..

Glaze globs, kiln related wrought nail, T head Refined white salt glaze Coarse earthenware Coarse earthenware, lead glazed Coarse earthenware, unidentified Redware, unglazed, coarse Redware, glazed, coarse Bottle, dark green bottle glass Iron fragment, unidentified Iron flat strip Total Level 1 Level 2, North Half Indeterminate ceramic, residual Brick or paver Daub, kiln furniture Trivet, kiln furniture Other kiln furniture Other kiln furniture	
Level 1 Indeterminate ceramic, residual Daub, kiln furniture Saggar, kiln furniture Glaze globs, kiln related wrought nail, T head Refined white salt glaze Coarse earthenware Coarse earthenware, lead glazed Coarse earthenware, unidentified Redware, unglazed, coarse Redware, glazed, coarse Redware, glazed, coarse Bottle, dark green bottle glass Iron fragment, unidentified Iron flat strip Total Level 1 Level 2, North Half Indeterminate ceramic, residual Brick or paver Daub, kiln furniture Trivet, kiln furniture Other kiln furniture Other kiln furniture Total Level 1 Total Level 1 Total Level 1 Total Level 3	ıını
Indeterminate ceramic, residual Daub, kiln furniture Saggar, kiln furniture Glaze globs, kiln related wrought nail, T head Refined white salt glaze Coarse earthenware Coarse earthenware, lead glazed Coarse earthenware, unidentified Redware, unglazed, coarse Redware, glazed, coarse Bottle, dark green bottle glass Iron fragment, unidentified Iron flat strip Total Level 1 Level 2, North Half Indeterminate ceramic, residual Brick or paver Daub, kiln furniture Trivet, kiln furniture Other kiln furniture Other kiln furniture	uii
Daub, kiln furniture Saggar, kiln furniture Glaze globs, kiln related wrought nail, T head Refined white salt glaze Coarse earthenware Coarse earthenware, lead glazed Coarse earthenware, unidentified Redware, unglazed, coarse Redware, glazed, coarse Bottle, dark green bottle glass Iron fragment, unidentified Iron flat strip Total Level 1 Level 2, North Half Indeterminate ceramic, residual Brick or paver Daub, kiln furniture Trivet, kiln furniture Other kiln furniture Other kiln furniture	7
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Daub, kiln furniture 53 Trivet, kiln furniture 1 Other kiln furniture 3	:3
Trivet, kiln furniture 1 Other kiln furniture 3	36
Other kiln furniture 3	4
	5
	1
Core, random	1
	1
Nail, wrought, T-head fragment	1
T 11 11 11 11 1	1
i	27
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, &	00
i	73
	90
	2
	2
	1
	5
	41
,	-
Level 2, South Half	
Plain ceramic, aboriginal sand tempered	2
Simple Stamped ceramic	1
	1

Description	Count
Level 2, South Half (continued)	
Indeterminate ceramic, residual	2
Petrified wood, unworked	3
Petrified wood, unworked	2
Brick, pavers	6
Non paver kiln brick	3
Daub, kiln furniture	248
Saggar, kiln furniture	11
Trivet, kiln furniture	2
Other kiln furniture	11
Glaze globs, with small quartz gravels	1
Flake, thinning 0% cortex	1
Flake, fragment 0% cortex	1
Shatter <50% cortex	1
Nail, wrought, fragment	3
Nail, rosehead, fragment	2
wrought nail, T head	1
Nail, wrought, T-head fragment	1
Iron hardware, possible hinge	3
Mortar	3
Buckle, brass, shoe	4
Refined white salt glaze stoneware	2
Coarse earthenware	17
Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	19
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	24
Redware, unglazed, coarse	110
Redware, glazed, coarse	161
Redware, unidentified, coarse	190
Redware, Astbury, refined	1
Delftware, plain	1
Bone, unidentified	3
Bottle, pharmaceutical, light green	2
Bottle, dark green bottle glass	59
cast iron cookware	1
Iron fragment, unidentified	8
Tobacco pipestem, kaolin	1
Strap iron	6
Brass, possible buckle tine	2
Total Level 2, South Half	920
Level 3, North Half	
Saggar, kiln furniture	1
Indeterminate ceramic, residual	12

Description	Count
Level 3, North Half (continued)	
Finial, brass	1
Total Level 3, North Half	14
Level 3, Zone A, Feature 5	
Brick or paver	4
Daub, kiln furniture	34
Coarse earthenware	6
Redware, unglazed, coarse	18
Redware, glazed, coarse	8
Delftware, blue h.p.	1
Iron fragment, unidentified	1
Material, unidentified	1
Total Level 3, Zone A, Feature 5	73
Level 3, Zone B	
Cordmarked ceramic	1
Indeterminate ceramic	4
Brick, pavers	7
Brick or paver	55
Daub, kiln furniture	380
Saggar, kiln furniture	34
Trivet, kiln furniture	10
Other kiln furniture	4
Glaze globs, kiln related	6
Flake, thinning 0% cortex	3
Flake, fragment 0% cortex	1
Nail, wrought, fragment	1
Nail, wrought, T-head	2
Slipware, combed clear glaze	1
Coarse earthenware	28
Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	3
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	321
Redware, unglazed, coarse	311
Redware, glazed, coarse	372
Redware, decorated, coarse	4
Bottle, aqua bottle glass	1
Bottle, olive green unidentified	3
Tobacco pipestem, kaolin, 4/64"	1
Tobacco pipestem, kaolin, 5/64"	1
Rivet	1
Total Level 3, Zone B	1555

Description	Count
Level 4, Feature 5	
Plain ceramic, aboriginal	8
Indeterminate stamped ceramic	2
Brick or paver	3
Daub, kiln furniture	16
Saggar, kiln furniture	2
Flake, thinning 0% cortex	3
Window glass	1
Nail, cut or wrought, square	2
British brown salt glazed	1
Coarse earthenware	3
Coarse earthenware, lead glazed	2
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	2
Redware, unglazed, coarse	21
Redware, brown glazed, unrefined	5
Redware, glazed, coarse	21
Redware, unidentified, coarse	49
Pit, other	2
Bottle, dark green bottle glass	2
Tobacco pipe bowl, kaolin, plain	1
Total Level 4, Feature 5	146
Total Feature 5 (Levels 3 and 4)	219
Feature 6	
Brick or paver	8
Daub, kiln furniture	10
Glaze globs, kiln related	1
Coarse earthenware	12
Coarse earthenware, unidentified	1
Redware, unglazed, coarse	16
Redware, glazed, coarse	20
Total Feature 6	68
Level 5	
Coarse earthenware	4
Redware, unglazed, coarse	3
Redware, glazed, coarse	2
Total Level 5	9
TOTAL TEST UNIT 7	4548

Table 18. Test Unit 7 Artifact Summary (continued from previous page)

is more problematic. Feature 5 began its life as a hole dug into the red clay subsoil. It is likely that Purysburgers chose that spot to collect clay for making the pottery. Alternatively, it may have been dug intentionally as part of a specific function for the kiln or kiln operation, or dug for clay with the intention to use it in some manner with kiln functions. Ultimately, the hole was used to discard wastage from kiln firings (ceramics, kiln furniture, glazes and slips), which likely was a secondary or tertiary purpose for the hole.

Artifacts in Feature 5 included deposits relating to kiln operations, such as ceramics and kiln furniture, as well as later secondary deposition that consisted of personal, kitchen, and architectural artifacts. The profiles for Test Unit 7 provide information about Feature 5. The east profile reveals the slope of the ground surface above Feature 5, as the ground angles from north to south at the edge of the depression.

Archeologists observed a circular stain in Level 4 that they designated Feature 6. It measured 20 cm in diameter. They first observed it at a depth of 50 cm below datum. The mottled gray (10YR5/1) and strong brown (7.5YR5/8) clay-filled stain was located in the north-central portion of the unit and was drawn on the plan map for the base of Level 5. Feature 6 contained a concentration of daub and clusters of sherds. In profile the feature had vertical walls and a slightly rounded base that extended 30 cm to a depth of 80 cm below datum. Feature 6 appears to be a postmold or posthole intruding into the Feature 5 depression. Sixty-eight artifacts in Feature 6 included: coarse earthenware, redware, a ceramic glaze blob and brick and daub kiln furniture.

Given the increasingly wet nature of the clayey test unit fill and serious time constraints, archeologists stepped the unit down in Level 5 to a 65 cm by 50 cm excavation oriented east-west and extending out of the southeastern corner of Test Unit 7. Level 5 soil was brown (10YR5/2) sand and was excavated three centimeters to a depth of 64 cm below datum. This thin level contained only nine artifacts, which were coarse earthenware and redware sherds.

Material Culture

The Purysburg Battlefield Survey project identified 6,491 artifacts. A total of 629 of these items were

identified in the field and returned to their original locations. The remainder were taken to the laboratory for additional study. Thirty of the collected artifacts proved to be modern and were de-accessioned during the analysis. Archeologists analyzed a total of 5,832 artifacts in the laboratory. The bulk of these artifacts were ceramic sherds associated with Test Unit 7. The pottery production operation that these objects represent are unrelated to the Revolutionary War battle as they predate it by several decades. Consequently this activity and its associated artifacts will be described in detail in a separate LAMAR Institute report, which is presently being compiled. Appendix 1 provides an inventory of these artifacts and their contexts. Both collected and non-collected artifacts are included in this inventory.

Architecture Group

Architecture Group artifacts were widespread at Purysburg. Previous systematic shovel testing on portions of the historic town site revealed daub, brick, window glass and metal artifacts. These finds are consistent with those expected for an eighteenth century village. The presence of machine cut square nails and extruded brick in a few areas of Purysburg attest to some occupation in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Most architecture artifacts, however, are likely associated with the colonial town.

Handmade brick fragments were observed on the surface and at several subsurface locations at Purysburg. Five shovel tests in Locus L contained brick fragments. Brick also was noted in 13 metal detector probe holes in Loci B, C, H, I and L and in Test Unit 1 in Locus H. One brick chimney stub was discovered in Locus L, but upon closer examination it was determined to post-date the American Revolution.

Brick was relatively rare in coastal South Carolina in the eighteenth century. Mud or daub, was one solution for buildings where brick was required such as chimneys. Daub also was used as chinking in log and half-timbered architecture. Excavations in the Ebenezer settlement of Georgia, located across the river from Purysburg, demonstrate that daub was extensively used in domestic architecture. Archeologists noted daub in eight metal detector probe holes at Purysburg. These were found in Loci A, B, H, J and L. Quantities of small daub chunks (n=279) also were recorded in Test Unit 1 in Locus H.

Architectural metal was best represented in the Purysburg survey data, which was not unexpected given that the primary research tools were metal detectors. Artifacts that were discovered included door hardware, hinges (pintel and strap varieties), nails and spikes. Since the definition and delineation of Purysburg's domestic architecture was not the primary research goal, many small iron signals that likely represented nails were not excavated by the research team.

Nails comprise the overwhelming majority of the architecture group. Of these, machine cut nails (n=32) and wire nails (not systematically recorded) postdate the American Revolution and require no further discussion. Analysts cataloged a large group of unidentified square nails, which represent either cut or wrought nails. Fifty-eight cut nails were located in 55 contexts at Purysburg, including many metal detector finds and in Test Units 1, 5 and 7. This category may relate to the battle period, but this could not be conclusively determined. Another 65 nails were so corroded that these could not be distinguished between square or round.

Hand wrought nails at Purysburg span the period from the town's creation in 1732 to about 1790 when nail making equipment was invented. Wrought nails were used in the American Revolution and structures made with them may have been standing at that time. Archeologists located wrought nails at 17 metal detector probes and Test Unit 2 in Locus A; 5 metal detector probes in Locus B; 6 in Locus C; at one metal detector probe and in Test Unit 3 in Locus D; 8 in Locus G, 5 metal detector probes and in Test Unit 1 in Locus H, one metal probe in Loci I and K; eight metal probes and in Test Units 4, 6 and 7 in Locus J and in two metal probes in Locus L. Wrought nails were metal detected at 54 locations across Purysburg and Black Swamp and were present in all test units, except Test Unit 5. Wrought nails were most commonly used in buildings, although some may have been used in fencing.

