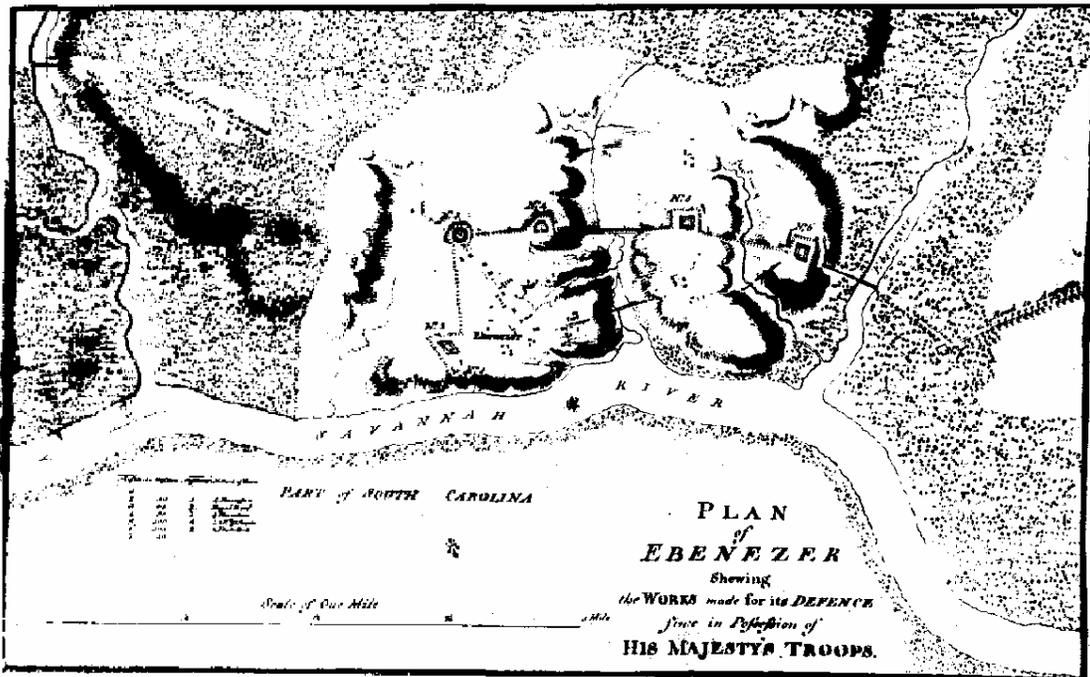


Ebenezer Revolutionary War Headquarters: *A Quest to Locate and Preserve*

*LAMAR Institute Publication Series,
Report Number 73*



By Daniel T. Elliott
The LAMAR Institute, Inc.
Box Springs, Georgia
2003

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Report Number 73*

ABPP Grant Project GA-2255-01-009

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Submitted to:
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2003

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Acknowledgements

Many employees of the National Park Service provided useful technical assistance and training throughout the course of this project. These included: Ginger Carter, Tanya Gossett, Paul Hawke, Ove Jensen, John Knoerl, David Lowe, Diedre McCarthy, James Stein, Kristen Stevens, Hampton Tucker, and Glenn Williams. The staff of the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division was highly supportive of this work. Ray Luce, Deputy SHPO, Kenneth Thomas, Historian, and David C. Crass, State Archaeologist, with the Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Historic Preservation Division, provided valuable assistance. Matt McDaniel, Historian, Parsons Brinckerhoff, Atlanta, who conducted the Phase I survey of New Ebenezer for the ABPP under a separate grant contract, cooperated with the present effort.

Richard C. Kessler, Connie Bazemore, Connie Ziegler, and Ellie Russey were helpful in providing access to the property containing Ebenezer's Revolutionary War resources. The Staff of the New Ebenezer Retreat Center and the congregation of the Jerusalem Evangelical Lutheran Church also were supportive of the project. Alice Rhoda Ferrell, Janelle Seckinger, Pauline Seckinger, and Milton and Helen Ziegler provided assistance during the fieldwork effort. Posthumous thanks to Charles Gnann and Calvin Seckinger, who provided background information and morale support in the years leading up to the present work.

The staff at many libraries, archives and other research institutions provided invaluable assistance throughout the course of this project. Thanks are extended to these people and their associated institutions, and these include:

- John D. Stinson, Reference Librarian at the New York Public Library, New York;
- Mary Ellen Brooks, Director of the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Georgia, Athens;
- Todd Groce, Executive Director of the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, and his staff;
- Cynthia Cook, Senior Reference Librarian at the Geography and Map Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.;
- Other unnamed helpful people at the National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C. and College Park, Maryland
- Charles Reeves, Archival Director at the Southeastern Branch of the National Archives and Records Administration, East Point;
- John Harriman, Supervisor of the William L. Clements Library, and Revolutionary War Specialist, Brian Dunnagan;
- Steve Smith, Archivist, Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania;
- Regina C. Mantin, Manager, Reproductions, New Brunswick Museum, St. Johns, N. B., Canada;
- Ellen Clark, Rachel Bradshaw, and Emily L. Schultz at the Society of the Cincinnati Library, Anderson House, Washington, D.C. and,

- AnnaLee Pauls at the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Larry Babits and Joshua Howard, East Carolina University, Greenville, North Carolina, also provided helpful information during this project. Thanks also to Jim Cook and the folks at MALA Geoscience USA in Charleston, South Carolina.

Special thanks also to my internet friends, who made significant contributions to this research project. These include Brian and Jane Barder, London, England whose interest in Triebner family history grew to include the Ebenezer Triebners during this project. Also included are Christopher Prevost, who provided an image of his direct ancestor Augustine Prevost. On the homefront Charles Warren (Captain, 4th Dragoon reenactors) provided important historical information on the Continental Dragoons.

The project fieldwork was facilitated by the able surveying skills of Joel Linwood "Tripod" Jones, Archeologist, and Rita Folse Elliott, Education Coordinator and Research Archeologist for The LAMAR Institute. Clerical assistance was provided by Tom Gresham and Michele Martin of The LAMAR Institute. Archeologists Daphne Owen Battle and Dan Battle, of Cypress Cultural Consultants, and Mr. Owen volunteered their time and equipment for two days of fieldwork, including one session in the chilling rain. Kay and Dean Wood/Southern Research, Historic Preservation Consultants, Inc. of Columbus and Ellerslie, Georgia, graciously provided field equipment and computer hardware that made this project a reality. The Jerusalem Lutheran Church, Georgia Salzburger Society, and the New Ebenezer Retreat Center also provided important support for the project, both tangible and spiritual.

This report is dedicated to our recently departed colleague, friend, and confidant, Ebenezer Elliott a canis familiaris who served throughout the field phase but passed into another realm during the analysis phase. Ebenezer's field experience in various southeastern and northeastern states were a valuable asset to the project. He will be missed by all the archeologists and friends who knew him--R.I.P. 1988-2002.

Abstract

The struggle for control of the South in the American Revolution lasted throughout the war, yet its history, particularly in Georgia, is poorly understood and generally underdocumented. A pivotal point in this military ballet was the small town of New Ebenezer, Georgia, nestled about 20 miles upstream from Savannah on the Savannah River. Almost invisible in the dozens of published histories of the Revolutionary War, Ebenezer served first as the primary American munitions depot for Georgia. Next Ebenezer was primary headquarters for British Lieutenant Colonel Campbell in his Georgia campaign; primary headquarters for British Brigadier General Augustine Prevost in his 1st Charleston campaign; temporary headquarters for American Major General Benjamin Lincoln after the unsuccessful Siege of Savannah, and finally, headquarters for Major General Anthony Wayne in his successful campaign to reclaim Georgia from the British. Sprinkled in between were episodes of depredations, minor battles and skirmishes, pillaging, and nasty guerilla warfare. Throughout the War the German-speaking residents of Ebenezer were torn in their loyalties and were persecuted, depending on which group held temporary control. The result was near total devastation of the town. Recent study of Ebenezer by The LAMAR Institute through grant funds provided by the National Park Service's American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP) included research using primary historical documents; detailed topographic mapping of the town site, its military earthworks, and other relevant features; and ground penetrating radar survey of selected military areas. The result of this ongoing study is a greater understanding of the war in the Southern District and clear recognition that Ebenezer was a major element in this drama.

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I. Introduction

Throughout the American Revolutionary War, Georgia, the 13th Colony, was deeply divided, both politically and militarily. Georgians were split between their allegiance to the British Monarchy and a desire for independent government. Nowhere was this division more strongly manifest than at the German town of New Ebenezer, in Effingham County, Georgia (Figure 1). At the beginning of the war, New Ebenezer served as a Rebel stronghold and as the primary munitions depot for the Georgia rebels. From January 1779 to December 1781, however, Georgia was mostly under Tory control and during that period New Ebenezer served as a headquarters complex for the British Army in its bid to reclaim Georgia and South Carolina. In early 1782, a nearly naked army of fewer than 500 Americans, commanded by General Anthony Wayne and subsisting on little more than, “poor beef, rice, and Alligator water”, established its headquarters at Ebenezer and reclaimed Georgia for the American side. This report uses historical and archeological data to establish New Ebenezer’s important historic role in military history, which has been overlooked in previous histories of the American Revolutionary War in the South.

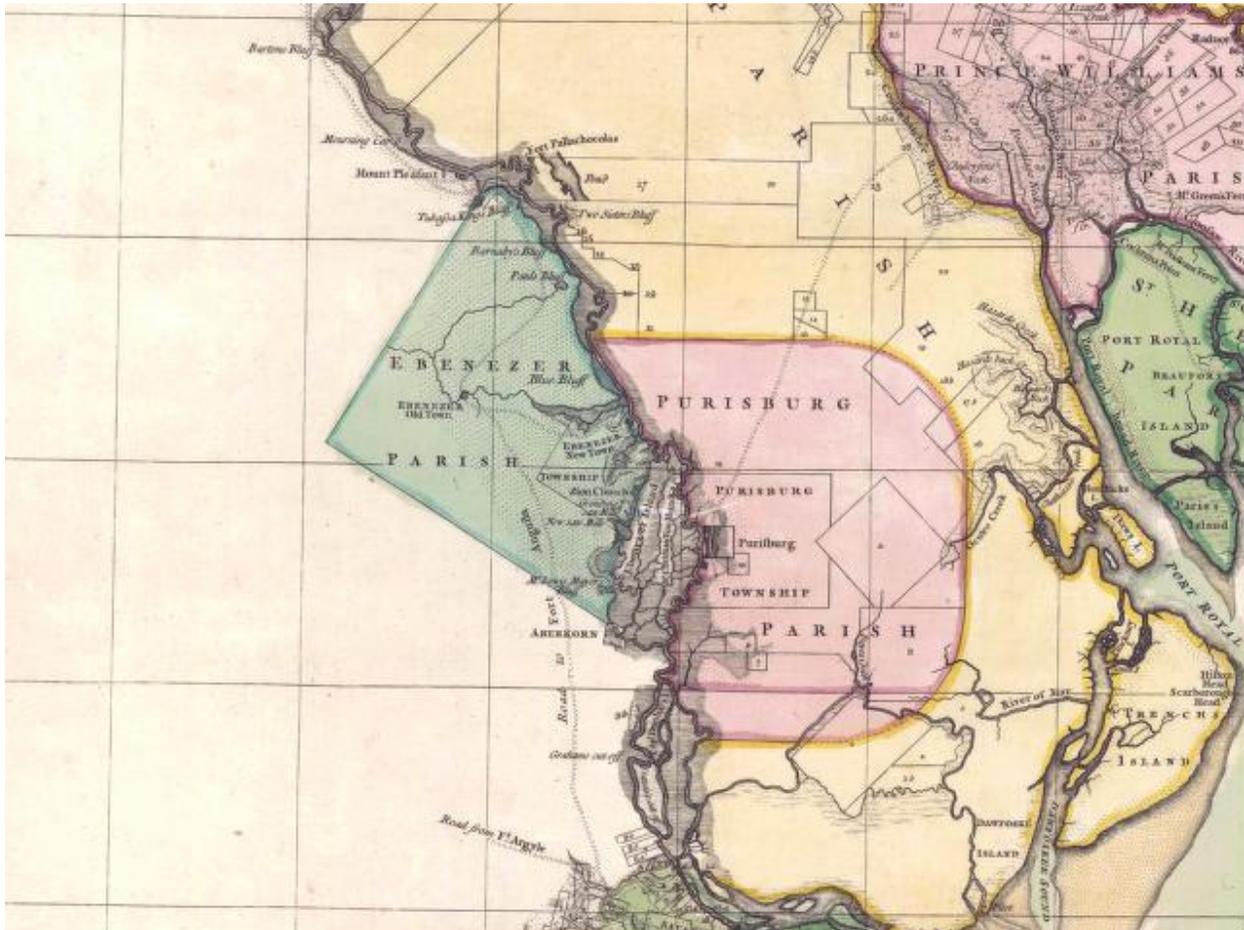


Figure 1. Detail of DeBrahm’s 1757 Map of Georgia and South Carolina.

The historic town site of New Ebenezer is located on the Savannah River bluff, or Red Bluff, as it was known in the Trustee period, below the confluence of Ebenezer Creek in Effingham County, Georgia (Figure 2). New Ebenezer is currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a historic site. The site is situated on an ancient shoreline feature (Penholoway Formation, formed approximately 20 million years ago) within the lower interior coastal plain of Georgia. Soils are composed of sandy loam and sandy clay loam. The site is presently in mixed pine and hardwood forest, although most, if not all of the site has been under cultivation in the past. A 1938 aerial photograph shows a large portion in the northeastern section of the site as a plowed field, while the remaining parts of the town are shown in predominantly pine forest (USDA ASCS Photo BQG 7-179, October 26, 1938).

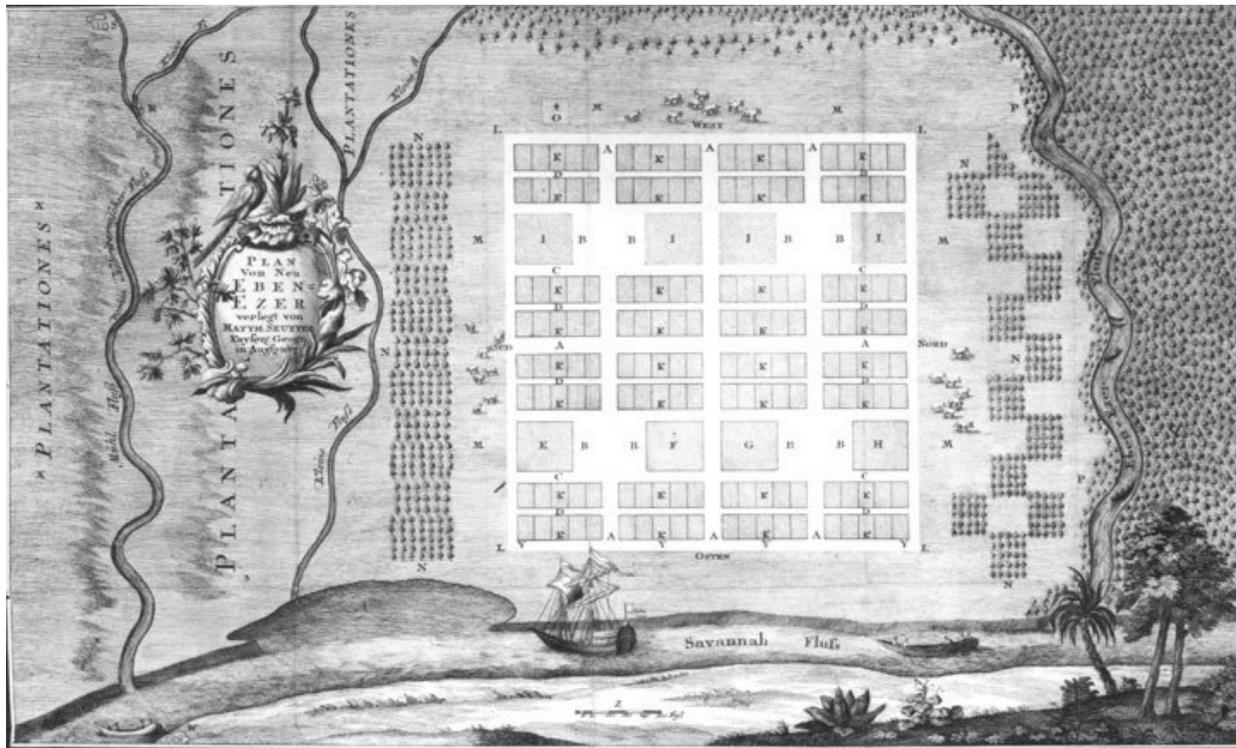


Figure 2. Plan of Ebenezer (Seutter and Lotter 1747).

The Ebenezer town site is presently divided, rather unequally and with no attention paid to the original town plan, by Georgia Highway 275. Most of the historic West Ward is located west of Highway 275, while most of the East Ward is east of the highway. The New Ebenezer Retreat Center complex occupies a major portion of the site on the western side. The area east of the highway, with the exception of Jerusalem Lutheran Church and associated features, and the Salzburger museum, is largely undeveloped land. The eastern portion of study area is administered by the Kessler New Ebenezer Trust, while the western part is owned by the Jerusalem Lutheran Church. Presently, most of the Ebenezer town site is in pine forest, as shown on a 1993 aerial photograph of the vicinity (Figure 3).

A program of survey and excavation at New Ebenezer has been administered by The LAMAR Institute since 1987. Most of the town has been examined by systematically aligned shovel test survey at 20 meter (m), 10 m, or 5 m sampling grid intervals. Eight areas of the town have been

sampled by more than 115 test units that measured 2 m by 1 m each. This previous work is detailed in a series of published archeological reports (Elliott 1988; 1990; 1995; Elliott and Elliott 1991) and in reports currently in preparation.

Great strides have been made in recent years by German studies scholar George F. Jones and his colleagues to identify, translate, and publish important primary documents pertaining to Ebenezer. In the past decade, five volumes of *The Detailed Reports of the Salzburger Immigrants...* was published, bringing the total number of volumes in this series to 18.



Figure 3. Aerial View of Ebenezer, 1993.

The Detailed Reports of the Salzburger Immigrants..., which were written by the town's Lutheran preachers Johann Martin Boltzius, Christian Israel Gronau, Herman Henry Lemke, and Christian Rabenhorst to their superiors in Halle, Germany and span the period from 1733 to 1760. The reports serve as an extremely valuable research tool in the archeological research (Figure 4). Other important records of Ebenezer are housed in the archives of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), an early missionizing society in London. These records are now curated at the Cambridge University Library. Other primary unpublished records include those of the Jerusalem Lutheran Church at Ebenezer and the Francke Foundation in Halle, Germany (Jones 1968, 1969, 1985, 1988, 1989a-d, 1990, 1991, 1995, Jones and Hahn 1972, Jones and Savelle 1983, Jones and Wilson 1976, 1980, 1981, Wilson and Jones 1991; SPCK 1773, 1785). Many secondary histories of Ebenezer provide other useful insight into the life of the settlement (Jones 1984, 1986, 1990b, Strobel 1953; Wilson 1988, 2000a, 2000b).

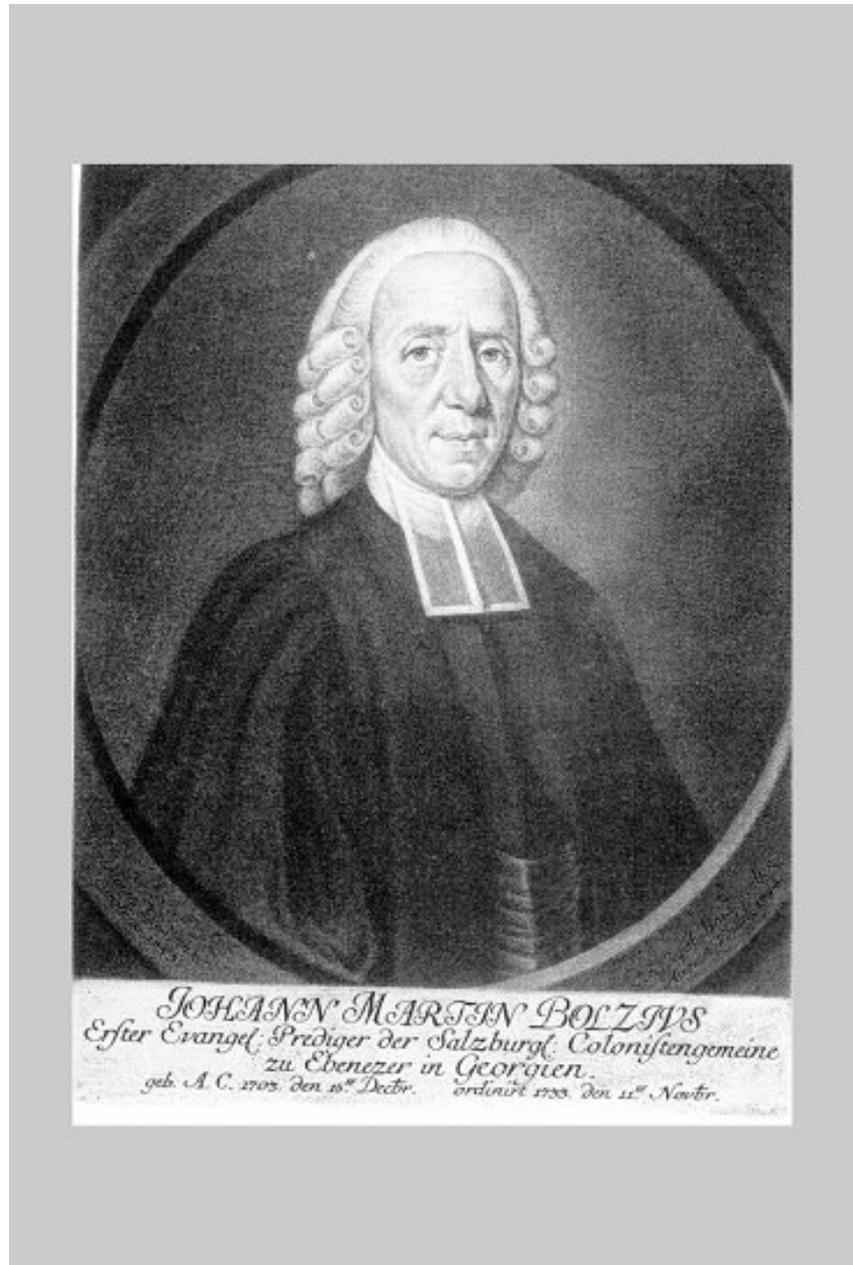


Figure 4. Reverend Johann Martin Boltzius.

The most exciting new addition to the historical literature is a bilingual volume of abstracted letters (in German and English), published by the Francke Foundation in Halle, Germany. This 900+ page tome contains abstracts of letters in the Francke Foundation archives that span most of New Ebenezer's history, including the "dark" years not covered by *The Detailed Reports* (Müller-Bahlke and Gröschl 1999). As a whole, the primary documentation of Ebenezer recorded by the Lutheran church is immense and it serves as a fantastic backdrop for archeological study and interpretive reconstruction of life in a southern colonial town. The continually unfolding dynamic of history and archeology at New Ebenezer that has characterized the past decade of research promises to continue into the Third Millennium.

The research resulting in this current report, funded primarily by a research grant from the National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program (ABPP), was predicated on published reference to the “Battle of Ebenezer”. This battle, according to military historian Frances Heitman’s catalog, transpired on June 23, 1782 (Heitman 1967:672). The present research leads to the conclusion that no such battle took place at Ebenezer on that date, although General Wayne was involved in a battle 15 to 20 miles south of Ebenezer on June 23rd. Other sources identify battles at Ebenezer on July 21, 1779 and May 18, 1781, although supporting documentation for battles at Ebenezer on these dates was not located (Robertson et al. 2002). The present research identified a minor battle that took place at Ebenezer on September 12, 1779, which involved Pulaski’s Legion and the last remnants of the retreating British garrison. More research on Ebenezer will undoubtedly provide addition details of Pulaski’s skirmish, as well as other obscure military events in Georgia.

The purposes of the present ABPP study were to:

- Gather primary and secondary historical information relevant to Ebenezer and the American Revolutionary War period;
- Identify, map, photograph and document Revolutionary War archeological and landscape features and associated historic structures in and around Ebenezer;
- Conduct a remote sensing survey of portions of Ebenezer;
- Compare the field findings with the historic documents to provide a more detailed description of the military significance of Ebenezer;
- Identify areas containing specific military installations, activity, evidence of troop movements pertaining to the June 1782 engagement, or other significant Revolutionary War events; and
- Foster a conservation ethic in the Ebenezer community for its Revolutionary War resources.

II. Research Methods

PREVIOUS ARCHEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

New Ebenezer (state archeological Site 9EF28) was first recorded in the Georgia Archaeological Site File in 1976 by University of Georgia archeologist Paul Fish, who was conducting a survey of the Ebenezer Creek watershed for the U.S.D.A. Soil Conservation Service (Fish 1976). Fish, who had only minimal interest in historic sites at the time, recorded it as an aboriginal site and made no mention of the colonial town. Serious archeological study of New Ebenezer began in 1987 through The LAMAR Institute, stimulated by cultural resource management (CRM)-mandated research from 1984-1986 on the outlying farming district of New Ebenezer, known as the Ebenezer Mill District (Elliott 1988; Elliott and Smith 1985; Smith 1986). Research on New Ebenezer and related colonial settlements in Georgia and South Carolina has continued to the present. Archeological investigations by the New Ebenezer Elderhostel Program constitute some of the most recent work in a series of archeological studies within the town of New Ebenezer.

During the 1987 study a shovel test survey was conducted with more than 300 tests spaced at 20 meter (m) intervals along an established grid across all areas of town located north and east of Georgia Highway 275. West of this highway, archeologists used surface reconnaissance techniques on areas of the town where the modern New Ebenezer Retreat Center structures are currently located. These initial shovel tests and surface collections led the archeologists to determine that New Ebenezer did have enormous archeological potential for offering new information about the colonial town. The survey also helped define the town boundaries and locate areas of the town that were actually occupied, as opposed to those places that had been divided into town lots but never inhabited. By examining available documents, a chain of property ownership was established for every owner of every lot visible in the historic records located in the courthouse (Elliott 1988).

Survey work was followed up with test unit excavations by archeologists with The LAMAR Institute in 1989 and 1990 (Elliott 1990, Elliott and Elliott 1990, Elliott and Elliott 1991). Investigations in 1989 examined three town lots in the East Ward of the Eighth Tything. One of each of these three lots belonged to the planter and shipwright Nicholas Kronberger, the blacksmith/locksmith Rupert Schrempff, and the merchant John Casper Wertsch. Archeologists uncovered a wealth of information from a filled-in well in Kronberger's lot, which appears to have been created and filled quickly, about the time of the American Revolution. The most productive area examined to date was a cellar in Schrempff's lot, which was mostly filled with artifacts and other debris by the mid-1750s. Archeological investigations in 1990 concentrated on additional excavation in Schrempff's cellar and lot, shovel testing and test unit excavation in search of the silk filature (factory), more refined shovel test survey of the East Ward - Tythings 3 through 6 and public lands, and shovel test survey of the West Ward - Tythings 1 and 2 and public lands. This work resulted in:

- complete excavation of Rupert Schrempff's cellar, which was filled from 1750 to 1753;
- tentative location of the silk filature, which was completed in 1752 and probably still in use as late as 1772;
- recovery of midden refuse in the public squares; and

- closer examination (10 m interval shovel testing) of several areas in the southern part of the town revealing light, but definite domestic settlement.

Funding of archeological work at New Ebenezer since 1987 has been the result of voluntary labor, small grants, private donations, and most recently the Elderhostel Program sponsored by the Georgia Salzburger Society. The sporadic and small-scale nature of the funding has relegated this huge and extremely important site to only the most brief, part-time archeological research. It is hoped that an adequate and stable funding source can be secured for future archeological research, museum interpretation, limited site reconstruction; and site preservation.

Although a variety of archaeological survey and testing has been completed at Ebenezer, very few Revolutionary War-associated artifacts have been recovered. One of the few examples came to light following a heavy thunderstorm in the spring of 1992. Numerous colonial artifacts, including some Revolutionary War items, were observed eroding in the sandy driveway of the New Ebenezer Retreat Center parking lot. One contingent of an Elderhostel team temporarily working with site archeologists was shifted to trowel this area to look for potential features. Artifacts gathered from this area included several objects associated with the British Revolutionary war occupation, as well as relatively high frequencies of eighteenth century spirit bottle glass. The location was mapped and covered with a thin layer of sand. The archeological research design for the 1996 Elderhostel program focused on this area in the 5th Tything, East Ward of the colonial town site. Several additional field seasons were spent prior to 2000 examining this area of Ebenezer. This work resulted in the partial excavation of John Rentz's tavern, delineation of Center Street, and the location of a massive ditchwork probably associated with British Redoubt 3. A technical report on The LAMAR Institute's work at Ebenezer from 1992 to 1999 is nearing completion and should serve as a useful companion volume for the present study. Other research reports by The LAMAR Institute at Ebenezer and related settlements are available for free download at The LAMAR Institute's website (<http://shapiro.anthro.uga.edu/Lamar/>).

HISTORICAL RESEARCH

The historical research for this project included visits to the following libraries and archival repositories:

- Library of Congress (LOC) (Regular Stacks, Manuscript Division, and Geography and Map Division), Washington, D.C.;
- National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Washington, D.C. and the Cartographic Unit, College Park, Maryland;
- New York Public Library, New York, New York;
- Henry Pierpont Morgan Library, New York;
- William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan;
- Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta;
- Historic Preservation Division, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, Atlanta;
- Effingham County Courthouse, Springfield, Georgia;
- Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Georgia;
- University of Georgia Libraries, Athens; and
- Simon Schwob Library, Columbus State University, Columbus, Georgia.

Collections that were examined at LOC included:

- Anthony Wayne Papers;
- George Washington Papers (some examined online via the Internet);
- Archibald Campbell's 1780 map, entitled "Sketch of the Northern Frontiers of Georgia";
- a manuscript map, entitled, "Roads and country that Col. Campbell marched thro' – Ebenezer to Augusta in Georgia, 1779;
- an unattributed manuscript map of "Savannah and Ogeechee River, circa 178-"; and
- Papers of Benjamin Lincoln, particularly Lincoln's Journal (Lincoln 1810).

Collections that were examined at NARA repositories included:

- U.S. Army Fortifications Files (Record Group 77);
- Office of the Quartermaster General (Record Group 92);
- the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records (Record Group 93);
- Additional Revolutionary War Records (Record Groups 39, 53, 92, 93, 94, 107, and 217), M853;
- Orders, Returns, Morning Reports, and Accounts of British Troops, 1776-1781 (M922);
- Supply Records Records of Issuance and Receipt of Provisions, 1776-83 and 1786 (M853);
- Letters Orders for Pay, Accounts, Receipts, and other supply records concerning weapons and military stores, 1776-1801 (M927 from RG 93, RG94, RG92);
- Ledger of Military Stores Received and Delivered, Mar 1780-May 1795 (M927);
- Record Books Concerning Mil. Op & Serv, Pay & Settlem of Accts & Supplies...Rev War Supply Records Records of Military Stores Received and Delivered at Various Places, Feb. 15, 1777 – Aug. 8, 1783 (M853, Roll 39);
- Miscellaneous Unbound Record Items, 1776-1783 (M927);
- Letters, Returns, Accounts, and Estimates of the Quartermaster General's Department 1776-1783 in the War Department Collection of Revolutionary War Records (M926); and
- Miscellaneous Numbered Records (the Manuscript file) in the War Dept. Collection of Revolutionary War Records, 1775-1790 (M859, Roll 4 Georgia).

Individual military service records were, for the most part, not fully researched in this study. Those that were researched included commanding officers of various military units, such as Anthony Wayne, Stephen Moylan, and Benjamin Lincoln.

Collections that were examined at the New York Public Library included:

- Hessians in America manuscripts, 27 transcripts, Brunswick Papers, Vol. 2 (Ms and Archives Section, Room 328);
- Papers of Anthony Wayne (1 folder in Personal Misc. papers);
- Papers of Benjamin Lincoln (1 folder);
- Chalmers Collection, Georgia (745, 1 volume);
- Letters of Anthony Wayne, Benjamin Lossing's Field Book, Volume 10 (EM6738-EM6740);
- Plan of Purisburg [Purysburg, S.C.] by F. DeBrahm, EM6753;
- Siege of Savannah, Lincoln Papers (Campbell to Lincoln EM7389);
- Thomas Addis Emmet Collection; and
- Great Britain—Army, 71st Foot Regiment, 1775-1784, Ford Collection.

Three volumes of bound letters of Anthony Wayne at the New York Public Library were reviewed. These are transcribed copies of papers of Anthony Wayne, which form part of the George Bancroft Collection (Vols 378-380).

Collections that were examined at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York included the Augustin Prevost Letters, a letter from Thomas Posey to Nathanael Greene, and other pertinent Revolutionary War records.

Collections that were examined at the University of Georgia Libraries included:

- Benjamin Lincoln Papers, microfilm collection (Allis 1967);
- Benjamin Lincoln's Order Book, Volume 2 (Hyne 1780);
- Charles C. Jones, Jr. Collection;
- Telemon Cuyler Collection;
- Keith Read Collection;
- James Wright Collection;
- Colonial Records of Georgia; and
- various other published and microfiche Revolutionary War sources.

The original copy of Benjamin Lincoln's Order Book, Volume 2, which is housed in the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library (University of Georgia Libraries) was a very important historical resource (Hyne 1780). The Map Collection at the UGA Science Library yielded early aerial photographs and other useful early maps of the study area. A substantial portion of the review of published literature for this study was conducted at the University of Georgia Libraries.

Books that were consulted at the Columbus State University's Simon Scwob Library, Columbus, Georgia included the *Documents of the American Revolution* (multi-volume set published Irish series, edited by K. G. Davies); the *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, and the published volumes of the *Colonial Records of Georgia*.

Research queries were made to a number of other archival facilities and additional documents were obtained. An email query to the Society of the Cincinnati Library, Washington, D.C., yielded a portrait of Thomas Posey and a single manuscript letter written by General Wayne from Ebenezer. The Indiana Historical Society possesses the journals of Thomas Posey, which are on microfilm. This document has not been examined. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania possesses a large collection of Revolutionary War order books, including General Wayne's order book, which was maintained by his aid Benjamin Fishbourne, which was not available on microfilm. Copies of relevant portions of the Fishbourne order book are currently being sought but were not available for this study phase. Several documents relevant to Ebenezer were located in the Andre DeCoppet collection at Princeton University Library and copies of these were obtained by mail.

Other collections that were examined in-house, or via the internet included the *Revolutionary Records of Georgia*, CD-Rom edition; various records at the British Public Records Office, PROCAT online search and, records of The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), London, currently in Oxford University Library.

Numerous important papers, autobiographies and biographies of military officers who were either garrisoned, spent some time at, or heavily influenced events of, Ebenezer were examined. These included works on:

- Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown, King's Rangers (Olson 1970; Cashin 1999);
- Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, 71st Highland Regiment (Campbell 1981; McGeachy 2002; Walcott 1898; Nunis 1961; Davis 1986a);
- Samuel Elbert, Continental Army (Harden 1905);
- Major General Horatio Gates, Continental Army (Saltzman 1979);
- Major General Nathanael Greene, Continental Army;
- Major General Robert Howe, Continental Army (Howe 1776-1778; Naisawald 1951; Lawrence 1952);
- Lieutenant Colonel Henry Jackson, Georgia Legion (Charlton 1809; Foster 1947; 1960);
- Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee, Lee's Legion (Lee 1969; Royster 1981; Hartmann 2000);
- Major General Benjamin Lincoln, Continental Army (Lincoln 1733-1810, 1779-1780; Hyrne 1779-1780; Shipton 1964; Allis 1967; Mattern 1995);
- Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh, Continental Army (Hawes 1957);
- Brigadier General William Moultrie, Continental Army (Moultrie 1802, 1980);
- Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Moylan, Continental Dragoons (Griffin 1909);
- Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Posey, Virginia Battalion (Posey 1992);
- Brigadier General Casimir Pulaski, Pulaski's Legion (Manning 1943, Zabecki 1997; Smith 1995, 1998);
- Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton, Tarleton's Legion (Tarleton 1787, 1968);
- Governor John Adam Treutlen, Continental Army (Riley 1999); and
- Major General Anthony Wayne, Continental Army (Boyd 1929; Moore 1845; Preston 1930; Wildes 1941, Rankin 1964, Stille 1968, Tucker 1973, Nelson 1985).

Two major primary sources that have been published recently include Lieutenant Colonel (Sir) Archibald Campbell's journal (Campbell 1981) and Ensign John Wilson's journal (Davis 1986a). These documents, as well as other unpublished manuscript material by Campbell (1779a and b) and Wilson (1779, 1780), provided vital insight into the Ebenezer's role in the war.

Various modern publications provided information on British and American military units, personnel, and their uniforms and equipment. These included:

- American Navy, Goldenberg (1976), Millar (1978), and Allen (1962);
- American medical department, Ashburn (1929);
- British Army units, May (1974);
- British Navy, Tilley (1987);
- British medical department, Kaufman (2001); and
- British uniforms, Barthrop (1982).

Many pertinent military features were indicated by the historical research. These include:

- Augusta Road;
- Town of Ebenezer;
- Jerusalem Church;
- Jerusalem Cemetery;
- Great Swamp Hospital;
- American and British Magazines;
- DeBrahm's 1757 Fort;
- British Redoubts 1 through 7;
- Connecting Abatis and Trench line, and;
- the Savannah River.

All of these features were included in the field survey, except for the Great Swamp Hospital; British Redoubts 5, 6, and 7; and northern portions of the connecting abatis and trench line.

FIELDWORK

The first phase of fieldwork commenced in earnest on January 6, 2002 and ended February 2, 2002. Fieldwork was performed by Daniel and Rita Elliott, assisted by Joel L. Jones. Daphne Owen Battle, Dan Battle, and Mr. Owen (Daphne's father) provided volunteer labor on two days of fieldwork. This phase of fieldwork consisted of detailed topographic mapping of the Revolutionary War resources on the study property. It began by linking to the existing archeological site grid, which was previously linked to the town grid established by Effingham County surveyors, Paul Weitmann and Paul Wilder. The primary datum for this was one of the surveyors' concrete benchmarks arbitrarily designated as the 1000 meters North 1000 meters East archeology gridpoint. This reference datum is located on what was thought by the Effingham County surveyors to be the southwestern corner of the original Parsonage Lot, although subsequent archeological work has shown their interpretation of the original town grid to be in error. An arbitrary elevation of 100.00 meters was designated for the top of this concrete benchmark. The metric site grid for New Ebenezer, which was established in 1987, was used throughout the project. This grid increases north and east and decreases to the south and west of the main datum. The original town of New Ebenezer was established with its orientation perpendicular with the flow of the Savannah River, rather than magnetic North. Consequently, grid North is 35 degrees East of magnetic North. A series of secondary datums was established at key points throughout the town and its periphery for mapping purposes in the present survey. In addition, other concrete benchmarks that were established by the Effingham County surveyors were relocated and incorporated into the ABPP mapping data.

The mapping was accomplished with the aid of a Topcon total station laser transit and TDS data collector (Figure 5). The mapping data was downloaded into a Dell 8100 laptop computer using Survey Link software. The data was then imported into Surfer mapping software to produce the topographic maps. Over 6,500 transit readings were recorded in the field and these are shown in Figure 6. These were used to generate a general topographic map of the study area, as well as a series of detailed area maps of specific Revolutionary War earthworks, earlier colonial period earthworks, defensive ditches, roads (both modern and ancient), Jerusalem Church, the Jerusalem Church cemetery, and other potentially important features.



Figure 5. Mapping in Progress, Savannah River Floodplain, Northeast of Ebenezer Town.

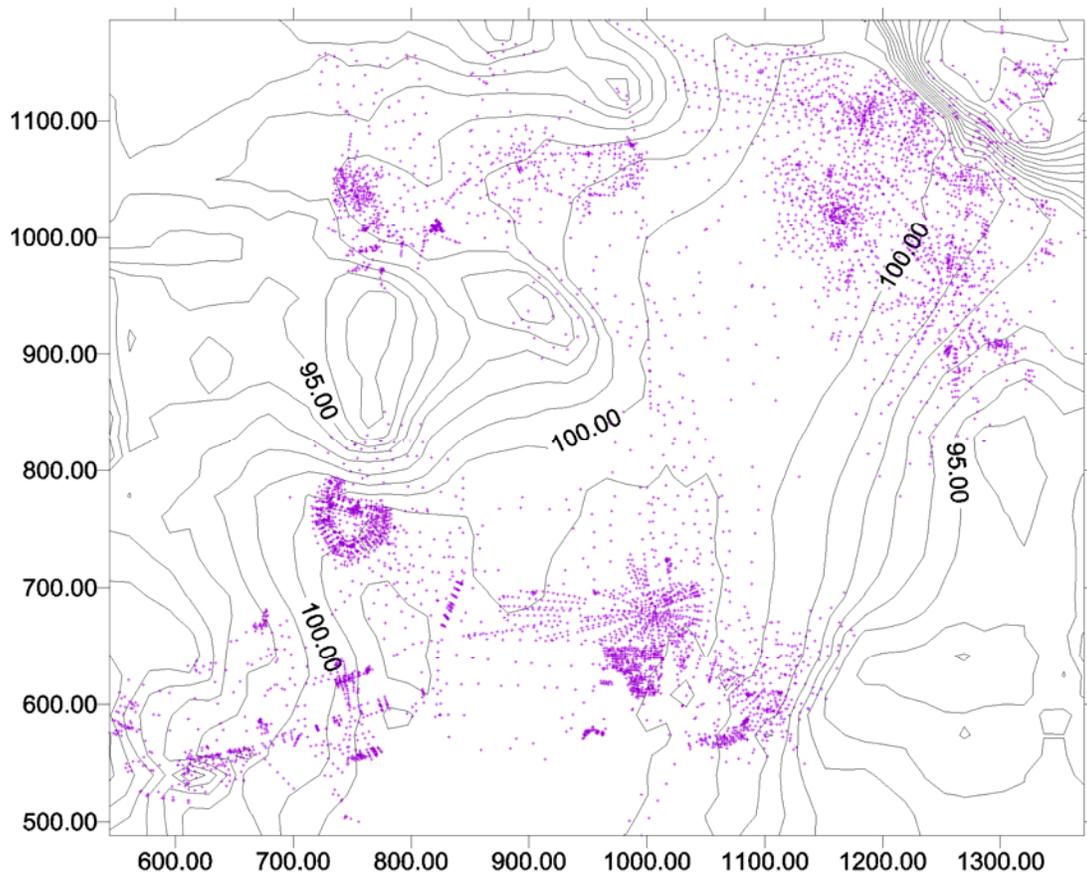


Figure 6. Transit Shots at New Ebenezer.

Ground Penetrating Radar Survey

Phase II of the Fieldwork consisted of the Ground Penetrating Radar mapping of selected areas of the New Ebenezer Headquarters complex. Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) consulting services for the New Ebenezer archeological site were provided by Rocquemore Radar Research, Box Springs, Georgia. This GPR work was performed from March 9 to March 15, 2002 by Daniel T. Elliott, following training from Jim Cook, MALÅ Geoscience USA, Inc., Charleston, South Carolina. The equipment used for this study consisted of a RAMAC/X3M Integrated Radar Control Unit, mounted on a cart and linked to a Dell 8100 laptop computer (MALÅ Geoscience 2002). Two types of antenna were used, including 500 and 800 megahertz (MHz) shielded antenna. The 800 MHz antennae quickly proved more effective and was used for nearly all of the data gathering. Windows-based acquisition software Ground Vision was used to acquire and record the radar data. Easy 3D software was used for 3-D modeling of the radar data.

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) was developed during the Vietnam War in the 1960s by the U.S. Department of Defense as an aid in remotely locating Viet Cong tunnels. Since then the technique has been extensively refined in size and technological capability to a point where today a single individual can operate conduct a GPR survey with ease.

The GPR device uses high frequency electromagnetic waves to acquire subsurface data. The device uses a transmitter antenna and closely spaced receiver antenna to detect changes in electromagnetic properties beneath them (Figure 7). The antennas are suspended just above the ground surface and are shielded to eliminate interference from sources other than directly beneath the device. The transmitting antenna emits a series of electromagnetic waves, which are distorted by differences in soil conductivity, dielectric permittivity, and magnetic permeability. The receiving antenna records the reflected waves for a specified length of time (in nanoseconds). The approximate depth of an object can be estimated with GPR, by adjusting for electromagnetic propagation conditions.

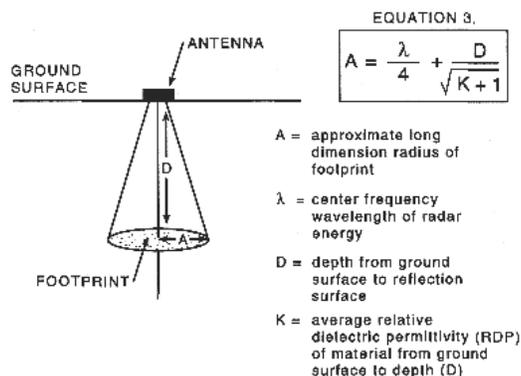


Figure 7. The Elliptical Cone of GPR Penetration into the Ground (Conyers and Goodman 1997: Figure 4, cited in Hodge et al. 2002).

The GPR sample blocks at the New Ebenezer site were composed of a series of parallel transects, or traverses, which yielded a two-dimensional cross-section or profile of the radar data. This two-dimensional image is constructed from a sequence of thousands of individual radar “pings” or traces. A succession of radar traces bouncing off a large buried object (such as a coffin or a buried gas tank) 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. For example, an isolated historic grave may produce a clear signal, represented by a well-defined hyperbola. A cluster of graves, however, may produce a more garbled signal that is less apparent.

The GPR signals that are captured by the receiving antenna are recorded in an array of numerals, which can be converted to gray scale (or color) pixel values. The 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 the laptop computer monitor, which is mounted to the GPR cart. An example of a radargram (and an individual radar trace, shown on the right-hand side) is illustrated in [Figure 8](#).

Ground penetrating radar signals cannot penetrate metal objects and the signals are also significantly affected by the presence of salt water. Although radar does not penetrate metal, it does generate a distinctive signal that is usually recognizable, particularly for larger metal objects, such as a cannon or man-hole cover. The signal beneath these objects is often canceled out, which results in a pattern of horizontal lines on the radargram. For smaller objects, such as a scatter of nails, the signal may ricochet.

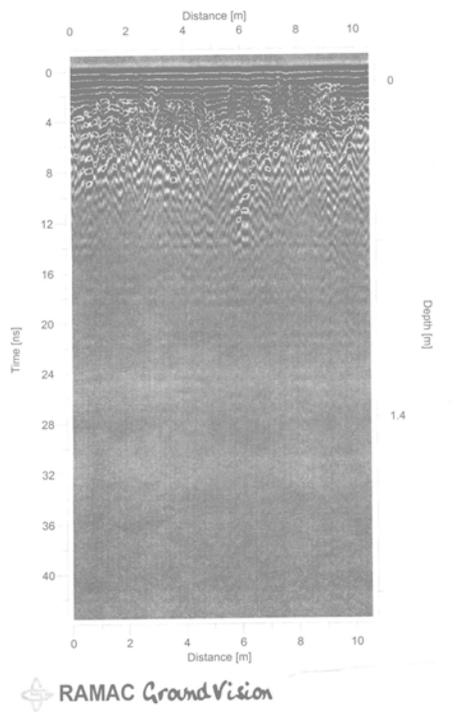


Figure 8. Example of a Radargram.

off the objects and produce a confusing signal. Rebar-reinforced concrete, as another example, generates an unmistakable radar pattern of rippled lines on the radargram. Conyers notes: “Ground-penetrating radar works best in sandy and silty soils and sediments that are not saturated with water. The method does not work at all in areas where soils are saturated with salt water because this media is electrically conductive and ‘conducts away’ the radar energy before it can be reflected in the ground” (Conyers 2002).

The effectiveness of GPR in various environments on the North American continent is widely variable and depends on solid conductivity, metallic content, and other pedo-chemical factors. Generally, Georgia’s soils have moderately good properties for its application. Metal was expected to be abundant in the New Ebenezer vicinity. It was anticipated that metal would have some effect on the data that was gathered. The soils at New Ebenezer were well drained, however, and salt water was not a problem.