Wrought spikes cover a broad time span at Purysburg and many may pertain to the American Revolutionary War period. Spikes were required for major architectural tasks. They were relatively uncommon across the landscape at Purysburg and even rare at Black Swamp where only one example was recovered. Archeologists recovered single spikes from 32 contexts, including Loci A, B, C, E, G, H, I and L. Only one spike was

recovered from test units. It was in Test Unit 1 in Locus H. Locus A yielded five examples; Locus B had one, Locus C had six examples; Locus E had three; Locus H had seven spikes; Locus I had two and Locus L yielded eight specimens. None was found in Loci K or J.

The survey yielded nine wrought iron hinges. These included two pintel hinges in Loci E and L and strap hinges in Loci A, B, G, and H. Hinges were used primarily for doors and windows and are good indicators of buildings.

Clothing Group

The Purysburg battlefield survey located 44 artifacts in the Clothing Group. These include various brass buttons, cuff links, shoe buckles, other clothing buckles, grommets and scissors. Buckles and buttons may be underrepresented in the archeological collection as a result of previous intensive collector activity.

Seven of these clothing artifacts were manufactured after the American Revolution and are eliminated from further discussion (but are listed in the Artifact Inventory). The other 37 artifacts are early and some may be associated with Revolutionary War activities. Most are from the Colonial town occupation and predate the war. No definitive military buttons were recovered by the survey.

Early buttons include pewter, brass and Tombac examples. The button assemblage includes South Types 1, 2, 7, 9, 11 and 12 (Noël Hume 1983:90-91; Olsen 1963:551-554; South 1964:113-133). South places the age of these buttons from his Brunswick Town, North Carolina excavations, circa 1726-1776. While some of these buttons may have been worn by soldiers in the American Revolution, none are military issue and none contain any regimental marks. The dearth of diagnostic military buttons at Purysburg is understandable given the extent of previous collector activity. One avid collector who was interviewed stated he knew of only two Patriot regimental buttons found in Jasper County and these were recovered north of Purysburg. The absence of British buttons can be explained by the relatively brief occupation at Purysburg Three buttons were located in each of Loci A, B, C and L. Two buttons were recovered from Loci G and H and single examples came from Loci E and F. None was located in Loci D, I, J or K. Cufflinks were located in Loci A, C, E and J.

Uniform buttons are an artifact type often encountered on battlefields and these are often quite diagnostic. The British 71st Regiment uniform in 1779 included white metal buttons bearing the number "71" centered with a narrow border. Examples of these buttons have been excavated at the British headquarters at Ebenezer, Georgia but none are known from Purysburg and none were located in the present survey. Officers wore more elaborate, silver plated buttons. The British 16th Regiment uniform contained the number "16" centered within a narrow border. Researchers have not identified the specific type of buttons worn by the British Light Infantry in 1779 (Elliott 2003; Troiani 2001). Many of the British and Loyalists under Major General Prevost's command wore uniforms with undecorated buttons. Exceptions recovered from Ebenezer include "RP' (Royal Provincial) and "NYV" (New York Volunteers) buttons worn by Loyalist units.

Patriot uniform buttons are quite rare in coastal South Carolina. The South Carolina Continental troops at Purysburg wore formal uniforms that included white metal buttons bearing the regimental number centered on the button. The 1st South Carolina Continentals had two button types, one bearing the Roman numeral "I" and the other "S C I". Continental Artillery button types included ones bearing a cannon in profile (Tice 1998; Troiani 2001).

The uniform of the 2nd South Carolina Continentals was blue, faced with red, and lined with white, with white linen waistcoats and breeches, and short black gaiters, in full dress, while on service they wore long linen overalls. They wore black leather caps with a small white thread tassel at the top, and the front ornamented with a white metal crescent, on which was engraved the initials of the soldier, and the motto "Liberty or Death." Drayton noted that the single word "Liberty" appeared on the crescents of the hat and of the regimental flag. Captain Jacob Shubrick's uniform as shown in Benbridge's portrait reveals numerous details concerning a 2nd South Carolina Continental grenadier officer's uniform Lefferts provides an artist's rendering of how a soldier in the 2nd South Carolina Continentals may have appeared (Clark 2005; Drayton 1821:11, 52-53, 281, 290; Lefferts 1926; Zlatich 1994:10). The 4th South Carolina Regiment of Artillery, which served at Purysburg and Black Swamp wore uniforms that were fairly similar to the South Carolina Continentals. (Company of Military Historians 2015).

The North Carolina Continentals uniforms were less formal than the South Carolina Continentals. It consisted of "a hunting shirt, a sleeved waistcoat, one pair of breeches, shoes, stockings, two shirts, and a hat" (Zlatich 1994:41). Battle speculates from his team's discoveries at the Brier Creek battlefield in Georgia that the North Carolina uniforms may have included a starburst motif. Several large examples of this type of button were located on the battlefield by metal detectors and these bear resemblance to later Civil War buttons from North Carolina (Battle 2014).

South Carolina militia uniforms from the period, particularly those worn by the Charles Town militia, are poorly documented. Like the 2nd South Carolina, the Charles Town militiamen sported a white metal crescent on their caps with the inscription "Pro Patria" (Videau 2006; McMaster 1971).

The Patriot troops in the south were poorly supplied with uniforms by the Continental Congress. Consequently, the local commanders were left to their own devices to provide uniforms for the soldiers. In many instances, civilian buttons (decorated and plain) were worn. This is consistent with the archeological finds at Purysburg, where archeologists located numerous plain and decorated eighteenth century buttons. These buttons may not be distinguishable between civilian and military use other than through their locational contexts (South 1964). Cullen notes that Continental Army regimental buttons are extremely rare on South Carolina continental encampments in Jasper County, South Carolina, where after several decades of concerted exploration, only two examples are known.

Eighteenth century buckle fragments are often recovered from settlements in the coastal plain as they were prone to breakage (Abbitt 1973). Archeologists recovered buckles or buckle fragments from 11 contexts at Purysburg, including 10 in metal detector probes and one from Test Unit 7 in Locus J.

Two sad irons were located in the metal detector survey of Purysburg. Examples were located in Loci A and L. Both were documented and returned to the soil. These artifacts were used to iron clothing and were in common use in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These could have either a domestic or military association.

Furniture Group

A small quantity of Furniture Group artifacts is represented in the survey collection. These included two brass upholstery tacks, one iron tack, one brass furniture escutcheon plate, one iron furniture lock and an iron and porcelain castor. The last item likely postdates the American Revolution but the others may represent period items. Brass furniture tacks frequently were used by Revolutionary War soldiers to adorn trunks. None of the furniture items from Purysburg are definitively associated with military activity.

Kitchen Group

The Purysburg battlefield survey recovered 3,433 artifacts in the Kitchen Group. The bulk of these are from Test Units 6 and 7 in Locus J and are the debris from redware manufacture. This kiln operation predates the American Revolution and these sherds are not associated with military activity. Kitchen group artifacts included ceramics, bottle glass, cast iron cookware, brass kettle fragments, knives and spoons.

Cast iron cookware sherds are widespread in the Purysburg survey, represented by 127 sherd examples. Many of these likely represent camp kettles (i.e. pots) used by the troops (Tyler 2014). Being heavy and awkward to carry, kettles were a recurring problem for the military on the march. To be without a kettle meant soldiers could not cook or eat their rice ration. Both sides issued many orders and solutions for kettle transportation during the war (Rees 1997:2-5). Cast iron cookware was in short supply among the British troops in coastal Georgia. General Prevost wrote from Savannah to Sir Henry Clinton on April 16, 1779 lamenting, "Their disagreeable position owing to want of money and provisions. Rice is a food the troops take with great reluctance, and for want of kettles is generally wasted. No kettles are to be had at any rate". Clinton wrote from New York in reply on April 28th advising General Prevost that he had sent provisions. These provisions, however, did not reach the British in time for their campaign into South Carolina (Great Britain, Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts 1904:419, 423). An unknown portion of the cast iron sherds may be associated with the Patriot encampment at Purysburg. Figure 72 shows the distribution of cast iron cookware in the vicinity of the suspected earthworks at Purysburg in Locus A.

These artifacts display a pronounced clustering in this area, which likely relates to military encampments. Many other cast iron cookware sherds, however, may relate to everyday domestic activities in the town of Purysburg throughout its occupation. The Purysburg survey yielded 33 cast iron pot sherds from Locus A; 9 from Locus B; 22 from Locus C, one each from Loci E and G; 29 from Locus H, four from Locus J, and 26 from Locus L. No cast iron cookware sherds were located in Loci D, F, K or I. Locus C yielded fragments of one brass kettle. A large portion of this brass vessel was buried in Feature 4 in Test Unit 3.

In addition to cast iron pots, the survey documented other Kitchen Group artifacts. The battlefield survey recovered four metal spoon fragments at Purysburg. Two were from Locus L. Loci C and K each yielded one example. Three iron knife blades located by the survey may be associated with the Kitchen or (possibly Arms) group. Two of these were located in Locus C and the other was from Locus A.

Personal Group

A dozen artifacts from Purysburg were classified in the Personal Group. Two of these clearly postdated the American Revolution. The remainder include coins. a brass finger ring, a brass book cover corner piece, two umbrella parts and a cane tip. The greatest concentration was at Locus A (n=4), followed by Loci H (n=2). Loci B, F and L each yielded single examples. Coins were rare at Purysburg. This survey recovered four examples, three likely associated with the colonial or Revolutionary War period. Two of these coins were identified as British copper coins but the dates on both were illegible. Both coins are smaller in diameter (26.75 mm and 26.88 mm) than the official mintage (30 mm diameter, 10 g weight) so these may represent counterfeits. Counterfeit British half pennies were common in America throughout the colonial, Revolutionary War and early Federal periods (Jordan 2007). The third example was smaller. copper planchet (22.7 mm diameter, 3 g weight) that was completely worn and illegible. It was slightly smaller and lighter than a British farthing. All three of these copper coins were subjected to x-ray examination, which revealed some details on the two British coins (Figures 73 and 74). The fourth coin was a U.S. "buffalo head" nickel whose date was illegible. Buffalo nickels were minted from 1913 to 1938.

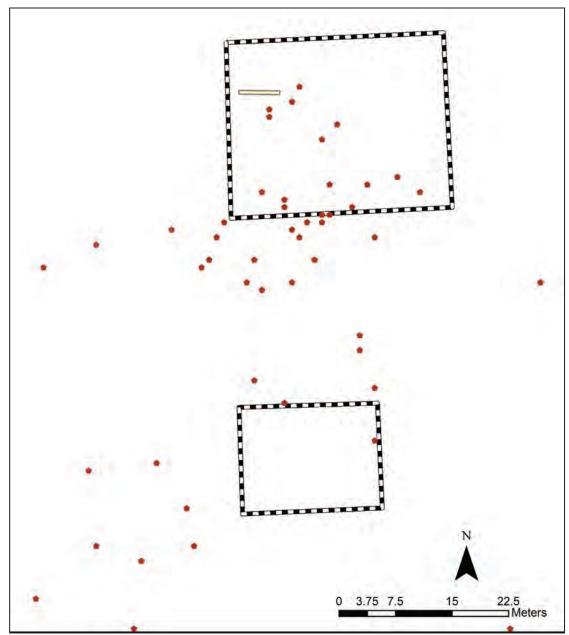


Figure 72. Distribution of cast iron cookware sherds in Locus A (possible fortifications are outlined).



Figure 73. X-ray of brass coin, Purysburg.

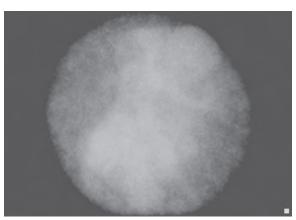


Figure 74. Additional X-ray of brass coin, Purysburg.

Tobacco Group

Clay smoking pipe parts represent the Tobacco Group. Long stem kaolin tobacco pipes are common on early historic sites in South Carolina. Archeologists recovered 15 kaolin long stem pipe fragments in the present study. Since these artifacts are not magnetic, their low representation in the survey collection was not unexpected. They were discovered as surface finds or incidental finds in metal detector divits, but most (n=8) came from test units. The pipestem sample (n=7) was too small for accurate pipestem date measurements. One molded elbow pipe, a style that likely postdates the American Revolution, was observed in Locus G.

Arms Group

Artifacts in the Arms Group are key in any battlefield study and Purysburg was no exception. Most of the objects that reveal the story of the battle are the ammunition used in small arms during the engagement. Artillery projectiles, while less common at Purysburg, were present and attest to action by the Patriots. Gun hardware parts also provide important clues about the battle and its participants. Edged weapons and other military accoutrements further enhance the battlefield story. Consequently, a substantial portion of the laboratory effort explored the artifacts in this artifact group.

Supplying the American troops with proper ammunition was a persistent problem for the American command (Risch 1981:348). The soldiers in the various Continental regiments and militia units possessed a wide variety of weapon types and matching the correct ammunition with the corresponding weapon was difficult. Major General George Washington recognized this problem, when he wrote "great care should be taken to make the bores of the same size, that the same Balls may answer, otherwise great disadvantage may arise from a mixture of Cartridges" (Risch 1981:348). A southern example where a "great disadvantage" arose was the January 3, 1779 defeat at Brier Creek, Georgia, where North Carolina troops may have been supplied with the wrong size ammunition (Battle 2015). One solution to the problem was to supply the soldiers with raw lead so that they could manufacture their own lead balls for their specific weapons. As the war progressed the Patriots moved towards greater uniformity in their arsenals. By 1780, those

arsenals in South Carolina were improved with greater numbers of Charleville and Brown Bess muskets (Jim Legg personal communication June 14, 2015).

Revolutionary War records include several important references to arms, artillery and ammunition at Purysburg. These include military orders issued by General Lincoln's command, as well as official artillery returns. A "Return of Articles that can be supplied between this & the last of January 1779" filed by Stephen Drayton and dated December 25, 1778, included items obtained from President Lowndes including, "45,000 pounds of Lead, 30,000 Flints. Articles not to be obtained until supplied from the No ward or Elsewhere 3346 Stand of Arms complete" (Lincoln 1777-1778, Reel 2:88). This return reflects the state of military stores on hand in South Carolina prior to the Major General Howe's defeat at Savannah.

O'Kelley (2006:630) notes that when the 5th Regiment was formed in February 1779 each recruit was to provide himself, "a good rifle, shot pouch, and powder horn" and was to receive a bounty if he supplied his own rifle. The 5th Regiment was known as the 1st South Carolina Rifles.

Regarding a gunpowder magazine at Purysburg, Colonel Robert's regimental orders issued in January 1779 stated, "A Waggon to be got ready immediately to carry Powder from the Schooner Charlestown Packet to the Magazine" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:100). Colonel John White, 4th Georgia Continentals, noted in a return of the Patriot fleet under his command and bottled up on the Savannah River in late December, 1778, that their stores included "Six or Seven Tons of Powder" (White 1778). It remains unclear what portion of the gunpowder listed by Colonel White was off-loaded and what portion was captured by the British in March 1779. By the time of the April 29 Battle at Purysburg, most of the munitions stored in the magazine had been moved further upstream to the Black Swamp/ Sister's Ferry vicinity. Several soldiers mention a magazine at the White House, which was General Williamson's fortified house near the Two Sisters Ferry.

General Lincoln attempted to regulate wasted ammunition among the soldiers in garrison at Purysburg. Colonel Roberts noted in his regimental orders for January 5, "The General has observed a constant firing round the Camp & is concerned to

find a custom so unmilitary prevail; it may be productive of the worst Consequences. He therefore forbids the practise in the most positive terms, & officers are desired to use the uttermost vigilance to detect & bring to Punishment every Person offending against this order" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:98-99).

Discharging of weapons without any hostilities at Purysburg probably happened on a regular basis. Two general orders issued in January 1779 stated, "All the loaded arms which cannot be drawn are to be discharged this afternoon at Retreat Beating" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:104). Court martials at Purysburg in January, 1779 may have also resulted in addition discharge of firearms, as evidenced in the case of William Fickling, 5th Regiment, South Carolina Continentals, who was found guilty of desertion and sentenced to be "Shot to Death". General Lincoln approved the sentence, although Fickling later was pardoned by General Lincoln (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:104, 106-107).

General Lincoln issued orders in January 1779, stating, "All the lead not Moulded into Bullets which is in possession of the different Regiments is to be returned to the Quarter-Master Gen: to be cast & Receipts to be taken for the quantity delivered" (Grimké 1913, vol. 14:110). Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford noted in a letter written from the North Carolina militia's post at Zubly's Ferry to Major Richard Goode, dated February 15, 1779, advising Goode, "You will be Vigelent [Vigilant], in Casting Ball you are to make no more Cattrides [cartridges], but, what may be Nessery [Necessary] for the Troops under your Command (Rutherford 1779 [W8855]).

By the time of Major General Ashe's arrival problems were manifest with the supply chain of ammunition in General Lincoln's army. Ashe complained of the lack of proper ammunition for his men at Brier Creek and used this as one excuse for his defeat. Problems with ammunition were mentioned by battle participants in several pension documents, which support General Ashe's claim. Battle (2015) addresses this issue in his recent study of the Brier Creek battlefield.

Ammunition also was vitally important to the British and Loyalist troops. The British arrived at Savannah in 1778 with a large supply of military stores. Their reserves of arms and accoutrements

was augmented by the capture of Patriot materiel at Savannah and Sunbury and Brier Creek.

A surviving orderly book for the 2nd Battalion, 71st Regiment covers the days immediately prior to the battle at Purysburg to several weeks after. It contains an enlightening entry written from Ebenezer. Georgia on April 27: "The aminution [ammunition] in the shot bags o be given in to morrow morning at 8. O.Clock and an equal number of new cartrig [cartridges] to be recived by Lt. Wallace's order to replace them", and another entry the following day, "Officers commanding Corps are to be particularly attentive that there men fix there poutches and catrage Boxes in such a manner as they may not expose there aminution to the Dammaged by the watter" (Anonymous 1779b). This latter order proved impossible to implement, however, as all the British ammunition at Purysburg was soaked after the soldiers waded all night through the Savannah River swamps.

The Arms Group is represented by 249 artifacts in the Purysburg battlefield survey. These include 207 artifacts that possibly pertain to Revolutionary War events. The study of artifacts in this category is essential for any eighteenth century battlefield study. These include gun hardware, ammunition, casting sprue, bayonet, canister shot, and (explosive) shell fragments. Examples of arms group artifacts recovered from the Purysburg battlefield are shown in Figures 75 through 77.

Not all Arms Group artifacts at Purysburg were related to the April 29 battle, as the area had a history of military use. In March 1777, the 3rd South Carolina Continentals commanded by Colonel Thomson camped at Purysburg for 10 days, where he gave the orders that, "all the Men present do put their arms in the best Order to morrow" (Salley 1942:21-23).

Arms Group artifacts are the most informative group for interpreting the story of the Battle of Purysburg. Most of these objects pertain directly to the battle events and most are made of metal and discoverable by metal detector survey. Arms Group artifacts recovered by the survey that definitely are not related to the battle include bullets from various Civil Warera firearms and other modern weapons. It was generally not possible to distinguish between artifacts dating to the American Revolution period and those

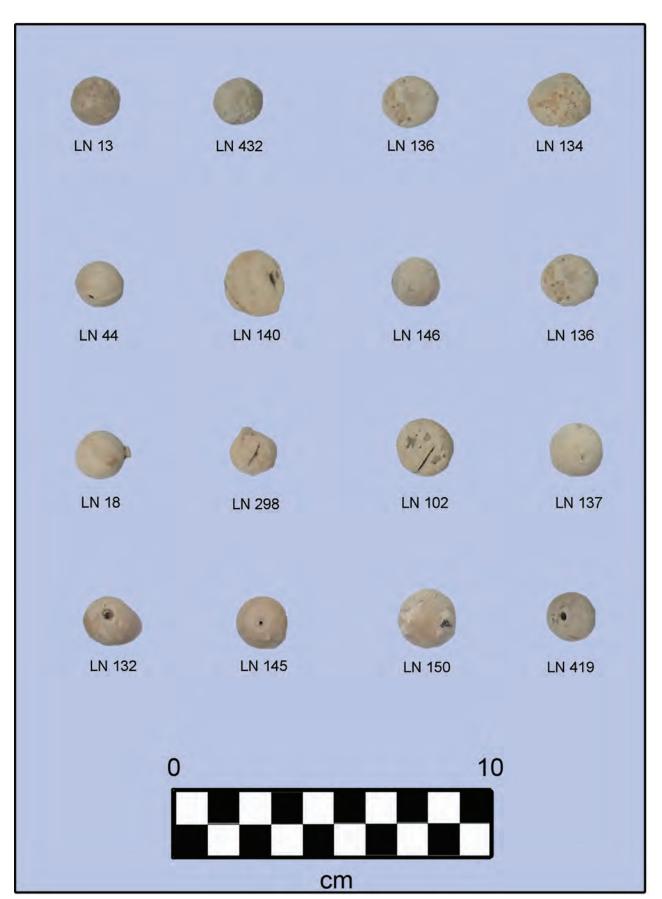


Figure 75. Selected ammunition, Purysburg.

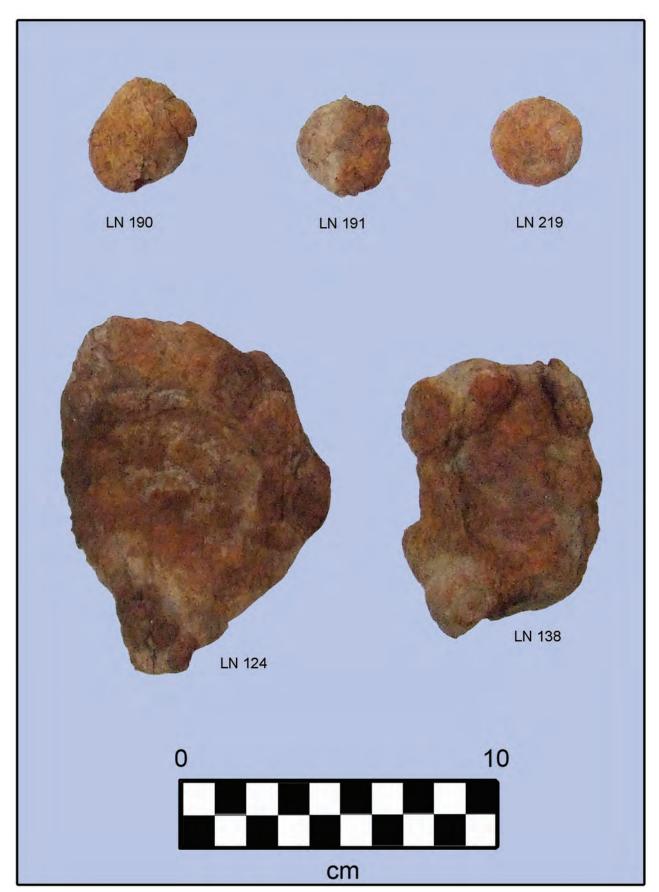


Figure 76. Cannister shot and bombshell fragments, Purysburg.

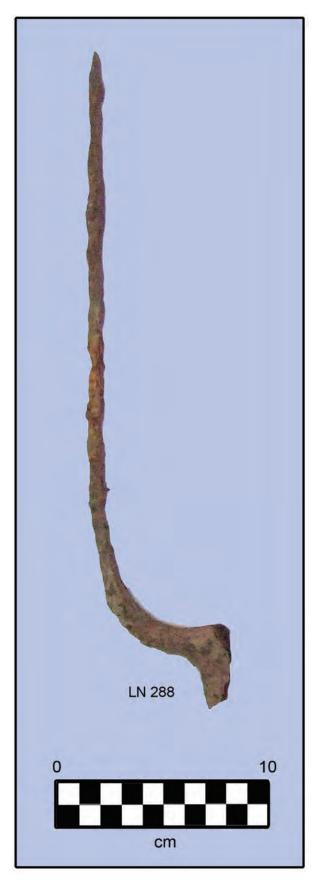


Figure 77. Bayonet, Purysburg.

colonial-era artifacts that predate the war as well as artifacts used in the several decades following the war.