GPR has been used successfully for archeological and forensic anthropological applications to locate relatively shallow features, although the technique also can probe deeply into the ground. The machine is adjusted to probe to the depth of interest by the use of different frequency range antennas. Higher frequency antennas are more useful at shallow depths, which is most often the case in archeology. Also, the longer the receiving antenna is set to receive GPR signals (measured in nanoseconds), the deeper the search.

GPR has been used to a limited extent on archeological sites in Georgia yielding mixed results. A study of several Creek Indian habitation sites in Muscogee County, which were part of the Upatoi village, circa 1790 to 1825, included GPR as part of a battery of geophysical techniques that were employed to delineate these sites (Elliott et al. 1999; Briuer et al. 1997). These archeological sites were located in the Red Sand Hills of Georgia’s Fall Line Zone. The sandy soils on these sites were not too dissimilar from the soils at Ebenezer and the approximate ages of the two sites also were fairly similar. Preliminary testing at the site by Elliott and his colleagues had established the existence of at least one Creek burial that was clearly associated with Upatoi. Briuer and his colleagues identified nine Electro-Magnetic anomalies that were interpreted as possible human burials. After Briuer’s study was completed, additional test excavations were conducted by Elliott and his colleagues to “ground truth” a number of the anomalies that had been identified. Most of these anomalies proved to be modern military disturbances, which was understandable given the location of these sites on the Fort Benning Military Reservation. Nevertheless, the GPR technique was able to identify disturbed areas of soil, at least some of which were Creek-related phenomena. In the brief time that has elapsed since Briuer and his colleagues conducted this study, the GPR technology and equipment has significantly improved.

Elsewhere in Georgia, Ervan Garrison and his University of Georgia students have conducted numerous GPR surveys, including investigations at a number of aboriginal earthworks, including Little River mounds in Morgan County and Kolomoki mounds in Early County (Wynn 2002, Friends of Scull Shoals 2002). GPR also has been used to map portions of the Old Athens Cemetery in Clarke County (National Center for Preservation Technology and Training and USDA Forest Service, Southeast Region 2002).

GPR has been used with success in adjacent areas of the South Carolina interior coastal plain to map the stratigraphy of Carolina Bays. Carolina Bays, which are natural wetland features of undetermined origin, typically have deep sand deposits on their rims and these areas often contain deeply buried archeological deposits (Brooks et al. 2002).

Elsewhere in North America, GPR was successfully employed at investigations of the Nathan and Polly Johnson House, New Bedford, Massachusetts (Hodge et al. 2002). Their website provides additional background information on GPR and its archeological applications.

GPR is particularly well suited for the delineation of historic cemeteries, such as the Bozeman site in Clark County, Arkansas (Kvamme 2002). Historic graves are often easy to recognize in radargrams, as evidenced by a pronounced hyperbola. When 3-D slices intersect these hyperbolas the graves are usually clearly evident in plan view. When a series of graves are closely spaced, however, the grave radar “signature” is less clear-cut. By slicing the radar data at various depths along the hyperbola, the aerial perspective can be refined for optimal viewing and recognition. Since not all graves were dug to the same depth, 3-D slices at different depths often can yield very different views of graves in plan by varying the slice only a few centimeters.

The GPR survey examined 12 areas of Ebenezer, covering approximately 1150 m² of the site (Table 1). In addition to these rectangular samples several single line transects were made across portions of Ebenezer.

Table 1. Ebenezer GPR Sample Areas.

Sample	Transect Interval (cm)	Area Investigated	Size (m)		Transect Direction	Transects Progress	Antenna MHz	Area m2
			E	N				
M	100	Redoubt 3 Test	5	20	North to South	East to West	500	100
A1	20	Redoubt 3 Test	10	10	North to South	West to East	500	100
A	20	Redoubt 3 Test	10	10	North to South	East to West	800	100
B	20	Redoubt 3	12.2	20	North to South	East to West	800	244
C	20	Redoubt 3	10	11.4	East to West	North to South	800	114
D	20	Redoubt 3	10	3	East to West	South to North	800	30
E	20	Redoubt 3	6	2	East to West	North to South	800	12
F	20	Cemetery & Redoubt 3	15	7	East to West	South to North	800	105
G	40	Church	8	5	West to East	North to South	800	40
H	40	DeBrahm's Fort	4.8	25	South to North	East to West	800	120
I	40	DeBrahm's Fort	4.8	12	South to North	East to West	800	58
J	40	Redoubt 2	10	20	South to North	East to West	800	200
K	100	West Ward and Streets	10	8	West to East	South to North	800	80
L	100	Church	21.1	7	East to West	North to South	800	148
Total								1,450
Total,		w/o M, A, and A1						1,150

Easy 3D software (Verson 1.0) was used in post-processing the radar data and 3-D imaging in May 2002 under the direction of Jim Cook. Mr. Cook worked closely with Mr. Elliott in this process, which resulted in the creation of a series of plan view maps of the radar sample areas at various depths below the ground surface. This entailed merging the data from the series of radargrams for each block. Once this was accomplished, horizontal slices of these data were examined by Mr. Elliott in consultation with MALÅ GeoScience specialist Jim Cook, for important anomalies and patterns of anomalies, which were likely of cultural relevance. These

data were displayed as aerial plan maps of the sample areas at varying depths below ground surface. These horizontal views, or time-slices, display the radar information at a set time depth in nanoseconds. Time-depth can be roughly equated to depth below ground. This equivalency relationship can be calculated using a mathematical formula.

Although the time zero was frequently reset, the other settings remained constant throughout the survey. This consistency allows for comparison between sample blocks. The number of stacks refers to trace stacking, which is a method of averaging traces to filter out noise. The time window that was selected allowed data gathering to focus on the upper 1.5 meters of soil, which was the zone most likely to yield archeological deposits. Additional filters were used to refine the radar information during post-processing. These include adjustments to the gain. These alterations to the data are reversible, however, and do not affect the original data that was collected.

Upon arrival at the site, the RAMAC X3M Radar Unit was set up for operation. A 500 megahertz shielded antenna was first used to reconnoiter the conditions in the vicinity of British Redoubt 3 and the Jerusalem Church cemetery. Several dozen test lines were run but none of these were firmly established to the site grid, so their research value is limited. The 800 megahertz (MHz) shielded antenna was used for all of the subsequent Survey areas, except for Areas A and A1. Areas A, A1, and M were considered practice exercises and their area is subsumed under Area B, which is discussed below for Redoubt 3.

Area A measured 10 m North to South by 10 m East to West and was surveyed at 20 cm intervals from North to South and progressing from East to West using a 500 megahertz antenna. Area A was chosen to examine the suspected palisade ditch that was discovered by test excavation in 1999. The northeastern corner of Areas A, B, and M is site grid point 695.25m North, 1026.29m East. Grid North is approximately 35 m East of magnetic North. Area A1 was composed of 22 radar transects that were surveyed from North to South and progressed from West to East. This area is contiguous with Area A, although the two samples were collected by progressing from different directions. Together, Areas A and A1 comprise a sample measuring 10 m square. Area M measured 20 m North to South and 5 m East to West. It was placed on the East side of Area B and is completely within Area B. The transect interval was broadened to a distance of one m apart in Area M. Transects were traversed from North to South. The survey progressed from East to West. The 800 megahertz antenna was used to survey this area. Area M also was considered a practice exercise and these transects were subsumed by Area B. Areas B through L are discussed in detail in subsequent chapters of this report. Their dimensions, location, and other pertinent parameters are detailed in Table 1.

DATA ANALYSIS AND REPORTING

The various phases of the present study culminated in the data analysis and reporting phase. For this the historical data, topographic mapping data, and ground penetrating radar data were merged to tell a cohesive story of Ebenezer's role in the American Revolution. This report was submitted to the National Park Service, American Battlefield Protection Program, Washington, D.C.

III. The Revolutionary War and Ebenezer

THE EBENEZER COLONY

The British colony of Georgia was founded in February 1733 and it was the 13th and last colony of British America. Led by James Oglethorpe and with the aid of South Carolina's Governor Bull and the Yamacraw's Mico Tomochichi, the colonists established the town of Savannah, approximately eight miles from the mouth of the river with the same name. Among the original Georgia colonists were a group of German-speaking religious refugees from the Alps, who were known as "Salzburgers". In 1734, they traveled up the Savannah River and established a town called Ebenezer. It was located about six miles west of New Ebenezer on Ebenezer Creek, a major tributary of the Savannah. This was a bad location for a variety of reasons and Ebenezer was abandoned after less than two years. The Salzburgers moved to the "Red Bluff" near the mouth of Ebenezer Creek and established New Ebenezer in the spring of 1736. New Ebenezer was laid out identically to the original plan of Savannah, located approximately 25 miles to the south. The town plan, with its many gardens and public squares, may have been derived from the layout of Peking, China.

Shortly after the formation of the Trustee government of the "new" colony of Georgia, a contingent of Lutheran refugees of the Pietist sect from Salzburg was allowed to emigrate and they were transported from England to America at the Trustee's expense. The first boatload arrived in Savannah in March 1734 led by John Martin Bolzius, a minister trained at the Francke Institute in Halle, Germany. In addition to the support they received from the Trustee government, the Georgia Salzburgers were aided in the founding of their settlement by the Lutheran Church in Germany and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in England. Regular correspondence was maintained between the pastors at Ebenezer and their superiors and benefactors in Europe, beginning with their initial arrival until the early 1760s. A record of life at Ebenezer and New Ebenezer written by the pastors Bolzius, Gronau, Lemke, and Rabenhorst, is preserved in 18 published volumes entitled, *Detailed Reports on the Salzburger Emigrants Who Settled in America...Edited by Samuel Urlsperger*, which have been translated and "de-edited" by George Fenwick Jones and others. By de-edited, this means that sections of the diaries that were deleted by Urlsperger in the 18th century have been re-inserted by Dr. Jones, thus providing a more detailed and accurate account.

Additional boatloads, or "transports", of Salzburgers and other Germans immigrated to New Ebenezer. New Ebenezer covered an area one-quarter mile on each side. The original town plan called for 160 house lots, each measuring 60 x 90 feet. The town was divided into four quadrants or wards, each containing a large public square. These large public lots contained the church, parsonage, commissary, orphanage, and silk filature. At its peak New Ebenezer contained approximately 100 houses and a population between 500 and 1,000 people. Historian Renate Wilson noted that in 1765 there were approximately 3,000 adults and children living in Ebenezer and its satellite settlements of Abercorn, Bethany, Goshen, and the Mill District. By that time, however, New Ebenezer proper experienced a decline in its population as these satellites became more thickly settled and as the residents moved to newly acquired lands in interior Georgia (Wilson 2000b:224, 244).

Ebenezer's clergy during the American Revolution included Christian Rabenhorst, Christopher Triebner, and Herman Lemke. Rabenhorst took the side of the American rebels and both Reverends Rabenhorst and Lemke were dead by 1776, which left the Americans without a religious figurehead throughout most of the war (Jones 1986). Reverend Triebner served the loyalist Jerusalem congregation at Ebenezer throughout most of the war until December 1781, when he evacuated with the other loyalists for Savannah. Triebner submitted erratic and terse annual reports to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and his communication with the Lutheran church fathers was limited to periodic letters. Unfortunately, the vivid record of daily life that was recorded from 1733 to 1760 in *the Detailed Reports* did not continue into the Revolutionary War period. Researchers are forced to draw from less-focused archival sources to reconstruct life in Ebenezer during this vague period of Ebenezer's history.

By 1738 many of the townspeople had established their plantations in the Mill District, located approximately five miles south of New Ebenezer. Additional arrivals in the colony during the early 1750s led to the establishment of another farming settlement at Bethany, north of New Ebenezer, on what was formerly Yuchi Indian land. The town of New Ebenezer began to decline during the mid-1760s, after the death of Reverend John Martin Boltzius, when disagreements arose among the Church congregation over finances and religious matters. A treaty with the Creek Indians in Augusta in 1763 opened up vast areas for European settlement, which also led to a steady exodus from New Ebenezer. Military occupation of New Ebenezer by both the British and American forces during the American Revolution led to a further deterioration of the town and by the war's end the town was virtually abandoned. Attempts were made to revive the town during the 1790s and 1820s, but both were unsuccessful. New Ebenezer became a "Lost City" and entered the realm of the antiquarian and archeologist. The only in situ standing evidence from the colonial period is the Jerusalem Lutheran Church, on which construction began in 1767 and was completed in 1769. The large cemetery, on the south side of town, contains no marked graves from the 1700s.

General James Edward Oglethorpe intended for the Salzburger settlement at New Ebenezer to be a military colony from its inception, along with all the other settlements in Georgia. The Salzburgers, while not entirely pacifistic like the Moravians, did not seek military confrontation. A number of Salzburgers intended for settlement on the southern frontier at Frederica begged to settle at New Ebenezer, much to Oglethorpe's chagrin. A few of New Ebenezer's residents served Georgia as Provincial Rangers, but most Ebenezerites shunned active military service during most of the colonial period. When a formal militia system was implemented by the Royal government, the people of New Ebenezer did their part. It was not until the 1770s, however, that the full impact of military life was thrust onto the peaceful people of New Ebenezer.

The Stamp Act, which was enacted by Parliament in 1765, planted the seeds of unrest in Georgia that would lead to revolution. In July 1774 a committee composed of prominent citizens in the Georgia colony met near Savannah. No residents of Ebenezer were included in this committee, although a few residents of the general vicinity, including David Zubly and John Stirk, were present. David Zubly was the son of Reverend John Joachim Zubly, who later became an outspoken loyalist. Like his father, David Zubly would later renounce the American cause. At a later date following this meeting, the people of St. Matthews Parish, where Ebenezer was located, were encouraged to sign a petition, which many of them did. Once they realized the full intent of the resolution, they publicly voiced that they had been deceived and renounced their support of this document by stating:

We who have put our names to this paper, inhabitants of the Parish of St. Matthew, and Town of Ebenezer, think it necessary, in this public manner, to declare, that about the 4th day of this instant, August [1774], we were told by certain persons, that we must send a petition home to our King, in regard to the Bostonians, to beg for relief, as a child begs a father, when he expects correction, and that all those who would not join must sign their name, that they might know how many would be in this parish, and that should we decline what was recommended, we must expect the Stamp Act imposed upon us. By these and like flattering words, we were persuaded to sign, but we find we are deceived, for, that the people who met at Savannah, on the 10th inst., did not petition our King, but made up a paper, which we think is very wrong, and may incur the displeasure of his Majesty, so as to prevent us from having soldiers to help us in case of an Indian war. We, therefore, disagree entirely to the said paper, and do hereby protest against any resolutions that are, or hereafter may be, entered into on this. Signed... (Candler 2001: 1:21-22).

The history of Ebenezer in the American Revolution is complex, as will be evidenced in the documentation provided in the following discussion. A capsule summary of major events is provided in [Table 2](#).

Table 2. Timetable of Important Military Events at Ebenezer.

Month	Year	Significant Military Events Affected Ebenezer
March	1776	American Rebels throwing up defensive works at Ebenezer
May	1776	American Rebel weapons stored at Ebenezer by Captain Jacob Walthour
	1778	Pork to be stored at Ebenezer for American military
February	1778	Magazine and 12 militia guards under (American) Charles McKay at Ebenezer
March	1778	American Captain Moore stationed at Magazine at Ebenezer
		Executive Council authorizes Ebenezer Magazine with 7000 wt of gunpowder guarded by McKay and 16 men with two centry boxes
July	1778	Resolution to move lead and powder from Savannah to Ebenezer
November	1778	Reverend Christian Triebner escorts British forces into Ebenezer
December	1778	Lt. Col. Campbell establishes HQ at Ebenezer; leaves 2nd Battalion, 71st Highland Regiment to guard Ebenezer; Approximately 3,000 regular British troops and unknown number of irregulars at Ebenezer; Lt. Col. Campbell's troops building redoubts at Ebenezer to shut up gorge between two swamps; established Ebenezer as advance Magazine
January	1779	2nd Battalion, 71st Highland Regiment withdraws for Augusta leaving Hessians in garrison;
January	1779	Brigadier Gen. Prevost establishes his HQ at Ebenezer
May	1779	Brigadier General Prevost noted that a "sufficient garrison" was left at Ebenezer
		Major General Prevost and his army withdraw from Ebenezer for Charleston; 300 Hessians left at Ebenezer
June	1779	Kings Rangers abandon Ebenezer and burn powder magazine; Pulaski's Legion invade remaining
September	1779	British garrison at Ebenezer, skirmish ensues
September	1779	American troops under Generals Lincoln and McIntosh camp briefly at Ebenezer (possibly more than 4,000 men)
October	1779	General Lincoln and American troops camped a few days upon the Heights of Ebenezer following Savannah defeat
		Major Goebel and 200 regular Hessian troops at Ebenezer; Ebenezer a retreat for persecuted loyalists in interior Georgia and South Carolina
May	1781	Royal Governor Wright reported Rebels within 5 miles of Ebenezer, inhabitants taken to swamps
June	1781	British troops and Reverend Triebner and other loyalist families evacuate Ebenezer for Savannah, then St. Augustine, then the Bahamas
December	1781	Major General Anthony Wayne and American troops arrive in lower Savannah River region; establish HQ at Ebenezer
January	1782	General Wayne reinforced by Posey's Virginia Battalion
April	1782	British make unsuccessful cavalry and infantry sortie to dislodge General Wayne
May	1782	British make unsuccessful cavalry and infantry sortie to dislodge General Wayne
June	1782	General Wayne leaves Ebenezer with troops driving British back to Savannah
July	1782	Georgia Legislature meets at Ebenezer
September	1783	Treaty of Paris; War with England ends

AMERICAN GEORGIA, 1775 TO 1779

Formation of the Georgia Military

The elected representatives from St. Matthew's Parish to the Georgia Provincial Congress on July 1775 were: John Stirk, John Adam Treutlen, George Walton, Edward Jones, Jacob Waldhauer, Philip Howell, Isaac Young, Jenkin Davis, John Morel, John Flurl [Flerl], Charles McKay, and Christopher Cramer. Of these men, Stirk, Treutlen, Waldhauer, Flerl, and Cramer were German residents of the Ebenezer vicinity and Charles McKay commanded a militia company at Ebenezer (Candler 2001: 1: 230).

On November 4, 1775 the Continental Congress passed a resolution authorizing one Continental battalion in Georgia, which was to consist of 728 men, including officers. The Georgia battalion was to be divided into eight companies, each containing: "one Captain, two Lieutenants, one Ensign, 4 Sergeants, 4 corporals, two drums or fifes and seventy-six privates" (Candler 2001: 1:77-78). Colonel Lachlan McIntosh, Lieutenant Colonel Samuel Elbert, and Major Joseph Habersham were appointed to command the Georgia battalion (Candler 2001: 1:273). Georgia's Germans were poorly represented in the roster of this battalion.

Lachlan McIntosh, a Georgian, was a Brigadier General in the Continental Army (Hawes 1957). Colonel (later Brigadier General) Samuel Elbert was another Georgian who served in the Continental Army (Harden 1905). Both McIntosh and Elbert played important roles in Georgia's military defense, although neither was significantly linked to Ebenezer (although McIntosh visited Ebenezer briefly in September 1779). The Georgia Continentals were greatly reduced as a result of the December 1778 capture of Savannah, the January 1779 capture of Sunbury, and the March 1779 defeat in the battle of Brier Creek. For a significant portion of the war, those who were not killed or captured fought in battles beyond Georgia. Also, many of the men who enlisted in the Georgia Continental regiments were from other states.

At the Beginning of the American Revolution, Major General Charles Lee was in command of the Southern District of the Continental Army, which included Georgia (Table 3). Lee's command was short, lasting only from March 1st to September 9th 1776 and Lee apparently had little or no involvement with Ebenezer (Wright 1983). Major General Lee was replaced by Major General Robert Howe, who served in command of the Southern District until September 25, 1778, when he was relieved by Major General Benjamin Lincoln. General Howe did not leave the Georgia scene in September, however, as he commanded the Americans in defense of Savannah in December, 1778, which resulted in an American defeat. General Benjamin Lincoln had been appointed to replace General Howe and was on his way with his troops from Charleston to join with General Howe when Lincoln received word of American defeat at Savannah. General Lincoln commanded the Southern District until June 13, 1780, when he and his men were captured in the British Siege of Charleston. General Lincoln was replaced by Major General Horatio Gates. General Gates and his army were soon defeated at Camden, South Carolina and his command of the Southern District lasted only from June 13 to October 31, 1780. Major General Nathanael Greene replaced Gates as commander of the Southern District, where he served in the Carolinas until war's end.

Table 3. General Command of the American Southern District, 1776 to 1783.

Commanding American General	Period of Service
Charles Lee	1 March 1776 to 9 September 1776
Robert Howe	9 September 1776 to 25 September 1778
Benjamin Lincoln	25 September 1778 to 13 June 1780
Horatio Gates	13 June 1780 to 31 October 1780
Nathanael Greene	31 October 1780 to September 1783

On the eve of the American Revolution New Ebenezer was an American Rebel stronghold, although the community was deeply torn over their allegiance to the British Monarchy. Reverends Triebner and Rabenhorst, who had a long running feud over Church politics, were both vying for the hearts and minds of the Jerusalem Church congregation. Rabenhorst was the spokesman for the Rebel cause and Triebner for the Tories. The Ebenezer community was sharply divided in 1774 in a debate over the acts of Parliament (Brantley 1930:219). Their arguing was cut short in 1776 when Rabenhorst died, leaving Triebner as the sole voice for the church in Ebenezer. In spite of Triebner's views, however, by March, 1776 earthworks had been "thrown up" by the rebels under Captain Jacob Walthour at New Ebenezer (Georgia Historical Society 1873:239; Candler 1908, 2:120). From March 1776 to November 1778, New Ebenezer served as a major supply depot for arms, munitions, and foodstuffs for the American rebels (Candler 2001, 2:39-40, 57, 82, 115, 119).

The Georgia regiment was organized from January to April, 1776, and consisted of eight companies. The 1st and 2nd Troops of Georgia Horse were authorized. Officers for the Georgia regiment were elected by the Georgia Provincial Congress on February 16th. The Georgia Regiment was commanded by Colonel Lachlan McIntosh, who by April 28th had raised about half the army authorized. On February 27 the Georgia regiment was assigned to the Southern Department of the Continental Army under command of Robert Howe. The rosters of the Georgia Continentals contain very few men from Ebenezer (Oglesby 2002).

Colonel William Henry Drayton, of South Carolina, was appointed to command the militia of the Parishes of St. Matthew, St. George, and St. Paul in January, 1776. Colonel Drayton recommended to the Council of Safety on January 16th that a meeting be advertised for the residents of St. Mathews Parish, "near Tuckisaw-Kings, being within the District of Capt. Goldwire's company of Militia", in order to elect a delegate to the next Provincial Congress. Captain Wells reported at that meeting that a quantity of ammunition had already been moved from Savannah to Ebenezer (Candler 2001, 1:99-100). On May 2, 1776 the minutes of the Council of Safety noted: "Col. Elbert made application for an order to procure such arms, bayonets and gun locks as may be in charge of Capt. Jacob Walthour at Ebenezer, for the use of the Battallion, which was granted" (Candler 2001:120). Captain James Goldwire commanded a company of Georgia militia, January 1776. His militia district included the Tuckasee King vicinity of St. Matthews parish, a few miles north of Ebenezer. Within a few years, however,

James Goldwire was to switch his allegiance to become an officer in the British Army. (Candler 2001: 1:96-100, 309, 381).

On May 14, 1776, John Adam Treutlen, a prominent tavern keeper, planter, and merchant in Ebenezer, was present at a Council of Safety meeting (Figure 9). From that day Treutlen's involvement with the Rebel government grew stronger and in May 1777 Treutlen was elected the first Governor of the State of Georgia (Candler 2001: 1: 122, 305-306). Treutlen's appointment of Lachlan McIntosh as head of the Georgia Continental battalion upset Button Gwinnett and these circumstances led to a later duel between Gwinnett and McIntosh in which Gwinnett was slain. This struggle for control of the Georgia battalion delayed the American's campaign against British Florida. Treutlen would later issue a proclamation in July 1777 offering a reward for Colonel William Drayton's capture for his efforts to "Poison the minds" of Georgians, following the controversial dueling death of Button Gwinnett.



Figure 9. Governor John Adam Treutlen.

On May 15th the Council of Safety ordered: "...that the Militia now doing duty at Ebenezer be discharged". On May 23rd the Council of Safety minutes recorded that John Wreat and James Jackson were ordered to Ebenezer to procure the jury box there and the Court House at Ebenezer was ordered cleaned and repaired in order to hold the "Court of General Sessions" there (Candler 2001: 1: 126, 130).

On June 8th military commissions were issued to Captain John Flerl, First Lieutenant Christopher Cramer, Second Lieutenant Jacob Ihle, Sr., and Second Lieutenant Christian Steiner (Candler 2001, 1:137). These men, who were all residents of Ebenezer, formed the officers in a company, "in the Lower District of the Parish of St. Matthew" of the 2nd Battalion, 1st Georgia regiment. Captain John Flerl was dead before the end of 1777 (Colonial Will Book AA:285). Officers commanding the company representing the Upper District of St. Matthew's Parish were

commissioned on June 25th (Candler 2001, 1:144). None of these men from the Upper District, however, were German, which illustrates the demographic patterning within Effingham County at the beginning of the war.

A list of persons considered, “dangerous to the liberties of America” was presented to the Council of Safety on June 26nd (Candler 2001: 1:146). The list included Doctor Zubly [John Joachim Zubly], now a staunch “Royalist” but who earlier had served the Georgians as a delegate to the Continental Congress. Doctor Zubly was ordered to be taken into custody by the Council. No Ebenezerites were on this list. Zubly was loosely associated with the Ebenezer colony. He had been a colleague of Reverend Boltzius and had operated a ferry across the Savannah River near the Ebenezer Mill District.

On July 2nd commissions were issued to Captain Jacob Tusing and First Lieutenants Matthias Rahn and Casper Griener in the Bethany Company of Militia, 2nd Battalion, 1st Georgia regiment. John Adam Treutlen, Philip Howell, James Goldwire, John Stirk, John Casper Waldhauer, Abraham Ravot, Doniel Bonnell, Benjamin Liner, and John Goldwire were appointed Magistrates for St. Matthew’s Parish. On July 5th the Continental Congress ordered two additional battalions added to the Georgia Continentals and authorized two Companies of Artillery to be raised to garrison forts to be erected at Savannah and Sunbury (Candler 2001, 1: 149, 196-197).

1st Campaign against East Florida

Although most of the 1st Georgia regiment was composed of local Georgians, the 2nd, 3rd and 4th regiments included many men from other states. By early August 1776, as they began their first unsuccessful expedition against East Florida, the Georgia Continental army consisted of: the 1st Georgia regiment; 2nd Georgia regiment; 3rd Georgia regiment; 1st Georgia Continental Artillery and, the Georgia regiment of Horse Rangers, which consisted of 10 Ranger troops (Oglesby 2002).

The Georgia army returned from their Florida expedition in October, 1776. That fall and winter the 2nd Georgia, 3rd Georgia, 1st Georgia Artillery, and 2nd Georgia Artillery were reorganized. In January 1777 the Regiment of Horse Rangers was reorganized into 12 troops. In February a 4th Georgia Regiment was authorized by the Continental Congress and the Georgia Provincial Artillery was adopted into the Continental Army and renamed the 3rd Georgia Continental Artillery Company (Oglesby 2002).

On December 7, 1776 commissions were issued by the Council of Safety to Captain Jonathan Keebler, First Lieutenant Charles Mackay, Second Lieutenant Martin Dasher, and Third Lieutenant Daniel Tretler in the Grenadier Company in the Lower District of St. Matthews (Candler 2001: 1:220). All of these men were probably associated with Ebenezer.

Immediately across the river in South Carolina, the Americans also were gaining momentum. The town of Purysburg became a focal point for rebel military bivouacs. Colonel Stephen Bull issued the following orders from Purysburg, South Carolina on March 9, 1776:

Order, The Troops are to embark this day in different boats now at the landing, on board of which the commanding officers of each detachment are to have their baggage put.

Order, The detachments are to take post in the line of march as follows; the Charlestown Light Infantry to take the right; the Charlestown Volunteers on their left; the Charleston Fusiliers on their left; and the Charlestown rangers on their left. The Beaufort Light Infantry take post on the left of

the line, the St. Helena Company on their right; the Huspa Volunteers on the right, and Euhaw Volunteers on their right; the officers of line not to take post according to seniority, but to act and command their own detachments.

Order, The officers and men of the Charlestown Light Infantry with Sergeant Black, and the Beaufort Artillery men or matrosses [sic] to embark in the decked armed host as an advanced guard to the line, who are to keep about one hundred and fifty yards before the line, and then the line follow.

Order, That a Sergeant and thirteen men of the Euhaw Volunteers form the rear guard, and follow in the rear of the line.

Order, The guns of the advanced and rear guards are to be loaded before embarkation with running ball; the swivel guns on board the boats to be loaded and charged with cannister or grape shot The LINTSTOCKS, wads, and every thing necessary to be on board.

Order, That as officer of each detachment before embarkation do examine and see that the cartridges are not too deep in the boxes, but that the caps may be so far out, as to be readily taken out, in time of action. Should the cartouch boxes be too deep for the cartridges, then in that case let there be a wad of moss put to the bottom of each so as to raise them to a proper height; the officers to see that the cartridges are so fitted that they will readily go down the barrels of the guns even after many firings.

Order, That the officers do instruct their men how properly to charge with cartridge; that is after uncapping, to let the whole of the powder, run down the barrel, before they ram down the paper and ball; for by neglecting this and ramming before the powder is out, the paper is apt to stop the touch holes and prevent firing.

Order, That the officers do examine the guns of the line, and that none be loaded but upon apprehension of an attack, and then the first charge be with running ball, for which purpose each man should be provided with moss wadding in his pocket.

Order, That when the line is disembarked and landed in Georgia, the whole line is to form two deep, the right of the line to march foremost with the advanced guard, about one hundred and fifty yards a head; the light horse before them about a quarter of a mile, who are to examine every thicket, suspicious place or swamp near the road, where an ambuscade or armed force may lay concealed as soon as they discover such suspicious place, the commanding officer of the light horse is to send a non-commissioned officer or intelligent private to give information to the commanding officer of the line, which is to halt; when the commanding officer of the light horse has examined and finds there is no enemy in the place suspected, he is to make a report accordingly, upon which the line will march.

Order, That if the advanced guards are attacked they are by no means to retreat, but at all hazards maintain their ground as they may depend on being supported by the line.

Order, The detachments to be told off in platoons in proportion to the number of officers and men.

Order, That no soldier do fire his gun without orders from an officer; no soldier to quit his rank or platoon without leave of an officer.

Order, That a roster be kept of the officers and men, that each officer and private may take the tour of their different duties.

Order, That Sergeant Black do distribute the cartridges and shot in size of the swivels, and that the eighteen pound shot, spare powder and lead, be properly stowed in the boat, in which the rear of the line do embark, of which the commanding officer of the Beaufort Light Infantry is to take charge.

Order, All orders delivered by Capt. Doharty are to be obeyed, he being one appointed by Col. Bull, for that purpose.

Order, That a Sergeant and six men do march as a flanking party on the right, and another Sergeant and six men on the left, to march at one hundred yards distance from the line in Indian file, each man to be about fifty yards distance from each other, and should they discover any enemy they are to fire on them, and to retreat to the line, and give notice that the line may face towards the enemy, and not be attacked to disadvantage. The two Sergeants and their men to be relieved every half hour alternately, by those detachments who have not any men on duty in the advanced and rear guards....Thos. Rutledge, Adjutant.

AFTER ORDERS.

Order, The troops, for sufficient reasons, do not embark this day, but Capt. John Huger of the Volunteers, Lieutenant Fenwicke of the Rangers, and Capt. John Jenkins of the St. Helena Volunteers, do order their drums to beat and muster their men on the parade joining the Church; from thence march them to the landing where the Pettiaugers are; there to embark as many men as they will conveniently hold, in order to judge of the number of boats that will be necessary. Order, That the General do beat by dawn of day to-morrow the baggage stowed, and the tents left standing till breakfast is over, and two only to be carried to shelter the guards that be at any out-post.... Thos. Rutledge, Adjutant (Gibbes 1972: (1) 262-264).

A general return of the troops assembled by Colonel [Stephen] Bull at Purysburg was made on March 10. This return a total of 442 troops who were on duty in the service of Georgia, including 40 who were, "On duty at Ebenezer, guarding powder and the records of Georgia" (Gibbes 1972, 1:261). Although Gibbes' return did not specify what units were assigned to Ebenezer, the units listed in the return included the following troops, totaling 222, at Purysburg: Charles Town Volunteer, Rangers, Light Infantry, and Fusiliers; Beaufort Light Infantry, St. Helena Volunteers, Euhaw Volunteers, Huspa Volunteers, and the Light Horse. By March 19th Captain Richard B. Roberts Company of the South Carolina Corps of Artillery, led by Colonel Owen Roberts, had joined Colonel Bull's army at Purysburg (Gibbes 1972, 1:109).

Once organized the troops of the Southern Continental Army implemented a campaign to conquer East Florida. Ebenezer's role in this campaign was primarily as a supply depot, although many troops probably passed through the town and bivouaced there for short periods, while in transit.

2nd Campaign against East Florida

By February 1777 the British troops from East Florida, under Colonel Fuser, were threatening Georgia. Colonel Fuser made an attempt to capture Fort Morris at Sunbury but was rebuffed. British troops penetrated as far north as Ogeechee Ferry in that campaign (Moultrie 1802:189).

On February 1, 1777, one third of the militia from St. Matthews Parish was ordered to Medway [Midway] Meeting House, where they were to remain until further orders (Candler 2001: 1:225). By April 1777 the Georgians launched a second offensive against East Florida, which would also prove unsuccessful. The expedition returned on May 4th and Lachlan McIntosh was reassigned by George Washington to the Northern theatre. Samuel Elbert was placed in command of the Georgia troops (Oglesby 2002). For most of the rest of the war, McIntosh was busied in campaigns outside of Georgia, although he participated in the unsuccessful siege of Savannah in 1779.

Major General Robert Howe wrote from Savannah to General William Moultrie on March 16, 1777: "Thompson's are at Purisburgh, and will be ordered to march tomorrow". General Howe wrote to North Carolina Governor Caswell in April 1777 concerning Georgia's defenses, noting that the situation: "...is truly deplorable; it must fall if it cannot get its battalions full". By June 1777 Howe had returned to Charleston and the 2nd Campaign against East Florida had ended without success (Moultrie 1802:189, 191-192; Naisawald 1951:25).

Meanwhile, Ebenezer continued to serve as a supply depot and bivouac station. It also had taken on the role as a refuge for rebel supporters in the backcountry. By 1777 the loyalist Reverend Christian Triebner was declared a prisoner of war by the American rebels (SPCK 1778). Apparently Triebner spent some period in confinement on at least one occasion for his political views. While Royal Governor James Wright was in exile, the majority of sentiment in New

Ebenezer favored the rebel cause. On July 10, 1778 George Hipp wrote to American Colonel Benjamin Garden describing the Whigs who were seeking protection at Purysburg and Ebenezer. Hipp wrote, "None mind the oath but those that went to Major Vanbram at Ebenezer, and they all got printed certificates" (Gibbes 1972, 1:120). His reference to Major Vonbram probably refers to Major Ferdinand DeBrahm, who in 1779 and 1780 served as an engineer on Major General Lincoln's staff.

Georgia militia commanders at New Ebenezer during 1778 included Charles McKay and Captain Moore. The number of guards at the Ebenezer magazine was increased from 12 to 17. Captain Moore may have been the same Moore who commanded the 2nd Georgia Regiment of the Continentals. He also may have been synonymous with Major Francis Moore, who was killed in battle at Reid's Bluff, Georgia in the Spring of 1782 (Heitman 1967:398; Campbell 1981:110). There may be a connection between this Captain Moore and Major Francis Moore whose name appears in 1779 muster lists for the 2nd Georgia Continentals and who served in the Georgia Brigade at Silver Bluff in 1779 (Candler 2001: 1, 84; NARA 1957: M246, Roll 32).

On February 13, 1778, the Continental Congress heard a committee report on the state of Georgia's defenses, along with recommendations for their improvement. Two thousand continental troops were requested for Georgia. At that time Georgia's defenses included: four Battalions of Infantry, one of Horse, three Companies of Artillery, and six Row Gallies (Journal of the Continental Congress 2002). Revisions to the troop composition in Georgia were proposed:

Resolved, That there shall be from this time only two Battalions of Infantry to be composed out of the four old Battalions, the first, new Battalion to be under the Command of Colonel -- Lieutenant Colonel -- and Major -- the Captains, Lieutenants, Ensigns, Surgeons, and other Officers to be chosen by a Majority of the Field Officers above mentioned, out of the first and second old Battalions. The second new Battalion to be commanded by Colonel -- Lieut Colonel -- and Major --, the Captains, Ensigns, Surgeons, and other Officers to be chosen by a majority of the above field Officers, out of the third and fourth old Battalions: the Privates of the three artillery Companies to be incorporated into two: the first under Captain Thomas Lee and his officers to remain in and about Savannah; and the other under Captain Thomas Morris and his officers in and about Sunbury. The Battalion of Horse to be reduced to four Independant Companies, of fifty Privates each, under the Command of Capt: --....There shall be two Row Gallies, with the usual Officers and fifty Privates each, together with one large or two small armed Sea Vessels, to cruize constantly on the coast and protect the Trade. These Vessels to be instead of the Gallies already built there, which shall be sold. and the Money appropriated for the use of the Sea Vessels aforesaid...

3rd Campaign against East Florida

Writing in Savannah on December 24, 1777, Major General Robert Howe quoted Brigadier General William Moultrie concerning the Scopholites, who were threatening the interior of Georgia: "The Scopholites were some of the Tories who were led by one Col. Scophol, Col of militia, an illiterate, stupid, noisy blockhead" (Moultrie 1802:197). The Scopholites, commanded by Colonel Scovel was a group of 500 to 800 loyalists who, in April 1778, cut a path from Ninety-Six in South Carolina to East Florida, burning and plundering Whig settlements in Georgia (Olson 1970:9-10; Lambert 1987). This group was part of a broader migration of loyalists who left the Carolinas for East Florida in 1777 and 1778.

In February 1778 the Continental Congress resolved that Major General Howe should implement a plan to reduce British East Florida. Frustrated with Howe's performance, Congress resolved in

June to recall Howe. Although he was aware of this action, Howe did not receive the official notification of it until late November 1778. By that time, the massive British attack forced Howe to remain in Georgia until his replacement, Benjamin Lincoln, arrived (Naisawald 1951:27-29).

In May 1778 the Georgians were part of a third and final unsuccessful offensive against East Florida. This campaign, which was led by Howe, suffered from a lack of subservience among the commanding officers, as well as rampant sickness among the troops. After pushing as far south as Fort Tonyn on the St. Mary's River, Howe called a council of war to discuss their strategy. The council was held on July 11th and the officers present were: "Maj Gen Howe and Cols Elbert, White, Pinckney, Everleigh, Taarling, Stirk, Rae; Lt. Cols Roberts, Henderson, Scott, McIntosh; Majors Brown, Wise, Habersham, Romans, Pinckney, Lane, and Lowe" (Howe 1778:181). When his officers were questioned by Howe: "Does not the Sickness which so fatally prevails in the Army render a Retreat immediately necessary?", they answered affirmatively. Although Howe spent quite some time in Georgia between August 1776 and December 1778, none of the entries in his orderly book, which end abruptly on July 14, 1778, refer to Ebenezer.

By November 27, 1778 Howe wrote to Moultrie from his headquarters a few miles south of Ebenezer at Zubly's Ferry advising Moultrie that Georgia was in a "...serious state of being lost" to the British. Moultrie responded the following day advising Howe that, "...Thompson's Regiment is not far from you, they are taking the shortest rout to Purisburgh". On December 8th, Howe wrote to Moultrie, "...the enemy undoubtedly are at St. Simon's where they are repairing the fort, and where the regulars remain..." (Moultrie 1802:243-249).

From 1776 to Autumn 1778 the British in East Florida repeatedly harrassed the Georgians with minor raids by regular troops, Tories, and Indians. Over that same period of time New Ebenezer was controlled by American interests and the threat of a British invasion was relatively slim. Between October and November 1778 the American military in Georgia was in a state of high alert in anticipation of a British attack. The Americans took precautionary measures, which included: "storing food provisions in magazines at Sunbury, Savannah, Augusta, Brownsboro, Wrightsboro, Ebenezer, Telfair, Tenats, Lawson's Fort, New Savannah, Colemans, and Heard's and Denis's forts" (Naisawald 1951:24; Searcy 1985:158).

LOYALISTS IN GEORGIA 1775 TO 1779

As noted, the Ebenezer community was deeply divided in their loyalty to King George III. Governor Wright wrote to Lord Germain from Cockspur Island on March 20, 1776 informing him that the rebels were fortifying Ebenezer and he emphasized, "things grow worse every hour" (Davies 1978:10:245). The following day Governor Wright boarded the *HMS Scarborough* at Cockspur and became a governor in exile. Despite their abandonment by Governor Wright, a sizeable faction of the townspeople of Ebenezer remained loyal to King George throughout the war. A list of traitors for the American cause in Georgia, included in an Act of Attainder on March 1, 1778 did not include any Germans from Ebenezer (Candler 2001: 1:326-347).

The spiritual and political leader of the Loyalist faction at Ebenezer was Reverend Christopher Frederick Triebner. Reverend Triebner wrote from Savannah on August 14, 1777 to Reverend Henry Muhlenberg, the senior Lutheran minister in America who lived in Pennsylvania, stating, "the congregation at Eben-Ezer is in a deplorable condition--chiefly owing to themselves" (Tappert and Doberstein 1948:85). Reverend Muhlenberg wrote in his journal on November 24,

1777: “Mr. Caspar Wertsch, my old patron and friend in Eben Ezer, was imprisoned for becoming involved in political matters and for plotting with the British in Augustin as to how they might deal most advantageously with the Independents in Georgia...”(Tappert and Doberstein 1948:107).

Rangers were an instrumental component of the British Army in their bid to control the South. Rangers had been successfully employed in South Carolina as early as the 1710s and were among the first troops in Georgia in 1733. Georgia established its own Ranger troop by the late 1730s. The Georgia Rangers were officially disbanded in the early 1760s, although a later troop of Rangers was formed to secure the recently ceded lands above Augusta. The latter troop of Rangers was originally garrisoned at Fort James in the forks of the Broad and Savannah rivers. These men served as guards for Royal Governor James Wright in the years leading up to the American Revolution in the Savannah Region. East Florida’s Governor Patrick Tonyn ordered the formation of a Ranger troop for this same purpose. These rangers performed numerous tasks ranging from military raids on American posts in the interior to the more mundane task of gathering up the free ranging livestock for the British food stores. Rangers, many of whom were former Indian traders, frequently performed these duties with the assistance of Indian allies. By the time of the arrival of the British invasion force in 1779 the Georgia Rangers had dissolved. Although Ebenezer had its own ranger troop in the late 1730s and early 1740s, commanded by Captain Thomas Bichler [Pichler], none were garrisoned at Ebenezer at the beginning of the American Revolution.

The rangers and their loyalist Indian allies were the primary British military force in the lower Savannah River region prior to the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell’s army in November 1778. As loyalists (do find and replace for “loyalist” and “Loyalist” and consistently use either the capital or lowercase l) began to flock to East Florida in 1777 and 1778 the need for a ranger troop was recognized. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown, commander of the East Florida Rangers, is one of the more colorful military leaders in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina in the American Revolution. Brown’s biography by Cashin (1999) is well covered and that work clearly establishes Brown’s significance as a military leader in the War. Brown arrived in Georgia in the early 1770s and commanded the East Florida Rangers, who were later renamed the King’s Rangers. Colonel Brown’s Rangers were the primary British ranger regiment in the South. After being tortured by the Whigs in South Carolina, Brown became a vicious adversary in Georgia’s guerrilla war. Brown and his men teamed up with loyalist Creek and Choctaw Indians to become a very effective fighting unit. Colonel Thomas Brown and his rangers were stationed for an extended period at New Ebenezer. It is reasonable to conclude that Brown’s contingent at New Ebenezer included a few Creek and/or Choctaw warriors. Brown’s military actions in Georgia were of great strategic importance and served to prolong British control in the South. Brown’s task was clear and he was keenly loyal to King George, as demonstrated in a letter to his superior: “...I am therefore to hope that you will see this matter in the light...to order a sufficient number of troops here to dislodge General Wayne & his army, which I conceive will be rendering a most essential service to His Majesty & His cause in America”(Cashin 1999).

A General Return of the East Florida Rangers Commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown was made on January 24, 1777, covering the period since December 24 1776. Brown’s staff officers included 1 Adjutant, 1 Quartermaster, and 1 Surgeon. Brown’s command consisted of 12 officers, 16 non-commissioned officers, and 90 enlisted men. The 1st Ranger Troop was commanded by Captain James Moore and under his command were 1 Lieutenant, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, and 25 Privates. The 2nd Troop was commanded by Captain Joseph Smith and those

under his command included 1 Lieutenant, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, and 25 Privates. The 3rd Troop was commanded by Captain James Philips and his command included 1 Lieutenant, 2 Sergeants, 2 Corporals, and 19 Privates. The 4th Ranger Troop was commanded by Captain Moses Whitley and his troop consisted of 1 Lieutenant, 2 Serjeants, 2 Corporals, and 21 Privates (Cole and Braisted 2002; BPRO TO/1/533/239).

Royal Governor Patrick Tonyn of East Florida was one of Brown's strongest supporters. Tonyn wrote to Brigadier General Prevost on December 24, 1777 from St. Augustine and provided him with a lengthy assessment of the military in the South:

The Rangers are composed of the Inhabitants of this Province & Refugees from the Province of Carolina & Georgia. The Refugees were a heavy Expence to Governmt. to ease which I thought it expedient to join them in the Corps of Rangers, in order to render them also of Service to His Majesty. The Corps is raised under articles of agreement which I remember to have had the Honor to shew you some Time ago.

By these Articles they are engaged to act under the Orders of Governmt. & they are attested to serve three Years or during the Rebellious Troubles-

Their being first raised was from Necessity in the Summer 1776 when the province was invaded by the Rebels & the new Levies of the 60th Regiment incomplete & for the want of Time cou'd be considered as no other raw undisciplined Recruits & without the means of being supplied with Necessaries from the Scarcity in the Province; or could they be acquainted with the Woods.

The Militia & Rangers are a Provincial Institution & as the Province has no Provincial Legislature I am directed by his Majesty's Instructions to regulate matters of Police as near as may be to the regulations established in the neighbouring Provinces. When the provincial Troops are called upon Service & act with his Majesty's Regular Troops they are then I presume Sir immediately under the Orders of the Commdg. Officer agreeable to the 10th Section of the Articles of War.

His Majesty's Commission to me as Capt. Genl. & Govr. in Chief of this Province, investing the sole & absolute authority to levy, arm & muster, Command & employ all Persons residing within this Province as occasion shall serve & them to embark & Transport from place to place &c. This Investigation of power delegated by his Majesty I cannot alienate without Infringing on the Constitution of the Province and I am apprehensive wou'd be of dangerous Tendency on the Minds of the People and were I to relinquish this Delegation it wou'd end and anger the Contract agreed upon by the Rangers who wou'd think it broke & themselves dissolved.

I conceive Sir it is not in my Power to give up the Command of the Provincial Troops, it is what I cannot do, but in a Constitution way, agreeable to the Articles of War founded on the Acts of Parliament.

Having Sir I imagine amply explained the System the Rangers are upon whatever you think proper to require of them by signifying your Intention to me they shall instantly have orders to fulfill & when they are joined with the Kings Troops they will Consequently under your Orders & that of other Officers agreeable to the Articles of War.

Upon this Foundation Sir you may have them posted in whatever form you please & order them on any party or Detachment either with or without His Majesty's Troops & believe that I shall most readily cooperate with you & if the above is not sufficiently satisfactory to you I shall be happy to have a free & Candid Conference with you & endeavour to accomodate myself entirely to your Sentiments.

As I am sincere in promoting whatever you may judge Sir, for the good of His Majesty's Service & having mentioned the augmentation of the Rangers to forty Men a Company, for one [illegible] many as a provision for the last Body of Carolina Refugees that arrived & as I am informed near five hundred more are at this Time hiding [sic] in the woods & may probably come here

if you Sir prefer to raise a Troop as you formerly proposed or as many as you please, to be entirely under your immediate Command, it wou'd further relieve Government of an unavoidable Expence in supporting them & wou'd render them usefull [sic] to His Majesty's Service

if you think proper to put a plan of this kind into Execution I shall with pleasure give you all the assistance in my Power to raise them & I will put a Stop to the present Augmentation of the Rangers.