One of the most informative artifact types in the arms group from battlefield surveys are lead musket balls. Sivilich (1996:101-109) made an excellent argument for their intensive study. Following publication of his article, archeologists have made significant advances in musket ball analysis and interpretation. Musket ball diameters, represented in calibers (hundredths of inches) are associated with the following arms:

- American Long Rifle- .38-.51
- American Musket, Long Rifle, Fowling Gun- .52-.59
- French Standard- .60-.66
- British Standard- .67-.74 (Battle 2015:228-229).

Lead shot are well-represented in the Purysburg survey collection. Lead shot measuring between .22 and .38 and were classified as buckshot. This category may include some pistol shot. It also may include some modern buckshot, although the analysts exerted considerable effort to distinguish the modern from historic shot. Shot smaller than .22 were not recorded as these are difficult to date and were unlikely associated with military events.

Following Daniel Battle's sorting criteria, the Purysburg project sample of lead balls yielded the following results:

- American Long Rifle, n=44
- American Musket, Long Rifle, Fowling Gun, n=51
- French Standard (Charleville), n=12
- British Standard (Brown Bess), n=2
- French or British, n=1
- Rifle or Fusil, n=12
- Buckshot, n=33
- Total Measured Musket Balls, n=155

Lead balls falling in the range of American Muskets were most common at Purysburg (32.9%), followed by American Rifles (28.4%) and French Standard (Charleville) muskets (7.7%). British Standard (0.75 caliber) balls were barely represented in the sample by only two specimens (1.3%).

The lead ball sample from the Black Swamp vicinity was quite small, consisting of four American musket balls. The low recovery of lead balls in this portion of the battlefield boundary is the result of survey limitations and the fact that major military encampments were not physically examined by the survey team. Comparison of the Purysburg musket ball sample with those recovered by other recent battlefield studies, including Brier Creek in Screven County, Georgia, and Carr's Fort and Kettle Creek, both in Wilkes County, Georgia, is informative. At Brier Creek, based on a sample of 143 measured balls, musket balls in the French Standard range were most common (39.2%), followed by American Muskets (24.5%). American Rifle and British Standard balls were found in equal proportions (18.2%).

The Kettle Creek sample of 49 analyzed balls, revealed that 59.2 percent were most likely rifle balls and 40.8 percent were American Musket balls. Neither French nor British Standard balls were identified in the collection (Elliott 2008: Appendix 1).

At Carr's Fort, based on a sample of 24 analyzed balls, most were likely American Musket balls (58.3%) followed by rifle balls (41.7%). No French or British Standard balls were identified (Elliott 2013).

The Purysburg lead ball sample also was compared with a sample of 91 balls from the Mount Pleasant site (9EF169). Metal detector survey conducted at Mount Pleasant in 2010 by the LAMAR Institute and SCIAA yielded a sample that likely spans the period from 1720-1758, predating the American Revolution by two decades. The Mount Pleasant sample was dominated by American Muskets (71.4%), followed by American Rifles (17.6%) and minor numbers of French Standard (9.9%) and British Standard (1.1%) balls. Interestingly, the relative proportions at Mount Pleasant is more similar to the Purysburg pattern than the other studied Revolutionary War-era battlefields studied.

The ammunition recovered by the Purysburg survey was cleaned and stabilized by Jim Legg at SCIAA. Jim Legg's careful analysis of the lead balls in the Purysburg assemblage is detailed in Appendix 1 and is summarized as follows:

- Rifle, n=45
- Rifle or fusil, n=13

- Fusil, n=47
- Charleville, n=16
- Charleville or British Standard, n=1
- British Standard, n=2
- Buck Shot, n=37

Most of the musket balls dropped or fired by soldiers at Purysburg were Rifle or Fusil balls (n=105). These weapons likely are consistent with those carried by the 5th South Carolina Continentals and the Charles Town militia.

Lead balls suitable for European muskets were quite uncommon at Purysburg. French Charleville muskets were used by the Continental Army. Major General Lincoln's command had received a fresh shipment of these weapons earlier in 1779. From their low representation on the Purysburg battlefield, however, it appears that most of the Charleville Muskets went with Lincoln on the march to Augusta. The 2nd South Carolina Continental detachment, who remained at Purysburg, likely were armed with the Charleville muskets prior to the Battle of Purysburg.

As noted by several British officers who provide minor details about the battle, the invading British troops had their ammunition and powder completely soaked after wading for miles through the Savannah River swamps. Consequently, this ammunition was useless at the time of the battle and the British troops had to rely on a bayonet charge and hand-to-hand combat. As a testament to this situation, only two musket balls intended for use with the British Standard (.75 caliber) musket were recovered at Purysburg. Legg considered both balls to be Americanmade, however, and not carried by the British military.

Buck shot ranging between .30-.35 caliber were used by the Americans in buck-and-ball loads in smooth-bore muskets. These were prepared paper cartridge loads that contained one large ball and two to three buck shot. The scatter of buck shot on the battlefield provides supporting information on the American firing patterns. Some Loyalist units also used buck-and-ball loads, so its presence is not an absolute indication of Patriot's firing. Buck shot also was used in non-military contexts for hunting and some percentage of the buck shot at Purysburg may not pertain to the American Revolution. Its co-occurrence with spatial patterning of larger lead balls strongly suggests, however, that most of it is battle-related.

Legg's analysis identified 37 buck shot that were considered artifacts from the Revolutionary War period.

Battlefield surveyors made an important discovery at Purysburg regarding the manufacture of round ball ammunition. They discovered seven lead casting sprue strips from gang molds indicating that bullets were cast on site. These were found at three loci (B, C and D) but most were recovered from Locus D. In addition to these sprue strips many small lead droplets and other lead scrap that likely are related to the lead ball manufacture also were located at Loci A (n=4), B (n=13), C (n=18), D (n=13), E (n=1), F (n=1), G (n=3), H (n=7), J (n=3), K (n=6) and L (n=13). Lead balls were frequently cast in gang molds and a wide variety of molds were used by the patriots. Extant examples of brass and soapstone bullet molds from the Revolutionary War era are known from private collections and museums, but no bullet molds have been recovered from recent battlefield surveys in the South. Some molds produced balls of graduated caliber, while others produced casts of the same caliber. Many riflemen used their own molds, which were unique to their hand-crafted weapon. Since the 5th South Carolina Continentals was the Rifle Regiment, they most likely required a variety of lead ball diameters. Lead balls cast in gang molds typically exhibited mold seams and casting sprue. These raised areas were often filed prior to use. Balls that were dropped during manufacture, either by accident or due to being miscast and offset, also serve as evidence of a manufacturing site. Buck shot, which were used by the Patriots for their buck and ball loads, also were cast by this method (Sivilich 1996, 2005, 2014).

Recent battlefield archeology at Brier Creek, Georgia discovered another lead ball casting workshop that was more extensive than that observed at Purysburg (Battle 2015). General Lincoln's army had problems with standardization of weapon caliber and matching weapons with the proper lead balls in early 1779, as demonstrated in the disaster at Brier Creek.

The source of the lead used in casting ammunition in coastal South Carolina and Georgia in the eighteenth century is an important, but little explored subject of inquiry. Lead sources during that era were limited in North America. One major source of lead for the Patriots was located in southwestern Virginia. Lead mines were developed near the New River in 1756 by

John Chiswell. Chiswell died prior to the American Revolution but his mine was revived during the war and supplied the Continental Army and state militias. More distant sources of lead for the American military include mines in Pennsylvania (Fort Roberdeau) and at Ellenville and Middletown, Connecticut, and on the Holston River in Tennessee. The lead mines at several of these locations were fortified or guarded owing to their strategic military value. The French operated lead mines in the Mississippi River valley (present-day Missouri) but no historical records have been located to indicate that this lead source supplied the Patriots. Researchers have not located any references to lead mining operations in Georgia or the Carolinas during the American Revolution. Lead deposits do occur in these three states and were mined in later decades, including mines in Cherokee, McCormick and York counties, South Carolina, but the absence of documentary evidence suggests that these deposits were not exploited to any significant degree by the Patriots. The McCormick County lead deposits are nearest to Purysburg but they were not mined during the American Revolution (John S. Alverson 1832 [S30819]; Austin 1977; Blowe 1820:94-95; FortRobedeau.org 2014; Ingalls 1907; Tenney 1853:182-185).

In contrast, Great Britain had vast reserves of lead mined since Roman times and earlier. The bulk of British lead was shipped to North American in barrels as a semi-finished product (Perceival 1774:33, 36; Petty 1769; Pryce 2010 [1778]:2343).

Surveyors located one dozen gun hardware parts at Purysburg. These include four brass trigger guard fragments (2 each from Loci C and E), three brass side plates (Loci A, C and H), two brass butt plates (Locus L), two other small brass hardware parts (Loci A and J) and one iron gun barrel section (Locus C). One of the butt plates is likely from a flintlock pistol, while the other specimen is a musket butt plate that has been folded over. This folding occurred after the plate was removed from the musket stock.

The single bayonet recovered from Locus C at Purysburg was an iron specimen that was broken on its proximal end (where it would have attached to the firearm). It cross-section displayed a tapering, triangular blade. Its general form is consistent with bayonets manufactured in the American Revolution. This blade is complete, but likely made shorter from its original state

due to repeated sharpening. Contemporary newspapers noted that the bayonets captured from the British Light Infantry at Beaufort, South Carolina on February 4, 1779 were the "moderate length of eighteen inches" (Clinton Papers 1750-1838, vol. 58:42). Surveyors recovered one musket strap buckle from the southwestern end of the town of Purysburg. It is a cast brass double oval design similar to one recently recovered at the Brier Creek battlefield (Battle 2015: Figure 132, LN132). Other gun-related hardware include a triangular brass strap buckle (Locus L) and an iron nipple wrench (Locus H).

The project recovered two gunflints from Purysburg. Both were excavated from test units. One was an English spall type made from a dark gray flint. It was recovered from Test Unit 1, Level 1 in Locus H. The other was a fragment of a French blade type flint that had been discarded in Feature 4 in Test Unit 3, Level 3 in Locus D. Since these items were made from stone, they are unlikely to be detected by metal detectors. Gunflints were often secured with thin lead patches, however, and these lead artifacts can be detected (Hamilton and Emery 1988). Purysburg yielded two examples of lead patches possibly used to secure gunflints. These were located in Loci D and L.

The survey yielded a small sample of artillery ordnance. These included case shot and cannon ball shell fragments. Case shot included three iron and two lead examples. All three iron specimens were from Locus A. These finds lend support to the interpretation of a Patriot fortification in this vicinity, as all three finds were located outside of the proposed fort enclosure. Two lead case shot specimens were found at Loci C and D. These ranged in diameter from 26.3 to 28 cm and weight from 57 to 63 g.

The survey located two hollow spherical shell fragments—both from Locus C. Both were located in areas of small arms combat and all of the recovered case shot and cannon ball fragments are considered to be reliable evidence for the April 29 battle. The British had no artillery in the engagement, so these projectiles almost certainly were fired by Patriots. These shell fragments support the hypothesis that the earthworks in Locus K served as an artillery battery.

At least 42 artifacts in the Arms Group likely postdate the American Revolution. These include several Civil War bullets, both Union and Confederate. No major military engagements are recorded for Purysburg in the Civil War. Some limited small arms use by pickets may have occurred, as attested by the bullet finds. Additional modern arms artifacts were recorded by the survey and a number of these were returned to the laboratory for analysis. Once their modern age was determined, however, these were deaccessioned or otherwise removed from further analysis.

Activities Group

The metal detector survey unearthed a variety of other non-military items. Barrel straps, made of iron, are widely distributed over the landscape. Two large axes were located at Purysburg. Both are likely eighteenth century tools that were used in felling and dressing large timbers. Many agricultural implements made from iron were located by the surveyors. These included plow shares, mowing teeth, hoes, chains and other items. These were not considered to be military-related objects and most went unrecorded.

Two artifacts that would normally assigned to the Activities Group are almost certainly related to the construction of the Patriot defenses at Purysburg in 1779. These are two shovels, both of which were recovered from beneath the defensive berm along the Savannah River bluff in Locus A (Figures 78 and 79). One shovel has a rounded blade and the other has a flat blade. The hafting areas of both examples are hollow and designed to accommodate the shovel handle. Both shovels are broken along the haft. The locations and depths of both artifacts were mapped, the artifacts were photographed. Both shovels likely date to the eighteenth century based on stylistic traits and their archeological contexts.

Another notable object from the Purysburg battle-field, which may have a military association, is an iron stirrup (Figure 80). This specimen is an eighteenth century-style stirrup. It was recovered from the Savannah River bluff, adjacent to a suspected rifle trench.

Prehistoric Artifacts

Although the project was a search for a Revolutionary War battlefield, archeologists made some collateral discoveries related to the prehistoric occupation of Jasper County. Prehistoric artifacts that archeologists



Figure 78. Shovel, Purysburg (field shot).



Figure 79. Flat bladed shovel, Purysburg (field shot).



Figure 80. Stirrup, Purysburg.

recovered included a variety of aboriginal pottery sherds, one large chert triangular projectile point base, and chert, petrified wood and quartz debitage.

Battlefield Analysis

Battle Evidence

Physical evidence for the April 29, 1779 Battle of Purysburg was sparse but significant. From it we learn that most of the military action took place on the southern part of town. Figures 81-82 show the distribution of battle-period artifacts identified in the survey. Figure 83 defines the Core Area and Battlefield Boundary of the Purysburg battlefield. Figures 84 through 89 show the distribution of specific bullet types within the Core Area. Given the premise that most, if not all, of these bullets are associated with the Patriot forces, these maps provide a lopsided view of the battle.

Battle Synopsis

Commanding generals of the Southern Army held a Council of War at Major General Lincoln's head-quarters at Black Swamp on April 19, 1779. There they agreed to move most of the army to Augusta, Georgia. On August 23, General Lincoln began the march upriver with about 4,000 men (Gordon 1788:254). By the time of the Purysburg Battle, the main body of the American army was about 150 miles north of Purysburg. General Lincoln left behind what he considered to be a sufficient force to defend the low country. These men were commanded by Brigadier General William Moultrie and they were divided between Black Swamp and Purysburg.

Several hundred South Carolina Continental troops guarded Purysburg, South Carolina on April 29, 1779, while most of the American Army in the Savannah River valley was either with Major General Benjamin Lincoln en-route to Augusta, Georgia, or in camp with Brigadier General William Moultrie at Black Swamp, South Carolina. Approximately 2,500 British troops

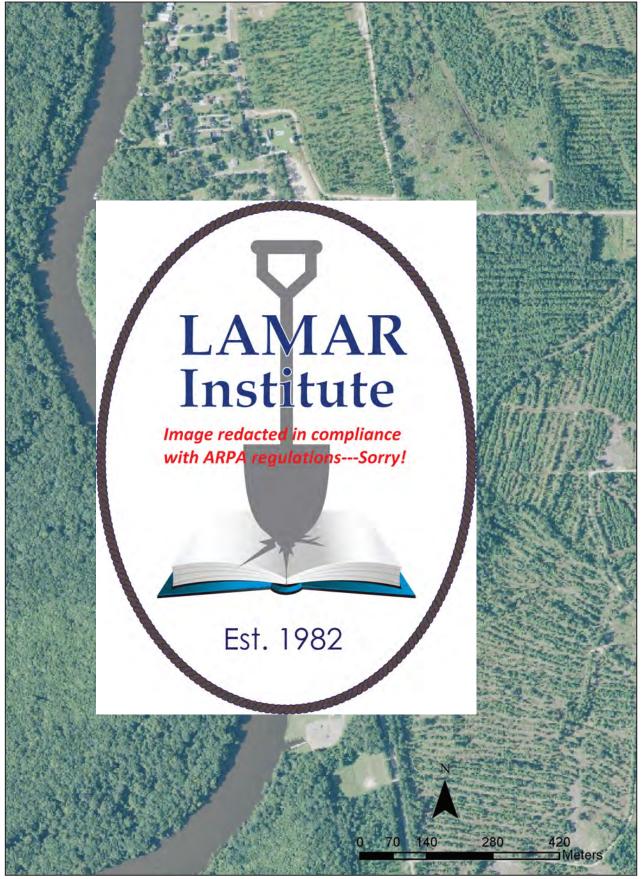


Figure 81. Distribution of battle related artifacts, Purysburg.

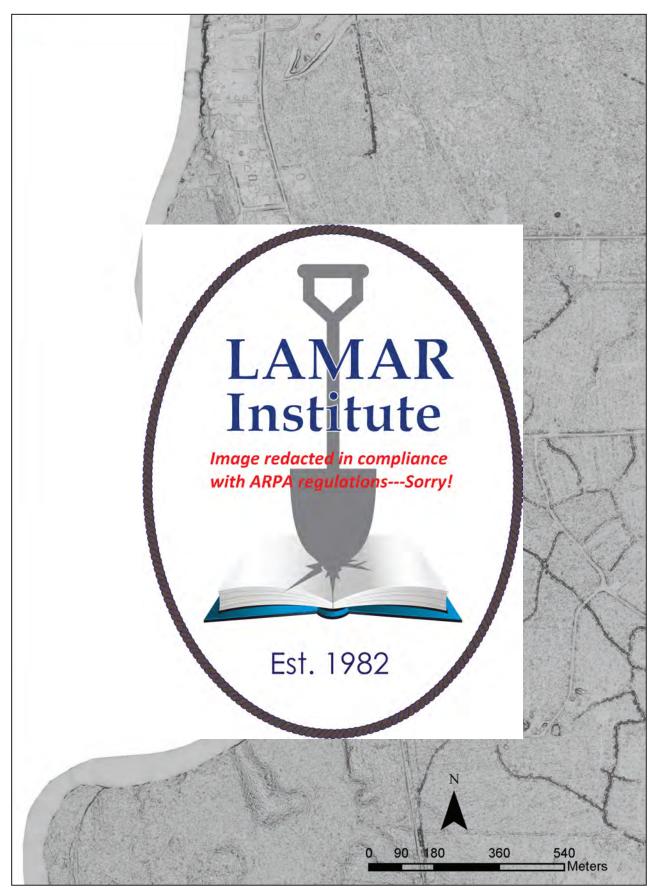


Figure 82. Concentrations of battle evidence, Purysburg.

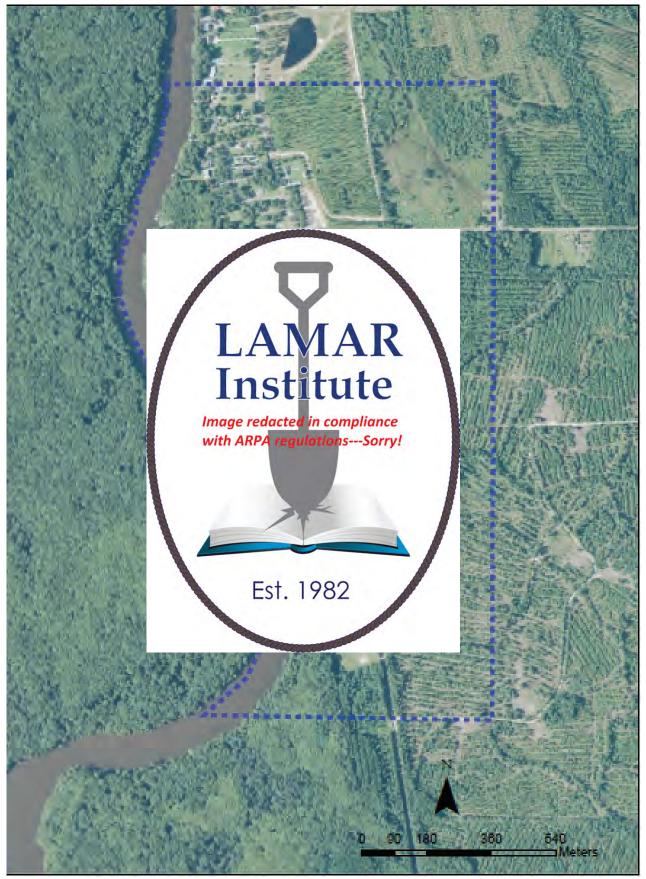


Figure 83. Battlefield Boundary (blue dashed line) and Core Area (red solid line) of Purysburg Battlefield.

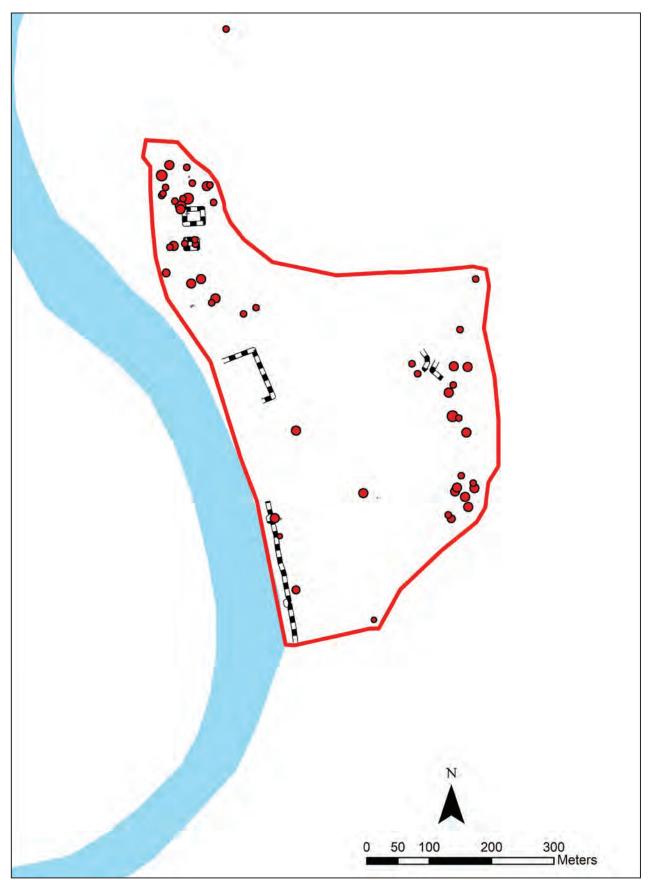


Figure 84. Distribution of fired balls in the Purysburg Battlefield Core Area.

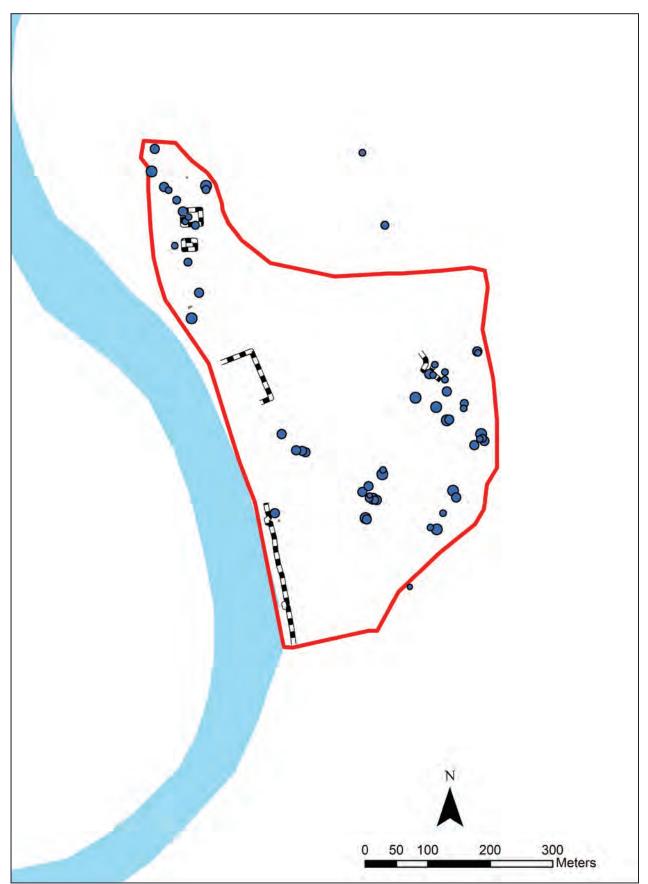


Figure 85. Distribution of dropped balls in the Purysburg Battlefield Core Area.