I take the Liberty to acknowledge the Support you have extended to the Rangers in granting them His Majesty's Rations without which they cou'd not exist on the Frontiers & I return you thanks for the Assistance you have hitherto afforded them & I hope for Continuation of it.

I had the honor to communicate to you Letters from Capt. Fenshaw & his plan for supplying his Majesty's Ships on the Southern Station with Water & Provisions from St. Mary's River & I shall be happy in Cooperating with you Sir, upon any Measure you will please to adopt, to forward the Execution of this important & desireable [sic] Object.

Some Bodies of Indians being arrived & I expect a Succession of their Tribes to arrive here during the Winter & the Spring as this is a proper Time to procure fresh Provisions for this Town & Garrison I shall be happy to cooperate in any plan for that purpose which you may think fit to adopt.

The *Rebecca* Sloop being essentially of Service for the Internal Defence [sic] of the Province, will also assist in Capt. Fenshaw's Plan you will give me Leave to request of you Sir to encourage the Measure by Strengthening her armament in fixing a Sergeants Commd. of 18 Privates on board the *Rebecca* or any Number you may Conveniently spare.

I have had it long in Speculation you may remember Sir my having frequently mentioned the easy Conquest of the Province of Georgia & the many Advantages that wou'd accrue from it.

I have mentioned how far it has been suggested by lord George Germain: but we continue so much in the Dark with Respect to the Operations, State & Success of the Northern Armies that I am apprehensive until we hear from Gen. Howe no plan can absolutely be formed.

Your Regiment well disciplined as they now are & the other Troops in the Garrison flushed with Success against the Rebels with the Rangers, Indians & Volunteers that might easily be procured wou'd I am convinced easily effect it relieve Numbers of the distressed & persecuted Friends of Government in that Back Country & afford a Store House for His Majesty's forces; but I need not trouble you with Suggestions on that Head, being sensible how desirous you Sir & the Officers of the Garrison are of acting for His Majesty's Service (BPRO 30/55/816).

CAMPBELL'S GEORGIA CAMPAIGN

The tide turned in the South in November and December 1778 when the British invaded Georgia and captured Savannah. Reeling from a series of battle losses in the northeastern theater, the British high command decided to strike the Americans in the South with a two-pronged force. Sir Henry Clinton, who had received orders from Lord Germaine to reclaim the Southern colonies in March 1778, finally acted on these orders that Fall (Nunis 1961:275-276). The British fleet with a large army headed by Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, 71st Regiment, sailed from Sandy Hook. A second attack by land and sea was launched from East Florida, commanded by Brigadier General Augustine Prevost. This British offensive would dominate the scene in Georgia for the next three years and any hopes of capturing British East Florida by the Southern Continental Army would have to wait.

Campbell's army arrived weeks ahead of Prevost's and Campbell wasted no time in seizing the moment. The British landed in Savannah in November 1778, and after a short battle with the

greatly outnumbered American force commanded by General Robert Howe, the British captured Savannah on December 29th. The British lock on Savannah was to endure until its surrender and evacuation near the war's end in July 1782.

The preeminent British regiment in Campbell's campaign was the 71st, known as Fraser's Highlanders. This regiment was composed primarily of Scottish troops who proudly wore Scottish regalia. Although Archibald Campbell was specifically in charge of the 2nd Battalion, 71st Regiment, he held overall command of the combined British troops in the Georgia campaign. That is, at least until January 15, 1779, when Brigadier General Augustine Prevost arrived and assumed command. Once he had accomplished most of his intended military goals in Georgia, he begged to return to England, which was granted. Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell was later knighted as Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverneill (McGeachy 2002) (Figure 10). Campbell had joined as a lieutenant colonel second in command of the 2nd Battalion under Colonel Simon Frazier when the 71st Regiment was reformed in Scotland in 1775 (Brown 1909:313-314). The two battalions of the regiment contained a total of 2,340 men when they left Glasgow in April, 1776. Prior to their arrival in Georgia, the 71st Regiment had an active history of engagements in America (Browne 1909:317-318). These included:



Figure 10. Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, 71st Regiment.

- Boston, Massachusetts, 1776
- Brooklyn, New York, 1776
- Willsborough and Westfield, 1777
- Fort Montgomery, 1777

Although Archibald Campbell had entered the British military service in 1758, he spent most of the Seven Years War in the West Indies away from the action (Howard 2002:3-4; Walcott 1899). Upon his arrival in America Archibald Campbell was captured immediately, however, when several companies of the 2nd Regiment arrived ill-timed in Boston as it was being evacuated by the British in July 1776. Campbell spent the next two years as a prisoner of war and was only recently been released by the Americans on March 8, 1778 before sailing from Sandy Hook for Savannah on November 27, 1778. Campbell was exchanged for Lieutenant Colonel Ethan Allen, who was held prisoner by the British. Campbell left Georgia and America on March 12, 1779, after his initial conquest of Georgia.

The 71st Regiment remained in Georgia and South Carolina, however, after Campbell's departure. The 71st Regiment was active in numerous campaigns in the Southern colonies, including engagements at Augusta, Brier Creek, Purysburg, Stono Ferry, Savannah, Charleston, Cheraws, Camden, Cowpens, Guilford Courthouse, until their capture at Yorktown in mid-October, 1781. At the war's end, the 71st Regiment sailed from Charleston in 1782 for the British Isles and were disbanded the following year. Archibald Campbell continued to serve in the military and survived until 1792, when he died at the rank of Lieutenant General and with the status knighthood bestowed on him by King George III (Browne 1909:314-318; Ashmore and Olmstead 1926:85-125; Cox 1973:295-302; Heidler 1982:317-331; Babits 1998; Howard 2002; May 1974:26).

Major Duncan McPherson commanded the 1st Battalion, 71st Regiment while in America, although the senior officers of the battalion were Colonel Simon Fraser and Lieutenant Colonel William Erskine, who had remained in Scotland (Browne 1909:313). Lieutenant Colonel Maitland, who was killed in Savannah in the October 1779 siege, was another important officer in the 1st Battalion. Although Ensign John Wilson was only a junior officer in the 1st Battalion, his contributions to Ebenezer's history are notable. Wilson served as cartographer and secretary to Campbell. Wilson's maps and notes provided vital clues about military events and constructions in Ebenezer, Savannah and the surrounding region (Davis 1986a; Wilson 1779, 1780).

Archeological confirmation of the presence of the 71st Regiment at Ebenezer is exhibited by the recovery of several of their uniform buttons. Buttons of the 71st also have been recovered from the private property immediately west of Ebenezer, which was within the defensive perimeter that was established around the town by Campbell's men.

The 60th (Royal American) Regiment of Foot was another important regiment of the British Army in Campbell's 1778-1779 campaign. Archeological confirmation of the presence of the 60th Regiment at Ebenezer is exhibited by the recovery of one of their uniform buttons. The 60th Regiment was composed mostly of Irishmen, many who had been rejected by other British Regiments. It developed, however, into one of the more renowned units of the British colonial period, particularly during the French and Indian War (Summers and Chartrand 1981). Buttons from the 60th Regiment have been recovered in recent archeological excavations at Ebenezer.

Grenadiers were important advance infantry units that were used by both sides to great advantage. The British grenadiers are closely associated with Ebenezer. Beamsley Glazier's Grenadiers, 60th Regiment, composed of about 100 men, were garrisoned at Abercorn, several miles south of Ebenezer, in early 1779 (Campbell 1981). Glazier's Grenadiers participated in Archibald Campbell's campaign, as well as a remarkable performance in the defense of Savannah during the October 1779 siege attempt (Hough 1975).

The 70th Regiment of Foot was part of the British regular army who were an important part of Campbell's campaign in Georgia and South Carolina. The main contingent of the 70th Regiment of Foot remained in Halifax, Nova Scotia from 1778 until the end of the war but flank companies of this regiment fought in the south and possibly some were stationed at Ebenezer.

Sir James Baird's Light Infantry was an important fighting unit with Campbell in Savannah (Campbell 1981). Baird also was present at Ebenezer.

The 16th Regiment of the British Army was garrisoned at Savannah from 1779 to 1782. Elements of this regiment were also garrisoned at Sunbury. Elements of the 16th passed in and around Ebenezer. The 16th Regiment had participated in the capture of Fort Morris at Sunbury. The 16th Regiment was active in the region, particularly in 1781 and 1782, and were among the troops that evacuated Savannah on July 11, 1782.

The New Jersey Volunteers, also known as Skinner's Light Infantry, was commanded by Brigadier Cortlandt Skinner. The New Jersey Volunteers were a provincial battalion from New Jersey. Upon their arrival in Savannah in December 1778 Skinner's 3rd Battalion consisted of between 60 and 76 men. Skinner's 3rd Battalion was employed in the 1779 siege of Savannah (Hough 1975:60; Campbell 1981:11, 102; Allis 1967: Reel 3). Skinner, who was quartered at Ebenezer in 1779, was killed while in Georgia.

The New York Volunteers, who arrived in Savannah with Campbell in December, 1778, were another important component of the British invasion force. In January 1779 the New York Volunteers, Light Infantry were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull, who had replaced Captain Cameron after Cameron was killed in Savannah the previous month. The New York Volunteers were composed of two companies of New York refugees and were formed at Halifax, Nova Scotia (Campbell 1981:102).

Another important loyalist regiment was Delancey's Battalion, often referred to as Delancey's Brigade. Brigadier General Oliver Delancey, a resident of New Jersey, commanded Delancey's Battalion, who served at Savannah during Campbell's campaign. A portion of Delancey's Battalion was posted at Ebenezer. When they arrived in Savannah in December 1778 Delancey's 1st Battalion was comprised of approximately 54 men and his 2nd Battalion numbered 20 men (Campbell 1981:11; Clark 1981, Volume 3:1).

A muster roll of Lieutenant Colonel John Harris Cruger's Company, 1st Battalion, Brigadier General Oliver Delancey's Brigade, was recorded in Savannah on November 20, 1779. Officers serving in Cruger's Company included:

- Captain-Lieutenant George Kerr;
- Ensign John Wormley,
- Chaplain ___ Bowden (at New York),
- Quartermaster Nehemiah Rogers,
- Surgeon Nathan Smith (prisoner with rebels),

- Mate Daniel Cainwell,
- Sergeants Lawrence Connoly (died 19 Nov 1779), Robert Chambers (prisoner in Charlestown),
- William Paradie, and George Lynch;
- Corporal Samuel Dawson and,
- Drummer William Kitts (Clark 1981, Volume 3:1).

Also serving in Cruger's company were 18 privates, although 11 of these were not present at the muster. Privates William Hayman and James Devur were listed as, "sick at Sunbury", five others were prisoners with the rebels, two others had died in September 1779, and one had deserted on October 3, 1779.

Captain Thomas French commanded another company in the 1st Battalion of Delancey's Brigade. When the muster of his company was recorded, also on November 20, Captain French was listed as, "sick at Sunberry". French's junior officers included: Ensign N. Rogers, Sergeant Thomas Wright, Corporal Robert Miller (died 2 Oct 1779) and Drummer Thomas Dutill (Clark 1981, Volume 3:10-11). Also serving in French's company were 31 privates, although 19 of these were not present at this muster for various reasons.

A third company in Delancey's Brigade, as recorded in the November 20th muster, was commanded by Captain George Kerr. Captain Kerr's junior officers included: Sergeants John McKinny, Timothy Sulovan, and Patrick Field (the latter two at New York); Corporals Patrick Campbell, Peter Quain, John Wallace (prisoner with rebels) and Drummer William Curdoe (sick, Regimental Hosp) (Clark 1981, Volume 3:18). Also serving in Kerr's company were 43 privates, although 25 of these were not present at the muster for various reasons, including five that were dead, two sick at the Regimental Hospital, two sick at Sunbury, and 14 that were prisoners with the rebels.

Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Ferguson commanded the American Volunteers, Loyal American Regiment. Ferguson's Corps were at Ebenezer on at least one occasion but Colonel Ferguson was killed on October 7, 1780 at King's Mountain in North Carolina (The Patriot Resource 2002). Lieutenant Anthony Allaire was serving under Ferguson when they camped at Ebenezer in March, 1780 and Allaire recorded the event in his diary (Allaire 2000).

The Carolina Royalists, or South Carolina Loyalists, were commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Robinson and Colonel Alexander Innes. Colonel Innes was an active participant in the events around Savannah and his letters provide important details on the events in late 1778 and early 1779. Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton commanded the Loyalist North Carolinians in the Georgia theatre.

The Hessians, who were commanded by the British, were a vital ingredient in Ebenezer's defense. The common language shared by the Hessian mercenaries and the Ebenezerites formed an immediate bond that, for some, survived the war. Two Hessian regiments were primarily associated with Ebenezer and the Georgia campaign (Lowell 2002). Hessian forces at New Ebenezer, approximately 300 in number, include the Grenadiere Regiment von Wöllwarth [also spelled Wellsworth] and Garrison Regiment von Wissenbach (See Stat Archive, Marburg--12.11 I Ba 12: Journal of Regiment von Wissenbach, later von Knoblauch). According to one account the permanent British force at Ebenezer ranged from 700 to 800 men (Katcher 1973:62-63,67-68, 122,127; Campbell 1981:71, 79, 122). When the 71st Highland Regiment withdrew from Ebenezer shortly after June, 1779, they left 300 Hessians to guard the town. By October, 1779,

the British had completely retreated from Ebenezer and the town was in American hands for several months (Campbell 1981:122).

The 1st Division of the Grenadiere Regiment von Rall, renamed Woellwarth [Wellsworth or Wellwarth] in 1777, Regiment von Trumbach in 1778, and d'Angelleli in 1779 was an important part of the British occupying force in Georgia. Prior to their arrival with Colonel Campbell in December 1778, this Regiment had seen service in the Northeastern colonies at Long Island, Chatterton Hill, Fort Washington, Trenton, and Brandywine. They participated in the capture of Savannah that December and followed Campbell to interior Georgia in early 1779. In mid 1779 the regiment served in South Carolina before returning to defend Savannah in September, 1779. Following the American defeat at Savannah the regiment saw action in South Carolina, where most of them were garrisoned from 1780 to 1782. The regiment had been redesignated von Trumbach in 1778 and was redesignated as d'Angelleli in 1780 (Infanterie Regiment von Donop 2002a; Americanrevolution.org 2002; Lowell 2002). The regiment arrived in Savannah on three ships: *Alicia*, *Union*, and *Venus* (Pettengill 1924:198).

The 2nd Division of the Garrison Regiment von Wissenbach, which was designated Regiment von Knoblauch in 1780 (Infanterie Regiment von Donop 2002b) had a history similar to the Grenadiere Regiment, serving in New York in 1778 before arriving in Savannah with Campbell in December, 1778. They defended Savannah in the fall of 1779 before shifting to South Carolina the following year. They were garrisoned at Charleston, South Carolina from 1780 to 1782. Lieutenant Colonel Friedrich Von Porbeck was a commanding officer in the Regiment. Although a large force of Hessians was garrisoned at Savannah, a substantial portion was garrisoned at Ebenezer after January 2, 1779. Reverend Triebner wrote to his superiors in Europe that 200 regular Hessians, garrisoned at Ebenezer, were commanded by a Major Goebel as late as May 1781. The commander at Ebenezer in June 1781 was Captain Boodiker, who also may have been a Hessian officer. No additional information was located in the present research on Major Goebel or any other Hessians at Ebenezer, although only American reference sources were consulted. This can likely be resolved by additional research in England and Germany (SPCK 1781:88-90; Campbell 1981:106; Wright 1781); Americanrevolution.org 2002; Lowell 2002). The regiment arrived in Savannah on three ships: *Nancy*, *Howtown*, and *Minerva* (Pettengill 1924:198).

Another Hessian regiment that saw service in Georgia was part of Campbell's invasion force and possibly in parts of Georgia was the Regiment von Waldeck. A fragment of a diary of Chaplain Phillip Waldeck, of the Waldeck Regiment, covered the period from April 11, 1780, to July, 1782. An examination of an English transcript of this diary revealed that Waldeck's diary did not pertain to events at Ebenezer but was mostly concerning Pensacola and Mobile. Phillip Waldeck was part of a detachment that was sent to West Florida in December 1778 as noted in, "State of a Detachment of Troops under the Command of Brigr. Genl. Campbell, on their Passage from New York to Pensacola in West Florida." Kingston (Jamaica) the 26th December 1778". (Americanrevolution.org 2002; Lowell 2002; Burgoyne 1999; BPRO, CO 5/597/3).

The Musketeer Regiment von Bose also served in Savannah under Campbell's and Prevost's command. This regiment from Hesse-Kassel arrived in New York in August 1776. Until 1778, this unit was known as the Musketeer Regiment Von Turmbach. Major General C. von Bose became the new commander. The regiment participated in the capture of Savannah, Georgia, in December 1778 and in the capture of Charleston, S. C., in May 1780. Thereafter it saw service in North Carolina and Virginia, suffering heavy casualties at Yorktown (Fraas 2002). It was not

determined if this regiment saw garrison duty at Ebenezer but they most likely passed through the town on their various campaigns.

Not all of the Hessians were German. Jones (1989) has documented the presence of African-Americans in the Hessian ranks in Georgia. Many of these were likely displaced former slaves on American plantations, who joined (or been forced to join) the British ranks. Burgoyne (1999) also has identified many women who accompanied the Hessians on their various campaigns in America. The only identified Hessian from Ebenezer was Carl James, who Jones surmises was an African-american. Jones notes that many drummers in the Hessian ranks were African-american. Jones' examination of Hessian records in Marburg indicate that a wealth of information remains to be gleaned from primary documents of the Hessian regiments.

Thus, the key elements of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's army have been identified. Campbell's capture of Savannah and the rout of the American forces was quick and efficient. As summarized in the *Annual Register* for 1779:

No victory was ever more complete. 38 commissioned officers, 415 non-commissioned officers, 415 pieces of cannon, 23 mortars, the fort with its ammunition and stores, the shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, were all in the possession of the conquerors before dark...The loss of the Americans in slain was very small, considering the nature of the complete rout they had undergone. Only about fourscore men fell in the action and pursuit, and about thirty more perished in their attempts to escape through the swamp (*Annual Register* 1780:34).

In a "Return of the killed & wounded of His Majesty's Forces under Command of Lt. Col. Campbell on the 29th Dec. 1778", the British casualties in the first battle of Savannah, listed by Alexander Campbell, included:

Light Infantry 1st Battalion 71st Regiment
1 Captain [Charles Cameron] 4 rank and file killed; 1 drummer, 7 rank and file wounded
Light Infantry 2nd Battalion, 71st Regiment
3 rank and file wounded
Light Infantry New York Volunteers
2 rank and file wounded
Light Infantry 1st & 2d Battalion DeLancey's
1 Subaltern [Lieutenant French] and 1 rank and file wounded
Light Infantry 3d Battalion Skinners
1 Captain [Captain Campbell] and 1 rank and file killed; 2 rank and file wounded
Hessian Regiment of Wellworth
2 rank and file wounded (Clinton Papers 52:2).

Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell placed the total number of Americans at Savannah by December 29 at 453 captured, which included 132 from South Carolina and the balance from Georgia (Clinton Papers 52:3). This represented a substantial loss for the Americans and particularly for the Georgia rebels. British hopes were that the Georgia loyalists would flock to the British army in droves once the army arrived in force, but these hopes were not met. Although many loyalists were present in Georgia, by this point in the war their numbers were probably less than those favoring Independence.

After conquering Savannah, Campbell began his march towards Augusta, by way of Ebenezer, and his route was recorded in map, which is cited as Campbell (1780) and is reproduced in [Figure 11](#). Campbell's order for the march to Ebenezer was organized as follows:

...The Dragoons supported by the Light Infantry to form the Advance; the York Volunteers with two 3 Pounders to lead the Column of March; the 1st Battalion 71st Regiment with two 6 Pounders to follow the York Volunteers; the 2d Battalion 71st to follow the 1st and the 3d Battalion of Delancy's with two of the Rebel Field Pieces to close the Rear of the Column. The whole to march at 4 o'Clock this Evening by double Files from the Center of the Corps. The Field Pieces in Front and Rear of each Battalion; The provisions and ammunition Waggons to march in the Rear of Delancy's Corps; No Tents to be carried on this Service (Campbell 1981:32).

Although Campbell's eyes were focused on the capture of Charleston, it would be more than a year before that goal was accomplished. On December 31, Lieutenant Colonel Campbell ordered, "the Welworth and Wissenback Regiments of Hessians, and the 2^d Battalion of Delancy's" to be left to garrison Savannah while the remainder of his force marched toward Ebenezer (Campbell 1981:32).

Campbell arrived at Abercorn on the morning of January 1. Campbell where he encountered a group of American soldiers, who fled upon his arrival. Campbell established a small garrison at Abercorn consisting of, "half a Battalion of Delancy's Regiment", which was part of Delancey's 1st Battalion (Campbell 1981:32;43). Campbell proceeded further to Zubly's Ferry where he detached the 3rd Battalion of Delancy's Provincials to a small post there. [Note: Campbell is likely in error here, as the 3rd Battalion, Delancey's Brigade had remained in New York during his southern campaign.] The Americans, led by General Lincoln, who had a post on the opposite side of the Savannah River at Zubly's Ferry were taunting Campbell, "parading 1000 Continental Troops within Eight hundred yards of the Ferry (Campbell 1981:34). Campbell marked out ground on the heights above the road leading to the ferry for two redoubts and an artillery battery (Campbell 1981:34).

Christopher Frederick Triebner, the pastor of Jerusalem Lutheran Church and its satellite churches at Abercorn, Bethany, Goshen, and Zion, also served as commander of the Ebenezer Loyalists. When Campbell's invasion force arrived at the end of December 1778, Triebner was there to greet him and Triebner escorted Campbell and his hundreds of troops to Ebenezer, where they arrived on January 2, 1779. Triebner was identified by the Americans as a loyalist and he was imprisoned at least once during the war. Reverend Triebner personally escorted the British troops into the town of New Ebenezer where the loyalists welcomed them with open arms and Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell immediately established his headquarters at New Ebenezer. Campbell recorded this description of his initial entry into Ebenezer on January 2:

Ebenezer is a small straggling Town on the Bank of the River Savannah, mostly inhabited with Dutch, and situated between two deep Swamps, over which two Wooden Bridges communicate to the Country; the Swamp on the South East Side is 5 Miles in Extent, and lies nearly at Right Angles to the River Savannah, into which it empties itself, and is scarcely fordable for two Miles above the Bridge. The Swamp on the North West Side is 10 Miles in Extent; lies parallel to the Savannah River for 7 Miles, which Space is fordable in several Places, but from thence to the Savannah River, towards which it runs obliquely, it is not fordable. The Ground within these Swamps is tolerable level and capable of being secured with very little Art: This Day employed all hands in repairing the Bridges over the Swamps, which had been destroyed by the Rebels.

[January 3rd] Halted to refresh the Men, and got Parson Trebener [Triebner] to preach to the Inhabitants against Rebellion and Licentiousness. Sent for a notorious Rebel Methodist, who had lately usurped the Parson's Rights of Christening and Marriage to inform him that if he should again attempt to infringe the Rights of Trebener, or to preach Sedition to the people, he must suffer on the highest Tree in the Parish: On his promising to conduct himself with more propriety in future; he was permitted to return to his Plantation in Peace...

...[January 4th] Having secured the Avenues leading to Ebenezer I left the 2d Battalion of the 71st Regiment in post at this Station and proceeded with 30 Dragoons, the Light Infantry, the York Volunteers, and the 1st Battalion 71st Regiment at 4 o'Clock in the Morning in quest of the Rebel Army...

[January 5th]...I returned to Troitland's [Tretulen's] in the Evening, and to Ebenezer the next Day, where I was employed in tracing Redoubts with an Abbatis between, having determined to make this Post a Deposite of Stores for the future progressive Movements of the Army. Emissaries were sent out in every Direction for Cattle, and Orders issued for salting down as much Beef as possible for the Army (Campbell 1981:34-35).

Triebner also led the loyalist members of Ebenezer, and other refugees, when Ebenezer was evacuated in December 1781. Triebner and his party sought refuge in Savannah, which lasted barely six months, when they were forced to move to St. Augustine in East Florida. Triebner and the Ebenezer Loyalists were forced once again to flee, this time to the island of New Providence, Bahamas. Triebner remained in the Bahamas for only a brief period before returning to England. Once in England Triebner resumed his role in the clergy. He was banned by the Georgia Legislature from returning to the State, under penalty of death. The Americans in Georgia considered Triebner an evil agitator. In 1805, however, the State of Georgia softened its stance and passed legislation allowing Triebner's return.

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell wasted no time in establishing other military posts in the region. He was optimistic that the arrival of the army under his command would encourage loyalists to come out of hiding and rise to support the Monarch. On January 4 Campbell posted the [New] York Volunteers in a small garrison at Tretulen's Plantation (near Sister's Ferry). On January 9th Campbell assigned the 2nd Battalion of Delancey's Regiment to garrison the post at Cherokee Hill. On January 10 Campbell, after returning to Savannah, sent 100 Hessians to establish a post at Ogeechee Ferry (Campbell 1981:37, 39).

On January 8, 1779 Campbell issued a proclamation from his Ebenezer HQ offering a reward for the capture of rebels in the region (Campbell 1981:39). The following day Campbell wrote a letter from Ebenezer to the Americans in Purysburg concerning the exchange of prisoners (Campbell 1779c). Meanwhile in early January 1779, Major General Augustine Prevost marched from East Florida with about 200 troops to join with Campbell's army. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell yielded command of the Georgia campaign to Brigadier General Augustine Prevost on January 15. Campbell was less than delighted with this change, but he dutifully obeyed his orders (Cashin 1999:84-85). Thereafter, Prevost held overall command of the British invasion force in Georgia. General Prevost would later be replaced in command of the Georgia theatre by General Alured Clarke, who led the British forces in Georgia until their retreat to Florida and the West Indies in mid-July 1782.

Upon the arrival of General Prevost, Campbell wrote in his journal on January 13 to 15, "Every Exertion was now made to forward a large Quantity of Provisions to the Magazines at Ebenezer, together with such Arms, Ammunitions and Stores as were necessary for the March of the Troops to Augusta" (Campbell 1981:40). Campbell wrote to Lord Germain informing him of Campbell's conquests in a letter dated January 16, "I was not only enabled to march to Cherokee Hill on the evening of the 1st of January but also to take possession of the town of Ebenezer on the 2nd, after securing all the intermediate posts between Savannah and it" (Davies 1978:17:36).

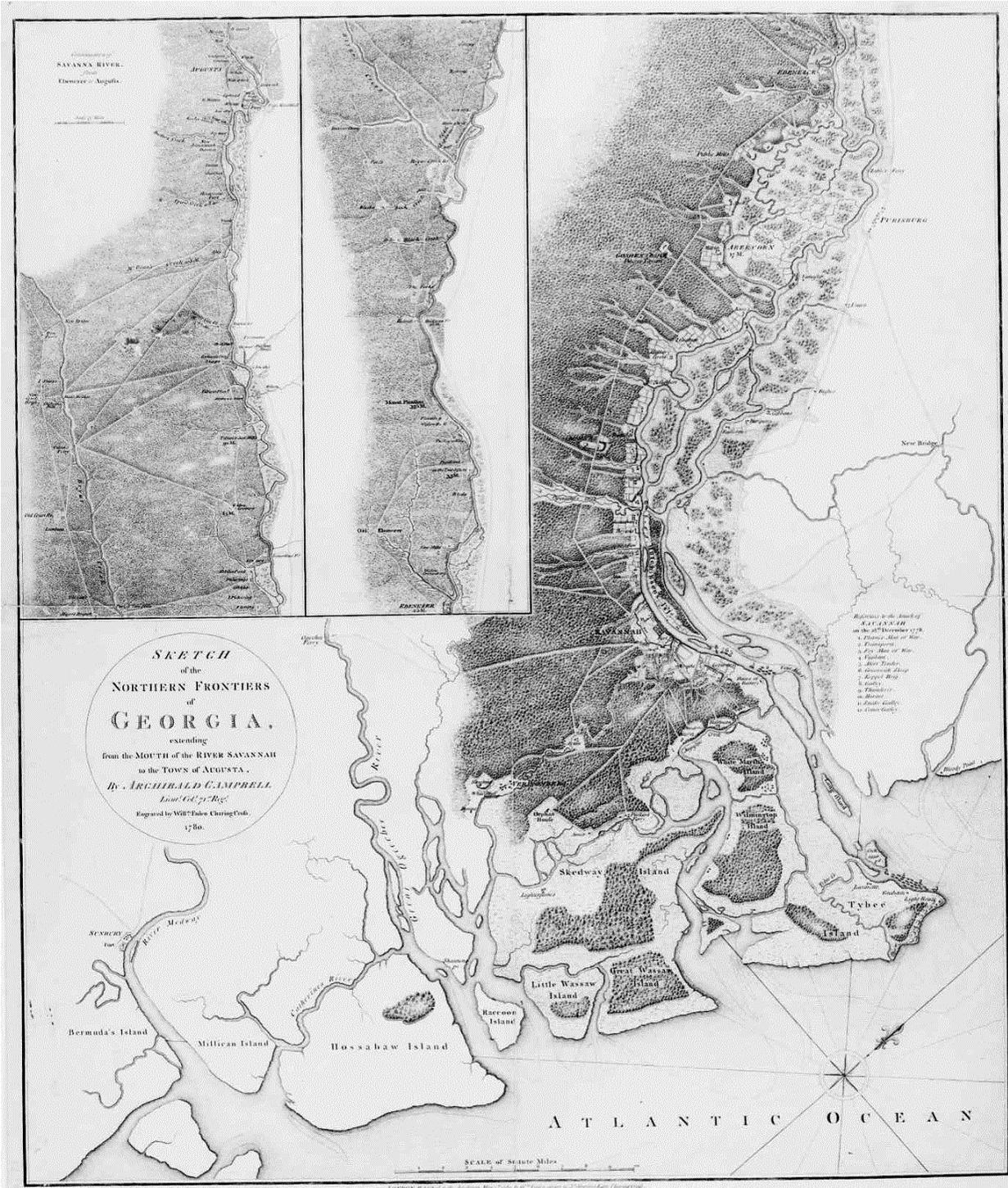


Figure 11. Campbell's Map, 1780.

Ebenezer served as Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's primary HQ during his campaign in the South. Campbell's secretary, Ensign John Wilson described Ebenezer after their arrival: "The Town of Ebenezer is settled by Germans and contains some 20 odd houses. There was a kind of

silk factory established here, but it never arrived to any great perfection” (Davis 1986:23). The silk industry at Ebenezer had been active as late as 1771 and its centerpiece was a large two-story wood frame structure that was nestled within William DeBrahm’s 1757 fortification on Ebenezer’s northeast quadrant.

In January 1779, the British troops built an extensive line of defenses surrounding Ebenezer (Campbell 1778:71,79, 122). These earthworks, shown on an unattributed military map from the period (most likely drafted by John Wilson), included a series of redoubts linked by several miles of abatis, or palisade lines, completely surrounding the town of New Ebenezer and the mouth of Ebenezer Creek (Wilson 1779). The British force included: two battalions of the 71st Highlanders (400-500 men), 300 Hessians, and others. Colonel Campbell left the 2nd Battalion of the 71st Highlanders to guard New Ebenezer, while the other troops moved further inland. Ensign Wilson made these comments about the fortifications at New Ebenezer:

Colo. Campbell with the troops under his command arrived from Cherokee-hill at Ebenezer the 3d. of Jany. Without any opposition [sic] or difficulty, except that of repairing the Bridge upon the Creek that covers one flank of the town[.] [T]here was at that time a post established here and some works thrown up; a quantity of provisions, ammunition, some Artillery and small Arms were ordered to be with all possible [sic] expedition brought from Savannah to this place, to supply as well such troops as might be stationed here, as others that might proceed into the upper parts of the Province, or to furnish some Companies of Militia with such of these articles as they were in need of, if they were thought deserving of that encouragement and Confidence (Davis 1986a:23; 1986b:195).

Ensign Wilson noted that the posts at Ebenezer, as well as posts at Cherokee Hill, Abercorn, Zubly’s Ferry, Two Sisters, and Tuckaseeking, were established by Campbell by January 6, after which Campbell returned to Savannah where he was to meet General Prevost (Davis 1986b:192). Wilson provides additional information on the British defenses at Ebenezer in his footnotes:

In the months of March & April this post was made very strong with additional Redoubts and Artillery; for it was always considered that it ought to be made one of the principal posts because a Chain of Communication across the Country and the Ogeechee river might have it’s right flank well fixt and secure at Ebenezer while it’s left might extend to and be covered by the Garrison at Sunbery [sic], these posts it was supposed would secure the lower part of the Province, and protect the lower part of the Province, and protect it’s Inhabitants against the Incursions of South Carolina; the two Creeks and swamp that cover $\frac{3}{4}$ of the circumference of this post, have made it naturally very strong, and whatever was thought necessary to be added from art the Engineers executed before the troops crost to Carolina; for it was not intended to maintain any posts higher up the Country, while the province continued to it’s present State; the troops that lay here during the Summer were very sickly and upon that account the place is since said to be unhealthy in that time of year (Davis 1986b:195).

The Ebenezer loyalists responded positively to the British occupation of their town. Archibald Campbell noted on January 16 that, “A body of militia were also formed at Ebenezer to patrol in the same manner to the right and left of that quarter, by which means the country is effectually secured from depredations” (Davies 1978: 17:37).

Another account of the Ebenezer region, authored by an unknown engineer in the 71st Regiment [possibly John Wilson], provides additional geographic details, portions of which are worth repeating:

From Cherokee Hill to Abercorn is six miles; the road is nearly the same as to the last Stage; in some parts a little moresandy but in general less swampy; some plantations that line the Road, vary the Scene and make it more pleasing: the house of Abercorn is fine and spacious, and built in more taste than the Situation deserves, it is upon the Bank of a Creek, that runs into the Savannah, about

3 miles Parisburg [Purysburg]; and navigable for small Craft to Mill-Creek, (where it branches to the Savannah,) and for Canoes and Boats (by Mill-Creek) to Ebenezer bridge.

From Abercorn to Ebenezer is eleven miles, the road is the same as the last mentioned, smooth and well-made; the Plantations that are seen from it appear [sic] to be good soil, and yeild [sic] plenty of indian Corn, Rice and some Rye; different Creeks that the supplied with water from Swamps &ca. discharge it in course of this Stage into the Savannah; there is a ferry (called Tubilees [Zubly's] upon the River, 3 miles below Ebenezer on this side and about 2 ½ above Parisbourg [Purysburg], on the Carolina shore; it is difficult to be got to on this 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. The town of Ebenezer is settled by Germans and contains 20 odd houses; there was a kind of silk manufactory-factory established here, but it never arrived to any great perfection.

From Ebenezer to Trytlands's on the Two Sisters is 10 miles; after passing the Creek which you cross upon quitting Ebenezer you come to a few good Plantations that extend from the right of the road almost to the river-side; they yeild both Corn and rice and have plenty of pasture for Cattle; the Bank of the river here at Trytlands is higher up on this side than the other, and the ferry (which is sometimes used) a little above the house is very difficult to be got to, in the same manner as that at Tubilee's (Nunis 1961:279-280).

The footnotes that accompanied this description provide addition clues to the Ebenezer environment in January 1779:

Col. Campbell with the troops under his command arrived (from Cherokee-hill) at Ebenezer the 3d of Janry without any opposition or difficulty, except that of repairing the Bridge upon the Creek that covers one flank of the town; there was at that time a post established here, and some works thrown up; a quantity of provisions, ammuniton, some Artillery and small Arms were ordered to be with all possible expedition brought from Savannah to this place, to supply as well such troops as might be stationed here, as others that might proceed into the upper part of the Province, or to furnish some Companies of Militia with such of these articles as they were in need of if they were thought deserving of that encouragement and Confidence.

In the months of March & April this post was made very strong with additional Redoubts and Artillery; for it was always considered that it ought to be made one of the principal posts; because a Chain of Communication across the Country and the Ogeechee river might have it's right flank well-fix't and secure at Ebenezer, while it's left might extend to and be covered by the Garrison of Sunbery [Sunbury]; these posts it was supposed would secure the lower part of the Province, and protect it's Inhabitants against the Incursions of plundering partys, sent by the Rebels from the upper Country or from South Carolina; the two Creeks and swamp that cover ¾ of the circumference of this post, have made it naturally very strong, and whatever was thought necessary to be added from art the Engineers executed, before the troops crost to Carolina; for it was not intended to maintain any posts higher up the Country, while the province continued in its present State; the troops that lay here during the Summer were very sickly and upon that account this place is since said to be unhealthy inthat time of year (Nunis 1961:283-284).

The Americans waited intently on the opposite side of the Savannah River gathering intelligence on the size, strength, and locations of the invading British force. An interrogation of British deserter Robert McGinnis, who escaped from the British by swimming the Savannah River, provided General Lincoln with knowledge of the British troop strength at the Two Sisters Ferry (Allis 1967: Reel 3). McGinnis told the Americans many useful facts, including: "the Sister's Ferry breastwork contained no artillery and that the British had placed 4 artillery pieces (2 four pounders and 2 three pounders) at the "Red house". McGinnis added that British Troops at Two Sisters numbered approximately 580 men and included: New York Volunteers Battalion, 300 men; 2 Companies of the 71st Regiment, 120 men; Delancey's Brigade, 100 men, and Skinners [New Jersey Volunteers], 60 men.

In addition to these troops, McGinnis noted that Sir James Baird was in command of some Light Infantrymen, who had been at Two Sisters for 10 days but who, “go every other day up to Hudson’s ferry to clear the road for the Inhabitants to come in”. These inhabitants were formed into a militia battalion. McGinnis also noted that the British force had arrived on the *HMS Phoenix* (40 guns), *Foy* [frigate Fowey of 24 guns] (30 guns), *Vigilant* (a floating battery carrying 32 guns), and, “4,000 soldiers in the fleet”. McGinnis stated that, “All the Army are at Ebenezer except 1000 Hessians at Savanna & the troops at Sisters...” (Allis 1967: Reel 3).

Another interrogation, of British deserter Edward McDaniel, yielded similar information (Allis 1967: Reel 3). According to McDaniel 600 British troops, commanded by Colonel Turnbull, were posted at, “the House”, which included:

- New York Volunteers Battalion, 200 men;
- Light Infantry, 60 men;
- 2 Companys Light Infantry, 71st Regiment, 120 men;
- 3 Companies of Delancy’s Light Infantry, 120 men;
- Skinner’s Light Infantry [New Jersey Volunteers], 60 men and;
- Hessians with two field pieces (2 four pounders) [unspecified number].

Campbell wrote to Lord Germaine on January 16 detailing the capture of Savannah and this letter was published in the Edinburgh newspaper *The Caledonian Mercury* on March 1 (*Caledonian Mercury* 1779:1). This edition of the newspaper also included a letter, dated January 18, 1779 from Major General Prevost to Germaine with additional details of the initial success in Georgia. Within Prevost’s letter were copies of other letters with pertinent details of the invasion, including unique information on the Naval engagements. Campbell wrote an informative letter to General Henry Clinton that same day describing the situation in Georgia:

Having stated at the publick occurrences of the Army under my Command; Your Excellency will expect to receive such Ideas, as may have occur’d to me, not only with respect to the Security of the Province, but also for the purpose of carrying on future operations against the Provinces of North and South Carolina.

It only requires the glance of a military eye to pronounce, that the Banks of the Savannah, ought to become at this juncture, the frontier of all Southern Settlements in our Possession. Nature has already done so much for its defence[sic], that it requires the assistance of very little art to render it respectable.

The Posts which I have occupied [sic] at present with the Army, are the Town of Savannah, Cherokee hill, Abercorn, Zubly’s ferry, Ebenezer, and the Two Sisters.

Lieutenant Colonel Campbell went on to say:

The Town of Savannah is situated upon a Table Land, or Bluff, fort feet in height above the level of the River. The Fort occupys [sic] the Easternmost end of the Bluff. And the Village of Yamacraw the Extremity to the Westward. This Table land falls gradually back from the River, and loses itself insensibly in the Country. The Savannah river, embraces its front, a continued Wood the rear, and considerable Tracts of Rice swamps cover both the Flanks.

Three excellent roads strike off from the Town [p2] of Savannah into the Country. The Easternmost of these roads takes its rout by Tatnall plantation, to the Bluffs of Skedway, Thunderbolt, Half-moon, Gustons, and Gerridoc. The Southern road leads to great Ogechee, and Sunbury. And the Western road, along all our Posts on the Frontiers of Georgia, directly for Augusta. The whole of which roads are bounded, with one continued tract of Forrest; and cut by innumerable Creeks and Swamps, which with a little art might have been rendered impassable for an Army, without the Circumstances of infinite loss, and laborious exertion.

At Savannah I found an excellent Barracks fit to Contain a Thousand Soldiers; in which the Two Regts of Hessians are Lodged and there is good room for Two Thousand more Troops in the Town, without distressing the Inhabitants.

Cherokee hill is eight miles from Savannah and of consequence as an intermediate post, to support the Communication of the great Western road, and to secure a cross tract to Ogechee, which enters the great road at this post:--The 2d Battalion D'Lancy's Brigade is attached to this Service,

Abercorn is fifteen miles from Savannah; upon the side of a Creek, which communicates with the great river; and by which our provisions are happily conveyed, and carted from thence to Ebenezer. The 1st Battalion D'Lancy's Brigade and an Armed Gally are employed in securing this Communication.

Zubly's Ferry is Twenty three miles from the Town of Savannah. Here the great road communicates to Purisburg, over a long tract of low Swamp, cut by two considerable creeks, over which, the Rebels had wooden bridges that are now broke up. The ground on our side of the Swamp [p3] has from its height an excellent Command of this road. The 3d Battalion of Skinners with two Field pieces shut it up effectually.

Ebenezer is distant Twenty five miles from the Town of Savannah;--Its situation is on the Bank of the great river, between two considerable swamps that are only passable, over two wooden Bridges, constructed for that Purpose; and it requires a very large Detour for Troops to turn them. Here I am constructing some Redoubts, to shut up the Gorge between the Two swamps; and mean to establish it as the Advance Magazine for this Army. Its happy situation above the Town of Purisburg makes it a Post of Consequence, so long as General Lincoln with the Carolina Army, consisting of about Five Thousand men, continues to encamp in that neighbourhood. The 1st & 2d Battalions of the 71st Regiment have charge of Ebenezer.

The Two Sisters is Thirty-five miles from the Town of Savannah; and the ground on this side has a very excellent Command, over the road which leads across to the ferry. The New York Volunteers and Light Infantry are stationed in this Quarter, but the latter with the new raised Riffle Dragoons, keep floating along our Frontiers fifteen miles higher up the Country.

The accompanying Plan will assist your Excellency in the Position of those Posts.

Lieutenant Campbell commented further:

To General Prevost, whom I expect in Town this Evening, I mean to submit the propriety of this disposition: for by occupying the chain here established, there is not a single movement the Enemy can attempt but what must be early discovered. Their Landings must be partial, and confined to the Country, between Abercorn and Ebenezer, on Account of the Armed Craft, which we shall have between that post and the Town of Savannah;--This will embarrass their motions, and they will risk Ten times more in a formidable attempt, than we shall lose in checking it.

It is therefore my opinion that I shall run little risk in proceeding to Augusta with all the Light Troops of the Army; and as I mean to carry nothing with me, but a few Light Field pieces, Bread, Rum, and Salt, for the Army, I am in hopes our motions from their rapidity will be Crowned with success.

When I have settled this last post of Consequence on Our Frontiers, occurring circumstances can only guide the operations of our Force at that Juncture. Your Excellency may however not satisfied [sic], that however ambitious I may be of reducing another Province to the Obedience of the Crown, I shall have at all times remember that the Acquisition I have already made is too valuable to hazard it, on any wild experiment. In the mean time every exertion will be used, to collect the largest body of Force in that Quarter, to answer the essential purposes of future operations.

Your Excellency will be surprised to see the name of Captain Parker claim the first importance in the Proclamation, and it becomes my duty to explain it. Although this Officer had no share in the powers granted by Your Excellency, and ye Commissioners with respect to that subject. Yet the Admiral had given him rank as a Commodore, and I chose to hold forth to the Populace the respectable Tittle [sic] of that Officer, rather than suffer/ in a Country where a Cobler and a Lieut Colonel are sinomious [sic] Terms) His Majesty's proclamation to be treated with disrespect, on

account of the insignificant Title [sic] of the Subscriber, and it was this very apprehension, made me with some degree of anxiety request, Your Excellency would have continued your original handsome intentions of granting me a degree of distinction proportioned to the Trust reposed.

I must also beg leave to Acquaint Your Excellency, that if there is an Error in the Proclamation I have the misfortune to merit your censure; It was my study to form it to the best of my abilities, and agreeable to my instructions; nor do I know where in I have differed essentially from the manifesto of the Commissioners, except in the article wherein, I insist, They shall with their Arms support their Allegiance [sic]; And this I resolved upon, from the experience I have had, of its being the only true impression I could have of their Friendship; The consequences have turn'd out fortunately; and I have not met with in my whole practice, but one Jew merchant, and an anabaptist preacher, who seem'd to scruple at its reception. These I hurried off to the Rebels.

I need not inform Your Excellency, how much I prize the hope of being the first British Officer under Your Auspices, to vent a stripe, from the Rebel Flag of Congress: In that event it will rest with Your Excellency to decide its merit, and Consequence.

The Provisional appointment as Governour for this and the neighbouring [sic] Province, I am ill calculated for. I only profess myself a soldier; and wish as soon as I can no longer render services in that Line to my King and [p6] and Country, to retire from the Bustle of Publick employ.

After the Frontiers are secured, and some Temporary mode of Legal Government established; I shall if I see no reasonable opening for prosecuting the remainder of this Campaign, against South Carolina, use Your Excellency's permission to return to Britain, for the purpose of Adjusting matters of a Private nature, interesting to my Fortune and Family: and which by so long an absence, and unfortunate Captivity, have suffered exceedingly.

In the mean time, I have appointed Doctor Johnston, formerly one of His Majesty's Counsel Superintendent of the Police at Savannah; with Messrs Telfar [Telfair] and Mosman, two of the most able assistants, joind to him. By which means the Town and its Environs will soon acquire some form of good order; and regularity will be introduced from distracted Confusion. I would however with all due respect, submit to Your Excellency, the absolute necessity of having a Governour sent out immediately for this Province, with every essential arrangement for the re-Establishment of Legal Government: This would be a model to future conquests, and from the happiness of its form, may at their juncture, conquer more Provinces than Twenty Thousand Troops (Clinton Papers 50:41).

Campbell wrote from Savannah on January 16 to Henry Clinton informing him of their accomplishments:

...Without a single Horse to drag our Artillery, or Waggon [sic] to carry forward a sufficient Quantity of Provisions, Your Excellency may well conceive our difficulties, in proceeding horse [illeg] nor [illeg] up the Country as soon as could be wished; however by the indefatigable exertions of Major Fraser our Acting Depy Quarter master General, the Zeal and forward disposition of the whole Officers of the Army for continuing the Pursuit; I was not only enabled to March to Cherokee hill on the Evening of the 1st of January; but also to take possession of the Town of Ebenezer on the 2d, after securing all the intermediate Posts between Savannah and it.

Twenty Horses for Dragoons, together with several Hundred Head of Cattle, were collected on the March, and on the 3d of January the last scattered remains of General Howe's Army retreated across at the Two Sisters.

After establishing Post at this Ferry, I proceeded with the Light Infantry and Cavalry to Mount Pleasant, and there Corps have since been constantly on the move, even fifty miles above the Town of Savannah, without a single Rebel to oppose them.

Many respectable inhabitants Join'd the Army on this Occasion; with their Riffles and Horses; who are formed into a Corps of Riffle [sic] Dragoons for the Purpose of Patrolling the Country, between our Advanced posts; and for apurtaining [sic] the earliest intelligence of the Enemy's movements. A Body of militia was also form'd at Ebenezer to Patrole [sic] in the same manner, to

the Right and Left of that Quarter; by which means the Country is effectually secured from depredations.

Having clear'd this Province of the Rebel Army except Two Hundred men, left in Garrison at Sunbury Fort,--a number so insignificant to merit an early attention; and who from a rapid movement of the British Troops along the banks of the Savannah River, must have their Communication with South Carolina cut off, and of course fall at discretion. Commodore Parker and I, thought this Period the best, to you the inclosed [sic] proclamation and Oath, No 1, & 2, to the Inhabitants at large; founded on the instructions I received from Your Excellency, and the other His Majesty's Commissioners at New York....I issued another Proclamation No 3 setting forth a Reward of Ten Guinias [sic] for every Committee and Assembly man, taken within the Limits of Georgia and two Guineas for every Lurking villain, who might be sent from Carolina to molest the Inhabitants. A late fruitless attempt of the Rebel party sent across the Savannah, to plunder the Plantations on this side the water, has inspired our Riffle Dragoons, with double alacrity and has pointed out the Propriety and happy Consequences resulting from their being ready to oppose every Banditti of this nature.

Captain Stanhope of the Navy who commanded the Flat Boats of the Fleet, and to whose exertions we are much indebted [sic], went with Lieut: Clarke and a number of Armed Boats of the Fleet, and boarded an Armed Brig two sloops and a schooner, who interrupted the passage to Abercorn; by which means the Navigation of the River to that post was happily opened. The Comet Gally, and the Armed Sloop Greenwich, are now stationed to cover the mouth of Ebenezer Creek. The Two Rebel Gallies who were formerly there, have retired to Purisburg.

Having in the space of ten days, settled the frontiers of Georgia in a state of Tranquillity [sic]; and having formed such a Disposition of the Army; as I thought most expedient for shutting up all the avenues leading from South Carolina; I turn'd my thoughts to Sunbury, and visited the Town of Savannah on the 10th Inst; where Commodore Parker with Colo Innes, who was left Commandant of the Town of Savannah had with uncommon abilities, unremitting [sic] zeal and attention, regulated fully to my satisfaction, every Public Transaction in the lower districts of the Province.

A Letter from General Prevost that Evening stopped my intended excursion to Sunbury; by the agreeable intelligence of his arrival from the south and of his having taken the Fort after a short resistance; the Particulars of which Your Excellency will learn from himself, as I expect him hourly in Town, and have detained this Packet for that purpose.

All the Rebel Cattle within reach of Our Posts have been ordered for slaughter, and to be salted up for the use of the Navy and Army. We have also given such encouragement to the Farmers, to bring in their Bullocks, Hogs, Sheep, Poultry &c, as cannot fail of establishing good and reasonable markets at each of our Posts.

I am now preparing to march with all the Light Troops and a Battalion of the 71st to Augusta, with a view to secure that important Post... (Clinton Papers 52:4).

A "State of the troops under Campbell at Savannah, January 16, 1779" listed 2,767 rank and file present and fit for duty and a total effective force of over 3,420 men. Campbell's force also included 311 sick, 14 wounded, and 75 who were held prisoner by the Americans. A return of General Prevost's troops from East Florida, made on January 17, included 38 officers and 905 rank and file, composed of the 16th and 60th regiments and companies of New Jersey Volunteers, South Carolina Royalists, East Florida Voluteers, and Rangers (BPRO CO 5/97, pt. I, fols. 135v-137, cited in Campbell 1981:114-115).

Campbell wrote another letter to Lord Germaine on January 20 and he sent Germaine a copy of the plan showing, "the position of these posts" (Campbell 1981:41-44). Campbell added this comment in his January 20 letter:

By occupying this Chain of Military Posts, there is not a single Movement the Enemy can attempt, but what may be early discovered; And as their Landings must be partial, and confined to the Country between Abercorne and Ebenezer on Account of the Armed Craft, which are constantly in

Motion between that Station and the Town of Savannah, it is more probable that the Rebels will risk more in their Attempts to disturb us, than we shall lose in checking them (Campbell 1981:42-43).

Colonel Alexander Innes, commander of the Carolina Royalists, wrote to Henry Clinton from Savannah, Jan 20, detailing the Army's advance to Ebenezer:

As our Horse Vessels were missing, our difficulties in getting a few draught Horses and Carriages to enable Col. Campbell to move on, was very great, however he was enabled to March that afternoon of the 1st of Jany leaving the two Hessian Battalions, and the 2d Battn of DeLanceys' in Savannah, of which he did me the Honor to appoint me Commandant. His success above was as rapid as as he could desire, the Rebels abandoning every Post upon the River, altho' several of them were remarkably strong, in a word, in four days there was not a Rebel in Arms from Hudson's Mills to Savannah. The time was critically taken, Mr. Lincoln was at the Two Sisters with near 2000 Men when he met the fugitives from Savannah; and their uncertainty where the Storm would fall, whether on Savannah on Charles Town was a lucky circumstance; One of their Armed Vessels the Notre Dame fell... [rest of letter missing] (Clinton Papers 51:7).

Colonel Innes provided another assessment of colonial Georgia's defenses on January 23:

...The Posts now occupied by the British Troops are the Town of Savannah, Cherokee Hill Abercorn, Zubly's ferry, Ebenezer and the two Sisters being a Chain of thirty five miles above Savannah—The River below is effectivally [sic] secured by the Vigilant man of war carrying 16 24 Pounders lying opposite Augustine Creek the *Towey* twenty Gun Ship at Cockspur the *Phoenix* of 44 Guns at Tybee Light House and it was proposed to station a Galley of Force at the entrance of Calibogue Shore and the Inland navigation to that Province from the River Savannah....[goes on to describe each place but basically a repeat of what Campbell had written earlier]...Sunbury Town and Fort is 40 miles to the Southward of Savannah on the banks of a large Creek and fine Bason which communicates with the sea five miles below—here we have a Garrison of a hundred Provincials and to this place the Rebel officers taken Prisoners were sent on Parole. The reinforcement brought from Florida by Genl Prevost will necessarily alter the numbers at the different Posts and he may also have been induced to extend his Quarters (Innes 1779:3).

Georgia loyalists were required to swear an oath of allegiance, which was issued at Savannah in January 1779 by Sir Hyde Parker and Sir Archibald Campbell. This oath stated:

I [blank] , do solemnly swear that I will bear true and faithful Allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third, my lawful Sovereign; and that I will at all Risks stand forth in Support of his Person and Governments. And I do solemnly disclaim and renounce that unlawful and iniquitous Confederacy, called the General Continental Congress; also the Claim set up by them to Independency, and all Obedience to them, and all subordinates Jurisdictions assumed by, or under, their Authority. All this I do sincerely promise without Equivocation, or mental Reservation whatever. *So help me God!*"

The Bearer having complied with the Terms of the Proclamation issued by the Commanders of his Majesty's Sea and Land Forces in this Province, dated 4th January 1779, has Permission to remain on [Blank] Plantation, and enjoy his Majesty's Protection for [blank], Family and Effects of every Kind: [blank] has also Permission to pass and repass to and from Savannah, with Provisions and all other Necessaries for the Use of the Town and Garrison unmolested; and the Guards at the Out-Posts, are hereby required and directed to give [blank] every Assistance that may be necessary.

GIVEN at SAVANNAH this [blank] Day

of [Blank], One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-nine.

To all Officers, Civil and Military (Clinton Papers 52:5).

Historian Russell (2000:103) noted that Reverend Christopher Triebner, the minister at Jerusalem Church in Ebenezer, was one of those who had taken the oath of allegiance to King

George III. Triebner's supporters joined with the British, organized into marauding parties and, "started on a campaign of burning and pillaging every farm and plantation whose owners were believed to be patriot".

The British troop strength at Ebenezer in early 1779 consisted of about 3,017 British troops. Campbell wrote to Prevost and Commodore Parker from Savannah on January 21 describing his plans for defending the region and advancing against Augusta (Campbell 1981:45-47). Prevost immediately dispatched Campbell with a sizeable force to take Augusta and other interior posts. Colonel Campbell's army left New Ebenezer on January 24, 1779. His force consisted of 1,044 men, including:

- 72 East Florida Rangers, under Thomas Brown;
- 75 Carolina Royalists, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Robinson;
- 25 men in the Royal Artillery;
- 356 men in the 1st Battalion 71st Regiment;
- 175 New York Volunteers;
- 299 men in Sir James Baird's Light Infantry and,
- a Troop of Light Dragoons, composed of 42 men.

In addition Campbell took 2 Six Pounders, 2 Three Pounders, and 1 5.5 Inch Howitzer with him for artillery support (Boatner 1969:1035; Campbell 1981:46-47, 69; Crow and Tise 1978:180; Cashin 1999:85). Before moving against Augusta, Archibald Campbell left a garrison of 800 men at Ebenezer, composed of the 2nd Battalion 71st Regiment, one troop of dragoons, and others who were not identified. During most of that period Augustine Prevost was quartered at Ebenezer and it continued as the primary military headquarters. On January 29 Prevost, while at Ebenezer, exchanged letters with Lincoln at Purysburg (Campbell 1778:71, 79, 122; Campbell 1981:46; Papers of the Continental Congress 1959: M247 R177:207).

Augustine Prevost's correspondence indicates that he was at Ebenezer for most of the time from January 29 until May 1779 (Allis 1967, Reel 3; Davis 1986b:154-156; Davies 1978:17:76-79; Historical Manuscripts Commission 1901). On February 12 Prevost wrote from his Ebenezer HQ to Lincoln regarding a pass for a family desiring to cross the Savannah River. General Prevost kept in near daily communication with Campbell during this tense period. On March 11 Prevost wrote from Ebenezer to Lincoln providing him with a list of men who were taken prisoner on March 3 [at Brier Creek] (Allis 1967, Reel 3).

On February 14 Archibald Campbell vacated his post at Augusta and returned with his army to Ebenezer arriving on February 24. Campbell's secretary, Ensign John Wilson, accompanied him where his abilities as an engineer were tapped in designing and constructing Ebenezer's fortifications (Cashin 1999:91; Davis 1986:13; Nunis 1961:275-286). Ensign Wilson made these comments about the fortifications:

In the months of March & April this post was made very strong with additional Redoubts and Artillery; for it was always considered that it ought to be made one of the principal posts because a Chain of Communication across the Country and the Ogeechee river might have it's flank well-fixt and secure at Ebenezer, while it's left might extend to and be covered by the garrison of Sunbery, these posts it was supposed would secure the lower part of the Province, and protect it's inhabitants against the Incursions of plundering parties, sent by the Rebels from the upper Country or from South Carolina (Davis 1986:22-23).

Reverend Muhlenberg wrote on March 9 that he: “learned that Lt. Col. Campbell took possession of Eben-Ezer on Jan. 2...a body of militia was formed by the inhabitants of Ebenezer to patrol; scattered American forces retreated over the Ebenezer River” (Tappert and Doberstein 1948:221). Writing in his journal from Pennsylvania on February 8th, Reverend Henry M. Muhlenberg noted:

Georgia possessed by some 5000 troops under command of Campbell & Robt. Prevost...and that a proclamation was issued stating that those inhabitants who remained peacefully in their homes and delivered up their weapons etc. would suffer no harm to their persons and property, but that those who exhibited the contrary would be severely dealt with. It is said that many inhabitants submitted. It is reported that many houses were burned and many plantations destroyed (Tappert and Doberstein 1948:214).

Ensign John Wilson, who accompanied Campbell to and from Augusta, described the conditions:

Most of the Settlements (along both the Roads) from Ebenezer to Augusta, are in a ruinous, neglected State: two-thirds of them deserted, some of their Owners following the Kings troops, others with the Rebels, and both revengefully destroying the property of the other (Jones 1887:347; Crow and Tise 1978:184).

Brigadier General Prevost wrote two letters to Campbell from Ebenezer on February 17 advising him not to overextend his army and expressing concern of their vulnerable situation at Ebenezer (Campbell 1981:66-67). On February 14th, Prevost wrote from his Ebenezer HQ to Henry Clinton reporting the situation in the Georgia backcountry and noting that he had sent his brother Lieutenant Colonel Mark Prevost to reinforce Campbell at Ebenezer (Davies 1978, 16:145). Major General Prevost wrote again to Clinton on February 18, “...after having taken such measures as seemed most requisite to ensure Savannah against an attack from the enemy, I proceeded to this place [Ebenezer] as the most likely to keep the rebels in check and facilitate the success of Colonel Campbell’s operations...” (Davies 1978, 17:66). In another letter to Clinton written at Ebenezer on March 1, Prevost noted:

General Lincoln, with all the continental troops and great numbers of militia, forms a corps of observation and remains at Purysburg, still keeping a watchful eye to the few places through which we might penetrate into Carolina. The risk of receiving a check that might endanger the safety of this province by inspiring the enemy with confidence and spirits has hitherto prevented an attempt on that side; but if a diversion could be made on the side of Charleston, at which place there is at present a very small force, the most happy success would certainly be the consequence of such a step, as this army by entering the heart of the province would reduce the enemy to the most dangerous situation and must crush them inevitably (Davies 1978:17:69-70).

On February 21 Prevost advised Campbell that Lincoln was preparing to send 2,000 American troops across the Savannah River at Two Sisters Ferry (Campbell 1981:68). Campbell positioned his army to be able to respond to Lincoln’s threat and on the evening of February 24 he returned to Ebenezer with Taw’s Dragoons where he met with Prevost. The following day Campbell was busy examining, “...the State of the Redoubts, which I found in great Forwardness, carrying on agreeable to the Plan I had given for their Construction...” The following day Prevost and Campbell both traveled to Savannah to confer with others and inspect the defenses there (Campbell 1981:69-70). On February 23 Prevost wrote to Campbell at Hudson’s Ferry:

I have the honor to inform you that I have received intelligence that the 21st General Lincoln had sent 2000 men up the river with intention 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 don in consequence of it.

Shaw is gone to town to hurry what necessarys are wanted for the Carolinians

Moncrieff is gone there also to see that the Works are completed, those here are forwarded as much as possible... (Prevost 1779a).

On March 1, Prevost wrote a 5-page letter from his Ebenezer HQ to Henry Clinton but the subject and contents of this document were not researched (Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1:389). On March 2, Prevost wrote to Patrick Tonyn advising him that "...all men are needed here and militia cannot be relied on..." and the Lieutenant Colonel Campbell could not hold Augusta, "for want of support from country people" (Davies 1978, 16:67). Campbell had encouraged 1,100 men in interior Georgia to sign the oath of allegiance by February 10 and these men were organized into 20 companies.

On March 2 Lieutenant Colonel Campbell wrote to Prevost with his recommendations for the garrison strength at the various posts in Georgia. His recommendations for Ebenezer called for 700 Effective Rank and File from the 2nd Battalion 71st Regiment and the Hessians (300 men). The British forces would be divided with 1,390 men above Ebenezer and 2,570 men below (Campbell 1981:60, 71-72). Campbell explained his strategy for this arrangement of troops:

When I consider the Strength of His Majesty's Forces in Georgia, and that of the Rebels on the opposite Banks of the Savannah, I am inclined to think it would be imprudent at this Juncture, to follow other Views than those of securing the Conquest already made; and consequently our Attention ought to be directed to three essential Objects: The Security of Savannah, Ebenezer and Sundbury. Whatever may be the Policy or Movements of the Enemy, it is certain that those important Posts ought never to be neglected...By having the Cavalry halfway advanced between Ebenezer and Hudson's Ferry, the Country in front will be completely scouted, and every Intelligence early conveyed to Ebenezer, without incurring material risk (Campbell 1981:70-71).

Prevost wrote from Ebenezer to Campbell on March 2:

...Our advanced Corps finding that the Rebels shew'd no immediate inclination to Cross Brier Creek in force and that they rather seem'd to design establishing themselves there for the purpose of harrassing and strengthening our quarters and preventing our intending again or communicating with the Upper Country—I have judged it proper to go and dislodge them—the 2^d 71st and some of the Irregulars with two ten pounders have march'd towards the Bridge to amass them in that quarter whilst the main body leaving a Post at Hudson's and endeavor to gain this rear by Pearis' ferry or Mills.—I have heard nothing of them since they march'd—the number of the Enemy by best accounts not above 2000 and all militia. To favor that operations above we have given the Enemy last night a little alert at Zubly's and at the Sisters—and we shall probably make some more motions today to deceive any spies they may have among us into the belief that we intend something serious in that Quarter.

Two Deserters left Purysburg yesterday noon say that Lincoln was gone somewhere they believe upwards but the usual number of troops remain.—The Rebel Galleys man'd now with French men have moved up a little.—I do not think of any thing more material with regard to our situation—I wish you order off to the Corps any idle officers about Savannah...

...I am sorry to find that Lt. Shaw of the Queens Rangers want to return to New York to join his Corps, for fear of being Superceded there on the idea that he is provided for here—I think something should be allowed for expenses –and I should be glad you would settle what it should be as he came with you and certainly cannot be supposed to take such journey for nothing. I am sorry it is not in my power to provide for him as I could wish." (Prevost 1779b).

Prevost wrote from Ebenezer to Campbell on March 4:

Yesterday evening I was favored with the honor of yours of the 2^d would have answer'd immediately had I not expected some news to enable me to give you some particulars of what they are doing above, on my return here I found that my Brother had marched in Order to attempt to Cutt off the Party of the rebels advanced to Brier Creek's Bridge, Since & last evening I had a

letter from him from Paris Bridge the 3^d which I am told is above them. He was still of opinion that they knew nothing of his motions & to be able to hemm them in & expected as yesterday to come at them in their rear When Major McPherson & some other Troops where in their Front in the road leading to Briar's Bridge

You may judge of my uneasiness untill I hear that he is come down again I have wrote to him to that purpose & no doubt he will do it if he is not already too far advanced except he is almost sure of success

This done I intend to follow the Plan you have been so kind to transmitt to me, it's being very near the Same I proposed & shall employ immediately the Engineers to the necessary Works.

...This day I must employ in writing & tomorrow expect to be able to go to Savannah to take my leave from you & the Commodore,

Major Dr. Campbell may go with you to Brittain. I wish I had in my power to convince you that nothing can please me more than the opportunity of testifying the sentiments of respectd with which I have the honor to be served (Prevost 1779c; Campbell 1981:77).

Prevost wrote another letter the following day from Ebenezer to Campbell:

Last Evening I was favored with your letter of yesterday by Capt. MacKenzie, it is not my intention to alter what has been directed by the Commander in Chief & I make no objection of his going to Brittain

I receiv'd also a letter from my Brother dated from Brier's Creek Bridge he says that as soon as he shall have made some necessary arrangements he intends to come here & then to Savannah in order to settle with you the affairs relative to the Government of the Province upon which I have putt off my going to town untill afternoon or tomorrow morning in hopes he will arrive I believe if he was not here time enough you should continue to stay 24 hours longer at Savannah, however as that depends on the Commodore you will settle that between you. He sends me the confirmation of his having defeated and routed the rebels, many have made their Escape by swimming over the river or in the Swamps out of which Prisoners are brought every moment. He has taken several Colours, 4 pieces of Canon & every thing that was in their Camp, great many Prisoners & amongst them some officers of Note. He has had but two officers wounded few men killed & few wounded.

The Death of Skinner's is lamentable & irreparable he was a very good & useful man the Indian with him was directed to come together to me here, I don't want them in the internal part of the Province, & as affairs stand now they must not be left to themselves & I don't know any body to send with them (Prevost 1779d).

A section of text entitled, "Roads and country that Col. Campbell marched thro' -Ebenezer to Augusta in Georgia" accompanied a map of interior Georgia that was probably drafted by Ensign John Wilson, shortly Campbell's return from Augusta, which stated:

When Col^o Campbell established the posts of Cherokee-hill, Abercorn, Zubble's ferry, Ebenezer, The two Sisters and Tuccassee-King, he returned to Savannah the 6th of January to meet Gen^l Prevost, whom he expected was to take upon him the chief Command of the troops in Georgia, and this part of the Southern District: Soon after their first Interview, Col^o Campbell proposed to march with 1200 men to Augusta, to clear that part of the Province of Rebels, and to protect such Inhabitants as chose to return to the allegiance of the King; with this vice he began his march from Ebenezer the 24th Jan^y but his Corps did not exceed 900 men.

Too sanguine people gave hopes that the very sight of the King's troops in that quarter, would be the means of collecting a considerable number of loyalists Subjects, from the Carolinas and Georgia, that would be willing to accompany The King's troops wherever the Service required. Assurances were also given that a large body of Indians would join at Augusta. The Country people met with every too great endurance Confedence and Encouragement they had, as soon as they took the oath of allegiance, their own Arms returned to them, or better arms and Ammunition given; they proceeded to form into Companys and give every assistance possible to promote the King's Service. The following Memorandum will explain a little of the Roads and Country, that

Col^o Campbell marched thro'; and a few Circumstances that occurred while he was with this Corps in the upper Country (Library of Congress 1779).

The British enjoyed a major victory at Brier Creek on March 3 and 4 (Campbell 1981:77). Although the town of Ebenezer was not directly involved in this important battle, it did play an indirect role, as noted in the *Annual Register* for 1779: "General Prevost made such dispositions and movements on the borders of the river, between Savannah and Ebenezer, as were sufficient to attract and take up the attention of General Lincoln, during its [the engagement at Brier Creek] prosecution" (*Annual Register* 1780:181). The main force of the American army remained focused at Purysburg while the battle at Brier Creek was ongoing, and Prevost's feints may have played a role in diverting the Americans attention from the main front. In a recent critical analysis of the battle at Brier Creek, however, Howard (2002) demonstrated that General Lincoln did not receive word of the battle, as a result of various blunders and intentional mis-steps, until it was done.

Campbell's financial account of his American service, which is recorded in the British Public Record Office, included payments made on January 31 [1779], "Paid for driving in Cattle for the Troops at Ebenezer 5.8.10 2/3", and to the Reverend Triebner, 41 pounds 5 shillings 3 pence, and "For the Poor at Ebenezer" 10 pounds (Campbell 1981:86; BPRO AO 1/219/738). After placing his financial affairs in order, Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell departed for England aboard the *Phoenix* on March 11, 1779. This ended his association with Georgia (Campbell 1981:79). Major General Prevost reported from Ebenezer on March 15th to General Clinton, advising him that Campbell had sailed for England. Prevost lamented the loss of the naval defenses at Savannah, which apparently was part of Campbell and Commodore Parker's departure (Davies 1978:16:145). On April 3 Henry Clinton wrote to Lord George Germain informing him that, "Lieutenant Colonel Campbell...sailed from Savannah in His Majesty's Ship *Phoenix* on the 12th utlimo..." (Clinton Papers 55:35).

On March 15 Lieutenant Colonel Mark Prevost, gloating over his fresh victory against the Americans at Brier Creek, wrote a letter to Henry Clinton acknowledging his appointment of Lieutenant-Governor of Georgia. Prevost estimated the Rebel losses at Brier Creek on March 4th at 1500 to 1600 (Historical Manuscript Commission 1901, 1:399).

AMERICAN RESPONSE TO CAMPBELL'S CAMPAIGN

At the time of the British invasion of Savannah in November 1778, Major General Robert Howe was commanding the Americans there. Howe was already aware that he was to be relieved by General Benjamin Lincoln, who had been appointed by General George Washington to command the southern American army, and Howe was preparing to leave at the time of the British attack. Lincoln had arrived by ship in Charleston on December 4, 1778 and was on his way to Savannah with about 1,200 troops from North and South Carolina to relieve Howe. Rather than fall back and allow the British to peacefully take Savannah, Howe attempted to hold the city with between 600 to 700 men against approximately 2,000 British. The results were tragic for the Americans.

Major General Benjamin Lincoln, Continental Army, commanded the Southern District of the Continental Army from December, 1778 until his capture in Charleston, South Carolina in 1780 (Figure 12). Lincoln, in turn, was replaced by General Horatio Gates, whose sound defeat at Camden, South Carolina, quickly led to Gates' replacement by General Nathanael Greene.

Apparently neither Gates nor Greene visited Ebenezer and if Robert Howe, Lincoln's predecessor, visited the town, which he possibly did, that visit is undocumented.



Figure 12. Portrait of Benjamin Lincoln, After a Painting by John Herring.

The American forces under Howe, who defended Savannah against Campbell, were soundly routed from the town and were scattered into the interior of Georgia and South Carolina. On December 30, 1778, Major General Howe, camped 4 miles from Zubly's Ferry, wrote to Lincoln advising him of the bad situation (Papers of the Continental Congress M247 R177:189). Howe's army in Georgia was in complete disarray. Archibald Campbell reported to Lord Germaine on January 16 that: "...on the 3rd of January the last scattered remains of General Howe's army retreated across at the Two sisters" (Davies 1978:17:37).

Lincoln and the other ranking officers in the Southern Army realized that Howe had made a strategic blunder in defending Savannah rather than retreating, particularly in the face of such overwhelming odds. Brigadier General Moultrie later criticized Howe's military strategy in his summary of the Savannah engagement:

It was a total rout, and the whole had nearly been cut off from their retreat; the 2d brigade was entirely so, those of them who made their escape, were obliged to file off to the right, and cross the Spring Hill causeway, and some were obliged to swim Yamacraw creek, leaving their arms behind; those who could not swim, were either killed or taken... (Moultrie 1802:252).

Despite the loss of Savannah, the Southern Continental Army remained a sizeable force. Lincoln's troop strength in early 1779 has been estimated at 1,121 Continentals and 2,518 militia, or a total of 3,639 soldiers (Boatner 1969:1035). Other historians consider the size of Lincoln's

force higher, possibly more than 5,000 men (Hough 1975:149-150). By either estimate the Americans outnumbered the British, who numbered under 3,000. Had Lincoln been able to reinforce the Savannah garrison in time, the outcome of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell's southern campaign would have been radically different.

Lincoln had arrived in Charleston by ship and soon after his arrival, on December 8, Lincoln learned that a large fleet of British warships was approaching Savannah harbor. By December 22, Lincoln wrote from Charleston to Governor Caswell:

I am informed that forty-odd ships passed this place yesterday, steering southerly. From these accounts we have received, it is probable, the enemy intends to invade the State of Georgia. If so, it is necessary we should arrive there before them. I therefore forwarded this by express, and beg you to form the troops as fast as possible... (Allis 1967:Reel 3).

Lincoln rapidly marched his army towards Savannah from Charleston but was unable to reach the city before the British attacked and captured it. On December 31, 1778 Lincoln wrote to President of the Continental Congress Lowndes while Lincoln's army was on the march at Pocatigo, S.C. and Lincoln wrote again later the same day from Salt Catchers Bridge, S.C., Lincoln wrote a letter to Henry Laurens announcing that the British had landed 2,500 men "a little below Savannah" and had overpowered the estimated 500 men under Howe and that "Savannah was in the hands of the enemy" (Allis 1967:Reel 3). At the same time Georgia militia were moving toward Savannah to assist General Howe, but likewise did not arrive in time.

Major General Howe and most of the American soldiers in Savannah headed upriver following their defeat. According to a Hessian officer at Savannah, "General Howe, their leader, went with the remnant up along the Savannah to Ebenezer" (Pettengill 1924:202). American casualties in this engagement were high and a court martial was later convened to ascertain American Major General Robert Howe's actions in this battle. Subsequent historical analysis, and an opinion that was held by many American officers at the time, was that Howe should have retreated from Savannah and avoided a battle, in the face of such overwhelming odds. Major General Robert Howe was exonerated, however, by this military tribunal.

On January 3, 1779 Lincoln reached Purysburg, where he established his HQ. He remained there without movement until February 11th (Hyne 1780; Moultrie 1802:254-256; Allis 1967:Reel 3). On January 4 Lincoln wrote to President Lowndes advising him of the situation in Georgia:

Colonel Campbell commanded the British troops in Savannah; we have not been able to ascertain his numbers, but from the best accounts they amount to about three thousand, it is said, he is covering the town and taking measures which look like an intention to hold the post; his parties have been up the river as far as the Two Sisters [about 40 miles]. The majority of our recrossing the Savannah with a force respectable is so apparent, that I hope this state will give every aid, in their power, to forward the measure, but it is so then my wish than my expectation...whether I might expect militia with me from this state [S.C.] in the State of Georgia or not...whenever an attempt is made to recross into Georgia, it must be with a force respectable, as the enemy command all the rivers...the country affords no strong posts, and the frequent overflowing of the Savannah render it at times impossible to receive any reinforcements... (Allis 1967:Reel 3).

J. White wrote that same day (January 3) from on board the *Congress* galley to General Lincoln advising him of the American naval losses at Savannah, "We lost three vessels yesterday...the enemy with 2 gallies & 14 flatbottom boats are now lying at Yamasee Bluff together with 5-600 regular troops" By January 15 the *Congress* galley, *Lee* galley, and an "Arm'd Flatt", were moored at Purysburg (Allis 1967: Reel 3). The *Congress* and *Lee* would later be involved in a Savannah River battle, which is discussed in detail later in this report.

The Americans were able to secure a sizeable store of gunpowder despite the loss of Savannah. Lincoln's papers include a, "Return of Powder in the Purysburgh Magazine, 6 Jan 1779", which included both Carolina and Georgia's supply of gunpowder (Allis 1967: Reel 3). Georgia's supply of gunpowder at that date consisted of 8,175 hundred weight, which was categorized into cannon, musket, rifle, and glase powder. The Georgia gunpowder supply, most of which was probably stored in the Ebenezer magazine weeks earlier, was delivered by Major Bourquin.

Howe's exit from Georgia on January 10 was less than glorious, as most of his army was either killed, captured, or scattered over the swamps of Southeast Georgia. Lincoln wrote in a letter to Lieutenant Colonel Campbell: "This will be handed to you by Majr Genl Howe who is on his way to join Genl Washington..." (Allis 1967:Reel 3). On January 6, 1779 Lincoln advised General Washington, "the enemy are moving up the river..." (Papers of the Continental Congress M247 R177:185; Allis 1967:Reel 3). Lincoln also wrote to President Lowndes assessing Howe's defeat and expressing his frustration with the command that he had inherited:

He [Howe] retreated over the Savannah. We are collecting the troops—the whole force here amounts to about fourteen [sic] hundred...I have met with almost every disappointment since I came into this department. After an encouragement to expect a force consisting of seven thousand men, besides the militia of South Carolina and Georgia, I have now only fourteen hundred...I have daily the unhappiness to see families of all kinds fleeing before the enemy, and reduced, in a few hours...Last night we heard that the enemy were reinforced by the troops from St. Augustine, and that they now amounted to 4000, and that Colonel Campbell who commands the British troops, had marched up the river, with his main body, whether with a design to cross, and attack us, or not is uncertain (Allis 1967:Reel 3).

In a letter written on August 18, 1779, the Executive Council of the State of Georgia expressed their regret to South Carolina's governor and to Major General Benjamin Lincoln that Major General Howe, "would have had it in his power to have established a post at Ebenezer till he had been reinforced by General Lincoln" (Candler 2001, 2:163).

By January 7, Lincoln had assembled 1,400 American troops at Purysburg and by January 16 that number had grown to nearly 2,500 (Campbell 1981:115). Lincoln shifted his camp five miles above Purysburg from February 10 to 13, but returned to Purysburg where he remained until February 20 (Campbell 1981:126). Lincoln wrote to Colonel Samuel Elbert expressing his regrets for the delays in reinforcements in Georgia. Lincoln advised Elbert to establish a post in the meantime. In order to increase the troop strength in Georgia, Lincoln told Elbert that he had "... taken all the Georgia Continental troops out of the Gallies the Georgia militia is here will come on also you will have with them the Georgia artillery" (Allis 1967: Reel 3). Lincoln wrote to South Carolina's Governor Bull advising him of the situation:

...the enemy remain in the town of Savannah and on the banks of the river at the several landing places to the distance of forty or fifty miles, to prevent probably our recrossing a little time may determine whether they can effectually prevent it or not. From the best info. I can get they are not in force to attack Carolina and that their whole numbers will be short of four thousand when joined by Provost [sic]...since Jan. 19th more than half the South Carolina militia have left camp...more expected in a few days (Allis 1967:Reel 3).

On January 7 William Stafford wrote from his post at Two Sister's Ferry to Lincoln. Stafford advised him that he had posted a 12-man guard opposite the British, who were positioned at the "Late Governor Treutlans" plantation, and 12 more Americans were posted at Palachicola (Allis 1967, Reel 3).

The remnants of the Georgia Continentals were camped at Silver Bluff, South Carolina (Mr. Galphins) by January 10, when a return of Colonel Leonard Marbury's detachment was made. Their sad group totalled 93 men, including six who were sick in camp (Allis 1967: Reel 3). Georgian John Wreat would later write to a friend in 1784 regarding the Georgia Battalion: "...After the reduction of Savannah by the British on the 29th Decem. 1778 but few of the Georgia Line remained, and those were again reduced at General Ashs' defeat soon after, when but few Officers remained, some few soldiers have come from Virginia to get the little Balance of pay settled that is due them" (NARA and GSA 1970 :Roll 4, MS1215).

A return of Brigadier General Richardson's Brigade, who were camped within seven miles of Purysburg, was made on January 12. Their ranks, which included Colonel Singleton's, Kershaw's, Goodwin's, and Winn's regiments, totalled 764 (Allis 1967: Reel 3). A return of the Continental troops at Purysburg on January 13th included Moultrie's 1st, 3rd, 5th, and 6th Regiments, and remnants of the Georgia Continental Brigade. A return of the Georgia Brigade, commanded by Colonel Samuel Elbert was taken "in Camp" on January 17. The Georgians were 90 in number, including 1 sick in camp and 25 sick in the hospital (Allis 1967: Reel 3). Returns for other regiments, who were camped at Purysburg on January 17 and 18 were included in Benjamin Lincoln's papers. These are listed in [Table 4](#). In addition Lincoln had at his disposal six hospital wagons.

Table 4. Troop Returns for American Regiments at Purysburg, January 17 and 18, 1779.

Unit	Commander	Total	January	Location
3rd South Carolina Regiment, Continentals		344	17	Purysburg
Georgia Brigade, Continentals	Col. Elbert	90	17	Unspecified
5th South Carolina Regiment, Infantry, Continentals	Col. Huger	264	18	Purysburg
1st Brigade, Continentals	Gen. Moultrie	1244	U/A	Purysburg
6th South Carolina Regiment	Lt. Col Henderson	220	18	Unspecified
New Levies, North Carolina	Co. Sumner	50	18	Purysburg
N. Carolina militia, Hillsborough & Salisbury Districts	Maj. Gen. Rutherford	976	18	near Purysburg
Total Troops [by computation in 2002]		3188	18	Purysburg
Total Effective Troops	Major General Lincoln	2536		Purysburg

By January 24 many of the Georgia militia who had fled from Savannah had regrouped in Purysburg where Lincoln wrote to Congress advising them that the Georgia regiment with all Georgia militia were to march to Augusta (Allis 1967:Reel 3). Lincoln wrote to Lieutenant Colonel McIntosh informing him that most of General Richardson's South Carolina militia had left camp and that "a large party of them stationed down the river this day came off and left their post" (Allis 1967:Reel 3).

The following day (January 25) Lincoln wrote to President Lowndes regarding plundering by the militia under his charge, "they must be prevented plundering even the Tories, for when they are permitted to plunder in any degree, there is no restraining them" (Allis 1967:Reel 3). Lincoln also wrote on January 25 to Elbert in Georgia advising him that Colonel Hammond had drawn out his militia and crossed the Savannah River (Allis 1967:Reel 3). Two days later (January 27) Lincoln wrote to Colonel Leonard Marbury in Georgia stating, "I am very glad that your state has honored you with the command of their militia". Lincoln also discussed the transport of supplies to the Georgia troops via the swamps between Treutlen's plantation and Ebenezer (Allis

1967:Reel 3). John Adam Treutlen lived in Georgia near Two Sisters Ferry, which was several miles north of Ebenezer (Riley 1999).

Moultrie wrote describing the British troop distribution in Georgia to Colonel Charles Pinckney on January 26: "...they increase the strength of their different posts every day, and have extended themselves as far up as Hudson' bluff, about 16 miles above the Two-sisters; their strong post is now at Two-sisters, the 71st regiment is there, about 1400 men, the others are at Ebenezer and Abbercorne; this intelligence we got from a deserter yesterday; he says they have left only 400 Hessians at Savannah..." (Moultrie 1892, 2:274-275). In that same letter Moultrie describes an ordinary task that takes on ominous proportions:

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, 2:274-276).

On January 31 the American troops in the Southern Division were reorganized into two divisions under Moultrie and Ashe (Hyne 1780). By the next day Lincoln had assembled a formidable army of 3,639 men at Purysburg (Campbell 1981:116).

Writing from Camp Purysburg, Lieutenant Colonel William Henderson, 6th Regiment, gave these recruiting orders to Captain Buchanan on February 5, 1779:

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 you set out-from which time, you 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 1972:99).

Troop returns were made at Purysburg on February 1st for the 1st Brigade and 5th S. C. Regiment Continentals, commanded by Colonel Isaac Huger. The 1st Brigade contained a total of 175 men and the 5th Regiment included 269 men. Colonel Owen Roberts' Corps of Artillery, which consisted of 32 men, was encamped near Purysburg on February 11th (Allis 1967: Reel 3). General Stephen Bull sent the continental artillery, under command of Captain De Treville to Two Sisters Ferry on February 11. Bull also ordered the Charleston Artillery to Purysburg, but they refused to go (Moultrie 1802, 2:313).

On February 6 Lincoln's forces were poised for a move towards Augusta. He advised the President of Congress of his intentions (Papers of the Continental Congress R177:227, 231). His expectations for having 3,000 men for the march fell short, however, the number was closer to 2,400 (Campbell 1981:123-124).

On February 12 and the following day Lincoln was camped 5 miles above Purysburg where he remained until the 13. Lincoln received a letter, dated February 12, from 2nd Lieutenant Robert Stafford, who was serving under Captain Garvin at Hudson's Ferry. Stafford wrote, "Yesterday our scout on their return out of the river swamp opp. Mt. Pleasant where the Enemy frequented coming over and plundering for cattle, hogs and horses and our scout consisted of only a liutnant [sic] and 8 privates as we are week [sic] at our Staten [sic]". On February 17 Captain Garvin's letter to Lincoln indicates that he and his men remained at their Hudson's Ferry post. Lincoln received another letter on February 12 from Captain Hezekiah Spruill, who was under command of General Ashe, which noted, "we are in camp at the Two Sisters and not able to march any further..." (Hyne 1780; Allis 1967: Reel 3).

Colonel Joseph Kershaw wrote on February 18 from his camp at Swykart's Mill to Lincoln advising him that, "I left at the magazine near the Sisters 40 muskets 23 Bayonets—and one broken Musket which was used by the men that deserted". On February 25, correspondence to Lincoln from General Rutherford placed Rutherford's camp at Sister's Ferry (Allis 1967: Reel 3).

By February 14 Lincoln had returned to Purysburg. On February 17 Colonel Sumner's Brigade of Light Infantry was ordered to camp "on the bank of the river to the northwest of Purysburg" (Hyne 1780). Although Lincoln had moved north again to Matthews Bluff on February 21 and 22, by the 23 he had returned to Purysburg where he remained for the rest of February and until at least March 24, as his correspondence indicates (Papers of the Continental Congress R177:235, 243; Campbell 1981:127). Matthews Bluff was located well upstream from Purysburg and Ebenezer but south of Augusta. By the beginning of March, the Americans had assembled as many as 7,200 men on the east side of the Savannah River and clearly outnumbered the British (Moultrie 1802, 1:321-322; Campbell 1981:128).

William Moultrie transcribed a letter from an American spy, written to Benjamin Lincoln sometime in February 1779, which included a description of the British posts along the Savannah River. It included these details of the fortifications at and near Ebenezer:

At a branch this side of Ebenezer, about three miles on the south side, a rail battery and a strong picquet. At Ebenezer, 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, 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 (Moultrie 1802, 2:336).

Moultrie wrote in a letter to Colonel Charles Pinckney on February 27 that Campbell's force consisted of; "1,000 regular troops, 300 Col. Reed's new levies, 300 Carolina royalists (as they call them) 500 Brown's and Georgians, with six brass field-pieces, two howitzers and four grass-hoppers..." In their hasty retreat from Augusta, the British lost one field-piece while crossing Brier Creek and General Ashe sent a detachment to "have it taken up and brought to his camp" (Moultrie 1802, 2:318). Writing years later, Moultrie summarized the strength of the Southern Army at the end of February, 1779:

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 2,300 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... This unlucky affair at Brier-Creek, disconcerted all our plans, and throught the misfortunes of Gen. Howe and Ash, the war was protracted at least one year longer, for it is not to be doubted that had we crossed the river with our army, and joined Gen. Ash, which we were preparing to do, we should have had a body of 7,000 men; besides strong

reinforcements were marching to us from every quarter sufficient to drive the enemy out of Georgia; and all the wavering, and all the disaffected would have immediately joined us; and it is more probable that Carolina would not have been invaded, had this event taken place (Moultrie 1802, 2:321-326).

Lincoln was dealt a major blow by the British on March 3, 1779, when Major General Ashe and his Division were surprised and trounced at Brier Creek. Ashe's division consisted of approximately 1,080 militiamen and Continental soldiers (Howard 2002:5-8). The battle culminated on March 3 and, according to British sources, resulted in the loss of at least 150 Americans killed and 200 captured, and an unknown number lost in the Savannah River swamp. In addition Ashe's men lost seven cannons, nearly all their arms and ammunition, most of their baggage. (*Annual Register* 1780:1832). A council of war was held at Purysburg on March 4 and 5 upon hearing news of Ashe's defeat. Lincoln's notes from the meeting record that: "most of his Division [was] killed or made prisners". The officers in attendance debated, "whether the force should be collected", and, "whether we ought to keep our main body at Purisburg". The Council agreed that they should remain at Purysburg. On March 9 Lincoln ordered a court of inquiry into "the affair of the 3rd inst. At Brier Creek" involving General Ashe's defeat (Hyrne 1780;Allis 1967: Reel 3).

A return of "the Troop under Command of Maj. Gen. Lincoln, Purysburgh, 4th March 1779", consisted of 136 men, including: 78 of Colonel Huger's Brigade, South Carolina Continentals and 58 of Colonel Sumner's N. C. New Levies. Colonel Roberts' Artillery Regiment, South Carolina Continentals, totalling 155 men, were camped at Purysburg on March 5. A return of the Guards and Piquets the South Carolina line who were, "in & near Purisburgh" was made on March 16 and 17. The main guard consisted of 57 men, 71 at Zubly's Ferry, 30 in the swamp, 26 at a road piquet, 17 on board galleys, 13 at Bullocks [plantation], 13 at Kailes [plantation], and 30 assigned to the General's Guard (Salley 1977:8). These guards stood ready to announce any movement of the British on the opposite side of the Savannah River. Lincoln's force at Purysburg about that time was between 3,000 and 4,000 men (Moultrie 1802, 1:128; Allis 1967: Reel 3).

PREVOST'S CAROLINA CAMPAIGN

Once Lieutenant Colonel Campbell was gone from Georgia, Brigadier General Augustine Prevost developed plans for a campaign to capture Charleston, South Carolina. Nick-named "Bullethead", Prevost was a seasoned soldier who had proven his abilities in the French and Indian War. Prevost received a head wound during that war and he successfully survived trepanation of his skull, which was an 18th century medical treatment to relieve the pressure of cranial swelling (Christopher Prevost personal communication October 1, 2002). Prevost's portrait, which is attributed to English portrait artist Lemuel Francis Abbott and painted after his return to England in 1780 is reproduced in [Figure 13](#).

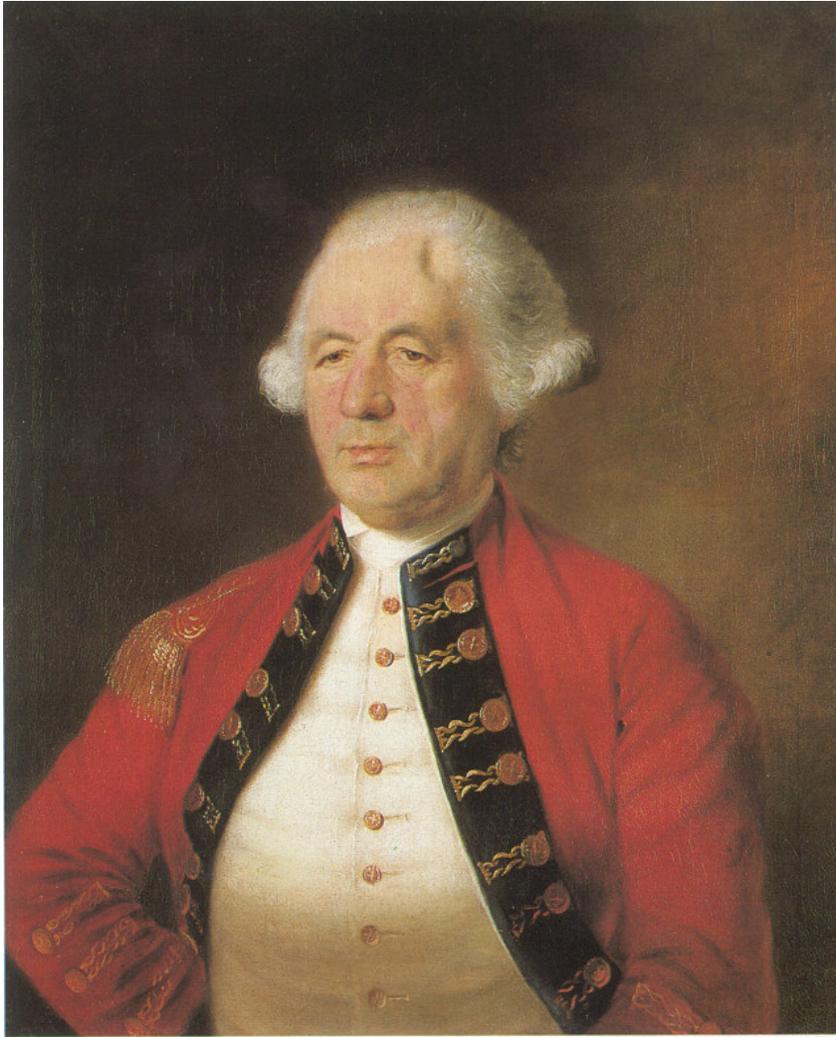


Figure 13. Major General Augustine Prevost, 1780s
(Courtesy of Christopher Prevost.)

On March 13, 1779 Brigadier General Augustine Prevost delivered a talk to the Creek Indians at Ebenezer calling for their help against the American army in Carolina (Davies 1978:16:156). By the end of the month about 120 Indians had assembled at Ebenezer. By early April the number of Creeks that had gathered for the upcoming campaign was between 200 and 300. Prevost later wrote Clinton telling him that about 70 Indians took part in the campaign in South Carolina that April (Campbell 1981: 90-91).

On March 14, 1779 Sir Henry Clinton approved Archibald Campbell's appointments prior to Campbell's "resigning the command to General Prevost". Prevost appointed Capt Skelly, Major of Brigade, and Prevost noted, "I approve of the Corps to be stiles the Loyal Georgia Volunteers. 16th A Surgeon will be sent from hence [New York] for the Hospital at Ebenezer..." (Clinton Papers 55: 54:3).

On March 28 Brigadier General Prevost wrote a 3-page letter from his Ebenezer HQ to Henry Clinton but the subject and contents of this letter were not researched (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1901, 1:405). On April 26th Augustine Prevost wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Lord George Germain:

...the rebels in considerable force, had taken post at Briar Creek, 13 miles above our post at Hudson's, and that they were busied in repairing the bridge, (which had been destroyed by Colonel Campbell in his return downwards) as if intending to advance by that route, our post was reinforced, and dispositions secretly made to give them a proper reception.

Accordingly Major M'Pherson, with the 1st battalion 71st regiment, and some irregulars, with two field pieces, was directed by Lieutenant Col. Prevost to advance towards the bridge to mask the movements he himself had made with the 2d battalion...to amuse and keep Mr. Lincoln in check, should he in the mean time attempt anything in this quarter.

Our plan was happily effected...The second in command, Brigadier General Elbert, one of their best officers, several more of note, in the whole twenty-seven officers, were taken, with near two hundred men, about 150 killed on the field of battle and adjoining woods and swamps; but their chief loss consists in the number of officers and men drowned in attempting to save themselves from the slaughter, and plunging into a deep and rapid river..."

Lt. Colonel Campbell adds to the foregoing accounts, that at Augusta and round it, the inhabitants, to the amount of 1400 men, submitted, swore allegiance to the King, took the benefit of his Majesty's gracious protection, and were formed into 20 companies, in the stile of militia, for the defence of their property against the incursions of the rebels from Carolina. That since the last action many deserters from the Continental troops in Carolina had come.