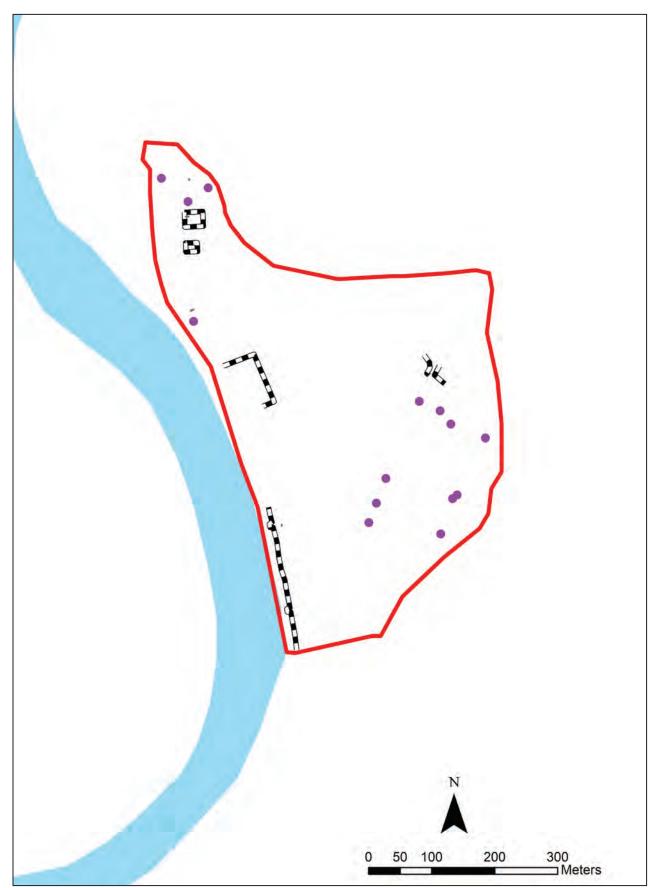


Figure 86. Distribution of Charleville musket balls in the Purysburg Battlefield Core Area.

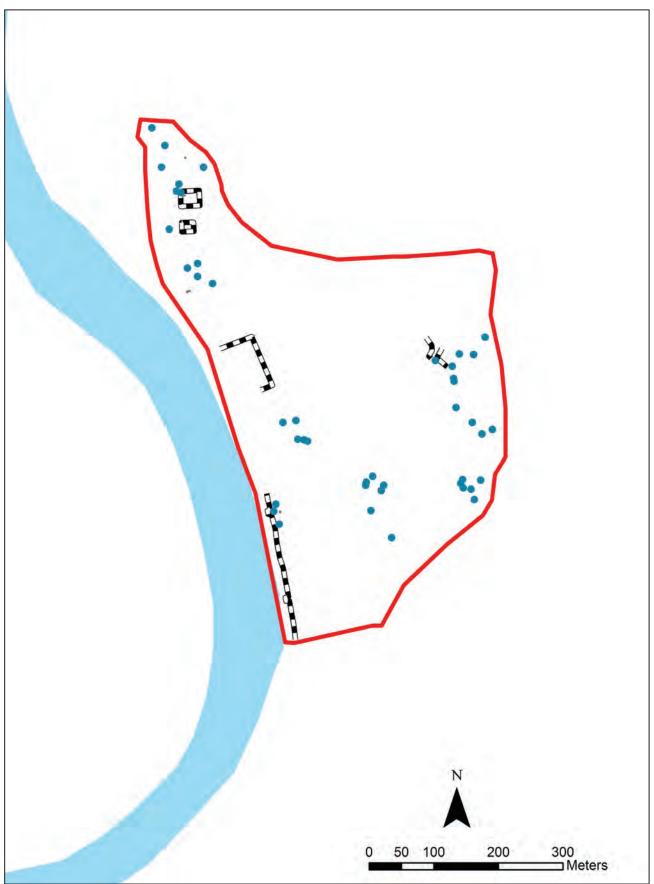


Figure 87. Distribution of fusil balls in the Purysburg Battlefield Core Area.

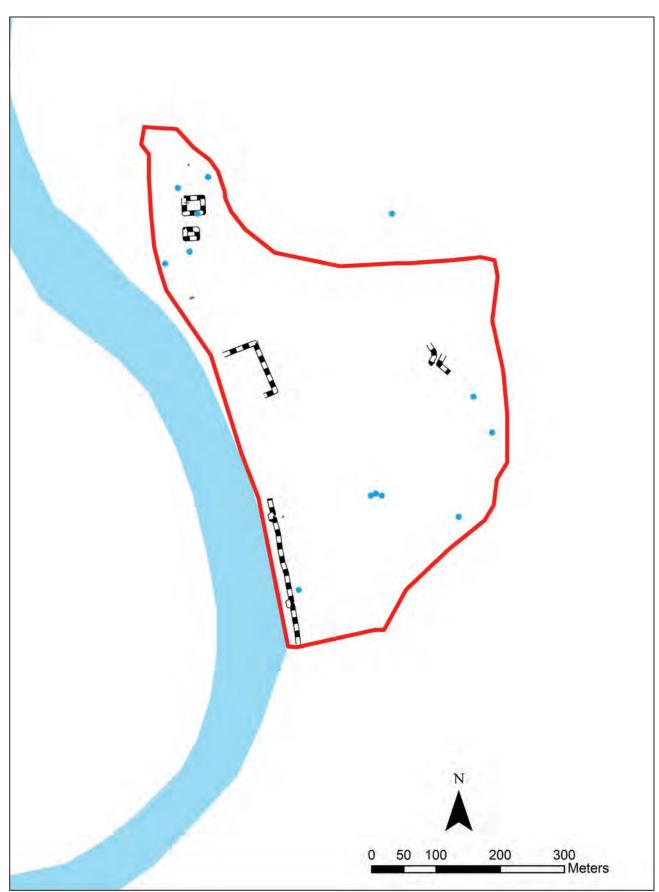


Figure 88. Distribution of indeterminate fusil or rifle balls in the Purysburg Battlefield Core Area.

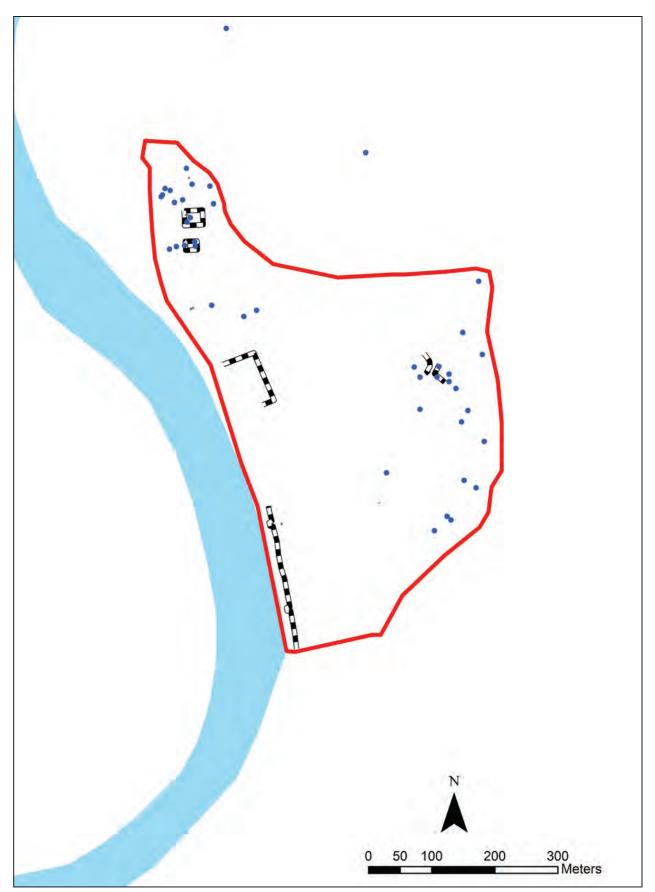


Figure 89. Distribution of rifle balls in the Purysburg Battlefield Core Area.

who had traveled on foot through shoulder-deep swamps on the night of Wednesday, April 28 arrived at the south end of Purysburg sometime between 8:00-10:00 am Thursday morning, April 29. Their ammunition was completely soaked and useless, so they emerged from the swamp with a bayonet charge that caught the Americans completely off-guard.

An intense but brief skirmish followed consisting of several volleys fired by the Americans and none by the British. Under orders to fall back and notify the Patriot command should the British invade, the South Carolina Continentals did just that, retreating north and east to Bees Creek. Most of the unfortunate handfull of Patriots who were unable to retire from the battlefield met with a grim fate at the hands of the 71st Highlanders and Loyalist Creek warriors. Official casualty figures for the Battle of Purysburg are lacking. Private John Baptiste Martell, who entered military service in South Carolina in 1779, was wounded at Purysburg (Moss 2006, volume 2:657 [A.A. 4794A]). James Pelot, "was taken prisoner at Purysburg and was held until after the war closed, when he was released" (Tedcastle 1917:105). Some unknown number of patriots were killed at Purysburg as their corpses were observed by Major General Prevost. Within two hours the British forces had taken Purysburg but did not pursue the retreating troops in earnest. Casualties on both sides were minimal, but the event marked a shift in warfare strategy for the lower Savannah River valley, as the British troops under Major General Augustin Prevost moved in force into South Carolina.

General Prevost indicates that the British suffered no losses at Purysburg. Robert Jackson, a volunteer physician for the 71st Regiment, described how a great many men who had slogged through the swamp at Purysburg fell ill from intermittent fevers or malaria, as a result of this experience (Jackson 1791:90). Many of these soldiers later succumbed to the fever, including their leader John Maitland who died in October 1779. The swampy environment of Georgia and South Carolina and the mosquito-borne diseases these swamps harbored took a heavy toll on the British Army in 1779 and 1780. Jackson noted that when the 71st Regiment was encamped at the Cheraws on the Pee Dee River in 1780, "Two-thirds of the regiment were numbered in the sick-list" that was caused by disease, "similar to that which prevailed at Ebenezer in July 1779" (Jackson 1808:405-407).

The British military command in America embraced the bayonet charge as an effective strategy against the Americans (Spring 2012:216-244). Lieutenant Colonel Maitland and the troops under his command were no strangers to a bayonet charge. Such tactics had proven effective the previous month at Brier Creek and at numerous battles in the northeast. Three days prior to the battle of Harlem Heights on September 16, 1776, where Major Maitland led the 2nd Battalion of Light Infantry, Major General William Howe issued these orders:

An attack upon the enemy being shortly intended, the soldiers are reminded of their evident superiority on the 27th of August by charging the Rebels with Bayonets even in the woods where they had thought themselves invincible: they now place their security in slight breastworks of the weakest Construction, and which are to be carried with little loss by the same high spirited mode of attack. The Gen'l therefore recommends to the troops an entire dependence on their bayonets with which they will always command that success which their bravery so well deserves (Johnston 1897:35).

General Howe, who was commander in chief of the British Army in America, was a strong advocate of the bayonet charge. He employed it at Bunker Hill in 1775 at the Battle of Bunker Hill, although not without serious loss of British lives. Howe's light infantry also wielded an effective bayonet attacks in the Battle of Brooklyn Heights on August 27, 1776. General Howe's Hessian troops made another successful bayonet charge in November 1776 in the capture of Fort Washington on Manhattan Island. In September 1778 at Tappan Bridge near Hackensack, New Jersey the British made another infamous bayonet charge. Rivington's Royal Gazette (1778) reported the British perspective of the slaughter in the barns near the Tappan Bridge at Overkill,

From hence a part of Sir James Baird's company was detached to a barn where sixteen privates were lodged, who, discharging ten or twelve pistols, and striking at the troops sans effet with their broadswords, nine of them were instantly bayoneted, and seven received quarter. Major Maitland's force coming up at that time, attacked the remainder of the rebel detachment, lodged in several other barns, with such alertness as prevented all but three privates from making their escape.

The Americans perceived the bayonet attack at Tappan Bridge as an atrocity. Excavations in 1967

unearthed bodies of six 3rd Continental Dragoon soldiers, who had been buried in tanning vats at Haring's Tannery (Mazur 1968). Major Maitland's superior in the New Jersey attack was Major General Charles Grey, who had earned the nickname "No flint" because of his orders at Paoli, Pennsylvania for his men to remove the flints from their muskets, thus requiring them to depend solely on their bayonets.