An intercepted letter from General Lincoln to the Congress informs them that he could not stand against the English army, unless considerably reinforced, as he was obliged to leave 800 men in Carolina, to prevent the inhabitants giving up the town to the English. "

A letter from David Taitt to Lord Germain, written from Savannah on August 6, described the movements and actions of the Loyalist Creeks during Campbell's and Prevost's southern campaign. He noted: "About the middle of April [1779] Mr. McIntosh arrived with fifty Indians and about same time fifty more of his party came to this town [Savannah] and were employed by Lieut.-Colonel Prevost on a small excursion to Carolina. After their return most of them joined the other Indians at Ebenezer and with them crossed into Carolina with the army..." (Davies 1978: 17:181). Charles Shaw recounted a slightly different timetable for this event in an August 7 letter to Lord Germain: "...the latter end of March the deputies [Taitt and McIntosh] with about one hundred and twenty Indians joined the army at Ebenezer...crossed over to Carolina with the army, about forty returned from Purrisburgh and the rest acted with the troops in their progress through South Carolina..." (Davies 1978:17:185).

An unsigned document, dated April 30, 1779 and sent to Benjamin Lincoln at his Purysburg HQ, probably represents a Rebel spy's intelligence of the British troop's departure from Ebenezer:

The army & Co in readiness to march this Evæg [sic] at 7 oclock, Rangers advanced, the detachment of the Lt Infant with their guns-one Batt 71 of the New Y volunt Hugston's Regt to open in back the Artill 2nd Batt 71st -Rear guard 2d Batt Delaneys [DeLancey's], Four Comp Lt In: 4 on the left flank, when formed Rangers & Lt Inf: cover the Front, when formed the Lt Infantry cover the Right & left, the 1st Batt 71st in left the NY Volunt center Hughshi's on the left 2nd Batt:71—the Rear Guard Dlanacey (New York Public Library, EM 6667).

The stalemate between the British at Ebenezer and the Americans at Purysburg was broken in late April 1779. The British captured an American convoy that was led by the *Jason*, which was a severe blow to the Georgia army. While General Lincoln's troops were making a move towards

Augusta, the British under Brigadier General Prevost landed about 2000 troops on the north side of the Savannah River below Purysburg for an attack on that place. The rebel garrison that had been left at Purysburg numbered about 300 men. A battle at Purysburg ensued but most of the 300 American troops escaped. The British army then tried to cut off the retreat of General Moultrie and his approximately 2,000 militiamen who were posted at the Two Sisters, which resulted in minor battles at Coosawhatchee and Tullyfinny (Davies 1978:17:127).

The day book of Francis John Kelly, a British soldier under Prevost's command at Ebenezer, contains a few details of Prevost's campaign into South Carolina:

[April 28, 1779] British Army under Majr Gen Prevost left Ebenezer, first division, consisting of the L^t Infantry and two Battⁿ 71st Reg^t. Embarked in flat Boats at Abercorn crossd the Savannah River four miles below Purisburg, entered the swamps that Evening.—all night wading through them.

29th At Sunrise arrived on dry ground two miles from Purisburg; The hno^{bl} Col^o Maitland commanded the first division, he attacked the Town (which was but poorly defended; took it by ten oClock this morning, the rebels retreated towards Bee Creek—

30th The remainder of the Army arrived at Purisburg, they consisted of two Troops of Dragoons, Grenadier comp^y of the 60th Reg^t, two Battⁿ Hessians, N. York Volunt^r, one Battⁿ Delancy's, part of Skinner's Reg^t. two small corps of Carolinians—and some irregulars & Indians, a detachment of Artillery, eight light field pieces and a small Howitz. marched this evening to Turkey Hill...(Kelly 1779:1).

Major General Prevost wrote from Savannah to Henry Clinton on July 14, 1779 noting:

On my arrival at Beaufort [South Carolina] finding that a number of the back Inhabitants of Georgia, many of whom had taken the Oaths and Protection, taking advantage of the absence of the Main Body of the Army and the almost general sickness of the Troops left for the defence of the Province, and supported by Plunderers from the Back-parts of Carolina, had taken Arms and infested the lower Settlements; and that a party of about fifty Men detached under Captain Mullar of the 2nd Battalion 60th to watch the fords of Ogeechee had been cut off, and the Capt. kill'd by imprudentially crossing the River and going too far without intelligence and without reconnoitreing and getting so into an Ambuscade, the Battalion of Wissenbach with Brown's Rangers were order'd immediately to Savannah, to be followed by the York Volunteers, Second Battalion Delancy's (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1901, 1:473).

At least some of these troops mentioned by Prevost had been garrisoned at Ebenezer (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1901, 1:472-474). Prevost went on to describe the unhealthy conditions at Ebenezer:

...it is not very easy saying what number of Troops may be sufficient for the defence of this most unhealthy Province. If we can rely on the Accts of the Inhabitants or Judge from the unpromising Appearances, we have reason to fear that we shall every one of us fall sick before the End of next Month. The Post of Ebenezer in particular, tho' it has been relieved weekly, never fails in the Course of that Week, to return us two thirds of the Men sick. If we sho^d move up in force and take post twenty or thirty Miles higher up where the Climate is reckon'd rather better, the inconveniency of keeping the field without Equipage sufficient or other accomodations to Guard against the inclemency of the Weather will be severely felt, and even then the intermediate Post, or strong escorts necessary for the security of our Convoys, wo^d harrass us all to pieces. The heat for these three weeks past has been from 90 to 98. At Ebenezer it has been once at 103. In short, S^r, I cannot but foresee great difficulties in our situation if the Enemy sho^d chuse to be active through the Summer... (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1901, 1:473-474).

A British deserter, Corporal John Garrigues, 2nd Battalion, Delancey's Brigade, provided information that was relayed by Colonel Nicholas Nicola in a letter dated July 19, 1779 to the President of Congress, John Jay:

By a prisoner of war released from New York & a deserter from the English army in S. Carolina I have collected the following information. Tho the deserter has been last with me I shall begin with him as I suppose intelligence from that quarter most interesting at present.

John Garrigues a corporal in Delancie's 2^d Battalion came from S. Carolina with a pass from Genl. Moultrie [He] says he left the British army the first of May, two days after it had entered Georgia [crossed out] S. Carolina in number 3500, [he] heard they were afterward joined by 170 horse; soldiers draughted from the army and mounted on horses collected in Georgia, 50 Indians & 25 whites disguised as such. The army crossed into S. Carolina about three miles from Purysburgh, which a small party of Americans had just evacuated. There were between 17 & 18 hundred men left in George [sic]. The whole of the English troops to the southward consisted of 2 bat's of the 71, 2 of Hessians, 2 of Delancie's [sic], 1 of York Volunteers, between 2 & 3 hundred all these from New York, the 6th & 64th from Augustine & Browns rangers, about 120 [maybe 820], raised in Georgia, most by prisoners of war.

He left Charles town the 13th May when an attack was shortly expected as the enemy were but at a small distance & rapid advancing, the inhabitants & garrison in high spirits. When in Georgetown, 60 miles from Charlestown, [he] heard the enemy had made an attack & were repulsed with considerable loss, [he] heard from several persons that passed him on the road that a second attack had been made when the enemy were totally defeated & many prisoners taken. The town was strongly fortified & the works flanked by an armed vessel in each river.

The clothing for Delancie's regiment was taken going to Georgia, the men had therefore been clothed with the old clothes of such reg's as had rec'd new.

Garrigues is an inhabitant of this town [Philadelphia] & son of Sam'l Garrigues. [He] was in the continental service & [was] taken on York island [New York] the day the English landed. [He] continued 12 or 13 weeks a prisoner when he enlisted in hopes of making his escape. [He] attempted it once, was taken & rec'd 500 lashes.

The person from York is a sailor & released last Friday. [He] says the last return was 812 [maybe 512] on board the prison ship, the number rather encreasing, tho slowly, as the dead & those that [word] on board the English vessels nearly kept pace with the arrivals. The Oliver Cromwell was brought in on the 8th, the men remaining on board, after manning the [vessel?] privateer, a sloop of 10 or 12 guns, taken [word] were about 120, of whom 70 were sent on board the prison ship, which being full the rest were sent on board the Jersey, an hospital now converted into a prison ship. The prisoners kept as much as possible from all hopes of freedom in order to entice them to enter, for which purpose some officers were constantly on board endeavoring to entice the men. [He] was 6 weeks on board during which time no fleet arrived except that of Virginia. Nor does he recalled [sic] any other men of war there in said time but the Reasonable, Rainbow, Delaware, Galatea & Daphne. [He] had liberty several times to go on shore to New York. [He] once saw five waggons with wounded from North river. The men of war with many, if not all the small vessels came down the river about the 8th or 9th but does not exactly remember the day. The inhabitants of Long island seemed very apprehensive of some impending danger but he could not discover the nature of it. Many of the inhabitants of New York were removing to Long island with their effects (NARA M247, roll 180:52).

Sir Henry Clinton wrote to Lord Germain on May 21 advising him of the situation in the South and specifically in Georgia:

Lieut.-Colonel Prevost, who with three companies of grenadiers, Wellworth's regiment, one battalion of Delancey's and of the New Jersey Volunteers, with some Carolinians, was left to protect Georgia if necessary or to join the army with such part of the troops left with him as could be spared with propriety whenever the progress of our first division or the retrograde movements of General Lincoln should permit it, had by this time [late April or Early May, 1779] crossed the river at the Sisters with all the horse, the grenadiers, and part of Wellworth's battalion, leaving a sufficient garrison in Ebenezer, Savannah and Sunbury, and joined the army with some supplies the 5th instant at General Bull's house not far from Beaufort Island (Davies 1978: 17:127).

Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Innes' "State of His Majesty's Provincial Forces in Georgia per Return of 1st July 1779 by Alex. Innes, Inspr Genl P. Forces" reveals the British troop strength in mid-1779. Innes' return is transcribed in [Table 5](#).

Table 5. State of His Majesty's Provincial Forces in Georgia per Return of 1st July 1779.

Regiments Commission	Officers Present					Staff Ens	Chap	Adj	QM	Surg	Mate
	Col	LtCol	Maj	Capt	Lt						
NY Vol BrG		1	1	5	4	3		1	1	1	1
DeLancey's 1 st Bat			1	4	3	4			1	1	1
2 nd Bat BrG	1	1	1	4	5	4		1	1	1	
Skinners 3 rd Bat		1	1	5	5	9		1	1	1	1
SC Royalists Kings Rangers	1		6	5	6	1	1	1	1	1	1
NC Vol		1	1	2	2			1	1		
Total	1	6	5	31	29	26	1	6	7	6	5
Effectives Present Fit for Duty											
Regiments		Serg	Drumm	RankFile							
NY Vol BrG		16	8	211							
DeLancey's 1 st Bat		4	5	79							
2 nd Bat BrG		9	4	112							
Skinners 3 rd Bat		17	6	148							
SC Royalists Kings Rangers	23	2	201	87							
NC Vol		7		41							
Total		85	30	879							
Absent on Command & Recruiting											
NY Vol BrG		1		87							
DeLancey's 1 st Bat		12	2	104							
2 nd Bat BrG		4		119							
Skinners 3 rd Bat		3		83							
SC Royalists Kings Rangers			41	78							
NC Vol				6							
Total		20	2	518							
Prisoners with the Rebels											
NY Vol BrG				12							
DeLancey's 1 st Bat				50							
2 nd Bat BrG				25							
Skinners 3 rd Bat				49							
SC Royalists Kings Rangers			13	11							
NC Vol				4							
Total				164							

Sick	Serg	Drumm	RankFile
NY Vol			
BrG			
DeLancey's			
1 st Bat	10		52
2 nd Bat	2	2	75
BrG			
Skinnners			
3 rd Bat	7	3	65
SC Royalists 1		10	
Kings Rangers	1		37
NC Vol	1		20
Total	22	5	259

Wounded

None listed

Totals

NY Vol	17	8	310
BrG			
DeLancey's			
1 st Bat	26	7	285
2 nd Bat	15	6	331
BrG			
Skinnners			
3 rd Bat	27	9	345
SC Royalists 24	2	265	
Kings Rangers	10	5	213
NC Vol	8		71
Total	127	37	1820

Wanting to Compleat

None listed

Alterations since Past Return

None Listed

Note: NY Vol-New York Volunteers
 BRG DeLancey's 1st Bat—Brigaed Delancey's 1st Battalion
 SC Royalists—South Carolina Royalists
 NC Vol—North Carolina Volunteers (Clinton Papers 62:38).

In late June 1779 General Augustine Prevost returned to Georgia from South Carolina, thus ending his first attempted siege of Charleston. Francis Kelly wrote this entry in his day book for June 16, "Colo Prevost, with the Grenadiers, set out / by the islands / for Savannah" (Kelly 1779:7). On July 8th Prevost wrote reporting that, "He found much sickness among the troops in Georgia, especially at Ebenezer, and feared he might not save both the army and the province" (Hist MSS. Comm., Am MSS. In R. Inst, I.473, cited in Siebert 1972:78). General Prevost later wrote to Lord Germain on November 1, 1779 describing the, "dispositions I had made of His Majesty's troops for the summer and sickly months" (Davies 1978:71:241). On July 30, General Prevost wrote to Lord Germain noting that the British force was divided between Beaufort, South Carolina and Savannah with posts at Ogeechee, Ebenezer and Sunbury. The main rebel army was at Sheldon, South Carolina. Prevost noted that Georgia could not be secured until South Carolina was conquered. Prevost also requested that he be relieved of command (Davies 1978:16:163).

AMERICAN RESPONSE TO PREVOST'S CAMPAIGN

On March 19 an important naval engagement took place about six miles downstream from Purysburg. The *Congress* and *Lee* galleys and the French schooner *Mary Magdalen* were captured as a result. These ships had served as an important guard against a British attack on Purysburg from the south and Lincoln was forced to relocate his headquarters further upstream at Black Swamp. March 24, 1779 is the last entry in General Lincoln's order book with a Purysburg HQ dateline, which suggests that Purysburg was vacated by General Lincoln and his entourage shortly thereafter (Hyne 1780).

By March 26 Lincoln had established a new HQ at Black Swamp, South Carolina (Allis 1967:Reel 3). On March 27, Benjamin Lincoln's location was unspecified, but he ordered two wagons from each regiment were to be sent to the "white house" for "rough rice" (Hyne 1780). Lincoln was still at Black Swamp on April 2. On April 15, Lincoln wrote to John Jay stating, "on information that the enemy were moving the mass of its force further 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" (Allis 1967:Reel 3). By late April 1779 General Lincoln and his command were on the move. Lincoln's movements can be traced from his correspondence:

- April 22, Mr. Galphins;
- April 24, Adam's Ferry;
- April 25, King's Creek, 3 miles from Matthews Bluff;
- April 26, near Adams Ferry and Swicord Mill, 4 miles below Summerline;
- April 27, Galphins and Four Mile Branch, near Stephen Smith's;
- April 30, Silver Bluff (Papers of the Continental Congress M247 R177:247-248; R96 V11:413; Hyne 1780; Allis 1967:Reel 3; Moultrie 1802, 2:383).

On April 29 Moultrie wrote from Black Swamp to Lincoln with news from Colonel McIntosh, the commanding officer at Purysburg, that the British had landed at his post. McIntosh with 300 men retreated towards Coosawhatchee. Moultrie also informed Lincoln of four separate deserter accounts from Hudson's Ferry that indicated the British light infantry and others were to cross there and that, "the enemy's strength lay at Ebenezer...". Moultrie advised Lincoln of his plans to move from Black Swamp if the enemy were indeed moving in great force. In a second letter Lincoln from Moultrie, written later that day, Moultrie confirmed that the British force of about 1,500 men had landed at Purysburg and that they, "mean to enter the country". Moultrie and his men moved that same day from Black Swamp to Coosawhatchee (Allis 1967: Reel 3). The British publication, *Annual Register, 1779*, placed the number of British in the invasion at 3,000 (*Annual Register* 1780:183).

On May 1 and 2, 1779 Lincoln was camped at Silver Bluff in Aiken County, South Carolina. On May 2 Lincoln convened a Council of Generals to discuss the current situation. Moultrie, who was at Tullifiny, South Carolina and unable to attend this council, wrote to Governor Rutledge on May 3 informing him that the British had approximately 3,000 men poised in the vicinity of Two Sister's Ferry, ready to march against Charleston (Moultrie 1802, 2:398). On May 4 Lincoln traveled to Augusta where he remained for no more than three days (Hyne 1780; Allis 1967: Reel 3). From this point Lincoln's movements were to the South and then east into the South Carolina low country. His movements can be traced from his correspondence:

- May 6, Jarratt's or Garrett's Ferry;
- May 9, Summerall Ferry;
- May 10, Lower Three Runs;
- May 11, Kelly's Cowpen;
- May 12, a mill, 25 miles below Kelly's Cowpen;
- May 13, 4 miles below Boxes Ferry;
- May 14, Edisto Mills;
- May 14 to 16, Ford's Ferry;
- May 17 and 18, Parker's Ferry;
- May 19 and 20, Bacons' Bridge;
- May 24, Ashley Ferry;
- May 31, Thirteen Mile house;
- June 2, the crossroads near Mr. Sumers's Plantation;
- June 5, Somers's house, and,
- June 6 to 8, Stono, South Carolina (Hyrne 1780; Allis 1967:Reel 3).

At Stono Ferry the Americans met with another defeat. The battle began on June 19 and was completed by the 20 (Boatner 1975). The summer months were spent by Lincoln and his command on the outskirts of Charleston. Fortunately, because of Prevost's timidity, Lincoln was able to forestall the British capture of Charleston until their next campaign.

LINCOLN'S GEORGIA CAMPAIGN

On September 5, 1779 Lincoln, whose troops were then at Sheldon, ordered Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh and troops to meet him near Ebenezer: "You will excuse my pressing the matter in such strong terms—I do not mean to call into question your zeal and dispatch, but to convey my own ideas how necessary I take the measure—Saturday next (the 11th) I have engaged that the Troops shall be collected near Ebenezer—the good of my Country and my own honor demand from me a fulfillment of the engagement." (cited in Russell 2000:114).

Benjamin Lincoln's order book is blank after June 27 until September 13 but his Journal provides entries relevant to the Ebenezer vicinity beginning September 10, 1779 (Hyrne 1780; Lincoln 1810). Lincoln's army began crossing the Savannah River at Zubly's Ferry on September 10 and had completed the crossing by September 13. A party of Count Pulaski's Legion crossed the river and reconnoitered Ebenezer and the road leading to it. After a brief skirmish, they reported that the British had withdrawn from their posts in the area and had moved to Savannah. On the afternoon of September 12 Lincoln established his head quarters on, "the heights of Ebenezer". The following day Lincoln was joined at Ebenezer by Brigadier General Lachlan McIntosh.

On September 14 General Lincoln temporarily established his HQ at Zubly's Ferry, on the west side of Savannah River and downstream from Ebenezer (Hyrne 1780). The following day (September 15) Lincoln was again camped at "Ebenezer heights" where he ordered that:, "the troops will hold themselves in readiness to march at eleven o'clock this morning" (Hyrne 1780). Later the same day, Lincoln established a camp at Cherokee Hill (Hyrne 1780). Cherokee Hill is located between Ebenezer and Savannah in Chatham County (Albert Ziegler personal communication, January 15, 2002).

For the next month Lincoln's attention was focused solely on Savannah. On September 17 and 18, 1779 Lincoln's HQ was at Milling's house, 3 miles from Savannah (Hyne 1780). Lincoln's order book contains no camp locations from September 19 to October 18, which was the time of the unsuccessful Siege of Savannah (Hyne 1780). Obviously, Lincoln's HQ was located outside of Savannah during this period.

On September 30, 1779, Colonel White, 4th Battalion, Georgia Continentals, captured a British detachment at the Ogechies [Ogeechee River] consisting of Delancey's 1st Battalion, totaling 142 men, under command of Captain Thomas French, at the Ogechies. This prize included 17 officers, 87 privates, and 1 bombardier, who were enumerated in a return on October 1st. Under the "Articles of Capitulation", these men were to be conveyed to Sunbury and, "convenient hospitals" were to be provided for the sick in Sunbury (Allis 1967, Reel 4).

Major General Lincoln's troops at siege of Savannah consisted of 2,127 men. Of these 1,003 were Continental troops, including:

- the 5th Regiment South Carolina Infantry;
- 65 men from Heyward's Artillery;
- 365 men of Charles Town Volunteers and Militia
- 212 men from General Williamson's Brigade;
- 232 men of the Georgia Militia regiments under Colonels Twiggs and Few and,
- 250 men of Brigadier General Count Pulaski's corps.

Lincoln's force was supplemented by approximately 4,456 French allies, as well as hundreds of Haitian and Irish allies (Russell 2000:117). One of the more colorful units that passed through Ebenezer was Pulaski's Independent Legion and the only well-documented battle at Ebenezer involved Pulaski's Legion and a small British garrison on September 11, 1779.

Pulaski's Legion's Commander was a Polish man, Brigadier General Count Casimir Pulaski, who had served America well in numerous battles up to his arrival in Georgia in the summer of 1779 (Figure 14). Pulaski was born in 1747 to a wealthy Polish family. (Bentalou 1824; Spencer 1918; Manning 1943; Zabecki 1997; Holst and Zlatich 1964; Szymanski 1994; Sieradzki 2002; Pulaskilegion.org 2002). Pulaski's Legion was at Ebenezer in the days prior to the Siege of Savannah and they may also have retreated to Ebenezer following the American defeat. Count Pulaski was mortally wounded in the assault on the Spring Hill Redoubt in Savannah on October 9th and never rejoined his troops. Major Peter Vernier (Verney) commanded Pulaski's Legion immediately after Pulaski's death. Pulaski's Legion was noted for its swashbuckling horsemen, who served as a model for the development of the United States Cavalry.

The officers in Pulaski's Independent Legion, commanded by Brigadier General Count Casimir Pulaski, included the following:

- Cavalry, Colonel Michael De Kowatz, Major Julius de Mountford, and Captain Jan Zielinski, Lancers;
- Dragoons, Captain Paul Bentalou, 1st Troop; Captain Henry Bedkin and Lieutenant John Stey, 2nd Troop; and Cornets George Elton (Elholm) and Adam Melchoir;



Figure 14. Brigadier General Kazimierz Pulawski, or Casmir Pulaski, Pulaski's Legion (Polish American Museum 2002).

- Infantry, Captain Jerome Le Brun de Bellecour, 1st Infantry and Captain James de Segon, 2nd Infantry; Captain Joseph Baldesqui (Paymaster), Lieutenant William Palmer and 2nd Lieutenant William Welch, Supernumerary Company; Lieutenant James de Bronville, 3d Company; Lieutenant Francois Roth, Rifle Company; Lieutenant Francois de Troye, 2d Company and,
- Undetermined unit affiliation, Lieutenant Colonel Charles Bedaulx., Brevet Major Gerard de St. Elme, Majors Louis Celeron and Peter Vernier (Verney), Captains Mons. O'Neil (Infantry) and Charles Baron de Frey, and Lieutenants Baptiste Verdier, Kerlevan, and la Close (Holst and Zlatich 1964).

Robin Smith provided this summary of Pulaski's Legion:

On April 4th 1778, Congress authorized Pulaski to create Legion comprising 68 lancers and 200 infantrymen. Washington gave Pulaski permission to appoint his own officers and Pulaski gathered a strong cadre of fellow Europeans around him. Paul Bentalou, Pulaski's most trusted officer, was appointed as a captain, while John Zielinski the man who had unhorsed Moylan was made lieutenant [This is in reference to a standing feud between Stephen Moylan and Pulaski]. Col. Michael Kovats who had served in the armies of Austria, France and Prussia was put in charge of Pulaski's lancers.

Washington stipulated that the rank-and-file of the cavalry Pulaski's Legion, should all be native born Americans with "ties of property and family connections". As a nucleus for his cavalry, Pulaski was authorized to take two mounted, armed and equipped troopers of his choosing, from each of the four Continental Light Dragoon regiments. This move must have greatly angered

Pulaski's old nemesis, Stephen Moylan, who had finally achieved his ambition of commanding the Continental Light Dragoons, following Pulaski's resignation from the post.

Making his headquarters in Baltimore, Pulaski was able to draw men from the German speaking communities of Maryland and Pennsylvania for his Legion infantry and soldiers who had deserted from Hessian forces were also recruited. Congress had approved that Pulaski could recruit one-third of his legion infantry from deserters; and he took this a step further by also recruiting prisoners of war. General Washington ordered that all such recruits should immediately be returned to confinement...

...At first his team worked well; but instead of staying put, the Legion infantry rushed forward and in the confusion a third were slaughtered. Among the dead were Col. Michael Kovats and John's Zielinski who was mortally wounded. Carried from the battlefield, Zielinski languished in a Charleston hospital for two months before he died.

Despite the costly battle, Pulaski was praised for his adventurous attack which had delayed the British assault on Charleston and shortly afterward the city was saved by the timely arrival of American reinforcements. Pulaski served as chief negotiator between American and French forces during plans to relieve the city of Savannah which had become a strong British foothold in the South. The situation offered a chance for fresh glory and again he must have seen parallels with his early days in Poland -- but the end of Pulaski's career was drawing near.

(Smith 1998:30-34).

The Americans were repulsed in their attempt to capture Savannah and they suffered heavy casualties. On October 15, 1779 the Georgia, Virginia, and Carolinas militia withdrew from Savannah. On Oct 18 Lincoln broke camp and moved men "toward Zubly's Ferry, and on to Ebenezer (Russell 2000:124). The following day General Lincoln and his army camped at "Ebenezer heights" before marching towards Charleston. Lincoln's orderbook contains this terse order at that time: "The tight Infantry of the 2d and 3d Regiments are to join their respective corps immediately" (Hyne 1780).

The following newspaper accounts of the events at Savannah appeared in the October 20, 27 and November 17 issues of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*:

CHARLESTOWN (South Carolina) Sept. 15.

We have no intelligence from the Southward, the authenticity of which we can vouch; but it may be presumed that the perseverance and enterprising genius of his Excellency the Count D'Estaing will accomplish the purpose for which he has appeared in this quarter, and ensure success to his next intended operations in another. It is believed some of his troops are in possession of Sunbury, in order to cut off the retreat of the British troops from Georgia into East Florida; at the same time Brigadier General Mackintosh is marching down the country from Augusta; and we are told that Major General Lincoln crossed Savanna river at Ebenezer last Sunday: so that we may now hourly expect intelligence of importance.

We are assured that, exclusive of draughts, the militia turn out volunteers, in all parts of the State, with such spirit and alacrity, that the ferry men at the several rivers cannot carry the men across fast enough.

By the last accounts from Count D'Estaing fleet, seven British vessels had fallen into their hands, amongst them a large ship from Glasgow, with eight Scotch merchants on board (Refugees from North Carolina and Virginia) with valuable cargoes, intended to purchase conquered estates in this State and Georgia. One of the prizes, the brig Polly, from New Providence for Quebec, arrived here last Friday; and as she came in, the Amazon French frigate was seen off this bar in chace of a ship, supposed to be the Ariel British man of war, of 20 guns, which she came up with, engaged half an hour, and then carried off.

Last Monday Capt. Vardey and Lieutenant Campbell, of the 7th British regiment, were brought to town, prisoners. They were taken, with 4 privates and ten negroes, on the 5th inst. coming through

Skull Creek, in General Prevost barge, with dispatches from the General at Savannah, to Col. Maitland at Beaufort, said to be orders to the Colonel to remove his whole force to Savannah, to the defence of which all the troops at our posts had been called in.

Just as this paper had gone to press, an account came, that a body of troops of his Most Christian Majesty, our great and good Ally, were landed in Georgia last Sunday night; that Major General Lincoln was approaching fast to Savannah, to co-operate with them; and that General Count Pulaski had already taken a picket of the enemy; so that it is probable, by the close of this week, the fate of Georgia and of General Prevost army may be decided, in a manner very wide of the expectations of the returned Refugees, and their infatuated adherents.

“CHARLESTOWN (South Carolina) September 22.

Since our last, we have had no direct advices from either of the armies employed upon the Southern expedition. All we certainly know is, That Count D'Estaing did land as many troops as he thought necessary at Beulah, nearly opposite to the Orphan House, 12 miles from Savannah, in the night between the 11th and 12th inst. and without the least opposition; and that a communication had been opened between him and General Lincoln; that General Lincoln had been joined by General Macintosh; and that the Head Quarters of our army, a week ago, were at Cherokee hill, 9 miles from Savanna: That General Count Pulaski was advanced with the cavalry, and had not only taken an advanced picket of the enemy, but also surprized one of their captains and three privates at Ebenezer. That Colonel Maitland had abandoned Port Royal Island, with the whole force he had there, on the 12th inst. after breaking off the trunnions from the cannon, and having buried upwards of 200 men, leaving behind also 300 negroes, for want of means of transportation: That his embarkation was made rather hastily, on board the Vigilante, the Gallies, and some other small craft, with an intent to push through Skull Creek, and join General Prevost at Savanna: But, it is doubted whether he has been able to effect that junction: it is rather believed, that his vessels are blocked up in Skull Creek, and his troops confined to Hilton Head Island; the troops he embarked are said to amount to between 6 and 700, 200 of them sick and wounded; some say 600 effectives and about 400 invalids.

In the mean time the expedition Westward under General Williamson, against that part of the Cherokee nation of Indians that remained attached to the interest of our enemy, has succeeded beyond our most sanguine expectations. The General has burnt seven of their towns, destroyed all their provisions, and obtained their submission, without any bloodshed. Alexander Cameron, Esq; (who succeeds Mr. Stuart as the British King Superintendant of Indian affairs) with great difficulty escaped falling into the General hands, notwithstanding the great respect the whole nation bear to that gentleman.

The enemy, before they quitted their post at Ebenezer, burnt their magazine there. The smallpox, we are told, rages most violently among the Creek Indians at present, so that they will hardly be able to do any thing for their British brothers this campaign.

Just as this paper was going to press, letters were received from the camp of the Charlestown militia, dated at Zubly Ferry last Friday. The following is an extract of one of them: -- "We reached here yesterday, are to cross Savanna river this day at noon, and suppose shall join Gen. Lincoln army tomorrow. The news from the other side is chiefly as follows, viz. That Count D'Estaing had landed two detachments, one at Brewton plantation, with 36 pieces of brass cannon, the other at Girardeau point: That the active and enterprising General Count Pulaski, with the cavalry, had so thoroughly cleared the way, and broke up all the enemy advanced posts, as to afford Major General Lincoln the opportunity of an interview with the French General at the Orphan house on the 16th, when and where the plan of operations was settled: That some of the French men of war had got into the harbour, and possessed themselves of all the British shipping below Brewton, amongst them the Fowey man of war, which, tho'grounded, had all been got off and into the fleet: That the fortifications at Savanna were but trifling, consisting only of 9 redoubts (no lines) and abbatis: That the force to defend these consisted of about 1000 regulars, and 1200 militia, refugees and protection gentry: That Sir James Wright, Governor, &c. was in Savanna: That Col. Maitland had not been able to effect a junction with General Prevost, and it was supposed had been repulsed in an attempt to get through Skull creek yesterday morning, when we heard a heavy cannonade:

That the enemy soldiery, in general, were much dissatisfied; and though it was pretended that Savanna would be defended, even the officers gave their opinions publicly that it must capitulate.

Sept. 29. On Saturday last the Marquis de Bretigny, who went lately in one of the gallies of this State to serve against the enemy in Georgia, brought into this port a large prize sloop from New Providence, mounting four guns, which he boarded in a boat with 8 men, as she came to anchor in Savannah river.

We have abundance of intelligence from the American army commanded by the Honorable Major General Lincoln, acting in conjunction, in Georgia, with that of his Most Christian Majesty (our great and most respectable Ally) under the command of his Excellency General Count D'Estaing - But, as it is likely that a general attack upon Savanna cannot be made before tomorrow or next day (bad weather, excessive bad roads, and the many difficulties that have attended the bringing up of heavy cannon and mortars, from a great distance, having prolonged that event) we shall defer giving particulars till the fate of the State of Georgia be decided, which is not doubted will be in a few days.

The most remarkable occurrence in that quarter has been, - a sortie made last Friday morning, upon a covering party of about 200 French, to a battery erecting near the barracks, by 200 British Light Infantry, commanded by Capt. Campbell, who were repulsed and pursued into their redoubts, with the loss of 53 men, amongst them Capt. Campbell, Lieut. McPherson (not long since a prisoner here) and another officer, and near 100 wounded: Our Ally loss is said to be 26 killed and 84 wounded, amongst these ten officers. The eagerness and impetuosity of the French was so great, that, instead of waiting for the enemy, they leaped out of their trenches, attacked and pursued them, using chiefly the bayonet, till they were galled by the cannon from the British redoubts, by which they sustained their greatest loss.

A gentleman from the Southward says he saw, last Sunday, a number of people and tents, upon the small island called Buck Island; supposed to be the sick and wounded which Col. Maitland removed from Port Royal, and had not been able to get into Georgia.

This day arrived here a Spanish sloop from Porto Rico, with dispatches for the Hon. Continental Congress. The master of a schooner belonging to this port was impressed from his vessel, to conduct the sloop to the first port of the United States on the continent. The Spanish captain says, that a Spanish fleet had joined Count d'Orvilliers; that 25000 men had been landed in Ireland; that Gibraltar was blocked up by a fleet, and a bombardment begun; and that another Spanish fleet, joined with some French men of war, had sailed for the West Indies. He dates this intelligence in July, and says it came by a King Packet to Porto Rico.

PHILADELPHIA

SIR,Charlestown, October 22, 1779.

IN my last of the 5th ultimo, I had the honour of informing Congress that Count D'Estaing was arrived off Savannah:

Orders were immediately given for assembling the troops - they reached Zubly ferry, and its vicinity, on the 11th, and some were thrown over - the 12th and 13th were spent in crossing the troops and baggage, which was effected though not without great fatigue, from the want of boats, and badness of the roads through a deep swamp of near three miles, in which are many large creeks - the bridges over them the enemy had broken down. We encamped on the heights of Ebenezer, 23 miles from Savannah, and were there joined by the troops from Augusta under General McIntosh. The 14th, not being able to ascertain whether the Count had yet landed his troops, though several expresses had been sent for that purpose, we remained encamped. On the 15th, being advised that the Count had disembarked part of his troops, and that he would that night take post nine miles from Savannah, we moved and encamped at Cherokee hill, nine miles from the town. The 16th we formed a junction before Savannah. After reconnoitering the enemy works, finding the town well covered, and knowing their determination to defend it, it was deemed necessary to make some approaches, and try the effects of artillery. From the 18th to the 23d we were employed in landing and getting up the heavy ordnance and stores; a work of difficulty, from the want of proper wheels

to transport them, the cannon being on ship carriages. On the evening of the 23d ground was broke, and on the 5th inst. the batteries of 33 cannon and nine mortars were opened on the enemy, and continued, with intervals, until the 8th, without the wished effect. The period having long since elapsed, which the Count had assigned for this expedition, and the engineers informing him that much more time must be spent, if he expected to reduce the garrison by regular approaches, and his longer stay being impossible --- matters were reduced to the alternative of raising the siege immediately, and giving up all thoughts of conquest, or attempting the garrison by assault; the latter was agreed on, and in the morning of the 9th the attack was made - it proved unsuccessful; we were repulsed with some loss.

When the Count first arrived, he informed us that he could remain on shore eight days only; he had spent four times that number, his departure therefore became indispensable, and to re-embark his ordnance and stores claimed his next attention; this was completed on the 18th.

The same evening, having previously sent off our sick, wounded, and heavy baggage, the American troops left the ground, reached Zubly ferry the next morning, recrossed, and encamped that night in Carolina. The French troops encamped on the night of the 18th, about two miles from Savannah; they were after 24 hours to re-embark at Kincaid landing.

Our disappointment is great, and what adds much to our sense of it, is the loss of a number of brave officers and men; among them, the late intrepid Count Pulaski.

Count D'Estaing has undoubtedly the interest of America much at heart. This he has evidenced by coming to our assistance, by his constant attention during the siege, his undertaking to reduce the enemy by assault, when he despaired of effecting it otherwise, and by bravely putting himself at the head of his troops, and leading them to the attack; in our service he has freely bled; I feel much for him, for while he is suffering the distresses of painful wounds, he has to combat chagrin. I hope he will be consoled by an assurance, that, although he has not succeeded according to his wishes, and those of America, we regard with high approbation his intentions to serve us, and that his want of success will not lessen our ideas of his merit.

I should have enclosed a list of the killed and wounded in the last action; but the Adjutant General, in whose hands they are, though on his way, is not arrived in town.

Major Clarkson will have the honour of delivering this; from his attention and assiduity in service, he has had an opportunity of remarking each particular: This his merit has improved; and enables him to give Congress every satisfactory information. To him I beg leave to refer them for a minute detail.

I have the honour to be, with the highest regard and esteem, Your Excellency most obedient servant.

B. LINCOLN (*The Pennsylvania Gazette* 1779).

BRITISH RESPONSE TO LINCOLN'S CAMPAIGN

Numerous contemporary accounts of the Siege of Savannah were recorded by officers and observers on both sides of the conflict. These include accounts by Augustine Prevost, Benjamin Lincoln and others (Jones 1897:258-268; Hough 1975). Prevost described to Lord Germain the events in Georgia in August and September, 1779:

On the 18th of August we received accounts from Augusta and its neighbourhood that the rebels were assembled there in force and that, being joined by a body of Virginians to the number of 1500 men under a General Scott, they held the intention of coming down to attack us. Proper dispositions were therefore made at Ebenezer and the other advanced posts to receive them, and though entire credit was not given to the intelligence, having a different from trusty emissaries from Carolina, yet to ease the minds of people. ... it was judged proper to draw from thence the 1st battalion, 71st, and three companies of light infantry. In a very few days they were here [Savannah]

and much about the same time we had certain information that the Virginians, horse and foot, did not exceed from three to four hundred, that the country rebels were still more inconsiderable and sickly, and that Indians who with a number of white men under Mr. Cameron, the acting superintendent, threatened an irruption into the back parts of Carolina....

[September] 7th and 8th. The fleet of the enemy increased to forty-two sail, the greater part men o' war. Expresses to all the outposts to join, Beaufort, Ebenezer, Cherokee Hill, Ogeechey, Sunbury, the latter to dismantle the fort and to destroy what could not be carried off (Davies 1978: 17:241).

Major General Prevost assigned Thomas Brown and his King's Rangers to the post at Ebenezer, upon the army's return to Georgia. Muster lists for Colonel Brown's King's Ranger regiment are incomplete for the period they were at Ebenezer. When they were mustered on June 24, Brown's Company consisted of Lieutenant Colonel Brown, 17 junior officers, and 48 rank and file (Cashin 1999:249-251). Muster lists for the five companies that comprised the King's Rangers on November 29, 1779 have survived. The troop strength in each company is summarized in [Table 6](#). Comparison of these statistics with other troop returns for Georgia yields an estimate of 253 to 274 King's Rangers posted at Ebenezer in mid-1779.

Table 6. King's Rangers Troop Strength, November 29, 1779.

Company	Commanding	Junior Officers	Privates	Total
Brown's	1	17	50	68
Smith's	1	6	54	61
Rowarth's	1	7	33	41
Johnston's	1	9	52	62
Wylly's	1	5	36	42
TOTAL	5	44	225	274

(Source: Cashin 1999:Appendix 1).

British troops defended Ebenezer until three days prior to the arrival of the Americans. In the days immediately before and after the Siege of Savannah Lincoln and his troops camped at "Ebenezer heights". As General Clinton noted, the British troops at Ebenezer had been ordered to Savannah by September 8, which left the town undefended against the Americans. Prevost's orders to "destroy what could not be carried off", was apparently implemented. In September 1779, the British abandoned the town of Ebenezer after burning the powder magazine according to Reverend Muhlenberg (Tappert and Doberstein 1948:269). Thence followed the ill-fated Siege of Savannah in which the British were besieged by the combined French and American force, along with Irish, Haitian, and many militia from Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. Despite being greatly overwhelmed in numbers, the British were victorious and casualties on the American side were great.

From mid-September until October 18 the British were focused solely on defending Savannah. Several contemporary and later plan maps of the 1779 Savannah battlefield are extant. These plans also show the location of defensive fortifications, which are relevant to a study of Ebenezer's defenses, particularly since many of the same British engineers and troops were engaged in the construction of both (Wilson 1780; Prevost 1784; Wilson 1780). Other maps of Savannah's defenses that are relevant to Ebenezer include: Anonymous (1813); Carrington (1881), Debrahm (1957a), Kollock (1891), and Stouf (1818).

An assortment of British forces who were poised to defend Savannah in the late summer and autumn of 1779, which consisted of about 2,500 men, included:

- Lt. Col Hamilton's NC loyalist Regiment;
- South Carolina Kings Rangers, under Captains Raworth and Wylie;
- Capt. Tawse's 1st and 4th Battalion Provincial Dragoons (dismounted); also 60th Regiment and South Carolina Royalists
- Colonel Thomas Browne's South Carolina Loyalists;
- Colonel Beamsley Glazier's 16th Regiment grenadiers;
- James Wright's Georgia Loyalists;
- 2 Regiments of Hessians (Trombach and Weisenbuch);
- 2 battalions of 71st Regiment, (1st Battalion, Major McAuthur, 2nd Battalion, Major McDonald);
- Major Sheridan's New York Volunteers;
- a Battalion of Skinner's Brigade;
- 2nd Battalion of Lt Colonel Delancey's;
- Major Graham's Light Infantry of 16th Regiment;
- 3 companies of the 60th grenadiers; including Captain Wickham of the 2nd, 60th grenadiers
- Lieutenant Colonel Cruger's Corps;
- 5th and 3rd Battalion Jersey Volunteers, Lt. Colonel Allen;
- Hamilton's North Carolinian corp;
- South Carolina Loyalists, and,
- Thomas Brown's Kings Rangers (Russell 2000:117-118).

The Americans and French ended their siege and withdrew on October 17, although Prevost was not aware until October 18 (Jones 1897:267). Following their defeat in Savannah, the main body of the American Army, under command of Lincoln, temporarily established headquarters at Ebenezer. By late 1779 Reverend Christopher Triebner, pastor at Jerusalem Church at New Ebenezer was preaching again to his congregation of British loyalists. Reverend Triebner reported to his benefactors at the SPCK in London that 36 members of the church had died in a three-month period in 1779 (SPCK 1779). The Ebenezer loyalists no doubt sought refuge in Savannah after the British abandoned Ebenezer in September 1779, although no written confirmation of this temporary exodus was found. By early 1780, the Ebenezer loyalists had likely returned to Ebenezer.

Although the Revolutionary War action in Savannah was substantial, archeological search for Savannah's battlefields and military fortifications has borne little fruit. Rutch and Morrell (1981) conducted a survey, which included extensive backhoe trenching, in search of evidence of the 1779 Battle of Savannah. Some evidence of the 1779 Battle of Savannah, primarily lead musket balls, was recovered from the Fahm Street Extension excavations in the 1980s by Southeastern Archeological Services (Wood 1985). Garrow and Associates (Elliott et al. 1995) conducted test excavations in the approximate vicinity of the northwestern corner bastion of DeBrahm's 1757 fort that surrounded the town of Savannah but no evidence of it was identified. Additional archeological survey was conducted in the area northeast of the Springhill Redoubt but no Revolutionary War deposits or features were located (Elliott 1999, 2001).

PREVOST'S 2ND CAROLINA CAMPAIGN

The Georgia loyalists in the Ebenezer area wasted no time in regrouping following the retreat of General Lincoln and the Southern Army into South Carolina. A Muster of Major James Wright's Georgia Loyalists was made on December 6, 1779 at Abercorn, less than 10 miles southeast of Ebenezer. These records reveal that the Georgia Loyalists suffered substantial losses in the siege of Savannah. Wright's regiment consisted of 6 companies, led by Captains Andrew Hewatt, Thomas Goldsmith, Willaim Patterson, John Bond Randall, and David Tate [Taitt] (Clark 1981, Volume 3:435-451). The companies of Goldsmith, Patterson, and Tate were disbanded prior to the next muster in February 1780. A summary of the Georgia Loyalist's troop strength at these two musters is summarized in [Table 7](#). Prior to the siege of Savannah this regiment consisted of about 173 men but by December that number was reduced to 131 and by the following February it had dwindled to only 89 soldiers. In 1782 the Georgia Loyalists merged with the King's Rangers (Cashin 1999).

Table 7. Georgia Loyalist's Troop Strength, December 1779 and February 1780.

*December 6,
1779*

Company	Commanding	Junior Officers	Privates	Total	Dead	Effectives
Wright's	1	11	31	43	7	36
Hewatt's	1	5	11	17	7	10
Goldsmith's	1	4	12	17	9	8
Patterson's	1	5	17	23	9	14
Randall's	1	8	26	35	1	34
Tate's	2	7	29	38	9	29
TOTAL	7	40	126	173	42	131

February 1780

Company	Commanding	Junior Officers	Privates	Total	Dead	Effectives
Wright's	1	9	22	32	0	32
Hewatt's	1	3	16	20	0	20
Randall	1	6	30	37	0	37
TOTAL	3	18	68	89	0	89

Of particular interest to Ebenezer is Captain Randall's company, whose ranks included several Ebenezer colonists. Captain Randall's company consisted of Randall, 8 junior officers, and 26 privates. His officers included Lieutenant Jacob Daniel Obman, Sergeant Jonathan Bocher, and Drummer David Hansler all of whom had German surnames but could not be conclusively linked to Ebenezer. The privates who were probably from Ebenezer included: David Melventin [Helvenston], Gollip Schuptrim [Gottlieb Schubdrein], Christian Schubtrim [Schubdrein], Samuel Jeppero [Samuel Zipperer] and Christopher Snyder [Schneider]. The February 1780 muster of Captain Randall's company, which was made at Abercorn, included Randall, 6 junior officers, and 30 privates, including these privates who were probably from Ebenezer: Benjamin Cloner [Glaner], Frederick Lackner, Gotless Oate [Gottlieb Ott], Gollip Schuptrim [Gottlieb Schubdrein], Christian Schubtrim [Schubdrein] and Samuel Jeppero [Zipperer]. Most of these

men continued to serve in Randall's Company throughout 1780 and 1781. Their company was mustered at Savannah on February 23, April 24, and October 24, 1781. In the final muster on October 24th, the German privates included: Gotleb Zouck, Christian Schuptim [Schubrein], Samuel Zeppero [Zipperer], Christian Snider [Schneider] (prisoner with rebels in September, deserted 29 September), Benjamin Cloner [Glaner], Frederick Lackner, Gotleb [Gottlieb] Ott, Conrad Fitner, John Miller and Jacob Giger [Geiger].

Men from Ebenezer comprised a minority of the Georgia Loyalists, ranging between 3 and 6 percent of the first two musters, increasing slightly by the October 24th muster. It is noteworthy that the Georgia Loyalists regiment was mustered at Abercorn, rather than Ebenezer. This may indicate that Ebenezer was hostile territory for the British in late 1779 and early 1780. Perhaps Lincoln had left a skeleton garrison to defend Ebenezer, following his departure in late October 1779.

At the end of 1779, Sir Henry Clinton had a combined land force in the West Indies and North America of 19,153 soldiers, including officers. A substantial portion of this force was dedicated to the war in the Southern colonies. For the year 1779 Sir Henry Clinton's army lost the following men: 1,154 killed, 1,020 taken prisoner, 263 deserted, and 444 discharged (*Annual Register* 1782:264). These losses totaled 2,881 men.

The British force (1,500 in all), composed of Light Infantry, commanded by Major Graham; American Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel Ferguson; New York Volunteers, Lieutenant Colonel Turnbull; North Carolinians, Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton; South Carolinians, Colonel Innes; Dismounted Legion, Major Cochrane; one company of Georgia Dragoons; Captain Archibald Campbell [not the same person as Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, who was back in the British Isles by this date] and the First Battalion of the 71st Regiment, and Major McArthur, reoccupied New Ebenezer on March 6, 1780 (Allaire 2000). Lieutenant Anthony Allaire, of the Loyal American Regiment, who were detached to Ferguson's Corps, recorded the events in his diary:

Monday, [March] 6th. At eight o'clock we got in motion and marched to Ebenezer, a village situated on Savannah river, eight miles above Abercorn. It contains about twenty houses and a church. The inhabitants are high Dutch. It is garrisoned by our troops; there are four redoubts, but no cannon in any of them.

Tuesday, 7th. Remained at Ebenezer. Pleasant morning, showery evening and very warm. Spent part of the evening with two Indian Captains, John and James; smoked tobacco and drank grog with those two devils incarnate.

Wednesday, 8th. Still remained at Ebenezer. Orders to draw two days' provisions, and be ready to march at reveille beating. Several men taken suddenly ill with pain and swelling of the extremities, occasioned by a weed that poisons where it touches the naked skin, when the dew is on it.

Thursday, 9th The army got in motion; passed a causeway three-quarters of a mile in length, overflowed with water from two to three feet. We marched to a plantation ten miles from Ebenezer, called the Two Sisters, situated on Savannah River. It was formerly a public ferry; but at present nobody lives at it. The houses are destroyed (Allaire 2000).

The diary of loyalist Surgeon Uzal Johnson provides a slightly different account of the British encampment at Ebenezer from March 6 to 9th:

Monday 6th. Got in Motion at eight in the Morning and Marched eight miles [from Abercorn] to Ebenezer, a little Village on Savannah River. It contains about twenty houses and a Church. The inhabitants are high Dutch. It is garrisoned by our Troops. There are five redoubts, but no cannon in any of them.

Tuesday 7th March. Remained at Ebenezer. Pleasant Morning, Showery Evening and very warm. Spent part of the evening with two Indian Captains, John and James. Smoked tobacco and drank Grog with those devils Incarnate. Coll Ferguson joined us.

Wednesday 8th. Still at Ebenezer. Orders to draw two day's provisions and be ready to march at Reville beating. Several men taken suddenly ill with pain and swelling of the extremities, occasioned by a weed that poisons where it touches the naked skin when the dew is on it.

Thursday 9th. Got in motion at Reville beating. Passed a causeway three quarters of a Mile in length, overflowed with waters from two to three feet deep. We Marched ten miles to a Plantation called Two Sisters. there was formerly a ferry here across Savannah River. The houses are now destroyed and the Place deserted (Johnson 1781:1; Moss 2000).

When one compares these two primary accounts, it is obvious that one was copied, although not verbatim, from the other. One significant difference between the two descriptions pertains to the earthworks at Ebenezer with Allaire's account listing four and Johnson's account listing five. Both note that none of them contained any artillery. Both accounts agree that the town contained 20 houses and a Church and that the redoubts were garrisoned by British troops. Since Johnson was a surgeon, his attention to the details of the illness among the troops [possibly poison ivy, *Rhus radicans*], Johnson was probably the original author and Allaire's version was copied from his.

By December 1, 1779 Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Innes commanded the South Carolina Royalists, who were garrisoned at Savannah (Clarke 1981, Volume 1:1). The other officers in the South Carolina Royalists at that time included:

Captain-Lieutenant Charles Lindsay,
Chaplain William Devaux,
Adjutant Charles Lindsay,
Quartermaster Peter Denwerth,
Surgeon George Clark,
Mate William Hatton;
Sergeants Charles Riley (sick in quarters), Sam Stevenson, and Hugh Wiseman;
Corporals Shadrack Stevens, Jacob Singley, William Morgan and,
Drummer Black Sancho.

The balance of the troop consisted of 29 privates, although six of these were listed as deserters. Thus, this contingent consisted of about 37 men when they visited Ebenezer in March 1780. On April 24th, the South Carolina Royalists consisted of Colonel Innes, 45 junior officers and 165 enlisted men. In addition to these aforementioned men who were present and fit for duty, three sergeants, one drummer and 46 privates were on command and recruiting; six sergeants and 57 privates were sick; and three soldiers had died since the previous muster (Henry Clinton Papers Volume 94:43).

The Loyalist militia at Ebenezer was apparently reformed in early 1780. While no muster lists or troop returns for this militia were located, the documents of George D'Erbage included numerous military commissions, including:

- January 21, 1780, Captain J. Behler [probably Jacob Buehler], Militia Commission;
- February 22, 1780, Captain J. Behler, Horse Battalion Commission;
- May 18, 1780, Captain Behler, Militia Commission;
- May 18, 1780, Lieutenant Rhan [Rahn], Militia Commission and,
- May 18, 1780, Lieutenant Goldwire, Militia Commission (Clarke 1981, Volume 1:567).

Captain Jacob Buehler was a resident of Ebenezer, where he owned a tavern and a dwelling house (Palmer 1984:58, 870-871; Jones 1986:10-11, 27). By December 1781 Captain Rahn commanded a company of the Ebenezer militia (BPRO, Treasury Class 1, Vol 650/149-150). The Lieutenant Goldwire, referenced in this claim, could possibly be either John or James Goldwire, although both had attained the rank of Captain prior to May 18th (Telemon Cuyler Collection, Box 38E:49).

The Goldwire family resided at Mount Pleasant, Georgia, which was about 15 miles upstream from Ebenezer. In the 1740s and 1750s, John and Benjamin Goldwire had served as Georgia Rangers, under Captain John Milledge, at Fort Argyle. They also may have been associated with the Ranger troop that was garrisoned at Fort Mount Pleasant, since they were living there after the troop was disbanded. Captain John Goldwire led the Georgia Loyalists and Loyalist Indians. Captain James Goldwire, who had commanded an American militia company at the beginning of the war, switched his allegiance and, by March 1780, commanded a group of Loyalist Indians. Both men were posted at Ebenezer with their Indian troops on March 7, 1780, when they were mentioned by a British officer who was passing through with Ferguson’s Detachment (Allaire 2000). The size of the Ebenezer [Loyalist] militia was not determined from the present research.

On February 3, 1780 Royal Governor Wright wrote from Savannah to General Clinton about the insecurity in Georgia following the unsuccessful siege of Savannah. He wrote: “And from that time till the invasion there was always parties coming down within 20 miles of town robbing and carrying off people. And since the invasion they have been continually coming over from Carolina and down the country, and about 3 weeks ago plundered houses in Ebenezer and a parcel of Negroes were then carried away from a plantation about 17 miles from town....And the province is now in such a state that the loyal subjects and inhabitants are continually plundered and drove from their settlements by rebels from Carolina and others who belong to this province, and I am well informed that a Colonel Parker from Virginia with about 150 of what they call regulars and 60 or 70 horse is at Augusta and with some scattering parties of Georgia rebels, under the command of one Twiggs, Dooley, and 1 or 2 more, have full possession of Augusta and the whole country above it and down to within 40 or 50 miles of town [Savannah]” (Davies 1978:18:45-46).

A “Monthly Return of the Troops in Georgia under the Commd of Major General Prevost March 1st 1780” reveals the troop composition in the months following the October, 1779 Siege of Savannah. A portion of this return is transcribed in [Table 8](#).

Table 8. Monthly Return of British Troops in Georgia, March 1, 1780.

Regiment	Officers Present					Cor/Cn	Staff Chap	Adj	QM	Surg	Mate
	Commission	Col	LtCol	Maj	Capt						
16 th				1							1
71 st											
1st Bat			1	2	7	5		1	1	1	2
De Trumbach			2	3	4	3		1		1	5
De Wessenback		1	1	2	2	4	1	1	1	1	5
NY Vol		1		2	5	5		1	1	1	1
Skinnners											
3d Bat		1	1	4	7	5		1	1	1	1
Delancey's											

	Commission					Cor/Cn	Staff Chap	Adj	QM	Surg	Mate
	Col	LtCol	Maj	Capt	Lt						
1 st Bat	1		1	3	3	5		1	1	1	
2 nd Bat	1		1	3	4	1			1	1	1
Kings Rang		1		4	3	3	1	1	1	1	
SC Royal	1		1	5	9	5	1	1	1	1	1
Royal NC Vol		1	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	
Ga Loy			1	2	1	1		1	1	1	
British Legion		1	1	8	8	7		2	4	2	
Fergusons											
Detachments				4	5	1				1	
Light Infantry				3	7	1		1	1	1	
Total	1	9	12	46	68	48	4	13	15	15	17

[Cor/Cn—Corporals and Cornets; Mates—Surgeon Mates; note only 1 Col listed for SC Royalists; Light Infantry includes 16th Reg, 2 Bat 71st NY Vol NJ Company]

Regiment	Serg	Drum Fife
16 th	6	2
71 st		
1st Bat	27	10
De Trumbach	19	18
De Wessenback	10	21
NY Vol	13	5
Skinnners		
3d Bat	22	8
Delancey's		
1 st Bat	16	5
2 nd Bat	8	2
Kings R	6	4
SC Royal	25	1
Royal NC Vol	6	4
Ga Loy	6	4
British Legion	20	13
Fergusons		
Detachments	9	1
Light Infantry	12	3
Total	205	101

Prisoners w ye Rebels

Regiment	
16 th	
71 st	
1st Bat	2
De Trumbach	
De Wessenback	
NY Vol	1
Skinnners	
3d Bat	
Delancey's	
1 st Bat	
2 nd Bat	
Kings R	
SC Royal	
Royal NC Vol	
Ga Loy	
British Legion	
Fergusons	
Detachments	
Light Infantry	
Total	3

Effective Rank and File	Present	SickQtrs	SickHos	onComd	Rev	Furl	Prisoner	Total
Regiment								
16 th	71	2	16	1		1	2	93
71 st								
1st Bat	307	117		14	14		48	500
De Trumbach	268	54					49	371
De Wessenback	349	49						398
NY Vol	166	15		16	4	1	43	272
Skinnners								

Effective Rank and File	Present	SickQtrs	SickHos	onComd	Rev	Furl	Prisoner	Total
3d Bat	181	26	1	16	10		52	226
Delancey's								
1 st Bat	131	19		14	10		52	189
2 nd Bat	113	38						
Kings R	97	25		5	8		25	164
SC Royal	223	20		20	13		9	282
Royal NC Vol	98	8		8	12		19	151
Ga Loy	75	4		3	6		36	85
British Legion	357	20		5			1	465
Fergusons								
Detachments	157	4		12	8		28	161
Light Infantry	168	28		6	4		5	211
Total	2761	429	17	120	93	2	331	3793

Provincial Light Dragoons

Captain	1
Lieut	2
Cornets	1
QM	1
Sergt	3
Trumpeters	1
Rank and file	45
Rank&filesick	2
Horses	44

Royal Artillery

	Lieut	NonCom officers	Privates
Present	1	1	10
On Command at Ebenezer			5
Sick			3
Prisoners w Rebels			1
Additional from the 71 st Regt			11
Total	1	1	30

Total Hessians 1 1 16
(Clinton Papers 87:30).

A “Return of Loyal Refugees who have come into Georgia for Protection and Assistance”, which was compiled by Lieutenant Governor John Graham in Savannah on April 15, 1780 included two families with German surnames. These included: George Minglesdorf and a wife, Georgia, who were “Wounded in pursuing a party of Rebels & particularly recommended by General Prevost” 12th April; and George Lackner and wife (Clinton Papers 92:44). The Minglesdorf family was active in the Ebenezer and Purysburg areas in the colonial period. Likewise, the Lackners were notable Ebenezer residents in the colonial period.

On March 1, 1780 Major General Prevost wrote to Henry Clinton advising him of the impending campaign on Charleston, in which Prevost noted: “...on the 4th instant the troops destined will march with Brigr General Patterson to Ebenezer, and as they are to go higher up the River about ten miles for the facility of getting their artillery and horses across—there is not the least doubt but that the Rebels will suppose the rout of these troops to be towards Augusta (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:96). In a separate letter written the same day, Prevost reminded Clinton of Prevost’s desire to return to England (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:96).

Prevost wrote from Savannah to Henry Clinton on March 8 explaining that Brigadier General Patterson was not in readiness to march with his Brigade into South Carolina, as Prevost had conveyed in an earlier letter. Prevost noted that after leaving with his troops from Savannah on March 5: “...since which we have had a great deal of rain and by a letter I this instant receive from the Brigad^f of yesterday’s date he informs me from Ebenezer—that the countgry was

overflow'd and that the roads would for some days be impassable" (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:99-100). Prevost wrote to Clinton the following day (March 9) informing him that General Patterson had sent the Legion Infantry and the New York Volunteers across the Savannah River at Zubly's the previous day. By March 12, Prevost advised Clinton that General Patterson, "with the troops under his command" and "all to his baggage" had successfully crossed the Savannah River into South Carolina (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:100-101).

On March 25, 1780 Captain Johann von Hinrichs, Jaeger Corps, recorded in his diary (translation from German):

Today Major General Paterson arrived at Wallace's bridge [South Carolina] with fifteen hundred men, coming by way of Ebenezer and Ponpon. He had left the Indians at Savannah. His command consisted of three troops from the 17th Regiment of Dragoons and the Legion, the 1st Battalion of the 71st, South and North Carolina militia, Ferguson's Corps, and three battalions of light infantry, namely, the companies of the 60th and the sixteenth companies under Major Graham (Uhlendorf 1968:221).

On April 4, 1780 Royal Governor Wright wrote to Lord Germain advising him that Georgia was in a grievous state. A Resolution of the Council of Georgia, dated April 5, 1780, stated settlements "below Ebenezer between Savannah and Ogeechee should be protected" (Davies 1978:16:298). Governor Wright wrote from Savannah to Henry Clinton on April 6, 1780 noting: "the only posts [in Georgia] which General Prevost has acquainted me with or that I know of, are at Ebenezer & Abercorn, till very lately a small party was sent to Ogeechee Ferry, after the Rebels had been down and broke up and destroyed all my plantations and some others in that neighborhood" (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:110).

On May 22, Augustine Prevost advised Major Andre that: "Captain Willy of the Kings Rangers had the misfortune of being taken Prisoner near Abercorn by a Small party of Rebel plunderers..." (Cole and Braisted 2002; Clinton Papers 100:22).

On May 31, 1780 Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown and his King's Rangers crossed the Savannah River at Ebenezer (Cashin 1999:106-107). They road up the east side of the Savannah River to Silver Bluff, where they captured the powerful Whig Indian trader George Galphin. From there Brown and his men rode on towards Augusta.

In July 1780 the loyalists of Ebenezer, including Reverend Triebner and 13 others, submitted a petition to Governor Wright asking for relief for the sufferings of loyalists. In this petition they stated that they had been, "plundered by both British and American troops and were in extreme distress" (BPRO 30/11/2/221-222; Campbell 1981:112). A British Disqualifying Act of July 1, 1780: (Candler 2001: 1:348-363) identified traitors in Georgia, including these Germans: John Adam Treutlen (Rebel Governor), William Holzendorff (Rebel Counselor), Rodolph Strohager (butcher), and John Snider (planter).

AMERICAN RESPONSE TO PREVOST'S CAMPAIGN

The next entry in Major General Benjamin Lincoln's order book following the Siege of Savannah is dated November 16 (Hyne 1780). By December 12, 1779 Lincoln had established his HQ at Charleston (Hough 1975:124; Hyne 1780). There Lincoln remained from the rest of 1779 and early 1780. The last entry in Lincoln's order book is April 13, 1780. Lincoln was consumed with

activity in the Charleston area from October 1779 to that time, and likely had few dealings involving Ebenezer (Hyne 1780). General Lincoln and many of his men were later captured by the British in the Siege of Charleston in May 1780, thus ending their association with Ebenezer.

On June 13, 1780 Major General Horatio Gates received command of the Southern Department. Gates' command of this section was to last less than five months. Shortly after his appointment the Americans suffered a disastrous defeat at Camden, South Carolina. On October 30th Congress authorized Nathanael Greene to replace Gates (Journal of Continental Congress June 13, 1780, October 30, 1780). On December 2, 1780 Major General Nathanael Greene assumed command of the Southern Department, which he maintained until the end of the war.

GENERAL CLARKE'S COMMAND

Major General Augustine Prevost left Georgia around June 4, 1780 and he was replaced in command by General Alured Clarke. Clarke had arrived in Savannah on May 28 as a Lieutenant Colonel. Clarke reported to Henry Clinton that Prevost and Royal Governor Wright had made no provision for boats for transporting troops and supplies. Clarke noted: "Lt. Col. Brown proposes crossing the Savannah above Ebenezer and going to Augusta by the road on the Carolina side of the river..." (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:128).

Clarke's command in Georgia was marked by timidity on the part of the British troops, who retreated to the safety of Savannah. A letter from Charlestown to Clarke, who was at his new post in Savannah, noted the sickness among the British troops in Georgia. The writer also noted that South Carolina was "now completely subdued" and he saw "no reason for a post at Ebenezer" (Campbell 1981:102; BPRO 30/11/78/5-6).

Royal Governor Wright wrote from Savannah to General Cornwallis with his concerns on the defence and security of Georgia on July 3, 1780. Governor Wright wrote to him again on July 9 noting that although the reduction of South Carolina had eased the situation in Georgia, a post at Augusta remained necessary. The following day (July 10) General Clarke wrote from Savannah to General Cornwallis lamenting his lack of instructions, money for presents for the Indians, and lack of supplies. He noted that the raising of troops for Georgia was hampered by great heat and much sickness. On July 28, Governor Wright wrote to Cornwallis noting an improvement in the security of Georgia, although he stressed that problems remained (BPRO 30/11/2/237-238, 156-257, 258-259, 375-376).

By May 1781, however, Ebenezer was once again under British control. It was garrisoned by 200 Hessian regulars, commanded by Major Goebel (SPCK 1781). Reverend Triebner wrote to his benefactors at the SPCK in London, "...Ebenezer is become the Place of Retreat for all sorts of People of this province, and of South Carolina, who have been driven from their Habitations" (SPCK 1781:88-90). In an expense report, dated June 25, 1781, Governor Wright noted that Captain Boodiker was commanding at Ebenezer (Wright 1781). Wright's financial account indicates that the British were actively reinforcing the defenses surrounding Ebenezer during that period.

By mid-1781 British control of most of interior Georgia was faltering. Rebel bands had killed more than 100 loyalists and had plundered many homes. Many refugees from the interior had flocked to Ebenezer and Savannah (Hall 2001). The Americans defeated the British in Augusta and on June 5, articles of capitulation were signed by Brigadier General Andrew Pickens and

Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee, Jr. representing the Americans and Lieutenant Colonel Brown, commanding the King's troops (Gibbes 1972, 3:86). The Minutes of Council of Georgia for June 11, 1781 stressed that the British should attempt to recover Augusta, which had fallen into American control. If it proved impossible to capture Augusta, then the council recommended that a post be established at Ebenezer (Davies 1978:19:124). On June 14, Governor Wright wrote from Savannah to Lord Germain advising him that rebels had been seen within five miles of Ebenezer and Ebenezer's inhabitants had taken to the swamps. Governor Wright added that, "I have had to buy provisions for refugees and militia to the cost of 2652 pounds for which I have drawn on Mr. West" (Davies 1978:19:127).

On July 27 Governor Wright wrote to Lieutenant Colonel Nisbet Balfour advising Balfour that, "it has been with great difficulty that he [Wright] has been able to keep the back country militia from quitting Ebenezer" (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:306).

On August 16 Wright wrote again to Balfour:

Having received undoubted information of a [American] plan against Augusta and Savannah, it has been decided to raise a body of militia and send them up country, and he has written to Col. Clarke desiring to know what assistance he could give. Quotes from Col. Clarke's answer promising 200 of the King's troops. On the whole it is concluded to go up the country. I think there is little doubt that 400 militia will be collected at Ebenezer, and it's expected 200 more may join on the march, but this will depend on circumstances...(Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:315).

Governor Wright wrote from Savannah to Henry Clinton on October 16 complaining of the lack of military support for (Royal) Georgia's defense. Wright noted:

The rebels are in possession of the whole country above Ebenezer; they have sent in the wives and children of the loyal refugees, seizing the property, they threaten to reduce Savannah by famine; and are to lay waste the country; so that the province is ruined and lost for want of a little assistance. There is great loyalty—upwards of 500 country people have fled here for refuge and taken arms, many more are hiding in the swamps to avoid the enemy, and had they had the protection which it would have been the best policy to have given them the province would have soon been able to defend itself. Less than a reinforcement of 500 will not do (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:342).

Governor Wright compiled a narrative of the events in Georgia from March 1779 to September, 1782. He boasted over the victory against the French and American forces in 1779 and noted that, "...the province was peopling very fast the latter end of the year 1780 when great numbers of loyal subjects were flocking in to settle, expecting His Majesty's protection and safety from the tyranny and oppression of rebellion...". Their optimism was soon drowned by a swell of rebellion from the interior of Georgia, and South and North Carolina. Wright noted:

...And the rebel party's increasing, the loyalists found themselves overpowered, and receiving no assistance or protection from His Majesty's troops (although frequently applied for by me in strong terms) they were at length in order to save their lives reduced to the dire necessity of quitting their very comfortable settlements in the country and their whole property and come to the posts held by the King's troops at Ebenezer and other places, where they joined them in April, May, and June 1781 and carried arms and did constant duty with them from that time till they retreated to Savannah [sic] when the militia also came with them. And these people with their wives and children amounted to about fourteen hundred in number, who having been compelled to abandon their all fled at different times to Savannah (almost naked and destitute of everything) where I conceived they could not be suffered to perish in our streets for want of food and raiment.... (Davies 1978:21:117).

The Colonial government had numerous expenditures in Ebenezer during mid 1781, including provisions and labor, as reflected in a financial account by Governor James Wright, dated June

25, 1781 (Telemon Cuyler Collection, Box 38E:36). This account is transcribed in [Table 9](#). John Goldwire, Captain of the loyalists, wrote to Governor Wright from Ebenezer on October 25, 1781 regarding one of these expenses:

I have inclosed your excellency a return of Mr. Blyths [probably John Blyth of St. Mathews parish] Negroes which is the only one made to me, Meantime, Mr. Blyth Begs to Inform your Excellency that his Negroes has all Been at work at the Redoubts at Ebenezer for near three weeks this summer therefore prays to have them excused (Telemon Cuyler Collection, Box 38E:49).

Table 9. Governor Wright's Account of June 25, 1781.

Acct of Cash Paid to Several Persons by me & of the money Borrowed of Mr. Butler, Recd, the 25th June 1781.

An Account of Money Paid for Expenses &c.

	<i>L</i> (pounds)	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
to Refugees			
Paid provisions Express from Augusta	0	18	8
Do an Express from Ebenezer	0	18	0
Do Hodges Express from Augusta	3	14	8
[Provisions an Express	0	4	8
Mullato Man Express from Augusta	3	14	8
Do Col. Plotchall 5 privates & distressed Refugees	5	8	9
Do Mr. Vernon & 5 privates	5	8	9
Do Col. Thomas & c.	1	17	4
Do Mr. Harris & c	3	14	8
Do Captain Boodiker commanding at Ebenezer for Expenses & the Soldiers repairing the works abbatis & c.	7	8	0
Do Paid Gillis a Distressed Refugee	0	14	0
Do Richardson Express to St. Augustine	16	6	3
Do Burton a wounded Refugee	1	7	4
Do Col Ragon for Express Scouts & c	8	7	4
Do Capt O'Neal & his People distressed Refugees	1	7	4
Do Capt. McIntosh Express	1	1	9
Do George Johnston a distressed Refugee	1	1	9
Do a Man Sent from Ebenezer for Cartridge Paper	0	4	8
Do Express from Ebenezer	0	9	4
Do Paid Jos. Maddock for himself & 2 1/2 jobs	3	14	8
Do McLean Express from Augusta	5	12	0
Do Montgomery in Part going Express to St. Augustine	1	2	0
Do Capt Rutherford & his Party Refugees	2	3	6
	Carried over	88	19
	Brought over	88	19
Paid [illegible] in Part for going Express to Ch Town	3	14	8
Paid more to Capt Rutherford's Party	1	1	9
Paid [illegible]olsalls Express	0	9	4
Paid Capt Crosswell & his Party from Galphins	1	1	9
Paid Robert Miller Ebenezer Express	0	4	8
Paid W. Maddock & buy Beef for the Refugees	1	13	[torn]
Paid Do for Do	3	[torn]	[torn]
Paid Ebenezer Express	0	9	4
Paid Richardson going to St. Augustine	23	14	4
Paid Capt. Carr a Refugee	0	18	8
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	125	12	7
 [illegible] Paid			
Paid David [illegible] overseer of the Works	0	9	4
Do Gardiner Boat [illegible]	1	1	9
Do one of Mr. Zubly's Negro's for Bringing convoy the Ferry Boat	0	14	0
Do Lieut. Ownes's order for 2 oxon for his Militia	3	4	0
[torn] for Boat [illegible] carrying Provisions to Ebenezer	6	4	6
Rutherfords	4	4	0
Do Capt. Baillou's order for 2 calves for the Militia	1	7	9
Do Capt. Dells acct for Provisions for the Militia	1	15	0
Do Davis Negro [illegible] storing the Provisions &c	2	12	8

	<i>L</i> (pounds)	<i>s</i>	<i>d</i>
Do to a Waggoner in [illegible] carrying Provisions from Abercorn to Ebenr	1	1	9
Do & Do Balance from Do	3	18	3
Do Lending Powder & Ball to the Gally at Mr. Tatnalls	0	14	0
Do & four more at Zublys Negroes who brought away the Ferry Boat	1	17	4
	30	11	11
Cash rec'd of Mr. Butler	37	6	8
Paid Expresses & Refugees as personel	125	12	7
Paid Sundries as Do	30	11	11
Paid Capt. Ferguson as Part	187	9	6
	943	14	0
	37	6	8
Bal.	26	7	4
	343	14	0

(Wright 1781)

Governor Wright's account for June 1781 indicates Captain Boodiker commanded the garrison at Ebenezer. Judging from his surname the Captain was probably a Hessian officer since that German surname was not recorded among the local inhabitants. This document also demonstrates the important communication and traffic that flowed between Ebenezer and Savannah during this period.

In late July 1781, Captain Jacob Buehler, Captain of the Ebenezer militia, was driving a wagon from Savannah to Ebenezer. While enroute, seven rebel plunderers took his horses and goods. The attackers were pursued by Georgia loyalists to Hudson's Ferry, where several were captured. Most of Buehler's goods were recovered (Hall 2001:154).

A requisition order on August 31, 1781 for, "Small Arms, Accoutrements &c. undermentioned; being for the Service of the Cavalry of the Kings Rangers under the Command of Lieut. Colonel Thomas Brown" included items, which were obtained by King's Ranger's Quartermaster John Cornish from the British stores in Charleston. These are listed in [Table 10](#). Thomas Brown's King's Rangers would prove to be one of the primary foes to face General Wayne's army when they occupied Ebenezer that following spring.

Table 10. King's Rangers, Supply Order, August 31, 1781.

Item	Count
Musquets French Cut Short	10
Musquets British Cut Short	45
Cartouch boxes with belts	55
Paper fine Rheams	1
Thread lbs	2
Pistol ball Cwts	1

(Cole and Braisted 2002; Wray Papers 7).

In late November 1781, about 75 mounted rebels, possibly Lieutenant Colonel Jackson's Georgia Legion, made a raid from Augusta and attacked loyalist plantations between Ebenezer and Savannah, killing and plundering as they went (Hall 2001:154). The British authority in lower Georgia was short-lived, for by October 1781 General Cornwallis had surrendered at Yorktown, Virginia, and the end of the war grew closer.

Royal Governor Wright's accounts provide additional insight into the conditions in and around Ebenezer and Savannah in November, 1781. Approximately one-fourth of the residents of Wrightsborough, Georgia, which was a Quaker settlement north of Ebenezer, sought refuge at Ebenezer in the autumn of 1781. They were led by Joseph Maddock (Davis 1982:3-16). On November 23, Wright paid William Knox L99.5.3 for supplies at Abercorn, Ebenezer and Knoxborough. The following day Wright paid L17.8.0 Margaret Moor for cattle supplied to the post at Ebenezer and he paid L26.2.0 to Margary Mobile for cattle at Ebenezer (Clark 1981: Volume 1, 553).

On December 8, 1781 the British troops and approximately 34 loyalists evacuated New Ebenezer for Savannah (SPCK 1782:90; Muller-Bahlke and Groschl 1999:728). Again, Governor Wright's accounts provide a few clues to the conditions at Ebenezer during that month. On December 17, Wright paid L94.12.6 to Philip Ulmer for supplies for the "militia on duty". The following day Wright paid L2.13.9 to Israel Keiffer for, "Matthew Biddonback, pasturage of patrol horses". On the following day, Wright reimbursed Mrs. Dasher L2 for a cow. All of these people, Ulmer, Keiffer, Biddenbach, and Dasher were residents of Ebenezer and these records indicate their British allegiance. On December 28, Wright paid L13.1.0 to Peter Gardiner for conveying, "freight to Ebenezer and Abercorn for the troops" (Clark 1981: Volume 1:554). Apparently this payment was for services that Gardiner had provided several weeks prior, since Ebenezer was in American hands by late December.

The Ebenezer loyalists that were in the December 8th evacuation included: Reverend Christopher Frederick Triebner, "his Wife and three Children, a young Relation [Hannah Wertsch, daughter of deceased John Casper Wertsch], and about twenty-eight Men, Members of our Congregation". Triebner wrote to his benefactors at the SPCK in London that, "...the inhabitants there [Savannah] are plundered of the necessaries of life by strolling parties (SPCK 1782:88-90; Muller-Bahlke and Groschl 1999:728). Reverend Triebner preached to a congregation at Savannah composed of 60 people from Ebenezer and Savannah, including 17 Hessian soldiers. From Savannah the Ebenezer loyalists went to St. Augustine and eventually sought refuge in the Bahama Islands (at New Providence [Nassau]). Reverend Triebner soon made his way to England where he served in the Lutheran clergy for the remainder of his life, never to return to Georgia.

Clark (1981, Volume 1:566) transcribed a "return of Refugees and Their Slaves, arrived in the Province of East Florida from the Provinces of New Georgia and South Carolina, taken upon oath to the 23d Dec 1782". The Georgia refugees, which would may have included recent evacuees of Ebenezer, were: 991 whites (419 men, 224 women, and 268 children) and 1,786 "Negroes", including 770 men, 566 women, and 450 children.

A "Return of Loyalists who have arrived in the bahama islands from North America" [those from East Florida only noted] included this entry: C. T. Tribner [Triebner] No. of whites 7, no of blacks 11, where settled westward, total 18". No other Ebenezerites were observed in this list (BPRO CO 23/25, cited in Siebert 1972:361).

On September 13, 1781 loyalist James Ingram received a commission as Captain of a Volunteer Troop of Horse, better known as the Augusta Volunteers (BPRO, Treasury Class 1, Volume 650:154). On December 22, General Alured Clarke wrote to Captain Ingram at Governor Wright's plantation giving these orders:

Capt. Raahn [Rahn] of the Ebenezer Militia, having informed Major Bowden that two Women lately from Briar Creek, say a party of the Rebels, are gone towards Medway; and that they are to meet McKay with another party, in the Neighbourhood of Ebenezer, to destroy that Settlement.

I think it necessary to give you this information, that your people may be vigilant, and prepared to receive them, Should they approach your post or that you may act in such other manner, as may Seem likely to promote His Majesty's Service.

I must beg that you will communicate any intelligence you may receive relative to that matter to me, and also to Major Bowden at Abercorn. To whom I am to request you will forward the Enclosed, without loss of time, and order the Dragoon who is the bearer of this, to return as soon as he has fed his horse. (BPRO, Treasury Class 1, Vol 650/149-150).

Clarke's orders were followed by additional orders for the Augusta Volunteers from Savannah on December 26, 1781 from Major Walter Cliffe to Captain Ingram, which stated:

Col: Clarke was favored with your letter this morning, and begs you will inform Major Bowden, of the situation, of the different Rebel Parties in Carolina; and particularly about McKay's, being in the neighbourhood of Ebenezer.

Should Capt. Cuthbert, come in the Boat, you have sent for the Prisoners, Col: Clarke desires he may be detained at your Post, and the Priser. sent to Savannah; unless you have received some directions from Major Bowden, relative to them (BPRO, Treasury, Class 1, Volume 650:155).

Upon hearing of the advance of the Americans towards Georgia, General Clarke ordered the officers commanding the various British outposts to abandon, burn whatever forage they could, and retreat to Savannah (Ramsay 1789, 2: 292).

Governor Wright's accounts for January 1782 include numerous payments for various foodstuffs to former residents of Ebenezer, including:

- John Goldwire,
- John Oxford [Oeschle],
- John Glainor,
- Jacob Honsler,
- Jacob Hainley [Heinle],
- John Eally [Ille],
- John Sherhouse,
- John Hoisler and,
- T. (J.) Wisenbaker.

Captain Rhan [Rahn] was paid L9.3.4 for, "pay for 6 privates and a sergeant" (Clarke 1981: Volume 1:555). The payment to Captain Rahn was probably wages for the Ebenezer militia, which he commanded.

The 7th Regiment of Foot (Royal Fusiliers) of the British Army, consisting of about 150 soldiers, was garrisoned at Savannah in from late December 1781 through early July 1782. This regiment, which was formed in London, England, arrived in Canada in July 1773 and departed for the British Isles in 1783. The 7th Regiment has served with Banastre Tarleton in the British defeat at Cowpens in early 1781 (Tarleton 1787, 1968; Groves 1903; May 1974). Recent archeological confirmation of the 7th Regiment in the lower Savannah River region was found at the Musgrove's Cowpen site excavations in Chatham County (Chad O. Braley personal communication June 10, 2002).

WAYNE'S GEORGIA CAMPAIGN

By December 1781 possession of Ebenezer shifted back to the Americans. Shortly after the British evacuation of New Ebenezer on December 8, Colonel James Jackson with approximately 150 men entered the abandoned town and established it as his headquarters. Jackson held Ebenezer for the Americans until General Wayne's arrival the following month (Scruggs 1975:74; Foster 1947:272).

After the British defeat at Yorktown in October 1781, General Washington's attention shifted further south. He dispatched Brigadier General Anthony Wayne to Georgia to command the combined American forces, under overall command of Major General Nathanael Greene. The plan called for General Wayne to amass the Georgians to drive the British from the State. In January 1782 the British had about 1,000 soldiers in Georgia or approximately twice that of the Americans.

The rebels in Georgia were perceived as slow to rise to Wayne's support. The State of Georgia had issued supplies on April 4, 1781, which were received by Colonel Febiger and included:

- 100 Carbines
- 6 Fusers
- 50 Pistols
- 155 Tin Cartouch Boxes
- 155 Tin Cartouch Box Belts
- 100 Haversacks
- 40 Horsemens Swords
- 100 Shot pouches
- 500 Flints
- 190 Bayonet Belts (NARA 927: Roll 1:71).

From August 21, 1781, the Georgia House of Assembly passed a resolution establishing the Georgia State Legion, which would:

....consist of One hundred Horse, and equal number of Foot, and to have One Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, One Major, Six Captains Eight Lieutenants, One Sergeant Major, One Quarter Master Serjant, Sadler with three Non Commissioned Officers, One Trumpeter or Drummer and Fifer to each Troop or Company...(Candler 2001, 3:25).

When it came to manpower, however, Georgia's resources were stretched very thin. In June, 1781 Jackson's Georgia Legion was raised to serve one year. It's commander was Lieutenant Colonel James Jackson (Figure 15). The Georgia Legion consisted of 100 horsemen in three companies of dragoons, and 100 infantry in two companies. Each company had 3 noncommissioned officers and 1 musician. Jackson's subordinates included: Major Thomas Washington, Captains Henry Alison, Sherwood Bugg, John Morrison, James Stallings, and John Lyons; Lieutenants Thomas Hamilton, Ezekial Stallings, Benjamin Hawkins, Stephen Blount, Benjamin Harvey, and Nicholas Millar. James Jackson maintained a post at Augusta until the State Legislature convened there in August, 1781. Jackson noted in a letter to General Twiggs on October 30th that he had been informed by a woman in Savannah that, "...the British had abandoned all their outposts except those at Governor Wright's plantation and at Ebenezer" (Foster 1947:272).



Figure 15. James Jackson, Commander of the Georgia Legion, Portrait by John Maier.

In September 1781, Jackson positioned his Legion midway between Augusta and Savannah and it was involved in frequent skirmishes with the British. The most notable of these was at Ogeechee Ferry, where the Georgia Legion and others captured a British fort.

Early Georgia historian Joseph Bevan summarized the military events in Georgia in late 1781 in a manuscript history of the American Revolution in Georgia, which he never completed. Bevan wrote:

... Within two months after reduction of Augusta, Genl Twiggs' force had already become so formidable as to authorise an advance upon the enemy. Accordingly, he put his troops in motion for the lower country; as, an expectation had been induced that General Wayne would shortly be ordered there, at the head of a large body of Continentals then on their march from the northward. By the time that the advance under Colonel Jackson reached Ebenezer, he had already had several skirmishes with the enemy; in which his flanks were annoyed by small parties under cover of the thick woods of the country, at the same time that they destroyed the bridges in his front. But, although the British retired in this manner, gradually, before the Georgians, within their fortifications around Savannah, yet they still kept an out-post at the Ogechee Ferry, for the purposes of keeping open a communication between the Town & the counties lying to the southward of it. This post, General Twiggs now detached Colonel Jackson with a portion of his own legion, McKay's Riflemen, & Paddy Carr's volunteer Dragoons for the purpose of effecting a surprise upon it. This he accomplished so completely, that [missing bottom line] even succeeded, while on his route thither, in capturing a reconnoitering party sent out from the fort for the express purpose of preventing his approach to it; with each address & secrecy besides, that it occasioned no alarm to the garrison. In fact, he had fallen upon them so entirely unawares, that they instantly surrendered; but, the glory of this brilliant enterprise was tarnished, as was also the complete success of it frustrated, by the circumstance of Captain Carr killing one of the British officers, while the Commandant was in the act of presenting his sword, as a token of surrender.... Jackson

was attacked in return, about 4 o'clock, on the ensuing morning, by the whole force of the British Cavalry; which had been despatched for the purpose, from Savannah, over-night....in order to prevent themselves from being overwhelmed by numbers, & there resisted for the remainder of the night every attempt to dislodge them; and before day appeared, Jackson was enabled to effect his retreat to Ebenezer, without being pursued by the enemy...

Bevan Continued:

....in the month of January 1782, General Wayne having previously ordered the Americans at Augusta, to join him at Ebenezer, passed into Georgia, at the Sisters' Ferry, at the head of 400 Continentals. No sooner did this information reach the ears of the British commandant at Savannah, than he sent order to all his out-posts to destroy the provisions within their reach, & then to retire within the works. Accordingly, the settlements on the margin of the river & upon the islands in the vicinity of the Town became an almost universal scene of conflagration; the aspiring blaze rendered lurid by the smoke, presenting to the eyes of the astonished beholder, a grand & awful spectacle.—What remained of the last year's crop was indeed so generally destroyed, that the American forces were obliged henceforth, to depend for means of subsistence, upon supplies to be dreived from South Carolina.--...The British garrison in Savannah, consisted at this time, of about 1000 Regulars, besides a considerable number of Militia, & was under the command of Brigadier General Alured Clark....(Bevan n.d).

Jackson and his Georgia Legion may have captured Ebenezer from the British in December 1781, shortly before the arrival of Major General Anthony Wayne, although no primary documents were located in the present research to confirm this. Over the next six months the Georgia Legion and the Continental Army would have a tempestuous relationship. Initially, Wayne considered Jackson his friend but tensions between the two in 1782 led to a decline in this relationship such that he wrote later that spring, "Jackson's a damned liar. Let him do his worst, God damn him, I don't care a damn for him" (Foster 1947:277; Charlton 1809:38). In January 1782 the cavalry was cut to one troop of 40 privates. Jackson was ordered to join Wayne's army at Ebenezer in early 1782. The Georgia Legion was disbanded in August 1782 (Foster 1947:270-271, 277; Charlton 1809:34-38; Candler 2001).

The muster list of Captain Jonathan Lucas' 2nd Company, Georgia Battalion, which covered the entire year of 1782, contained a total of 50 men including several Germans: Lieutenant Frederick Sheick; Corporals Matthew Rhan [Rahn] and Jonathan Rhan [Rahn] and Private Jonathan Gnann. Lieutenant Shick was noted on an earlier muster list of the 2nd Georgia Continental Battalion, under command of Colonel Samuel Elbert. This list covered the period from August 12 to December 8, 1779. Three of these men were listed in the muster list of Captain William McIntosh's 2nd Company, Georgia Battalion, which covered the period from June 9, 1782 to November 4, 1783, although two of them had received promotions and were now: Sergeant Matthew Rahn; Corporal Jonathan Rahn and; Private Jonathan Gnann.

The muster list of Captain Lucas' 1st Company, Georgia Battalion, which covered the period from June 9, 1782 to November 4, 1783, contained 49 men, including several Germans: Sergeant Samuel Ihly and Privates Michael Mick, Jonathan Snyder [Schneider], Matthew Wincoiff; Jacob Ihly and Jacob Metzger [Metzger].

The muster list of Captain William McIntosh's 3rd Company, Georgia Battalion, which covered the same period, contained a total of 52 men and included three enlisted men with German surnames: Michael Burkhalter; Enal [Emanuel?] Hartinbaker and Samuel Metzger.

These same three men, Burkahlter, Hartinbaker [spelled Hartinbricker], and Metzger, also were in the muster list of Captain John Ducorn's 3rd Company, Georgia Battalion, which covered the

period from June 8, 1782 to November 4, 1783, (NARA 1957: M246, Roll 89). Ducorn's 3rd Company had a total of 46 men.

The muster list of Captain Lachlan McIntosh's 1st Company, Georgia Battalion, covering the year 1782, contained 41 men including three German privates: Solomon Gawn [Gnann?], Jacob Ihly and Jacob Metzgar [Metzger]. Among the other officers in the Georgia Battalion in 1782 was John Christopher Buntz, Quartermaster and Paymaster.

On June 13, 1782 a Board of Commissioners convened at Ebenezer to conduct a sale of confiscated estates in Chatham County. It was during these proceedings that estates were granted by the State of Georgia to Generals Greene and Wayne for their relief from British occupation. This board met again at Ebenezer on July 2 to conduct a sale of confiscated estates in Effingham County. Property of Christopher Frederick Triebner, Philip Dill, John Goldwire, Jonathan Gruber, and John Jacob Zubly were among those whose property was included in this sale. The property of Jonathan Baucher, a British soldier, also was included in this sale (Candler 2001: 1: 414-419, 504-523).

The Continental Dragoons, an elite fighting unit, was divided into four regiments. Overall command of the four regiments was given to Colonel Stephen Moylan (Figure 16). All but the 2nd Regiment, which was commanded by Colonel Elisha Sheldon and remained in Virginia, were dispatched to Georgia in early 1782. Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Walton White commanded the 1st Virginia Cavalry, Light Infantry, White's Dragoons. Other officers in White's Dragoons included Captain Hughes and Lieutenant Bowyer [Boyer]. White's troops accompanied General Wayne to Ebenezer in January 1782. Colonel George Baylor commanded the 3rd Regiment of the Continental Light Dragoons. Colonel Stephen Moylan's held immediate command of the 4th Regiment of Continental Light Dragoons, Moylan's Light Dragoons, although two other officers, Captains Lawrence Trant and Erasmus Gill, led this unit in Moylan's absence.



Figure 16. Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Moylan, Continental Dragoons.

The history of the 4th Regiment, Continental Dragoons has been researched by its reenactment group, whose website provided this summary of the unit:

They [4th Regiment] were used for scouting, patrolling, and covering missions and for courier service. Except for surprise encounters with enemy patrols, they were intended to fight on foot. As originally conceived, and as prescribed on March 14, 1777, a Dragoon regiment was to have six troops, each consisting of a captain, a lieutenant, a cornet (the cavalry equivalent of infantry ensign or artillery second lieutenant), and forty-one enlisted men. With the field-grade officers and regimental staff, the regiment would total 280 personnel. The reorganization of May 27, 1778, retained the six-troop structure, but added a lieutenant and twenty-three enlisted men to each troop, bringing the theoretical total to 416 officers and enlisted men. January 1, 1781, brought still another reorganization, this one reflecting a conceptual change imposed by necessity. Six more privates were added to each troop and minor changes were made to the staff, bringing the regimental total of 455 officers and men; but only four of the troops were mounted, the remaining two consisting of infantry. This new type of unit was called a 'legionary corps,' and provided a more versatile organization, roughly equivalent in an embryonic way to a regimental combat team.

But cavalry was an expensive branch of the service. Mounts had to be purchased, and, due to hard usage and perennial shortages, required frequent replacement. Saddles and other "horse furniture" had to be procured. Weapons suitable for mounted men were also in short supply; sabers could be manufactured, but pistols and carbines had to be imported. Due to this combination of limiting factors, no Continental cavalry regiment ever had much more than three hundred men, and only about half of these could be mounted. More often, the regiments mustered no more than 150 men.

The 4th Dragoon regiment, authorized by Congress in 1777, consisted of six troops, and actually had that number on July 3, 1781. Colonel Stephen Moylan, who had previously been the Continental Army's Quartermaster General and an aide to General George Washington, served as commander of the Continental Dragoons until it was disbanded. Of the key officers of the original regiment, only Moylan himself and one captain were from Pennsylvania. One Captain was from Maryland, and the rest of the officers were Virginians. The enlisted men, however, were largely from Pennsylvania, chiefly from Philadelphia and its vicinity. Prior to its demobilization the 4th Dragoons had reached a total of six companies, commanded at the end by Captains Smith, Heard, Craig, Gill, Overton, and Frank. Troop A was originally commanded by Captain Moore Fautleroy, who was followed by Captain Larkin Smith in April 1, 1780. Captain Smith, a Virginian, remained the commander of this troop until after the end of the war. Troop B was originally commanded by Captain David Hopkins, who in 1780 was promoted to major of the 1st Continental Dragoons. Captain Hopkins was possibly replaced either by Captain Henry Willis, of Pennsylvania, or Captain Thomas Overton, a Virginian. This confusion in determining who was in command is a result of contradictory military records. Troop C was originally commanded by Captain Thomas Dorsey, of Pennsylvania. John Heard served as a captain in that regiment from the date of his promotion in 1777 to the end of the war. Troop D was originally commanded by Captain David Plunkett, of Maryland. He was replaced by Captain Peter Manifold, a Pennsylvanian, on April 14, 1779. Captain Manifold resigned on October 30, 1780. The position may have been vacant until war's end for no records were located identifying anyone in command. Troop E was originally commanded by Capt. Vashel D. Howard, of Virginia, who died in 1778. He was replaced by 1st Lieutenant John Craig, a Pennsylvanian, who stayed with the organization to the end of the war.

Other officers who served as Captains of the 4th Regiment Continental Dragoons included Pike, Gill, and Frank. On June 1, 1780, Captain Zebulon Pike was appointed regimental paymaster of the 4th Continental Light Dragoons on June 1, 1780. Pike held that position until the end of the war. Captain Erasmus Gill, of Virginia, was appointed a captain in the 4th Dragoons in February 1779, but with a retroactive date of rank of December 25, 1778. On October 3, 1779, Gill was taken prisoner at Savannah, Georgia, and after his exchange (on October 22, 1780), served to the end of the war. Captain Lawrence Frank, of Pennsylvania, was promoted to captain some time in 1782.

and remained in that capacity until the end of the war.

The regiment had become greatly reduced in effectiveness. As of April 6, 1781 Major General St. Clair reported that the 4th Dragoons had only eighty men, and only fifty of those were mounted, and there was no improvement by mid-July. As of July 3, the regiment's total enlisted strength is shown as being only 101 men. They were organized in six troops, but were very unevenly distributed, the largest troop numbering forty-two men and the smallest only three. On November 1, 1781 at Yorktown the 4th Regiment (now renamed the 4th Legionary Corps) consisted of 14 officers and 94 enlisted men and, "another forty men and four officers", who had marched south to join General Greene.

The only part of the regiment which saw any further action during the war was the detachment in the south, which by the end of 1781 numbered approximately one hundred officers and men. This force was assigned to the command, which Anthony Wayne led into Georgia, leaving South Carolina on January 4, 1782. During the course of the campaign, which ended with the occupation of Savannah on July 12, 1782, what was left of the 4th Dragoons was absorbed into a mixed command (including elements of the 1st and 3rd Dragoon regiments) under Col. George Baylor, 3rd Continental Light Dragoons. As for the elements of the regiment, which had not gone south from Virginia, by December 15, 1782, their strength had dropped to one mounted troop and one troop of foot soldiers. The foot troop was transferred to the Pennsylvania infantry (although the men continued to be paid at the higher rate prescribed for cavalry), and the mounted troop was mustered out.

Approximately 300 dragoons of Sumter's Mounted Infantry Brigade, which was commanded by Colonel Wade Hampton, entered Ebenezer as part of General Wayne's force in January 1782 (Foster 1947:271). These soldiers were from the Carolinas but a preliminary search of surviving records for these troops did not reveal any information about their time in Ebenezer.

One of the most reliable generals in George Washington's army was Anthony Wayne, a Pennsylvanian (Figure 17). Wayne had endeared himself to Washington with his valiant capture of the British Redoubt at Stony Point, New York in 1779. Anthony Wayne originally commanded the Pennsylvania Continentals but was transferred to another command. Wayne performed more useful service in the siege of Yorktown in October 1781. In January 1781, however his Pennsylvania troops had mutinied (Story 1781:1-3). The Pennsylvanians were war weary and finally revolted as described by Story:

The exertions of Genl Wayne & their officers availed nothing. They were determined not to lay down their arms untill they had justice done them....Sir Henry Clinton sent out spies to invite them to come in to him with a promise that he would make good their Pay & Cloathing, and informed them that Congress was neither able nor disposed to do them justice or make good their engagements.