Major Maitland's Light Infantry Battalion also participated in the infamous bayonet attack at Paoli (Clayton andNelson 1882:57-58; Starkey 1994:7). At that time British General Martin Hunter was a Lieutenant in the 52nd Company under Maitland's command. Hunter's first-hand journal account of the Paoli battle contains these details,

The troops advanced in profound silence to the American outposts, which were surprised and secured with as little noise as possible. It was then between twelve and one. The main body of the American force, unconscious of its danger, had retired to rest. *Directed by the light of the camp fires, the party under* Major-General Grey proceeded undiscovered to the enemy's encampment, and rushed upon the foe with their bayonets. Three hundred Americans were killed and wounded, and a great number taken prisoners, with most of their arms and baggage...As soon as it was dark the whole battalion got under arms. Major-General Grey then came up to the battalion and told Major Maitland, who commanded, that the battalion was going on a night expedition to try and surprise a camp, and that if any men were loaded, they must immediately draw their pieces. The major said the whole of the battalion were always loaded, and that if he would only allow them to remain so, he (the Major) would be answerable that they did not fire a shot. The General then said if he could place that dependence on the battalion they should remain loaded, but that firing might be attended with very serious consequences. We remained loaded, and marched at eight in the evening to surprise General Wayne's camp... General Grey then came to the head of the battalion and cried out, 'Dash on, Light Infantry!' and without saying a word the whole battalion dashed into the wood, and, guided by the straggling fire of the piquet, which was followed close up, we entered the camp, and gave such a cheer as made the wood echo. The enemy were completely surprised, some with arms, and others without, running in all directions in the greatest confusion. The light infantry bayoneted every man they came up with. The camp was immediately set on fire, and this and the cries of the wounded formed altogether one of the most dreadful scenes I ever beheld. Every man that fired was instantly put to death.... I saw the fellow present at me, and was running up to him when he fired. He was immediately killed. The enemy were pursued for two miles. ... Four hundred and sixty of the enemy were counted next morning lying dead, and not one shot was fired by us,—all was done with the bayonet. We had only twenty killed and wounded (Moorsom 1860:19-22).

General David Stewart, in his history of the Highland regiments, provides another British ac-count of the bayonet attack at Paoli,

Sir William Howe, having received intelligence of Wayne's post and intentions, ordered a detachment to march at 11 o'clock at night, consisting of a party of Light dragoons, the 2d battalion of Light infantry, under the command of the honourable Major Maitland, and the 42d and 41th regiments, the whole commanded by Major-General Charles Grey, to attack General Wayne's Camp. General Grey directed the soldiers to make use of their bayonets only. The detachment marched with great secrecy and despatch, and came on the enemy at midnight, when the picquets and out-guards were overpowered in an instant, without causing any alarm. The troops then rushed forward, and before the Americans had time to seize their arms, bayoneted more than 300, and took 100 prisoners; the rest owed their escape to the darkness of the night. The loss of the British, as might have been expected, in such a complete surprise, was trifling, being 1 officer, 1 sergeant, and 1 private killed, and a few wounded (Stewart 1822:395-396).

The Patriots had good reason to fear the British bayonet at Purysburg. Private John Merrill, Captain Enoch Davis' Company, Colonel Locke's Regiment, North Carolina militia, who was engaged in the Battle of Brier Creek asked Captain Lytle, who had ordered a retreat, "why he did not let his men fire to which Lytle replied that the British were musket & bayonet men and as his men were all riflemen they would have rushed on them with their bayonets" (Merill 1832 [7220]). Since many of the Patriot defenders at Purysburg were riflemen and their weapons were incapable of mounting bayonets, their rifles would have been useless facing a bayonet charge. Retreat from an imminent bayonet charge and against overwhelming odds was a reasonable military response at Purysburg.

KOCOA Analysis

KOCOA terrain analysis provides for a more thorough discussion of the strategic battle components (U.S. Army, Headquarters 1990; ABPP 2008; Mc-Masters 2009). This research approach examines the key terrain in the battlefield environment and considers topics of cover and concealment, observation

and fields of fire, obstacles, and avenues of approach and exit at the battle ground. Conflict archeology provides baseline data about key locations on the battlefield, such as fortifications, encampments, military stores, transportation routes, troop locations and their firing positions, and impact zones.

Key Terrain

An understanding of the natural terrain is important for military strategy and can influence activities and battle outcome. Key terrain is "any local feature that dominates the immediate surrounding by relief or another quality that enhances attack or defense" and Decisive terrain is, "ground that must be controlled in order to successfully accomplish the mission" (Mc-Masters 2009:1). The natural terrain at Purysburg is composed of lowlands, swamps and active streams. Topographic relief is minimal varying from about 5 feet above sea level on the Savannah River to slightly over 20 feet on the adjacent terraces. Slopes are mostly gentle, except for low, abrupt bluffs along the Savannah River bank. Small oval sinks populate the upland areas and some of these contain upland bogs.

Observation and Fields of Fire

Observation is "the ability to see friendly and enemy forces and key aspects of the terrain to allow management of the conflict" and Fields of Fire is, "an area that weapons may effectively fire upon from a given position" (McMasters 2009:1). Since the British had no usable firearms or any artillery at the time of their attack, they generated no field of fire. The Patriots' field of fire was generated from their entrenched positions on the east and west flanks of the landform containing southern Purysburg and possibly in advanced positions near the swamp edge on the town's southeastern periphery. The spatial distribution of fired lead balls and artillery projectiles illustrates the fields of fire on the Purysburg battlefield.

Cover and Concealment

Cover and concealment is protection from enemy fire and observation, respectively. The Savannah River swamps and the swamp along Millstone Creek provided cover for the British from enemy fire. The Savannah River bank also provided cover for the British from direct fire. A series of earthworks on the flanks of Purysburg provided cover for the Patriots. The British had no entrenchments and their speed of attack made their

creation a moot point, as the battle was likely finished before any British would have had the time to dig in. The Standing Orders for the 71st Regiment, dated June 30, 1778, included this order regarding cover and concealment,

If the Battalion is commanded to engage in a woods, thicket or country, one or more Sections will be detached in front of each Company with an Officer at the head of each who are immediately to occupy every Tree, Stump, Log, Bush, Rock, Cleft, Hedge, Wall, or in short, any kind of covering which can afford them tolerable shelter from the enemy... If the troops are ordered to move in any direction they are to spring from tree to tree, Stump, Log, & etc. with the utmost Agility & continue to fire, load and spring as they advance upon or retreat from the enemy. If the Point of War is beat, they are to rush upon the enemy with Charged Bayonets (Brumby 2013).

Obstacles

Obstacles are natural and manmade terrain features that restrict, delay or divert military movement. Existing obstacles on the Purysburg battlefield included the vegetation, topography, swamps and wet drainages, drainage ditches and the Savannah River bluff. The Patriot fortifications served as reinforcing obstacles that would have slowed the enemy movement. Most of Purysburg presented unrestricted terrain for the attacking British forces. Their movement across the town from south to north proceeded quickly, so that the entire town was taken in about two hours. Nineteenth-century historian John Frost (1854:220) noted that at the time of the April 29 battle at Purysburg, "the river was in full flood, and overflowed the marshes on its margin. The rivulets were swollen, and the swamps inundated; and therefore it was believed that a small military force would be able to defend the country against an invading enemy". These conditions match those described by Stewart in his earlier battle account. High water was an obstacle for the British at the time of the battle. Wading through the Savannah River swamps enroute to Purysburg resulted in ruined ammunition for the invading British. This factor was not an insurmountable obstacle for the British, however, who managed to take the town of Purysburg without effective firearms.

Avenues of Approach and Withdrawal

Avenue of Approach is, "relatively unobstructed ground route that leads to an objective or key terrain"

and Avenue of Withdrawal is, "relatively unobstructed ground route that leads away from an objective or key terrain" (McMasters 2009). The Savannah River and the swamps that flank it provided the primary water route for the invading British troops. The British advanced by flat boats and other shallow river craft from Abercorn, Georgia down Abercorn Creek to its confluence with the Savannah River and then up the Savannah River to a position approximately four miles downstream from Purysburg. The speculated location of disembarkment location was Moodys Cut (a nineteenth century stream improvement), which is located downstream from Lady Washington Point in Effingham County, Georgia. The British landing is approximately 30 miles from the mouth of the Savannah River. There the British made their way, with the aid of Creek Indian guides, up and across the Savannah River swamps of present-day Jasper County, South Carolina to some undetermined point where they arrived at high ground. From there they likely proceeded up the Purysburg Road and along its fringes to the southern boundary of Purysburg (at Millstone Landing, just over 34 miles above Tybee Inlet) where the engagement began. The British apparently maintained the element of surprise until their arrival at Purysburg. A larger British force, including their commanding general, Augustin Prevost, arrived by boats at Purysburg the following afternoon. By that time however, the hostilities at Purysburg had ceased, the Patriots had fled and the British firmly held the town.

The exit from the Purysburg battlefield was more complex. The Patriots exited the field of battle in a disorganized manner. Generally they made their way out of the town of Purysburg eventually retiring at Bees Creek. The march from Purysburg to Bees Creek took less than 7.5 hours. The most likely exit from Purysburg was to travel north on Purrysburg Road (State Road S-27-34) and then angle northeastward via the Charleston Road (now known as the Old Charleston Road or State Road S-27-169). Historic maps indicate that the route of this road is little changed since the eighteenth century and it provides the most direct route to Bees Creek. The Patriots dispatched a courier with news of the British invasion to Brigadier General Moultrie who was encamped with his men at Black Swamp. The messenger managed to avoid capture by the British and this information enabled Moultrie and his men to rapidly break camp and head southeasterly to meet the Patriot troops who had defended Purysburg. The weary British displayed no rush to pursue the Patriots. The initial invasion force spent the evening of April 29 encamped at Purysburg. These men almost certainly were exhausted, having marched through the swamps an entire night before fighting a battle that day. When the other British troops arrived late the next day the entire army marched towards Moultrie's camp at Black Swamp. By the time they arrived, however, General Moultrie and his men had quit the camp and eluded the British. Realizing this, the British angled southeasterly in pursuit. The British practiced a scorched-earth policy on their march by raiding and destroying many Patriot plantations along their march. This activity slowed their march and enabled Moultrie time to prepare a defensive position. The area from Purysburg almost to Charleston witnessed a continued running battle as Moultrie managed to outfox the British pursuers during the next few weeks.

The next engagement between General Moultrie and General Prevost was at Tullifinny Creek on May 4, 1779. Tullifinny, also known as Tullifinny Ferry or Tullifinny Hill, is located approximately 27 miles northeast of Purysburg in northeastern Jasper County, South Carolina on Tullifinny Creek—a tributary of the Broad River. The approximate location of Tullifinny Hill is near the junction of Tullifiny Creek and Interstate 95. Brigadier General Moultrie moved his troops from Coosawhatchee to Tullifinny Hill on May 1, where they encamped. A skirmish between Continental and British troops and General Prevost's forces occurred here on May 4, 1779 (Moultrie 1779-1780). This battlefield has not been verified by field study.

The results of the battlefield survey of Purysburg allows for the preliminary definition of the "Core Area" of the battle. The Core Area is shown in Figure 90 outlined in red. This area is superimposed onto Major Ferdinand DeBrahm's January 9, 1779 Plan of Purysburg.

The northern sections of Purysburg, as well as the more distant Zubly's Ferry, Two Sister's Ferry and Black Swamp vicinities were not the scene of the primary fight on April 29, 1779. Primary historical documentation assembled and presented in this research suggests that this northern section of the lower Savannah River in what is now Jasper County, South Carolina witnessed multiple military conflicts in 1779. More field research is needed in those areas in order

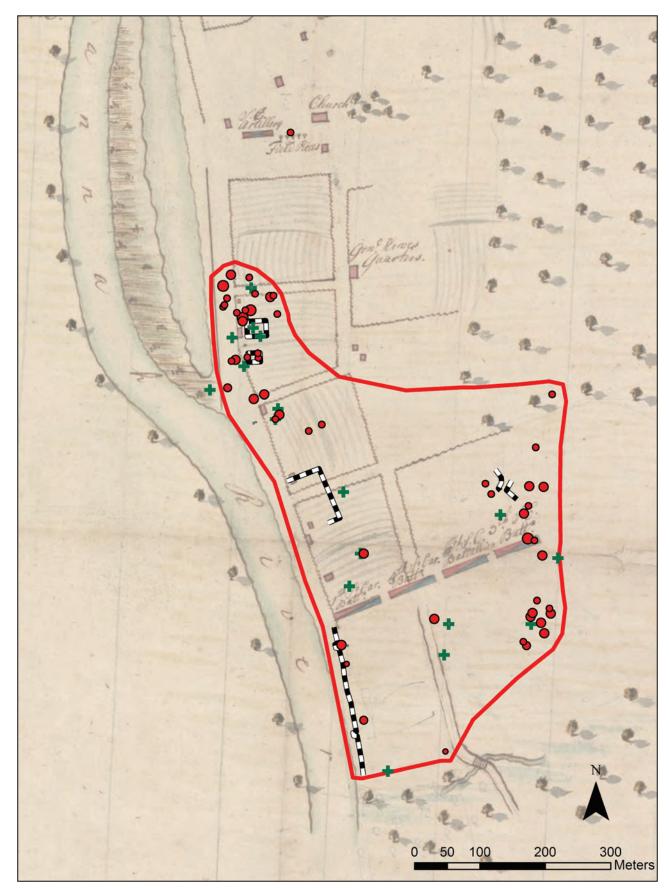


Figure 90. Core Area of the Purysburg Battlefield (outlined in red).

to determine if any military conflict took place during the April 1779 offensive or later in the Revolution.

Public Outreach Efforts

The LAMAR Institute is committed to communicating its findings with the public. For the professional archeologist and technofile a redacted version of this technical report will be made available to the general public for free download at the LAMAR Institute's website. In addition to producing this technical report on the Purysburg battlefield survey, the LAMAR Institute has shared the project findings via several public venues. These included the following nine public meetings and presentations:

- January 17, 2015. Presentation, "The Revolutionary War Battles of Purysburg & Black Swamp South Carolina", by Rita Elliott and Daniel Elliott, Bluffton Branch, Beaufort County Library, Bluffton, South Carolina. Short presentation also by Doug Bostick, South Carolina Battleground Preservation Trust.
- May 28, 2015. Presentation, "Finding the Battle of Purysburg, April 29, 1779", by Daniel T. Elliott at Fort Morris State Historic Site, Midway, Georgia.
- October 3, 2015. Presentation, "Finding the Battle of Purysburg, South Carolina, by Daniel Elliott. Presented by Charles Baxley, Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable, Edgefield, South Carolina.
- October 13, 2015. Presentation, "You Say You Want a Revolution: 18th Century Conflict Archeology in the Savannah River Watershed of Georgia and South Carolina" by Rita Elliott and Daniel Elliott, Coastal Heritage Society, Revolutionary Perspectives Lecture Series, Savannah, Georgia.
- January 7, 2016. Presentation, "How Many Lead Balls Does It Take to Make a Battlefield?...and Other Questions that Keep Conflict Archeologists Up at Night", presented by Rita F. Elliott and Daniel T. Elliott in "Symposium: Digging with the National Park

Service American Battlefield Protection Program. New Battlefield Research to Start the Next 100 Years." Society for Historical Archaeology, Annual Conference, Washington, D.C.,

- January 8, 2016. Presentation (Poster), "You Say You Want a Revolution; 18th Century Conflict Archeology in Georgia & South Carolina", by Daniel T. Elliott and Rita F. Elliott, Society for Historical Archaeology, Annual Conference, Washington, D.C.
- February 2, 2016. Presentation, "The Discovery of the Pursyburg Battlefield", by Daniel Elliott, Golden Isles Archaeological Society, St. Simons Island, Georgia.
- February 21, 2016. Presentation, "Findings of Purysburg Battlefield Survey", by Daniel Elliott, Southern Campaigns Revolutionary War Roundtable, Ebenezer, Georgia.
- March 22, 2016. Presentation, "Documenting the Battle of Purysburg", by Rita F. Elliott and Daniel T. Elliott. Bluffton Branch, Beaufort County Library, Bluffton, South Carolina (Figure 91).
- April 9, 2016. Presentation, "Get the Lead Out! Identifying Lead on 18th & Early 19th Century Battlefields and Settlements", by Daniel Elliott in contributed paper session on "Historical Archaeology in the Southeast", Society for American Archeology, Annual Meeting, Orlando, Florida.

Another outlet for telling the story of Purysburg and its Revolutionary War legacy is through film. A video documentary, entitled, "Documenting the Battle of Purysburg", was completed in May 2016 (Figure 92). This 27 minute video documentary film captures the various aspects of the Purysburg Battle-field Survey Project. Narrated by Michael Jordan, this film includes interviews with the project's key leaders (Elliott and Elliott), and military historians (Charles Baxley and Jim Piecuch), fieldwork and laboratory scenes, military re-enactments and strategic maps of the battle. A version of the film has been made available to the public on the internet at

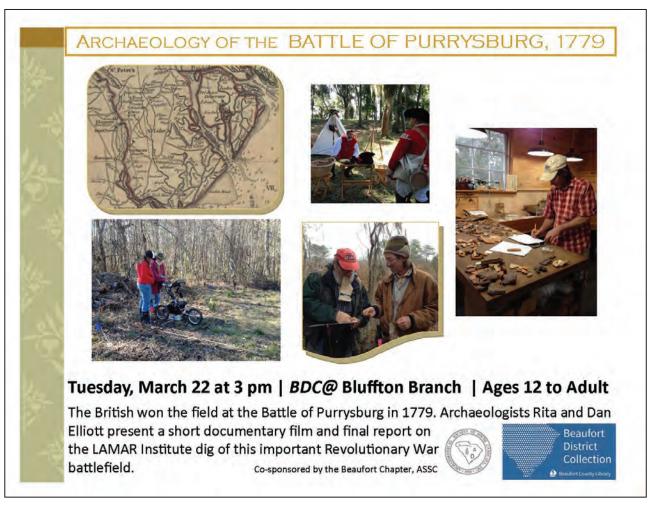


Figure 91. Example of flyer for local presentation of the project findings, March 2016.

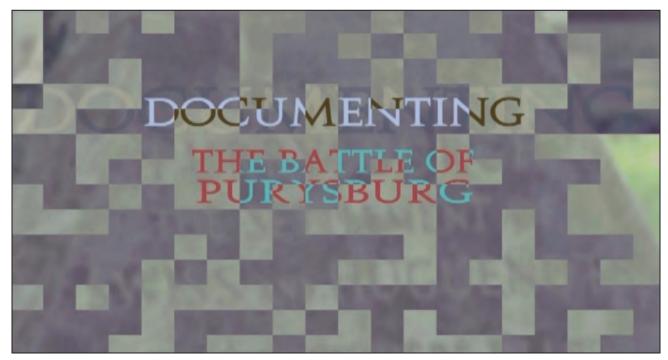


Figure 92. Clip from the introduction to Purysburg video documentary.

the LAMAR Institute's website and on Youtube.com on May 9, 2016, after NPS approval. This short film follows the release of previous LAMAR Institute video documentary efforts for the February 10, 1779 Battle of Captain Robert Carr's fort in Wilkes County, Georgia and the December 9, 1864 Battle of Monteith Swamp in Chatham and Effingham counties, Georgia. All are available free to the public at the LAMAR Institute's website (http://thelamarinstitute.org).

The LAMAR Institute's Purysburg battlefield survey team created a Community Facebook site entitled, "Purysburg Continental Army HQ 1779", at http:// facebook.com/Purysburg1779/. Since its inception the Facebook page has reached 835 distinct viewers and has recorded 197 "Likes". By gender the viewers were comprised of about 63 percent men and 37 percent women. Visitors to the site mostly were from the United States, although viewers also were in Australia, United Kingdom, Canada, Mexico and Spain. Peak traffic on the Purysburg Facebook page happened on May 9, 2016 with the release of the video reaching 1,825 people. A secondary peak occurred during the fieldwork period in March 2015, when 490 people were reached on March 8. From December 14, 2015 to May 11, 2016 the site experienced increased traffic reaching 4,943 views. This increase is partially attributable to the posting of the Purysburg battlefield video, which received 942 views during a three-day span. While these statistics are underwhelming, particularly when compared to the public response to entertainment video clips of cute kittens riding buffalos or aardvarks juggling laughing babies, the fickle Facebook social media outlet enabled the Purysburg battlefield story to reach a local, regional, national and international audience that might otherwise not be reached.

News of the Purysburg battlefield survey project was disseminated through several news outlets. The LAMAR Institute prepared a series of press releases on the project and these were distributed to several outlets with varying results. A January 10, 2015 article by Zach Murdock, reporter for The Island Packet newspaper on Hilton Head Island, South Carolina was republished in the online edition of Stars and Stripes magazine (Murdock 2015a-b). A July 5, 2015 article by reporter Genelle B. Williams of the Jasper Sun Times also was available through the newspaper's online edition (Williams 2015). Williams' article was reprinted on December 15, 2015 (5 months after the

original publication) by Savannahnow.com, which is the online edition of the Savannah Morning News. This article covered the period of the project after the fieldwork was completed and laboratory analysis was well underway. Short announcements about the May 28, 2015 and March 22, 2016 presentations appeared in the bulletin board section of several local newspapers, both in print and online (see for example, Hilton Head Monthly 2016 and ConnectSavannah. com 2015). One final press release will be distributed by the LAMAR Institute once the project has been finalized and the report is released to the public.

Chapter 6. Recommendations and Summary

Recommendations

Currently no cultural resources in Purysburg or Black Swamp are listed in the NRHP. The findings from the Purysburg Battlefield Survey project reveal that this is a glaring omission that needs addressing. The present study identified the Core Area of the Purysburg Revolutionary War engagement of April 29, 1779, as well as many archeological resources that pre and post-date the battle. Other associated historic resources with this battle contribute to its potential eligibility for the NRHP as a historic battlefield. The battle took place within a town that extended well to the north and east of the battleground.

In addition, the present historical research identified other military engagements involving Purysburg that also may be eligible for inclusion in the NRHP, particularly its maritime naval battles. More research is required to determine precisely where those engagements occurred. The March 19, 1779 engagement involved some land action below Purysburg (possibly several miles below the town). Hopefully, our report has identified many intriguing areas for future researchers.

It is also recommended that a preservation plan be crafted for the Purysburg Battlefield. Such a plan may provide a framework for the long-term protection and preservation of this important American piece of history.

Summary

The LAMAR Institute's search for the Purysburg Revolutionary War battlefield proved a resounding success. The survey was predicated by extensive historical and geographical research to help define cultural landscape at Purysburg and vicinity. Large portions of the colonial town of Purysburg, areas north of Purysburg, and at Black Swamp, Two Sisters and the New Landing were reconnoitered or surveyed for battlefield evidence or associated historical resources. The survey team approached the problem with a diversified research approach that combined traditional archeological

survey, remote sensing survey (systematic metal detector coverage and selected GPR sample survey), GIS cartographic overlay analysis and extensive historical research. Laboratory analysis of the findings helped establish the battlefield location and it allowed for the creation of an authentic battlefield narrative.

Our conclusion is that considerable archeological resources associated with Revolutionary War events have survived at Purysburg. The prognosis for the cultural resources in Black Swamp is unclear and additional survey work is needed in that area to locate and define these resources. Collector pressure to remove artifacts from archeological sites in Black Swamp and Purysburg has been intense. Purysburg also has been impacted severely in the past few decades by residential development. Nevertheless, the results from Purysburg demonstrate that key information has survived and that it allows for a forensic reconstruction of the battlefield landscape. The predominantly rural conditions at Black Swamp bodes well for a similar state of preservation.

The project also tied Purysburg to the broader scope of events in the Southern Theater of the American Revolution, including its relationship to events surrounding the battles of Savannah, Kettle Creek and Brier Creek. The project provided an overview of the significance of the Purysburg area to the American Revolution to area residents, which is information useful to their wise stewardship of these non-renewable resources. The project provided another detailed piece of the complex puzzle that illustrates the labor of America's birth.

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Appendix 1. Artifact Inventory & Artifact Photos

(photos in digital version only)

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Appendix 2. Regimental Histories (in digital version only)