On January 9, 1782 Wayne was ordered to Georgia with the 1st Virginia Cavalry, under Colonel Anthony Walton White. Wayne's tiny force joined with Colonel James Jackson's Georgia State Legion, which numbered approximately 100 men. Wayne's initial force was composed of two units of the 1st Virginia Cavalry, under Lieutenant Colonel Anthony Walton White and one troop of Stephen Moylan's Dragoons, under Captain Erasmus Gill (Russell 2000:312; Nelson 1985:164). Colonel Moylan's Light Dragoons had received supplies on October 29 and November 1, 1781, following the battle of Yorktown, which included: 15 bugle horns, 230 swords, 56 pistols, 14 camp colours, 1 Rifle and 80 Caps (NARA M927, Roll 1:130).

Major General Nathanael Greene wrote to Georgia Governor Martin on January 9, 1782:

...General Wayne marches tomorrow with a considerable body of Horse, some artillery & a quantity of ammunition, to take Command in your State, he is an officer for whom I have the highest esteem, & whose military talents have made him conspicuous both in Europe & America, I

flatter myself his appointment will be perfectly agreeable to your State, and that under his direction the Inhabitants, if they afford him the aid and support they are able to give, will find great relief from the further ravages of the Enemy.

The General is directed to make application to the Governor for such bodies of militia as he may find –requisite for the purpose of his command and I flatter myself the State will find it her interest to concur in the measures he may recommend...(Greene 1782).

On January 12th Major General Anthony Wayne and his small army marched from the Carolinas across the Savannah River at the Two Sisters ferry into Georgia. The Dragoons and Artillery joined General Wayne's force at Two Sisters on January 16th. On January 19 Wayne established his primary headquarters at Ebenezer whereupon he immediately penned a letter to General George Washington announcing his arrival (Mitchell 1978:371, 374; Nelson 198:165). Wayne's invasion force was composed of 300 troops of Dragoons, who were joined by "small state corps and a few spirited militia of Georgia". Wayne commanded, "1500 regular troops exclusive of militia, refugees, indians, armed negros &c". The non-regular army troops consisted of 1,000 or more (Papers of the Continental Congress 1958: R188 V9:392).

Wayne, who was camped near Two Sisters provided this estimated British troop strength in Savannah in a letter to Greene on January 17:

7th British, 150
Fannings, 300
2nd Batt Delaneys [Delancey's], Major Bowden, 120
Colonel Brown, 200
Georgia loyalists (Major Wright), 100
Hessians (Col de Porback), 200
Ingram's Horse, 30
Brantly's Horse, [50? missing]
Total [missing]

...of which 150 are Horse, i.e. seventy from Fannings & Brown under Col Campbell exclusive of Ingrams & Brantly's,--there are also about 30 negros armed. Col. Brown with 50 Dragoons and about 250 Infantry is at Gibbon's farm & foraging where they are to remain some time" (Nathanael Greene Papers 52:25; Mitchell 1978:371-373).

The initial American garrison at New Ebenezer in early 1782 consisted of fewer than 360 men. American troops controlled Ebenezer throughout the remainder of the war, despite an unsuccessful attack by the British in late May (Boatner 1969:1035; Revolutionary Records of Georgia 3:216; Tappert and Doberstein 1948:494). Scuggs (1975:88) notes that by early 1782 most of Georgia was controlled by Whigs and that "Ebenezer had become a command post of the Rebels". On February 1, 1782 Wayne wrote several letters to members of the Continental Congress from his Ebenezer HQ (Papers of the Continental Congress R171 VII:567).

On April 4 Wayne's army was boosted by the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Posey's approximately 300 Continental troops, known as the Virginia Battalion (Nelson 1985:168) (Figure 18). Even with this addition, however, Wayne did not possess sufficient force for an assault on Savannah. Rather, he confined his activities to patrolling the interior around Savannah, which he did with great effect. The British were effectively held captive in their fortified town (Russell 2000:312; Charlton 1809). On April 7, the State of Georgia was issued supplies, which were received by Brigadier General Jonathan Twiggs and included: 199 pairs of damaged pistols and one repaired pistol (NARA M927, Roll 1:55).



BRIG^{AD} GEN^L ANTHONY WAYNE.

Anthony Wayne

Figure 17. Portrait of Anthony Wayne by Charles Wilson Peale, 1783 (The Legion Ville Historical Society 2002).

Shortly after Wayne's arrival in Ebenezer, Wayne was provided with an account of the conditions in British-held Savannah by Jacob Adams, Wayne described these conditions:

Jacob Adams born in Virginia at Alexandria left Savannah the 14th Jany 1782 at 7 o'clock P.M.

The enemy abandoned Abercorn two or three days since & went to Genl White's plantation about 12 miles from town where there is a small redoubt and at Mulberry grove there is another small post.

Colo Brown with 50 horse & about 300 foot marched from Savannah to Gibbons & Telfairs plantation 6 miles from town, where they were to remain until relieved, which, in future is to be by rotation. He believes from the best accounts & observation, that he could make the whole force of the enemy to be nearly about 1000 men, including the dragoons. I.e. those called regulars. The Negro corps is about 20 men.

The works are contracted and only include the town, except a redoubt two hundred yards advanced, called the Spring redoubt. It appears very strong.



Figure 18. Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Posey (Courtesy of Society of the Cincinnati).

Many men have lately joined from the country, which, added to the Militia within the town & its vicinity will amount to many hundreds, he thinks near a thousand, exclusive of those before mentioned, a great proportion of which would join the Americans were they assured a pardon and protection. A certain Samuel Lyons, formerly of Augusta, which he left after that place was taken by Colo Lee, he is a tall thin man, near 30 years old, has a wife & 4 children, and now belongs to Ingram's Corps, returned last evening from Bryer Creek where he went as a spy to discover if any troops were crossing the Savannah, as had been reported, which report he contradicted (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:123-124, New York Public Library).

This abstract of a letter written by Anthony Wayne from Ebenezer HQ was presented in auction catalogue: “Entering Georgia the middle of January, General Wayne drove the enemy from Ebenezer and established his headquarters in that place. On January 21 he wrote a pardon and protection, which was signed by about 35 Tories: “In consideration of the Generous pardon & protection Offered us by Gen’l Wayne, & from a Conviction of our error in joining the arms of our Enemy against our Country & the Liberties of America We whose names are hereunto subscribed do solemnly engage to serve as faithful soldiers in the American Army...” (American Anderson Galleries 1934). Unfortunately, the names of the 35 were not provided in the auction catalogue.

Wayne wrote to Greene on January 23, shortly after his arrival at Ebenezer:

I find this country a perfect desert below Bryer Creek & between the Great Ogeechee & Savannah Rivers, except that included in the enemy’s lines from Mulberry Grove & Mrs Gibbons’s to Savannah. I have therefore determined to make Ebenezer my first post, & taken measures for drawing supplies from the Carolina side and by water from Augusta, & will immediately employ such inhabitants as I can find in repairing the roads & Bridges that the enemy broke up & burned which I hope will be effected in the course of a few days.

The only account that I have yet been able to obtain of the South Carolina State troops, & the militia of Georgia, which can be but very few, is by report, that they marched from Bryer Creek under Genl Twiggs three days since, if so, I must either see him or receive some official acct this evening or tomorrow.

We took a few armed Tories in the vicinity of the enemy’s lines on Monday, who immediately enlisted for the war, or until the enemy were all taken or obliged to abandon South Carolina & Georgia, & yesterday morning an officer & fifteen privates of the acting militia came in to us near Mulberry Grove, & voluntarily surrendered themselves upon the same conditions.

The enemy’s force at Mulberry grove is about 150 infantry & Mrs Gibbons’s 300 including their horse; the latter of which advanced with a tolerable countenance, but declined the charge, we only wanted the aid of a few good infantry, to oblige them to abandon these posts, which would be of the utmost consequence to us.

If you can possibly spare me a select Corps, we will have a fair opening to strike them by detail. I shall therefore anxiously expect their arrival, and am with much esteem (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:127; Mitchell 1978:374).

Upon his arrival in Ebenezer Wayne wasted no time in aggressively pursuing the British. By January 24th Wayne had driven the British from Mulberry Grove plantation, which was located on the Savannah River several miles south of Ebenezer (Nelson 1985:165). Two days later, Wayne wrote to Greene from Hampton Hall Plantation near Abercorn: “We have maneuver’d the Enemy out of their posts at Mulberry Grove, Mrs Gibbon’s & Ogeechee, but in their retreat to Savannah they set fire to and consum’d all the Grain and Forage between these places & the Town...” (Nathanael Greene Papers 52:26).

Anthony Wayne had a habit of frequently changing his quarters, which was intended to keep the enemy from knowing his whereabouts. This pattern is evidenced in a series of letters written shortly after his arrival at Ebenezer. On January 26, Wayne was at Hampton Hall near Abercorn; on January 30th, he was at Fox’s plantation, two days later he was at the Old Sawmills near Abercorn. Wayne may have traveled briefly to Augusta around February 3, but by February 6, he was back at Ebenezer.

Governor Martin wrote to Wayne from Augusta on January 29 advising him that: “...I have given the necessary orders for the immediate repair of the bridges between the Sisters & Ebenezer, which hope will speedily be effected...” (Martin 1782).

Wayne wrote to Major Habersham on January 30 from Fox's plantation:

Having obtained intelligence of a considerable body of Choctaw & other Indians being on their march for Savannah, whose route will be by Beards bluff, on the Altamaha & from thence by the shortest way into the settlements & thinking it a matter of utmost consequence to prevent their having an interview with the enemy, who have been so lost to every feeling of humanity as to let loose the savages, to murder the helpless women & children of this state agreeable to their custom of war.

You will therefore immediately march with the South Carolina State dragoons and the volunteers of Georgia in order to intercept them on their route, & either strike or capture them. In either case you will hold some proper hostage, sending the remainder back to their country with assurances of the friendly disposition of the Americans & that upon the principles of self preservation, which is the first law of nature, and not from any hatred or resentment against any nation of Indians, this expedition took place. It also said that a great number of pack horses crossed the Ogeechee two or three days since, loaded with presents & ammunitions for the Indians, You will also endeavor to strike at this convoy.

Your own good judgement will be the best criterion to govern your operations & to supply your troops with the least detriment to the inhabitants. I need not tell you the extreme of caution is necessary to guard against a surprise.

You please to advise me the soonest possible of any material occurrence, & if you think it necessary to cover your return, I will advance with the troops under my command, to any point to effect it....(Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:52:131-133).

Major Habersham was unable to fully prosecute Wayne's order to attack the Choctaws because the Choctaws had been informed of his approach and because of mutiny within the Georgia militia under his command. Habersham returned unsuccessful in his mission to Ebenezer (Wildes 1941:278).

On February 1, Wayne wrote to Nathanael Greene advising him of the Americans progress in Georgia:

Being joint on the 26th ultimo by the South Carolina dragoons ...we advanced to Mrs Gibbons's a post lately abandoned by the Enemy, and the next morning within a small distance of Ogeechee ferry..detached Lt. Col. McCoy [to intercept Creeks]...93 pack horses with a few skins &c. escorted by about 30 mounted Indians & Tories, who effected their escape by abandoning their horses & dashing into a deep swamp. The horses & skins fell into our hands & Colo McCoy had address enough to decoy that party of Indians whom he wint in guest of, by passing for Tories & leading them to us as a body of British dragoons, the deception was favored by many of our people by being dressed in British uniforms, & the Indians were surrounded & disarmed without the least resistance, altho' they had previously prepared for action, with every insignia of war upon them...I...propose sending some of them back to their nation with a talk, if it meets your approbation. At present they are treated with kindness, tho' properly guarded at Ebenezer...Cornell is a dangerous villain. He must be secured or bought. No militia yet arrived, nor have I heard anything of Capt. Gunn with the remainder of White's dragoons...The Enemy have been but too successful in burning and destroying the provisions and forage in this State. Our whole Dependance must be on Carolina, may I give your orders for this Essential purpose (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3, 135-137; Mitchell 1978:378-380).

That same day Wayne wrote to Georgia Governor Martin advising him that, "...They [the captured Loyalist Indians] are now at Ebenezer where they are properly guarded & treated with kindness..." (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:143).

On February 3 Governor Martin wrote to Wayne at his camp in Augusta regarding the Georgia troops, the availability of corn and forage for the horses (Martin 1782). The letter's address

indicates that Wayne had traveled to August by February 3 but by February 6 he was back at Ebenezer. Wayne wrote to Greene from Ebenezer HQ on February 6:

In my last I informed you of the Capture of 26 Indians & of the advance of 300 more belonging to the ___ nation, & that I had sent a detachment under the conduct of Major Habersham to intercept them, Whilst I am writing Colo White has returned from a person in whom the enemy place confidence & just out of Savannah, who says that one hundred stand of arms were sent in a row boat a few days since to the Altamaha for the use of the Indians, who were designed to make a diversion in our rear, but the enemy were totally ignorant of Habersham's advance that way, even on Sunday morning.

I am next to inform you that the term of service of the South Carolina State dragoons is expired & they are on their march home, except that part with Habersham. I hope they will not compel him to return too soon, -be that as it may, I must immediately advance to cover & facilitate his repassing the Ogechee, not a single militia man has joined us yet, our whole force is in the few Continental dragoons which I brought with me, except 25 of the Georgia State infantry. No account of Capt. Gunn, what has become of him?

The Enemy recd a reinforcement this day week of one hundred Hessians & sixteen artillery men, since which near twenty Hessian deserters have come out to us. I have also reclaimed fifty odd of the Citizens who had joined the enemy, these being unarmed are employed in repairing the roads & bridges, which were burned & destroyed by the enemy, others are engaged in building & repairing boats. For Gods sake re-enforce us the soonest possible... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:151-153).

Anthony Wayne wrote to Greene on February 11 from Ebenezer HQ advising him of his recent advance toward the enemy lines. Wayne had problems with controlling the Georgia troops at Ebenezer. Wayne noted: "Colonel James Jackson's Georgia State Infantry, set to guard the Creeks still held in their comfortable room [at Ebenezer], grew tired of watching Indians drink rum and eat...The twenty six which we had Captured were left in charge of an Officer and party of Colo. Jacksons State Infantry, through whose neglect, or a worse motive, they effected their escape—Colo. White fortunately fell in with and recaptured part of them..." (Wildes 1941:278, 289-281; Mitchell 1978:382-386). One of the more dangerous of the hostile Indians in the region at that time was named *White Fish*, whose targets included both Whigs and Tories.

A letter from Wayne from Ebenezer HQ, dated Feb 12, 1782, to Lieutenant Colonel James Jackson was abstracted in an auction catalogue:

Important military orders, written immediately after the enemy had been driven from Ebenezer at the beginning of the Georgia campaign. The british retreated to Savannah from whence they sent out foraging expeditions. General Wayne's force was so small that it was only by constant activity that he could stop these forays and protect the inhabitants....You will please to March with the Dragoons a detachment of Militia which will be annexed to your Command, and proceed to an intermediate position between the town of Savannah & the Ogeeche...I wish you to give the Enemy as frequent alarms as possible...(American Anderson Galleries 1934:Number 490; Mitchell 1978:381-382).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer to Georgia Governor Martin on February 13 stating:

...I must acknowledge that the re-enforcements is inadequate to what I had reason to expect after being so long in Georgia, the whole force of the Legion included, does not exceed one hundred & twenty men. Part of the volunteers you mention left us the second day after their arrival in Camp, the remainder deserted Major Habersham at a very critical crisis & thereby defeated the object of an expedition that would inevitably have given security to this State against an Indian invasion...volunteers are a class of Soldiery that are only tolerated on the spur of the occasion. I must therefore reiterate my demand for an organized Militia, drafted for a certain time & subject to command.

The services rendered by a few reclaimed yeomanry who have voluntarily surrendered themselves are ten times greater than we have yet experienced from volunteers. Apropos. Permit me to suggest the good policy of summoning the Assembly to meet immediately at this place, in order to open a door for the return of the citizens who have joined the enemy, as well as to produce a conviction to the Courts of Europe that you are in the full powers of Government & that the British only hold a single post in Georgia... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:155-157).

On February 19 Anthony Wayne's talk to the Indians of the Tookaubatchee town in the Upper Creek nation and the Choctaw nation was delivered at Ebenezer to the recently captured Creek warriors. On February 25 Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to American Secret Agent Anderson authorizing him to go to the Creek nation with Wayne's talk. Another letter by Wayne, written on the same day to Joseph Cornell sought to assure the Creeks that the Americans not seeking war with them (Emmett Collection, New York Public Library EM6739, 6740). Wayne used secret service funds from Nathanael Greene to buy Cornell's attention and to get Cornell's to deliver his message to the Indians. Wayne was fearful that the loyalist Creeks would attack his small force at Ebenezer, which at that time consisted of a few Continental dragoons and about 120 Georgians (Wildes 1941:280). A transcription of Wayne's talk, which is a rather eloquent address that simultaneously evokes kindness and firmness of tone, is provided below:

Brothers of the Toocobachee town, in the Creek Nation, and Brothers the Choctaws.

The hostile appearance you made, with every insignia of War upon you, and refusing to hold friendly discourse with the Americans, until they opened the manners and spoke the language of our Enemies, could not fail to create some uneasiness and to give very sensible pain to men, who wished to meet and receive You as Brothers.

I must again repeat that your hostile Department gave joint ground of alarm to my Warriors who had that Morning returned from compelling our common Enemy to shut themselves up in their strong holds, on the margin of the Sea; and altho' prepared for Action, and eager to begin the conflict, they no sooner discovered who you were, then they sheathed their swords and opened their arms and hearts to meet you, had yours been equally ready to receive them, but notwithstanding the discrimination You made between my Warriors dressed in British Uniforms, and those clothed in that of America, and since distrusting the assurances I gave you, it has made no other impression upon our minds than to confirm what we had already heard, i.e., that some incendiaries who gained too much of your confidence, by residing a long time in your Towns (and who are neither your friends nor Ours) but actuated by base and interested motives, had abused that confidence by insidious and false reports, calculated to promote a War between us, which in the End might ruin both, and serve as a step ladder for the British to climb to the summit of this Great Island from whence they could look down upon you and Us, as their menial slaves, hewing [sic] corn, cutting wood, and drawing water for their use.

This they attempted to oblige us to perform. We could not debase ourselves so low, our Wise Men met at the Grand Council fire, in the City of Philadelphia and remonstrated against the unmanly task, but offered to comply with everything that a reasonable Father could expect from a Son. In place of being satisfied with this kind & dutiful answer, they invaded our Country with fire & sword, burning our Towns, murdering our old & young men: Nor were even our helpful women and children exempt from their brutal fury.

Self preservation being the first Law of nature our Wise Men at the Council Fire called upon their Great Warrior General Washington to lead forth their other Chiefs and young men to the field, to repel force by force. They also called for help to our common friend and father his most Christian Majesty, whose benevolent & parental heart, moved with compassion for the injured Americans sent a number of his Warriors to join with ours under the conduct of our Great Chief against the cruel Enemy, who had by this time spread themselves almost from the rising to the setting Sun.

Our Great Warrior, General Washington met the British Great Warrior Lord Cornwallis at York Town in Virginia, and after killing many made him and the remainder of his Army prisoners of War.

A little before and about the time this battle was a fighting, another Great American Chief, General Greene, killed and took a great number of the Enemy in north and South Carolina and has left them no footing but in Charlestown near the Sea Shore.

You yourselves are witness that they hold no land in Georgia except the Little Town of Savannah, which scarce affords them room to sleep upon, and which to them at present is a bed of Thorns.

I am no Englishman but a plain open Warrior, born upon the same Island with you . I possess no art in the trick to embellish this narrative, but relate facts in that plain, concise and honest stile [sic], which you, as friends & Brothers would wish to hear, and to the truth of which the World is Witness.

Brothers. I informed you that you should not be injured; and directed you to be treated with kindness and supplied with provisions, until I could have an opportunity to send you safe over the Great Ogeechee on the route towards your own Country, which would not be done before this day, as many of my Warriors were out and might make a mistake. I wish that you had placed more confidence in me and not attempted to leave this place, until it could be don with safety to yourselves; however, you are now at Liberty to return home, where you will have an opportunity to convince the Wise Men and Warriors of your Nation of the sincerity of our hearts.

Brothers. Open your Ears, and hear what I have now to say. the Americans wish for nothing but peace and friendship with you, and have only to request through me their Warrior, commanding in Georgia that you will remain quiet Spectators until the present Quarrel is terminated between them and the British, after which period our Wise Men and great Warriors will be happy to assist in brightening the chain of friendship, and opening the path that leads to our Council fires.

But should you be Deaf to the Voice of reason; should you prefer the Hatchet to the olive branch, and attempt to shed the Blood of a people who never injured you. We possess undaunted hearts, strong sinews and Keen cutting Swords, with which we are ready to meet you upon your own Ground. Altho' we would much rather make you our friends than foes (Emmett Collection, New York Public Library EM6741-2).

While at Ebenezer, Wayne received letters from both James Jackson and Major General Greene. James Jackson wrote two letters from Wrights and Eiley's, near Savannah, to Wayne at Ebenezer on February 19 and 20 providing him with information about troop movements, a planned ambush, and the need for shoes (University of Georgia 2002).

Greene wrote to Wayne on Feb 19, informing him:

[Captain Dunn delayed]...but now on his way to you....No clothing has arrived yet from the Northward. As soon as any comes your command shall be attended to...trying to get a quantity of clothing from Charleston. Among other articles two hundred pairs of boots, out of which your cavalry shall be furnished. Captain Gills men shall be cloathed. I think your Indian talk a very good one. I wish it may have the proper effect...If a little money is wanted for secret service it shall be sent you (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:159-161).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Governor Martin on February 19:

In compliance with your request I take the liberty sending to Your Honor my Ideas of the Heads of two proclamations, which I hope will be productive of very salutary consequences to this State, that designed for the Germans might to be translated into that Language & several Copies diffused among the soldiers in Savannah—that for opening a door for the return of the Citizens may be dropt in Town & Copies of it fixed up in different places in the vicinity of Savannah. I am so fully convinced that nothing but a permanent force can secure the Independence of America that I have no difficulty in giving it as my decided opinion for you to exert every power for the immediate Completion of your Quota of Continental troops, offering a bounty similar to that given by So. Carolina but not to introduce a competition otherwise these people who would enlist as soldiers will be induced to join that State who offers the most liberal bounty & which from experience has been found very detrimental to the Service. I would also beg leave to suggest the expediency of

adopting the same kind of plan with Carolina for embodying a Corps of Negroes, in proportion to your Circumstances & local situation, Indeed this measure will become a matter of necessity if the report is true of the enemy forming –black Corps in Charleston & Savannah should my advice or assistance be deemed necessary on this or any other occasion be assured of being served with the best services of your Honors most(Wayne 1782d).

On February 21 Wayne drafted two executive proclamations, which he sent to Governor Martin for review. Governor Martin issued them as official documents shortly thereafter (Historical Manuscripts Commission 1906, 2:401). Wayne’s draft version of these two proclamations are transcribed below:

By the Honorable John Martin Esqr, Captain Genl Governor and Commander in Chief of the said State—

A Proclamation

Whereas many of the citizens of this state from local speculation or mistaken policy, have been seduced from their allegiance taken protection from, & joined the Arms of the enemies of America who now seeing their error, would wish to return to their allegiance and atone for their past conduct by assisting their fellow citizens to rescue their county from British Tyranny & oppression, an event that must inevitably take place from the United exertions of the Continental and other Troops assembling for that purpose, moved with compassion for this class of citizens and being more inclined to forgive than to punish, when it can be done consistent with the piece and happiness of the people—I do therefore by and with the advice & consent of the honorable the Executive Council , Issue this my proclamation—offering full pardon and protection to all citizens & others subjects of this state now within the British lines, except those who have been prescribed in a former bill of attainder, those who have held, and now hold, any civil or military commission under the Crown of Great Britian, all murderers & those whose names are underwritten (Viz) Samuel Douglass, Thomas Gibbons, David Zubly Junr., John Glenn, Lochlan McGillivray, Mr.[?] Fox, Junr, Georg Fox, Luke Man, Levi Shefftal, Nathaniel Hall, Alexr Wright, Bazil Cooper, John Smith, George Cuthbert, Francis Codington, David Delegal, Philip Delegal, Christopher Tribner [Triebner], Jacob Butler [Buehler], Maes Pace, Senr, Philip Pell [Dill] Senr, Andrew McLean, John Douglass, James Seymore & John Charles Lucena. On condition that he or they on or before the fifteenth day of March next, surrender him or themselves to the Honorable Brigadier Genl Wayne/ or the Commanding Officer for the time being/ and do duty in such Corps as he shall direct until the enemy are made prisoners or compeled to abandon this State, Given under my hand & the great seal of the said State at Ebenezer the Twentieth day of February One thousand seven hundred and eighty two and the sixth year of our Independence (Wayne 1782e).

Wayne’s second proclamation stated:

State of Georgia

By the honorable Jno Martin Esqr Ca:pt. Genl Govnr & commander in chief of the State

A Proclamation.

Whereas a great proportion of the German & other Troops now within the British lines, at Savannah, find themselves imposed upon, by being continued in that service contrary to contract, & are obliged to experience every extreme of danger & fatigue in throwing up works, mounting guards, & exposed in the field, against a virtuous & brave people, who never injured them. Many of whom are their countrymen, & relatives, & who wish to take them to their bosoms, participating every comfort & happiness that this country affords. And as a further proof of the sincere wishes & good intentions of the Inhabitants of this State, I do therefore, by & with the advice & consent of the honorable Executive Council, issue this my proclamation, offering two hundred acres of land free from expenses, together with a good cow, 2 two breeding swine, to every non commissioned officer or private soldier, who may leave the British service & become a citizen of this State. Given under my hand, & great seal of said State at Ebenezer the 21st day of Febry. 1782. & the 6 year of our Independence (Wayne 1782e).

Wayne wrote to Greene on February 22 from Ebenezer HQ:

The inclosed will shew you the temper of the Virginia dragoons. The Conduct of their infantry laid the precedent for their horse. I find upon enquiry, that they have neither recd their bounty or clothing, except a cap, coat, & overalls, which are worn out. Indeed, from the center down, they are almost as naked as nature left them, nor are the artillery, & the other part of the dragoons in a much better situation.

If the clothing from York is arrived, pray forward a proportion to this place the soonest possible, it is really necessary, not only for the comfort of the soldiery, but to reconcile them to their situation. Neither officer or soldier have attempted to undress since our arrival in this State, permit me to assure you, that the whole of the militia & Colo Jackson's corps don't amount to one hundred & twenty, officers included, and as these are a class of soldiers not always guarded (against) a surprise, the duty falls very severe upon a few Continental dragoons unsupported by infantry.

I therefore can't attempt to bring the artillery or any part of the baggage across the Savannah river, until we are reinforced.

Yesterday Sr Patrick Houston & Major Douglass, surrendered themselves to me, they left Savannah the day before. A considerable number of Hessians and other deserters have also lately come out, I intend making a diversion that will open a door for numbers to join us, who only wait a favorable opportunity to effect it...the enemy's force at Savannah is at least 1000 effective infantry & 165 well appointed dragoons. Its not improbable that part of them will very soon change service & masters (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:163-165; Mitchell 1978:384-385).

Wayne wrote to his friend General Irvine from Ebenezer on February 24:

....On the 19th ultimo we crossed the Savannah river with a detachment of the first & fourth Regiments of Dragoons, and the same evening arrived in the vicinity of Mulberry Grove, where the enemy had a post of about 150 men in an enclosed work, distant twelve miles from the town of Savannah. The next day a considerable body of infantry & Dragoons advanced ...the British thought proper to retire with precipitation, and the next morning abandoned all their outposts & went into Savannah, laying a desert round them for many miles, by the burning & destroying all the forage & grain.

On the 28th we recd intelligence of a body of Creek Indians on their route to join the enemy... At first they took to a swamp & prepared for action, but by passing for British, which was favored by many of our Dragoons being clothed in scarlet they suffered ust to surround them, when they grounded their arms and submitted to their fate...Impressed with gratitude for the generous treatment they experienced, they informed us of the advance of 300 Choctaws, who by that time would be near the Altamaha...[Major Habersham] after crossing the Great Ogeechee river fell in with the van of the Choctaws & passed upon them for British, his orders were to get them into his power by that deception & then undeceive them, treating them with kindness, and sending them to their nation with a talk...

In my talk I briefly stated the ruin and progress of the present war. I informed them that I was no Englishman, but a plain open warrior, born upon the same great Island with them; that all we asked of them was to remain quiet spectators until the war was terminated between us and our common Enemy...

It's now upwards of five weeks since we entered this State, during which period not an officer or soldier with me have once undressed—nor do the enemy lay on beds of down. They twice attempted to strike our advanced parties, & the day before yesterday they made a forward move in considerable force, which induced me to advance to meet them, but the lads declined the interview, by embarking on board boats & retreating by water to Savannah, the only post they hold in Georgia.

Inclosed is their actual force; ours does not yet amount to one fourth that number, but we have a decided superiority in horse, & therefore bully them with impunity... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:167-173).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to his friend Colonel Walter Stewart on February 25:

I have completed the tour of the thirteen United States, made war in each of them, & now command in the sands & swamps of Georgia. The duty that we have performed on the present occasion, was much harder than that of the Children of Israel, they had only to make brick without straw, but we have had our army to form without men, provision, forage & almost every apparatus of war to provide without money, boats bridges & c. to build without materials, except what we took from the stump, and what is yet more difficult than all, to make whigs out of Tories, & with them to wrest this country out of the enemy, all which we have effected with the help of a few regular dragoons.... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:175-177).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Major General Greene on February 28:

The duty we have done in Georgia...how to keep it without some additional force is a matter of worthy consideration & will require some address, as the British have lately recd a re-enforcement of Choctaws, which they brought by water to Savannah from Frederica on the west side of the Altamaha...I have been induced (by & with the advice & consent of Govr Martin) to permit Mr Cornell to return to the Creek Nation accompanied by a Mr. Anderson an Indian linguist...I am next to inform you of a little enterprise for the destruction of the enemy's forage, the whole of which was collected to Govr Wrights farm, under the influence of their cannon, within half a mile of the citadal [sic] of Savannah & on Hutchenson's Island...The money you mention will be of consequence something like a mutiny is ripening in Savannah. I have found means to disperse a number of Proclamations, wrote in German among the Hessians, offering Land, Cows, &c. to all deserters (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:179-185; Mitchell 1978:385-387).

Of course not all of Anthony Wayne's letters from Ebenezer were of a military nature. In March, 1782, General Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to his wife Polly on March 2 and after briefly mentioning his wound his words turned to military affairs in Georgia:

...we obliged the enemy to abandon post after post, & redoubt after redoubt, until they were completely shut up in the town of Savannah, being the only possession they now hold in the State of Georgia...

The horrid depredations & murders committed in this Country, by one inhabitant upon another, i.e. by whigs & Tories indiscriminately, beggars all discription [sic], & is shocking to humanity. This we have also put a stop to,--& by the most fortunate movements, prevented the few remaining inhabitants from being massacred by the Indians, three hundred of whom, had arrived for that purpose...we took twenty six chiefs & great warriors of the Creek nation, & seven Kings of the Choctaws, the remainder dispersed and fled to their own nation, except a few who were killed...what renders it [Georgia campaign] still more pleasing—we have effected this business almost without bloodshed, so that you find my dear girl, that Sterne's observation 'that a soldier is of a profession that tends to make bad men worse' is ill natured and unjust; on the contrary, I am satiate of this horrid trade of blood, & would much rather spare one poor savage than destroy twenty... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:191-194).

Anthony Wayne grew restless at Ebenezer and he was eager to advance towards the British in Savannah. Major General Greene's orders kept him at Ebenezer, however, and Wayne grew depressed, as biographer Wildes noted:

He [Wayne] raged about the camp, looking for things to criticize. He thought himself insulted when he found that his washerwoman took laundry from other officers and he threatened to have her beaten if she dared wash for any other person than himself; he complained because his colonels grumbled in the presence of their orderlies and so stirred private soldiers to mutiny, though he himself talked freely about the shortcomings of his officers. He drank too much and he entertained sour suspicions that murder plots were in the air. Much of this is traceable to idleness; Wayne invariably deteriorated when he stood inactive. In times of stress, Anthony was at his best; his mind moved swiftly and with smoothness; when he was in peril of death he was completely happy, but when there was nothing to do but to wait the pleasure of an adversary, he turned waspish (Wildes 1941:282).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Greene on March 4:

Inclosed is a return of horse & foot under my command together with a letter from Colo White, by which you'll find the cause of some desertions that took place about four weeks since, --is it possible to clothe these people?—I have quieted their minds for the present, on the presumption of being supplied with this essential article in the course of a few weeks.

The Enemy have remained very quiet ever since the destruction of their forage at Govr Wrights, which I can not account for upon any other principles, but from a defection among the Hessians, & some of the new corps, who it is said they dare not trust out of their lines; otherwise their neighbors are so very respectable, that they would not remain inactive, unless they expected to lull us into a state of security, & then strike us.

But this they will not effect, if we can possibly obtain a corps of infantry to give us some relief from that excess of fatigue & duty, which we are necessitated to perform to guard against the disagreeable consequences, attending a surprise, & to keep the caitiffs within limited bounds... They won't find us Intoxicated with Liquor we have not tasted spirits these five weeks (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:199-201; Mitchell 1978:389).

On March 6 Greene wrote to Wayne regarding the clothing shortage and lack of reinforcements. He also congratulated Wayne on the destruction of Governor Wright's forage: "...That you have done much with little force, every body will agree; but your wants and difficulties are the same, I have had to contend with ever since I came to the Southward...To detach two hundred men to you [as Wayne had requested earlier letter] would be madness..." (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:203-207; Mitchell 1978:387-388).

Governor Martin wrote from Augusta to Wayne on March 8:

...I am sorry the corn has not reached your camp sooner, owing to a neglecting some of the departments, for which I shall have them called to a sure account.

The inhabitants of the upper parts of the State, are almost perishing for want of provisions, many of them have not tasted bread kind for this three weeks past. If you could possibly have the boats loaded with rice, upon their return, it would be of infinite service to many of the suffering inhabitants this way...

I have, with the advice of the Council, thought proper to call the Assembly to meet at Augusta, the third Tuesday in April next, who will doubtless, immediately adjourn to Ebenezer. It was thought it would interfere with the planting business if they were called earlier... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:22-215).

Wayne answered Governor Martin the following day [March 9] from Ebenezer HQ:

The whole number of the Militia belonging to this State who have yet joined me is somewhere between eighty & ninety, whose time of service according to their idea expires on the 28th instant, i.e., in three weeks...we have destroyed more than one half of all the forage they have in the vicinity of Savannah, & killed three Indians at the Spring redoubt by our fire, which was directed that way in order to amuse the garrison, whilst the forage & the magazine of clear rice were burned by Colo Jackson under the influence of the enemy's artillery... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:219-221).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Greene on March 11 in response to Greene's letter denying reinforcements:

...I have found means to diffuse a number of written Proclamations among the troops in Savannah, calculated to draw over the citizens, & to create desertions, which has had considerable effect.

Thirty eight mounted militia came out & joined us yesterday who signed an inlistment [sic] of which the inclosed [sic] is a copy. The enemy have filled the swamps round their works with Tories, Indians, and armed Negroes to prevent desertion, notwithstanding which, a number of Hessians find the way out, & the defection among that Corps is so general that they are not permitted to

mount any of the out guards, may it be increased, & that life & additional laurels may attend you... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:223-227; Mitchell 1978:390-392).

Major Frances Moore wrote to Wayne on March 11 regarding the increased desertion of Dragoons in the American ranks:

...I hope to be able to put a stop to that as soon as their reenforcement comes, with throwing myself between the burnt Bridge and the Saw Mill, keeping out such parties as I hope will check desertion and furnish you with the earliest intelligence, ...I have repaired the above mentioned bridge all but a few planks which will be on this day, I find many inconveniencies attending my moving from one plantation to another in search of provisions, it not only puts it out of my power to watch the motions of the Enemy , but harasses the troops, and, in my opinion, hazards much more than being on one or the other roads, as circumstances may require. I have a few men who are well acquainted with the country to collect the provisions to a certain place, Bake bread, and from time to time furnish the detachment as may be most convenient. Dear General I have been so long here amongst the wretched, damned and disaffected, I have almost lost every feeling of humanity, the abuses which are made of the indulgences given the people of this State is incredible, one of which I will endeavor to put a stop to, till I receive your orders to the contrary, which is small parties who never did or will be of any essential serviced to their Country, passing over, through and from Ogeechee, destroying what little provision there is left, and some of them perhaps not too good to furnish the enemy with intelligence. To guard against this I have issued orders that no person or persons, party or parties, shall pass between my post and the enemy's lines without your orders, or pass, the bearer of this will inform you where I will be tonight..."(Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3: 231-233).

Governor Martin reported to the Georgia delegates to the Continental Congress in Philadelphia on March 14 on the progress of Major General Wayne:

...He entered this state the beginning of January last, with about one hundred and twenth Horse, which threw the enemy into such a panick, that they immediately abandoned their out posts, destroyed all the provision & forage in the vicinity of Savannah, & fled into the town with precipitation, where, they have ever since been cooped up by that force, with the addition of Colo Jacksons Legion of this State, consisting of about 40 Horse, and 50 foot & about 100 militia— altho' their force from the best information is about 1500 or 2,000 men, including militia—They doubtless at first must have conceived Genl Wayne's force to have been much greater than it really was....Altho' the enemy at Savannah are so vastly superior in force to us, yet they seldom or ever venture without their lines; I believe the principal cause is, they are afraid of trusting their own men, as desertions from them are very prevalent, which they embrace every opportunity , and numbers of Hessians and others have come out from time to time, which, all their vigilance is not able to prevent....The distresses of the inhabitants of this State for the want of provisions, has prevented my giving that support to the operations of Genl Wayne that I could have wished; many of the inhabitants, in the upper part of this State, have not tasted any thing of bread kind, this six weeks past, and it is almost impossible to turn out men under these circumstances, for by the constant duty they were heretofore on, they lost their former crops, &...(Martin 1782).

Letters from Wayne to Greene, dated March 15 and 17, indicate that Wayne remained at Ebenezer on these days (Mitchell 1978:392-393). No major military action was reported, he noted that Lieutenant Hollet and Captain Gun were sent to fetch the clothing for Moylan's and White's Continental Dragoons. General Wayne also wrote to Greene, "St. Patrick's blessing attend you".

Governor Martin wrote to Wayne on March 14 advising him that Generals Twiggs and Clark were busy elsewhere and would be unable to provide reinforcement. The governor did, however, promise to provide General Wayne and his troops with tobacco: "...Observing when in Camp that your troops appeared to be in great want of Tobacco, I shall purchase some as soon as possible & send down for their use, as nothing contributes more to health, in this climate, than that plant..." (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:235-241).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Greene on March 25:

...We have since taken a Chickasaw chief & expect that the party he commanded are by this time either killed or prisoners—however we hold him as a victim, who together with the first British officer that falls into our hands will eventually be sacrificed to the manes of that brave unfortunate dragoon. You'd hardly think it possible that a British Governor, attended by British officers, would be so lost to every feeling of humanity, as to be capable of parading the streets with the scalp, giving out to the citizens that it was taken from the head of Major Habersham [actually some unidentified dragoon], and afterwards entertaining the savages with a ball &c. on the occasion... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:243-245; Mitchell 1978:393-394).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Georgia Governor Martin the following day:

...the Enemy possess every inclination to form an alliance with the Savages, who they Indulge in every excess of Dissipation, & endeavor to excel them in wanton acts of Cruelty, by which means they expect to ingratiate themselves into their favor, as a specimen of their progress in barbarism & Inhumanity take the following facts.

On receiving intelligence that the Enemy were on the point of moving out in force—I determined to more than meet them, & to avail myself of Circumstances & position, from a conviction that although our numbers were not so great as I could wish, but we were not to be disgraced, & that if we would possibly produce disorder in their ranks, the enemy would have no reason to triumph from the encounter

Our advance guard fell in with a party of their Dragoons three miles from Savannah, who they Immediately charged & drove into the lines, & then sounded a charge within the influence of their batteries—this temerity in the Officers drew the Enemy out in force, & in falling back before them one of his Dragoons was killed—however as soon as they discovered that the advance were supported they retired into their works, bearing off the scalp of the Dragoon, with which they paraded the Streets of Savannah, accompanied by the Lieut Governor & other british Officers, who gave an entertainment to the Indians and had a dance on this Occation?, - nor did their barbarity rest here—they mangled & disfigured the dead body in a manner that none but wretches inured in acts of cruelty would possibly be capable of & ordered it to remain unburied, but the Ethiopeans more humanized stole it away & deposited it in the ground, for the commissions of which crime a reward of five Guineas is offered for the discovery of any person or persons concerned in that act of humanity

However it is a maxim in law “that altho’ justice may sleep--it will never die” we have taken a Chickasaw chief & expect by this time that all his party are either killed or prisoners--be that as it may, the Chief, with a few British Officers will eventually be sacrificed to the names of that brave unfortunate Dragoon, unless their Commandant upbrates this act of Cruelty & dismisses the Savages

We want your riflemen to assist us this time offensive of the worthy Militia now here is about expiring they will naturally go home relieved or not. Indeed they require some respite from duty & fatigue which they have gone thro’ with a Cheerfulness & fortitude becoming the virtuous Citizens of America

I have already given my Opinion very decidedly upon the absolute necessity & good policy of Immediately raising your Quota of troops for the war if in the Interim you find that Volunteer Corps are expedient, they must act on foot, forage is so difficult to be procured that an additional body of horse in place of being of service would injure us

I have the highest Opinion of the bravery of Colo McCoy & Captain Carr, & doubt not were they at the head of a Corps properly organized & appointed we should derive essential benefit from their exertions but they must act as Infantry

I feel very sensibly for the situation & distresses of the Inhabitants of Georgia but unless we receive immediate & more effectual support, their sufferings will still be greater, at present a spirited exertion may rescue them from tyranny & Oppression,--Laziness will be attended with inevitable ruin

I sincerely wish to see you here till when & ever believe me with much Esteem

...I would beg leave to support the expediency of retaining all the women & children belonging to the Tories, as a pledge of security against the Depredations of the Indians & ca, on the Contrary, if you send them all into Savannah may it not be an inducement & afford an Opening, to let loose the Savages upon your frontiers

But if you have no apprehensions of danger from that Quarter: I wish them to be embarrassed & incumbered as much as possible with useless mouths, my only concern is therefore for the helpless Women & Children belonging to the Virtuous citizens of Georgia (Anthony Wayne Papers, Library of Congress).

Wayne probably remained at Ebenezer HQ from March 26 through at least June 15, 1782 (Mitchell 1978:393-420). None of his correspondence suggests otherwise.

On April 1 Wayne wrote to Greene of the movements by the Creek Chief White Fish, whom had escaped from Wayne's clutches previously and was now heading a band of about 300 Creeks near the Canoochee River. Major Moore and his men were in their pursuit (Mitchell 1978:394-395). A group of about 300 Creek warriors, who were led by Joseph Cornell, thinking it a British-held post, blundered into Wayne's camp, presumably at Ebenezer, and were captured. Wayne decided to release them after giving them a conciliatory speech (Wayne to Greene, April 1, 1782, cited in Cashin 1999:150).

On April 6 Greene wrote to Wayne advising him that the requested clothing was on its way from Philadelphia and, "...I am in hopes that Colo Posey has joined you before this; and that you will find the troops not inferior to any in the American Army...." (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:277; Mitchell 1978:396-397).

A general return of the American troops in Georgia was made on March 29 at Ebenezer by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Harmar, Deputy Adjutant General of the Southern Army. This document is transcribed in Table 11. General Wayne's army consisted of slightly more than 908 men on that date. Of these 133 were officers and 783 were rank and file soldiers, militia, or refugees. The number of sick and wounded for the enlisted ranks was not thoroughly recorded on that day, although 18 of the 133 officers were not available for duty. One soldier from the 1st Regiment of Continental Dragoons was reported dead that month, but it is not known if he was an officer or enlisted man (Harmar 1782a).

Table 11. General Wayne's Troop Strength at Ebenezer, March 29, 1782.

General Return of the Army in Georgia under the Command of
Brigadier General Anthony Wayne. Headquarters Ebenezer March 29th: 1782

	<i>Officers Present fit for Duty Commissioned</i>						<i>Cornets & Ensigns</i>
	<i>Lt. Col Command</i>	<i>Colonels</i>	<i>Majors</i>	<i>Captains</i>	<i>1st Lts</i>	<i>2nd Lts.</i>	
1st Regiment Dragoons	1			2	1	2	1
4th Regiment Dragoons				1	1	1	
Colo Jacksons horse		1		1	2		
Colo Jacksons Infantry				2	2		

Virginia Battn Lt.								
Col. Posey		1	1	4	9		4	
Militia			1	4	4			
Total	1	2	2	14	19	3	5	
Wounded							1	
Sick Present				1				
Sick Absent				3	1			
On Command				1	2			
On Extra Service								
Deserted								
Prisoners						1		
Total				5	3	1	1	
<i>Staff</i>								
<i>Brigade</i>								
	<i>Major</i>	<i>Master</i>	<i>Adj't</i>	<i>Pay master</i>	<i>QMr</i>	<i>Surgeon</i>	<i>Mate</i>	
1st Regiment								
Dragoons	1	1	1			1		
4th Regiment								
Dragoons			1					
Colo Jacksons horse			1		1	1		
Colo Jacksons Infantry								
Virginia Battn Lt.								
Col. Posey			1	1	1	1		
Militia								
Total	1	1	4	1	2	3		
Wounded								
Sick Present								
Sick Absent								
On Command		1						
On Extra Service								
Deserted								
Prisoners								
Total	1	1						
<i>Noncom'd</i>								
	<i>Waggon mastr</i>	<i>Serg. Major</i>	<i>Q Mast Sergt</i>	<i>Drum major</i>	<i>Fife major</i>	<i>Trumpetr & D & Fifers</i>	<i>Sergeant</i>	
1st Regiment								
Dragoons		1	3			2	4	
4th Regiment								
Dragoons			1			2	3	
Colo Jacksons horse			1				2	
Colo Jacksons Infantry		1					2	
Virginia Battn Lt.								
Col. Posey	1	1	1	1		17	24	
Militia		1	1				6	
Total	1	4	7	1		21	41	
Wounded							1	
Sick Present							1	
Sick Absent								
On Command						2		
On Extra Service							2	
Deserted						1		
Prisoners								
Total						3	4	
<i>Rank & File</i>								
	<i>Present</i>		<i>Sick</i>		<i>On Comm and</i>	<i>On Extra Service</i>	<i>On Furlough</i>	<i>Wag' nr</i>
	<i>Fit for duty</i>	<i>On duty</i>	<i>Present</i>	<i>Absent</i>				
1st Regiment								
Dragoons	77	16	7	3	13	4		5
4th Regiment	23	8	2	1	1	4		1

Dragoons								
Colo Jacksons	30		2	1	7			
horse								
Colo Jacksons	23		9		15		3	
Infantry								
Virginia Battn Lt.	240		15	10	46			
Col. Posey	19	25				2		3
Militia								
Total	412	49	35	15	82	10	3	9

	Confined	Total
1st Regiment		
Dragoons		125
4th Regiment		
Dragoons		40
Colo Jacksons		
horse		40
Colo Jacksons		
Infantry		50
Virginia Battn Lt.		
Col. Posey		311
Militia		49
Total		615

	Alterations since last Return				
	Dead	Discharg ed	Deserte d	Transferr ed	Joined
1st Regiment					
Dragoons	1		5		4
4th Regiment					
Dragoons					
Colo Jacksons					
horse					
Colo Jacksons					
Infantry					
Virginia Battn Lt.					
Col. Posey			5	2	2
Militia					
Total	1		10	2	6

NB In addition to the above there are two Sergts & 18 men of the Pennsya Lines and 150 Reclaimed Citizens, outlayers, and Crackers, that have lately surrendered and Joined our Arms--
Jos. Harmar, Lt.
Col.
D. A. G. Southern
Army

Nelson (1985:168) notes that Nathanael Greene had promised to send Virginians to Ebenezer as early as March 12. It was not until April 4 that Wayne's army was reinforced by the Virginia Battalion, which consisted of 280 officers and enlisted men under command of Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Posey. Posey's Battalion was organized into eight regiments, who were led by approximately 25 officers (including Posey) and 256 rank and file. The troop strength of the Virginia Battalion, as of April 1st, is summarized in [Table 12](#).

Table 12. Troop Strength of the Virginia Battalion, April 1, 1782.

Regiment	Officers	Enlisted	Total
1	2	25	27
2	3	24	27
3	3	38	41
4	2	31	33
5	3	31	34
6	2	40	42
7	4	36	40
8	5	31	36
Total	24	256	280

On April 1, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Posey wrote from Boons plantation to Major General Greene advising the general that: “I shall to the utmost of my power make a speedy a march as possible to join Genl Wayne” (Nathanael Greene Papers 57:3). Posey included two documents in this letter to Greene, written a few weeks before his arrival in Ebenezer, which are transcribed in [Table 13](#).

Table 13. Returns of Posey’s Detachment, March 31 and April 1, 1782.

Return of Muskets, Bayonets, Cartridge Boxes, & Camp Kettles wanting to compleat Lt. Cols Thos Poseys detachment of Continental Troops

31st March 1782

- 10 Muskets
- 11 Bayonets
- 109 Cartridge Boxes
- 36 Camp Kettles

Js Mabon Lt & QM

“A Return of Cloathing wanting in Lt Col. Thomas Poseys Detachment 1st April 1782

<i>Companys</i>	<i>Shirts</i>	<i>W.Overalls</i>	<i>Shoes</i>	<i>Coats</i>	<i>Vests</i>
Cap. Parkers Compy		55	30	36	
Sheltons do	42	26	31		
Scotts do	30	13	10		
Kirkpatrick's do	37	19	26		
Martins do	33	18	27		
Nelsons do	38	23	28	4	
Moss's do	29	17	14		
Lieut Cannons do	23	19	24	1	1
Norwells do	23	26	35		
[total]	310	191	221	5	1

Charles Jones Lt. QM & Clothier (Nathanael Greene Papers 57:4-5).

Captain Erasmus Gill, field commander of Moylan’s Continental Dragoons, wrote from Ebenezer to Nathanael Greene on April 4, 1782:

Mr. Hallete informs me, that you would be glad to have Certified, that their was Vacancies in 4th Regt Dragoons, in order that you might appoint Mr. Gully, formerly of the Colo Lees Legion in the Regiment—I am happy to have it in my power to Certify that their was Vacancies when I left Virginia, for three Lieuts & six Cornets, & it gives me singular satisfaction to hear of your

approbation for that young Gent. to Join us—you will Oblige me much by sending his appointment by Mr. Hallete, as such to the same—any others that may apply to you for appointments you will be so kind to tell them that no others for the present are wanting (Nathanael Greene Papers 57:14).

Major General Wayne, who was still awaiting clothing for his troops, wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Greene on April 9:

I...beg leave to mention that the first Regiment are nearly naked and that the Cloth which Capt. Gill's people have recd. is of so inferior a Quality, that it will not last more than half as long as our common uniforms, but we must make the most of it, we made an attempt to procure Clothing and a few other supplies from Savannah, but miscarried, since which Colo. white gave an inventory to the owner of a trading Schooner, who has my passport for the purpose...Inclosed are returns of sundry articles wanting to enable the men to do duty, and to be in a condition to appear on Parade in so decent a manner as not to Offend a modest eye, if we can be furnished with some sewing thread, by curtailing our Infantry Coats, we might repair the broken parts, so as to last the great part of the Summer, which is all we can expect, however there are a great number who have not anything like a Coat nor will the number of shoes and Overalls called for be more than barely sufficient to cover the legs and feet of many fine worthy fellows that are now bare, as cleanliness is ever conducive to health, I wish if possible to be furnished with as many Shirts and Overalls as will give two pair to every non Commissioned Officer and private belonging to Colo. Posey's detachment, or the materials to make them the number will be determined from the Inclosed weekly return: they also want a few Muskets, Bayonets, Cartridge boxes and Camp Kettles, which the Officer who delivers this will take charge of... (Mitchell 1978:397-398).

Writing from Ebenezer HQ on April 7, Wayne noted to Georgia Governor Martin the arrival of the Virginia Line at the Sisters ferry, "they are to cross the Savannah this day, & will join us tomorrow..." (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:283).

A muster roll of the Alexander Parker's Light Infantry Company of Posey's Virginia Line Battalion, covering the period from April 1 to September 1, 1782, included the following commissioned officers: Captain Alexander Parker (listed as sick but present), and Lieutenants James Mabon and Javan Miller. Captain Parker also was in command of a company of the 2nd Virginia Regiment, most of whom had been captured in 1780 in Charleston. Parker was able to escape from there with about 100 Continentals (Wright 1983:283-285). The men in Parker's company at Ebenezer were hardened veterans. Six of 41 enlisted men in Parker's Company were listed as sick, two wounded, and six were dead, including Privates James Hicks and William Evans (both killed on May 22), Sergeant Simon Horn and Privates Joseph Lee Bullock, and Daniel Sanders, and David Mangrum (all killed on June 24). Five of the sick (and one wounded) in Parker's company were confined to the Great Swamp Hospital (NARA M246, Roll 113).

The largest American military contingent posted at Ebenezer was the Virginia Battalion, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Posey. The Virginia Battalion was composed of one light infantry company and eight regiments. This battalion was formed from the remnants of various Virginia units, whose ranks had been decimated by battles in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states. Posey formerly had commanded the Posey's Light Infantry, 7th Regiment. Posey may have spent part of his time in Virginia while his battalion was at Ebenezer. Officers serving under Posey during this period included:

- Captain Alexander Parker, Posey's 2nd Va. Reg't., Parker's [Veterans] Light Infantry Company;
- Corporal William Rhodes, Parker's Light Infantry Co. [wounded];
- Captain Beverly Roy, Roy's Company [at Ebenezer town];
- Major Samuel Finley;
- Captain Thomas Warman, [unclear if at Ebenezer];

- Captain Cannon, Kirkpatrick's Co.;
- Major Willis, Kirkpatrick's Co., Willis' Battalion;
- Captain Scott;
- Major Alexander;
- Lieutenant Daniel Bedinger and,
- Captain Fields.

Captain Abraham Kirkpatrick, who commanded the 1st Virginia Regiment had been shot in the eye and was recuperating at Winchester Barracks in 1782-3. Kirkpatrick probably never saw Ebenezer and Captain Cannon took command of Captain Kirkpatrick's company in the his absence. Kirkpatrick's wound, according to the pension affidavit of Cornelius Bybee was inflicted by Private James Grant as noted:

James Grant's wife, a camp follower, was romantically involved with Captain Kirkpatrick. James Grant having discovered this illicit relationship, ceremoniously walked into Captain Kirkpatrick's tent, announced his purpose for being there, and shot Kirpatrick in the face. Dropping his flintlock, Grant announced that he would have shot them both if he could and surrendered himself to authorities. Private Grant was hanged for "malicious wounding" within a fortnight (Jones 2002).

A muster roll of the 1st Virginia Regiment of Posey's Virginia Line Battalion, covering the period from April 1 to September 1, 1782, included the following commissioned officers: Captain Joseph Scott, Junior (on command in Virginia), Lieutenant Joseph Conway, and Ensign Robert Quarles (transferred to Captain Gamble's Regiment). Eleven of 25 enlisted men in the regiment were listed as sick (including 6 confined to the Big Swamp Hospital) and one, Michael Burnet, died on August 5th (NARA M246, Roll 113).

The 2nd Virginia Regiment of Posey's Battalion, for the same period (April 1 to September 1, 1782), included the following commissioned officers: Captain Henry Moss, and Lieutenant John Jordan, and Ensign John Scott. Eleven of the 24 enlisted men in the regiment were listed as sick, including eight who were confined to the Swamp Hospital. None of the men in the 2nd Regiment were listed as dead in this muster (NARA M246, Roll 113).

The 3rd Virginia Regiment of Posey's Battalion included the following commissioned officers: Lieutentant Thomas Randell (in Virginia), Lieutenant Beverly Roy (on command, transferred from the 7th Regiment), Lieutenant Lipscomb Norvell, and Ensign James Barbour (transferred to the 6th Regiment). Nineteen of the 38 enlisted men in the regiment were listed as sick and two were dead (Private John Howard, died July 8, and Private John Jackson, died August 20). (NARA M246, Roll 113).

The 4th Virginia Regiment of Posey's Battalion included the following commissioned officers: Captain Abraham Kirkpatrick (on command in Virginia), Lieutenant Luke Cannon (on command in Hospital), Lieutenant Robert Craddack, and Ensign Daniel Bedinger (transferred on April 17 to another company). Thirteen of 31 enlisted men in Kirkpatrick's Regiment were listed as sick and one, Private Edward Davis, died on July 23 (NARA M246, Roll 113).

The 5th Virginia Regiment of Posey's Battalion included these commissioned officers: Captain Thomas Martin, Lieutenant Robert Breckenridge, and Lieutenant Nathaniel Darby. Thirteen of 31 soldiers in the 5th Regiment were listed as sick in the Hospital and four were listed as dead. The dead included Private Charles Stokes, who died at Ebenezer on June 1, 1782; Private Thomas Franklin, who died at Ebenezer on June 23, Private William Moore, died July 23, and Private Samuel Fortune, died August 4th (NARA M246, Roll 113).

The 6th Virginia Regiment of Posey's Battalion included the following commissioned officers: Captain Clough Sheldon (on command in George Town), Lieutenant James Barbour (who died on July 7), and Lieutenant Charles Jones (who also served as acting Pay Master). Eighteen of 40 enlisted men in the 6th Regiment were listed as sick (most were confined to the Big Swamp Hospital, although two were in the Flying Hospital) and two were listed as dead. Private Diedrich Sligars was listed as dead since last muster but his exact date of death was not recorded. Private Hubbert Melton died on June 15th (NARA M246, Roll 113).

The 7th Virginia Regiment of Posey's Battalion included the following commissioned officers: Captain John Nelson (left sick in Virginia), Lieutenants John Jordan, Beverly Roy, Jacob Brown (left sick in Virginia), and Joseph Conway, and Ensign Daniel Bedinger. Thirteen of the 36 enlisted men were listed as sick, including two confined in the Deep Swamp Hospital. No dead were recorded in this muster for the 7th Regiment (NARA M246, Roll 113).

The 8th Virginia Regiment of Posey's Battalion included the following commissioned officers: Captain Robert Gamble (sick Hospital), Lieutenants Nathaniel Darby and Luke Cannon, and Ensigns John Scott, and Robert Quarles (on command, Hospital). Fifteen of the 31 enlisted men in the regiment were listed as sick and one, Private Joseph Jones died on July 31, 1782 (NARA M246, Roll 113).

A muster roll of the field and staff officers of the Virginia Battalion, which was made on December 11, 1782, several months after the unit had left Ebenezer, includes the following: Colonel George Matthews, Commander 8th Brigade; Major Samuel Finley, Adjutant Robert Breckenridge, Quartermaster Robert Quarles, Paymaster Charles Jones, Surgeon George Monro, Mate Nathaniel Smith (on command Light Infantry, formed September 27, 1782), Sergeant Major William Thiar, Quarter Master Sergeant Manlove Tarrent, and Drum Major William Harris (listed as sick at the General Hospital) (NARA M246, Roll 113:38).

On April 10, Lieutenant Colonel Posey wrote from Ebenezer to Major General Greene:

On the 7th instant my Regiment arrived at this place the whole enjoying a great share of health and good spirits.

I beg your excuse for so frequently interrupting you with my solicitations in respect to cloathing, but seeing a great number of my men almost and some indeed intirely withouth the articles of Shirts, Overhalls and Shoes, occasions my being so very troublesome.

Inclosed I find you returns which will inform you of the present situation and wants, which I hope, if in your power you will grant the contents. There are some few alterations from the last returns: I have not mentioned Hunting Shirts either in my former or present return, as to that article I don't know in what manner you may think proper to direct.

In the quantity of cloathing mentioned you will please to observe there is no more inserted than what will barely complete each man with one article of each kind; could it be possible to furnish the detachment with two of each kind of the articles of shirts and overhalls it woud give the men a proper change and occasion those articles to last double as long. I suppose by the time the shoes will arrive every man I have will be entirely without.

Lieut. Jones, Pay Master and Cloathier to my Detachment will deliver you this and receive what articles of clothing you may think proper to grant; however I only mean this as a private dither. Mr Jones has his instructions from Gnl Wayne (Posey 1782).

On April 10, Governor Martin wrote to Wayne: "...I am happy to inform you I have procured a supply of rice from the Govr of Carolina, but, am afraid it will be some time before I get it conveyed to the post, by not having a sufficient number of Waggons..." (Martin 1782).

On April 16, 1782, Colonel John Shey Eustace, Wayne's Deputy Adjutant General writing from Ebenezer HQ recorded this extract from Wayne's General Orders:

Five of Colonel Jackson's Dragoons & young Snider were surrounded and fired upon a little before daylight on Sunday Morning at Old Snider's House near Knox's House by a party of the Enemy, thirty in number under the conduct of a Major Dile but without effect. The fire was returned by Snider with so good a direction as to leave the Major dead on the spot. A Pistol fired by one of the Dragoons wounded two more of the party which was all the arms made use of by our people on this occasion. The Enemy flying with such precipitation to their boats as to escape the heer [hair] cutting swords of their brave pursuers. Genl. Wayne requests Mr. Snider & those five Worthy Dragoons to accept of his best thanks for their fortitude & gallant conduct in defeating five times their numbers although attacked by surprise (Letters by Wayne, New York Public Library).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Governor Martin on April 17 informing him of the engagement at Reeds Bluff and of Major Frances Moore's death and other matters: "...Desertion from the enemy increases fast, and defection pervades every Corps. You'll see by the Savannah paper of the 11th instant, that they are not at all pleased with your proclamation..."(Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:291-295).

Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Greene on April 18, in which he recounted the Reeds Bluff engagement and the death of Major Francis Moore, a trusted officer who had served in the Continental Army for several years stationed in and around Ebenezer:

... We have lost a brave judicious officer in Major Francis Moore, who fell in an attack upon a body of Indians & Tories, on the west side of the Altamaha the 12th instant. Our other loss was trifling, there being only one man killed & two wounded. Colo Ternant will give you the particulars, Captains Carr & Lyons with a respectable force are in pursuit of the Enemy, & promise to render a good acct of them.... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:299-301; Mitchell 1978:399-400).

On April 22, 1782 the Georgia House of Assembly passed a resolution that provided for bounty payments for officers of Clarke's army, which included 50 Guineas for each Captain and 40 Guineas for each Lieutenant (Clarke 2001, 3:98). That same day the Georgia House of Assembly considered a resolution that included this:

The Committee, on the alarming situation of Indians and families being in want of bread, and other Reasons; there appears an impracticability of the Melitia's Marching to the aid of General Wayne Reported as follows,

Whereas, there is an absolute necessity for embodying a number of men, to be subject to the Orders of General Wayne, and whereas it is necessary that the Procuring of the said men should be effected in such a manner as might Prove Prejudicial in the least manner Possible to the Planting interest, so necessary to be promoted in this season of distress, and Whereas it appears, that his Service will be best Promoted by Procuring Volunteers

RESOLVED, that a bounty of twenty Guineas be given to each man who shall enroll himself and serve under Colonel Clarke for the space of three Months, from the time they Join General Wayne, the number so enrolled not to exceed one hundred and fifty...(Candler 2001, 3:89-90).

Lieutenant Colonel Jackson used Ebenezer as the main base of operation for the Georgia Battalion. On April 29, 1782 the minutes of the Governor and Executive Council of Georgia included this resolution:

RESOLVED, That His Honor the Governor be requested to write to Colo Jackson at Ebenezer to furnish Capt. Locke if possible, with a sufficient number of Negroes to discharge what the public is due him for horses; said Negroes to be valued by men appointed by Colo Jackson and Captn Locke (Candler 2001, 2:327).

Lieutenant Colonel James Jackson wrote to Anthony Wayne, from Hessman’s [probably Gasper Herseman] plantation on April 26:

...five American gallies still ride triumphant on the coast and that they have captured two considerable vessels, have penned up Scallings and (strongly conjectured) have actually taken the other sloop fitted out the other day to bring them all to Savannah—that they are in the utmost want, both for forage and provision—the rations are totally stopt from women, and the militia draw but when on actual duty—one day in three. The inhabitants are in a starving condition—that as a last resource they are driving in all the cows of ever so poor a nature—that they have hung and shot several deserters and last Friday flogged two Hessians to death—that the people are in almost desperate circumstances, and notwithstanding daily examples, speak very freely but the last and most laughable story is, that you have been crossing these three days at Purysburg, on your retreat to General Greene. We were this morning within little better than a mile of the town, my errand was to scalp Mr. Brantly, but he moved two days since with his family into town...I have the promise in a day or two of a complete chart of Savannah, with its present fortifications...The women are exceeding troublesome, and as fast as I send them back, they take the Ogeechee route that it is impossible to keep them in unless the avenues were all shut up...(Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:311-313).

Greene wrote to Wayne on April 21 advising him not to make any major moves toward the enemy. Wayne was at Ebenezer HQ on April 24 and three days later he reviewed his troops. On April 28, Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Greene reassuring him that he would not make any foolish advances towards the enemy (Mitchell 1978:401-402).

A monthly return of the American troops in Georgia was made on April 27 at “Camp Ebenezer” by Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Harmar, Deputy Adjutant General of the Southern Army. This document is transcribed in [Table 14](#). Wayne’s army consisted of slightly more than 704 men on April 27, although the actual number was probably higher since 150 “reclaimed citizens, outlayers, and crackers” who were listed the previous month were not quantified in the April return. If these 150 are added to the 704 listed in the return, this yields an estimated combined force of 854 men. Of these, 133 were officers and 783 were rank and file soldiers and militia. The number of sick and wounded for the enlisted ranks was not thoroughly recorded on that day, although 18 of the 133 officers were not available for duty. One soldier from the 1st Regiment of

Table 14. General Wayne’s Troop Strength at Ebenezer, April 27, 1782.

<i>Corps</i>	<i>Officers Present fit for Duty Commissioned</i>						
	<i>Colonel</i>	<i>Lt. Col Command</i>	<i>Majors</i>	<i>Captains</i>	<i>Lieutenants</i>	<i>Cornets</i>	<i>Ensigns</i>
Return of the Army in Georgia under the Command of Brigadier General Anthony Wayne. Camp Ebenezer April 27th: 1782							
1st or Reg of White, Dragoons				1	2	1	
4th or Reg of Moylan, Dragoons					2		
Legion of Jackson,		1		1	2		

Dragoons

Lt. Colo Poseys detachmt of Virginians Infantry of the Legion Militia of Georgia	1	1	5	9		4
Total	2	1	11	19	1	4

Sick Present						
Sick Absent			3	1	1	
On Command					1	
Appointed						
Joined				1		
On Furlough	1	1	3			
Total	1	2	2	17	21	3

	Staff Major of Brigade	B Q Master	Adjutant	Q Master	Pay master	Surgeon	Mate
1st or Reg of White, Dragoons	1	1	1	1			1
4th or Reg of Moylan, Dragoons			1				
Legion of Jackson, Dragoons			1	1			
Lt. Colo Poseys detachmt of Virginians Infantry of the Legion Militia of Georgia			1	1		1	
Total	1	1	4	3		1	1

Sick Present						
Sick Absent						
On Command					1	1
Appointed						
Joined						
On Furlough						
Total	1	1	4	1	1	3

	Noncommission'd Serg. Major	Q Mast Sergt	Drum major	Fife major	Sergeants	Music
1st or Reg of White, Dragoons	1	3			4	3
4th or Reg of Moylan, Dragoons		1			1	2
Legion of Jackson, Dragoons		1			2	
Lt. Colo Poseys detachmt of Virginians Infantry of the Legion Militia of Georgia		1	1	1	23	15
Total	1	7	1	1	38	20

Sick Present					1	1
Sick Absent						
On Command					2	
Appointed						

Joined
On Furlough
Total

3

1

	Rank & File Present Fit for duty	Sick Present	Absent	Total
1st or Reg of White, Dragoons	112	10	6	128
4th or Reg of Moylan, Dragoons	38	2		40
Legion of Jackson, Dragoons	34	2	1	39
Lt. Colo Poseys detachmt of Virginians Infantry of the Legion	289	14	11	314
Militia of Georgia	41	9		50
	21	4		25
Total	537	41	18	596

	Alterations since last Return	Privates Joined
	Dead	Deserted
1st Regiment Dragoons	1	
4th Regiment Dragoons		4
Colo Jacksons horse		1
Colo Jacksons Infantry		6
Virginia Battn Lt. Col. Posey		
Militia		28
Total	1	29

NB. There are [illegible] of the above Corps about 150 Volunteers, reclaimed Citizens & others doing duty between the Ogeechee & the Altamaha. General Wayne's guard of 13 pennsylvanians is not listed here as they are returned on command in the Pennsylvania return likewise

Capt. Boyer's company of Artillery. It being in the general return.

This return is incorrect, the alterations not being regularly counted for, neither is it specified whose the sick absent are.

Jos. Harmer, Lt. Col.

D. Adj. Gen.

Southern Army

Continental Dragoons was reported dead that month, but it is not known if he was an officer or enlisted man (Harmar 1782b).

Major General Wayne wrote to Lieutenant Colonel James Jackson from Ebenezer on April 24, 1784 [sic, 1782] regarding the ill clad soldiers and the arrangements for distributing the limited amount of liquor that was available:

You have been misinformed as to Clothing, there was not a single article to share after furnishing the Dragoons, my onw servants & Colo Poseys troops, are in great distress for want of shoes shirts & overalls; the Virginians have marched upwards of three hundred miles barefoot in which situation they still continue.

I send you a gill of spirits for each man with you, & a little for your own use, as we have not a sufficiency to divide among the officers in General, I have directed a distribution between Colonels White, Posey, & yourself by which means your Officers will participate in roation at your table.

I was misleading in the quantity of spirits—it falls short of what I expected (Wayne 1782e).

On April 27, Wayne wrote again to James Jackson from his Ebenezer HQ:

Since rec'g yours of yesterday we have Obtained a small supply of tobacco, a full proportion of which I now send your Corps,—I believe I can acct. for the report in Savannah of our leaving this State!—a Certain Major Bodkin of the Militia on his way to this post, two or three weeks since fell in with an uncle of his of the same name, who asked his Opinion or advice, whether the outlayers had better come in, or not, that he was anxious about this for who was one of them? The majors advice was for them not to come in yet, as it was probable that Genl Wayne's stay would not be long, & that the time might not be far distant when they could do as they pleased again, or words to this effect,—however five of the gang [illegible] themselves to me last monday, but young Boyakin and an other Caitiff, went to Savannah the same day, in consequence of the advice he had sometime before recd; it is therefore probable that he gave rise to the report

The major is now absent, but I expect him here in a few days where I shall have his Conduct properly investigated.

The villainous made those unprincipled wretched attempt to throw upon the Character of Major Moore makes me dispise [sic] them (if possible) worse More ever, as it is well known that his Character was quite the reverse to that which his assassins give him.

I have employed Capt. Carr & Lyons on very particular business, but they will join us tomorrow week; the Defeat of Carr, must be the child of a disesed [sic] brain—He left this place the day before yesterday,—but previous to his repassing the Alatomaha, he had drove the Indians & tories out of that Quarter having Obliged those that had landed with some british troops to reembark & proceed by water to St. Mary's river; on this Occation [sic] he killed one of their Linguists & three tories & took forty pack Horses with packs &c.&c which he brought all in triumph, without the loss of a single man...P.S. I wait for Colo Clarke in order to limit the Quarters of Genl Clarke (Wayne 1782a:1-3).

Jackson wrote this letter to Wayne, from “Hessmans, 27th April 11 at night”:

The person Major H. confides in, has just left me He came from Town to this place to give me information of an intended movement by General Clarke, he says the artillery carriages have been repairing for some time past, and that positive orders are out at the Yard to have them in readiness to march tomorrow evening. that he has heard it different ways and that he is certain they will be out, that the officers conjecture it is for a push up, but he believes as I think rightly it is to convey the Choctaws towards Ogeechee, he says they received their presents for a departure this day, he mentions that the Hessians are to be relieved by the seventy first, from Charleston, which they say, is a reinforcement that none however are as yet arrived, he likewise informs, that a Captain Goldwire is this night gone to the vicinity of Ebenezer to plunder and steal some of your horses and that Brantly is in a day or two to go for the back country, to distress the whig Inhabitants, the refugees having full liberty to go home, which he accounts for by the very great scarcity of provisions, he is to inform me the day Brantly moves.

I should not have troubled you with this information tonight had I not thought it of such consequence [sic] as to excuse me in disturbing you.

Since my writing the last paragraph the corporal of my advanced picket informs me of the desertion of the sentry, one of the new converted. I have dispatched the greatest part of the horse as well to endeavor his capture, as to find out Mr. Goldwire's trail, but which Snider who I have sent with them, informs me, will be very difficult till daybreak, --I am afraid the rascal might have known the person who came to me & may inform of him, in Town, I hope however as I have blocked up all the passages to catch him (Jackson 1782a:1-3).

Correspondence between Major Generals Wayne and Greene indicate that Wayne was at Ebenezer HQ on April 28 and 29. On April 29, Greene ordered Captain Erasmus Gill's dragoons to join Greene's army in the Carolinas (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:315-319, 323-325; Mitchell 1978:402-403). Wayne wrote to Greene from Ebenezer on May 4 complaining about Greene's recalling of Erasmus Gill's Continental Dragoons:

...as they are almost the only Cavalry I have...in numbers the enemy have the advantage of us in horse, and I have received information of a very large body of savages, being on their march from the Indian country to cooperate with their more savage employers. I shall watch their motions, and try if possible to prevent a junction that may be attended with very disagreeable consequences. I wish we could have compelled the enemy to a field action, previous to parting with Gill's dragoons; as I am very confident from the good countenance, and anxious wishes of both officers and men, the enemy would not have had any reason to triumph from the encounter; under a choice of difficulties, and variety of disagreeable circumstances I now send you that Troop, in obedience to yours of the 29th April, which came to hand yesterday afternoon.

I have only to request you, not to be too uneasy on our account, for although committed, & far outnumbered; If caution, maneuver, or prowess will prevent disaster, or secure success, it will not be wanting.... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:327-329; Mitchell 1978:403-404).

Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee's Legion, also known as Lighthorse Harry's Legion, the 1st Regiment, Continental Dragoons or Lee's Partisan Light Infantry Corps, was sent to Ebenezer in the Spring of 1782. Henry Lee did not accompany them, however, since he had resigned his command that February and was busy with marriage plans. In 1779 Lee's Corps had numbered 150 men but by 1782 those numbers were greatly reduced (Hartmann 2000:205, 84). Despite their tattered state, Lee's Corp remained an important military unit, as historian Hartmann noted: "Not only did Washington rely on Lee and his men for parades; it was his intent to have the Partisan Corps shoulder a heavy burden during the coming campaign. Major Bland and the First Continental Dragoons had been sent to the southern front along with the remnants of Baylor's Third Continental. Moylan's and Sheldon's regiments, while remaining in the area, were still in a "broken and shattered condition" from the previous campaign" (Hartmann 2000:85).

Writing from Ebenezer HQ on May 7, Wayne advised Greene that Captain Carr had, "...forced Choctaws at Ebenezer back on board the guard boats that had brought them round from Savannah; Captain Bryce captured 170 head of cattle, about 4 miles from Savannah bound for Savannah...: (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:331-335; Mitchell 1978:405-406). General Wayne wrote other letters from Ebenezer HQ to Greene on May 8, 13, and 14 (Mitchell 1978:406-408).

Anthony Wayne wrote from his Ebenezer HQ to his friend and physician Benjamin Rush in Philadelphia on May 10, 1782:

Your very polite favor of the 30th Octr 1781 was handed me by Capt Read a few weeks since in the dreary desarts, between Georgia, & Florida: I only regret, that it was not in my power to receive him in a manner more agreeable to my wishes, & better suited to his merits: however, like a generous soldier, he accepted of a piece of cold beef & rice, & drank of Alegator water, with the same cheerfulness, as he would have participated of old green Madeira, & every delicacy that abounds, on your most luxurious Phil^a tables: because he knew it was accompanied by a sincere welcome:-a welcome, which every genuine whig, & friend to Doc' Rush, will always meet from me: If in the course of this arduous struggle for liberty, any part of my Conduct shou'd be such, as to merit the approbation of my Country, & the Esteem of my friends, I shall consider it a rich reward for every difficulty, & danger, that I have experience'd,

I am extremely obliged, by your kind and judicious advice, but my Dear Sir I have it not in my choice to follow it, the only covering to screen me from the burning rays of the meredian sun, the

rude thunder storms, & baneful evening air: are the concave heavens, & a horseman cloak: which probably will be the case for the chief part of the Campaign, --our regimen is poor beef, rice, & Aligator water, which in addition, to the British bullet & bayonet, & the tommyhock, or scalping knife, of their less Savage allies, the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Tapoockaws, Tukkebatches, Mitahoorits, Makatasas, Apalaches, Sakuspagas, Timookahs, Okmulghes, Chisalaloosas, Cherakees, & Owaquaphenogas: afford no very flattering prospect of seeing Penns^a in health & safety: -apropos- will you be so obliging, as to have the inclosed extract of a letter inserted in one or more of the Phil^a papers, as it probably may be the surest channel, thro' which the fate of that Gallant Partisan, can reach the ears of his friends, some of whom live in Pennsa, & others in Virginia.

Notwithstanding the true picture I have drawn, & surrounded as we are by Hostil Savages, I don't despair of surmounting every difficulty, & soon restoring liberty & happiness, to a people, whose situation was not to be envied scarcely by the Damned: I mean the inhabitants of Georgia --when this is Effected, I shall retire to my paternal seat, & rise to the private Citizen: till when, & ever believe me your affectionate friend (Anthony Wayne Papers, Library of Congress).

On May 3, 1782 the Georgia House of Assembly considered a resolution, "... to remove to Ebenezer, or any Part of the State, which they shall judge most convenient, there to keep the Seat of Government, and transact Public business". On the following day (May 4) the Georgia House adjourned, "to meet at Ebenezer on the first tuesday in July next" (Candler 2001, 3:118). Governor Martin wrote to Wayne, May 6th notifying him that: "...The Assembly have adjourned since my last, for want of provisions, to 1 July, then to meet at Ebenezer..." (Martin 1782). On July 3 and 4, 1782 the Georgia House of Representatives convened at Ebenezer (Candler 2001, 3:112, 118-119).

On May 17, 1782 the 1782 the minutes of the Governor and Executive Council of Georgia recorded:

Mr. Abraham Jones, producing a certificate from Genl Wayne, of his having supplied the army with three hundred and sixty seven Galls. and three quarts of whisky, at a time when the army was suffering greatly for liquor.

ORDERED, That he be furnished with an order from this Board on the Commissioners of confiscated estates, to pay him for the whiskey, the sum of three hundred and twenty one pounds, fifteen shillings and six pence in Negroes at cash price (Candler 2001, 2:337).

This bill for liquor had not been paid by January 1783, when Abraham Jones petitioned the Georgia House for reimbursement for the same (Candler 2001, 3:216). On May 21, 1782 the minutes of the Governor and Executive Council of Georgia recorded:

A letter from the Honorable Brigadier General Wayne was read, when he strenuously requested a supply of liquors for the use of his army serving in this State, therefore

RESOLVED, That a Committee be appointed for the purpose of purchasing the same. And that Mr. Glascock and Mr. Lanier be that committee (Candler 2001, 2:338).

Desertion by British and Hessian soldiers was increasing in Savannah by mid-May 1782. Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Greene on May 18th advising him of several examples of deserters who had surrendered themselves at Ebenezer. Among them was Captain Black of the South Carolina Royalists, who was able to provide intelligence to Wayne that resulted in a surprise attack on a supply depot near St. Marys, Georgia (Mitchell 1978:408-409). Wayne's strategy to lure deserters from the British ranks with various offers was not a new idea. It had been used on his own Pennsylvania troops and on the Hessians fighting with the Americans in April 1779, by General Henry Clinton in New York (Clinton Papers 58:42). Even before Wayne's arrival in

Georgia, Lieutenant Colonel Jackson and the Georgia Legion had convinced many Hessians to desert to the Americans (Foster 1947:276).

A series of letters written by Anthony Wayne from May 21 to May 24 demonstrate that the American general was poised and ready for action against the British in Savannah. They also demonstrate the rapidity of Wayne's personal movements.

On May 21, 1782 Wayne moved his headquarters from Ebenezer to a post at Mrs. Gibbon's Sharon Plantation, which was located several miles south of Ebenezer. Two days later Wayne wrote to Greene from Augusta and advised the general that the treaty prospects with Creeks had vanished. The next day (January 24) Wayne wrote from his Ebenezer HQ to Greene advising him that Wayne's troops were moving against the British who were patrolling the interior from their base in Savannah. The troops involved in this pursuit consisted of White's Dragoons, under Captain Hughes, Lieutenant Bayer [Bowyer], and Colonel White, and Lieutenant Colonel Posey's Light Infantry, under Captain Parker (Papers of the Continental Congress R171 VII:579-584; Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:339-341, 343-349; Mitchell 1978:411-413; Wayne 1782c).

Wayne described the skirmish at Ogeechee ferry and he noted that his troops had unsuccessfully attempted to lure General Clarke's troops from Savannah to engage them:

On the 21st instant, I received intelligence of the enemy being out in force from Savannah, in consequence of which, White's Dragoons & Posey's Infantry were put in motion, and at 5 o'clock in the evening arrived at Mrs. Wm. Gibbons's six miles N.W. of Savannah, at six an express from Lieut. Col. Jackson announced the Enemy in force at Harris's bridge, on the Great Ogeechee road seven miles from town, & that a small party were at Ogeechee ferry, which he intended to attack with his corps. Upon inquiry I found that the only route to the enemy's position, was thro' a tremendous swamp of near four miles extent with many deep & dangerous morasses to pass, & then to intersect the Ogeechee road at an intermediate distance from Savannah & the Bridge. I was properly impressed with the difficulty attending a night march over such ground, as well as the delicacy of a maneuver, that placed me between the whole of the enemy's force in Georgia; but when I came to reflect upon the experience & gallantry of the officers, & the steady bravery of the troops, they were ordered to advance, from a conviction that the success of a nocturnal attack depended more upon prowess, than numbers. At 12 o'clock at night our van arrived at the Ogeechee road four miles S.W. of Savannah, when the enemy also appeared advancing in close & good order, notwithstanding this unexpected circumstance, & the great disparity of numbers, our rear being yet at a considerable distance, and as success depended upon the moment, I ordered the vanguard to charge, which was obeyed with such vivacity, as to terminate in the total defeat & dispersion of all the British cavalry & a large body of Infantry picked from the 7th Regt, the Hessians, Fanning's & Brown's regulars, with the Choctaw Indians, Tories, &c. the whole commanded by Colo Brown.

The precipitate flight of the enemy prevented any part of the troops from coming into contact with them, except Lieut. Col. Posey's light company under Capt. Parker & a few Dragoons under Capt. Hughes & Lieut. Boyer, conducted by Colo White. This small van guard put to shameful rout the whole of the enemy's force, without the use of powder. The almost impenetrable thick woods, deep swamps & morasses into which they plunged in a sparse state & under cover of the night, screened them from total ruin, at the expence [sic] of a great proportion of their horses & arms, which they abandoned to procure personal safety. Even this sacrifice to fear would not have availed them had the fugitives waited the attack of Colo Posey with the remainder of his detachment & the other troop of White's Dragoons under Capt. Gunn. The few that had an opportunity to engage, introduced the American sword & bayonet with such effect as to kill many & wound some, a number of prisoners also fell into our hands, among the latter is Liut. Colo Douglass, dangerously wounded.

We have collected between twenty & thirty of their best dragoon horses, exclusive of several that lay dead upon the spot, a great number are yet straggling in the swamps without riders, and such is the dispersed state of both dragoons & Infantry, that they continue dropping into Savannah by twos or threes, mostly disarmed. Even Colo Brown & Lieut Colo Ingram did not find the way to town until the second night after the action, & then unattended.

After refreshing the troops at Mrs. Gibbons's we advanced in view of Savannah yesterday morning sending a few Infantry & horse to draw the enemy out, but they declined the invitation, contenting themselves with advancing a few Indians & Negroes to the skirt of a swamp from whence they commenced a scattering and ineffectual fire. Finding that Genl Clarke was not to be enticed from his lines, I returned with the troops to this place, when the last arrived this morning, with the loss of only five privates killed & two wounded. We had also two dragoon horses killed & three hurt, but these we shall replace with part of the cavalry taken from the enemy. I feel myself under the highest obligations to every officer & soldier for their good conduct, Zeal & perseverance during a fatiguing march of near forty miles, performed in a few hours to effect this gallant enterprise. Lt. Colo Jackson of the State Legion & his corps are also entitled to my best thanks for their conduction in the day near Ogeechee where the enemy likewise suffered...(Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:346-349; Mitchell 1978:411-413).

Wayne remained at his Ebenezer HQ on May 27, when he wrote to Greene. On May 28, Greene wrote to Wayne congratulating him on his victory at Ogeechee Road (Mitchell 1978:411; Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:359-361). Bolstered by the Ogeechee Road victory, Wayne authored this proclamation addressed to the British garrison at Savannah, on May 30, 1782:

To all such soldiers in the Garrison of Savannah as wish to escape from bondage & tyranny, & to avoid inevitable destruction in the inclement West India Islands to which they are shortly to be transported, in pursuance of the following Resolution of the British Parliament passed the 4th day of March 1782. viz.--

This house will consider as enemies to his Majesty & his country all those who shall endeavor to frustrate his Majesty's paternal care for the east & prosperity of his people, by advising, or by any means attempting the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America for the purpose of reducing the Revolted colonies by force.

Thus the eyes of the British nation being at last opened, & finding it impracticable to reduce the freemen of America by force, they have determined to abandon the war in this Continent, but this is no relief to you, --your situation will shortly be such as scarcely to be envied by the D___d besieged in garrisons in the burning West India Islands, you must become a sacrifice to the Ambition of your tyrant rulers. Many of you perishing by the fortuitous events of war-- others longing out a miserable life in French prisons, & by far greater number perishing with fevers incident to those unhealthy Islands.

You have yet a door open to save you from destruction, & to become wealthy & happy citizens of a free Country by seizing the first opportunity to come out & accept of the bounty offered by Governor Martin's Proclamation of the 21st Feby 1782. i.e. two hundred acres of good land, one milch cow, & two breeding swine for every non-commissioned officer & private who may chuse [sic] to become a free citizen of the State of Georgia, or permission to go to any other quarters at his option, nor have you anything to apprehend from being followed, the American troops who now confine the Garrison to very limited bounds, having both the power & inclination will receive & protect you (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:367-369).

On June 2 at Ebenezer, Major General Wayne ordered Captain Alexander and his Rifle Corps to join Lieutenant Colonel James Jackson, an abstract in a auction catalogue states: "You will use every exertion to prevent any Insults or Depredations being committed upon the Inhabitants..." (American Anderson Galleries 1934). The contents of the rest of this letter were not determined. On June 6, 1782 Lieutenant Colonel Anthony White, who was at Ebenezer, wrote to Major General Greene regarding the status of the 1st Light Dragoon Regiment (Papers of the Continental Congress R162 V1:587).

Lieutenant Colonel James Jackson wrote to Wayne, in an undated letter [probably early June, 1782]:

Lieutenant Miller is just now from White-Bluff where the Inhabitants have all embodied & are already striking at the Tories. When a man is down—down with him is an old proverb & verified in this instance. I have however encouraged them. Major Habersham's terms can be made known bye & bye, as they are now of service in protecting those parts they have already stopt [sic] Kirkland's Negroes from being carried off.

I send you a parcel of deserters, among them a Hessian, he mentions the papers being found but does not seem to have a clear idea of them. Your conjecture of their horses is true they went yesterday.

For God's sake my dear General let Snider drive me a beef or two & send me my wagon with the rice. Provision is very scant... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:375).

After receiving instructions for the distribution of rations from Greene, Wayne answered Jackson's request for meat, writing from Ebenezer HQ on June 6:

I have altered the ration to 1 ¼ lbs. Beef or 1 lb. Pork 1 gill rice or 1 lb. Indian meal or wheat flour, one quart of Salt for every 100 lbs. Meat, and must desire you to do the same. You'll also please to send the horses &c. taken the 4th to this place, to be put into the quarter Master's hands, agreeable to the standing order mentioned in the extract, as to the others taken the 21st ultimo, I have informed Genl Greene that they are already disposed for the benefit of the captors not knowing of the general order... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3: 373-389, 379-381).

Finally on June 11, much needed food supplies reached the American troops in Georgia. Mr. F. Tate, wrote to Wayne, from Oak Hampton Plantation, South Carolina on June 11:

Ten ox teams were yesterday engaged in carrying rice to a landing in Pocatlico, which is expected here every moment, as soon as it arrives, it will be sent on to Zubleys immediately by the Carts that are now waiting to take it.

I fear it will not be possible to lay up so large a Magazine of provisions & forage as is necessary for your Army, owing to the little assistance afforded by the inhabitants, they generally are the most indolent people I was ever acquainted with; However assure yourself the best that can shall be done to supply the Army amply.

This appears to be the most proper place to lay in a magazine for the Army under your command. I mean after the immediate wants are supplied, until that is done, the rice & forage will be sent to Zubleys & the Beeves to Camp; should you think proper to appoint any other place, please to inform me.

I have an order from Mr. Hoit for some prize Flour, at Che-Haw, which will be sent on, as soon as a boat can be obtained to go for it—a wagon load of salt is coming on from Camp. No spirits could be had—General Greene has ordered Mr. Keane to appoint an assistant in his department at this place... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:391-393).

Writing from Ebenezer HQ on June 13, Major General Wayne, in a somewhat indignant tone explained his handling of the rations to Major General Greene:

...A few days after my arrival in this quarter, I found that the ration issued to the State Legion & Militia, was one quart of rice & 1 ½ lb. Beef, this the commissary assured me was exactly the same heretofore allowed, which induced me to continue it, until I had your orders for its diminution to 1 ¼ lbs of each...recapitulate the following facts, viz; that on the 19th Jany we passed the Savannah river in three little canoes, swimming the horses, --that by manœuvre we obliged the enemy to abandon every out post & to retire into the town of Savannah, --that we found the Country a perfect desert [sic], neither meat or bread kind, except what was within the influence of their arms, _ that notwithstanding this circumstance, we subsisted from the stores of the enemy at the point of the sword, until with the assistance of a few reclaimed citizens, artificers & slaves, we built a number of large boats, & rebuilt twelve capital bridges, for the purpose of transportation

and three respectable redoubts to enable us to hold the Country, without any other expense to the public than a few hundred bushels of rice, & beef in proportion, which beef, as well as beast one third of all that has yet been issued in the army, cost the United States nothing, except the lives of three or four men; the very salt we used was made by ourselves, & the Iron &c &c with which our horses were shod, boats built, wagons [sic] repaired, Espontoons made & every other species of Smith's work done were also procured without any cost to the public for a very small proportion, for which as well the labour, we were necessitated to barter some articles of provision we were also obliged to exchange some rice & meat for leather & thread to make & repair the horse accoutrements, harness & c. or to abandon the Country... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS:395-403; Mitchell 1978:417-419).

On June 16, Lieutenant Colonel Jackson wrote to Wayne, who was at his Ebenezer HQ. Although the original document was not examined, an extract of this letter was published in an auction catalogue, as follows: "My information from the best intelligence assures me the Works in Savannah were yesterday destroyed and the Cannon all removed on board their Gallies which are dropt down...The Carolinians you sent me pardon the expression are not worth a damn—six of the deserted last night..." (American Anderson Galleries 1934).

On June 15, Wayne wrote from Ebenezer HQ to Greene congratulating him on the award of Mulberry Grove Plantation, which was made possible by a gift of appreciation from the Georgia Legislature (Mitchell 1978:420). The state legislature also had rewarded Wayne for his military acumen and services in restoring order to Georgia by providing him with money that was used to purchase Richmond Plantation, which adjoined Mulberry Grove.

As Spring 1782 wore on, Wayne continued to comply with Greene's order to maintain his camp at Ebenezer. The environment there was growing increasingly miserable however, as biographer Wildes noted:

He [Wayne] smoked huts with burning pitch and with small wood fires, even when June heat grew intolerable; he hauled loads of pine boughs to make feverproof beds; he used up all the Peruvian bark he had in store—but sickness did not cease. Finally, when smudge fires failed to coneract the noxious vapors, and when his medicine gave out, he moved to higher ground at Sharon, within five miles of Savannah (Wildes 1941:285).

Wayne left Ebenezer, perhaps for the final time, by June 22, 1782. Greene received erroneous intelligence by, "an Officer from Ebenezer that the enemy evacuated Savannah on Sunday last", and Greene ordered Wayne and his troops to immediately join his forces in Carolina if this was indeed the case (Mitchell 1978:420-421). Greene issued these orders to Wayne on June 21:

...As soon as the enemy evacuate Savannah, you will march with all your regular force to join this army. Our force as I wrote you before is small; and I am not without my apprehensions that as soon as the enemy combine their force they will fall upon us. I beg you therefore to hasten your march as fast as possible without injuring your troops. It is my advice to the people of Georgia to have all the fortifications in and about Savannah, levelled [sic] except one or two batteries, just sufficient to protect the town from insult from single vessels of force or small parties. Unless we had a regular force to garrison the Town, fortifications can be of no use; but on the contrary will serve to enable the enemy to repossess themselves of it, with more safety, and a less force, and less loss than if they were leveled. This may appear a paradox, but it is true, for militia will not defend works, but would annoy the enemy greatly while they were constructing them.

I thank you kindly for the congratulations upon the estate purchased for me, which I shall estimate at a higher value from having you as a neighbor. Nothing new from the north ward....(Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:407-413).

Greene's order/letter to Wayne regarding the leveling of fortifications in Georgia has particular bearing on the state of the earthworks at Ebenezer. As described in the following chapter, at least

two of the earthen redoubts at Ebenezer were completely leveled. Greene's letter suggests that this event probably occurred in late June. Consequently, the archeological deposits in Redoubts 2 and 3 at Ebenezer may have been sealed on this date. This interpretation is consistent with the preliminary archeological findings from test excavations on the Redoubt 3 palisade ditch (See discussion of Redoubt 3 in the next chapter). Although Greene's orders were not written until June 21 and General Wayne had relocated his HQ to Sharon by the following day, Wayne probably left a small garrison to defend Ebenezer. The oversight of leveling the fortifications probably fell to these men. Most of the actual work however, may have been accomplished by enslaved African Americans in the Ebenezer community. Such was the case in Savannah as Governor Martin described to Wayne in a letter dated September 7, 1782: "...The negroes that were employed in Levelling the works round this town..." (Martin 1782). The British originally had used slave labor in building and strengthening their fortifications, as indicated in Governor Wright's financial accounts.

The Battle of Ebenezer

According to 19th century military historian Frances Heitman, June 23, 1782 marked the occasion of the Battle of Ebenezer. Upon further scrutiny, however, this designation appears somewhat inaccurate. Indeed, General Wayne was engaged in a battle on June 23 but it did not occur at the town of Ebenezer proper but was about 15 miles south of Ebenezer. General Wayne wrote a letter to General Greene, dated June 22 from Sharon plantation, five miles from Savannah, only hours before an attack by 300 Indians on Wayne's camp (Heitman 1967:672; Woodhouse 1931).

Although he was not present in Georgia at the time, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee provided a summary of the battle, which was derived from information provided to Lee by Alexander Parker. Parker was a key participant in the events. According to Lee:

Guristersigo, a principal warrior among the Creeks, conducted the party of Indians lately expected by [British General Alured] Clarke. Although he did not arrive at the appointed rendezvous so as to meet Browne [British Colonel Thomas Brown], he reached in the latter part of the succeeding month.

This warrior, accompanied by his white guides, passed through the whole State of Georgia unperceived, except by two boys, who were taken and killed; and having reached the neighborhood of Wayne on the 23d of June, he determined to strike at a picket of the American corps stationed, as he was informed, at Gibbons's plantation, directly on the route to and not far distant from Savannah.

There were two plantations, so called, in the same range of country, both of which were occasionally stations for our troops. At this time Wayne himself with the main body occupied one, while the other was on the same day (22d) held by a picket guard. Not only to avoid Wayne, but to carry this picket, became the object of Guristersigo; and he acquired through his white conductors the requisite intelligence, with Negro guides for the execution of his purpose.

Wayne, in pursuance of a system adopted to avoid surprise (of which the Indian chief was uninformed), moved every night; and consequently the calculation that he would be on the 23d where he had been on the 22d, was unfounded. The reverse was the fact which would undoubtedly have been perceived by Guristersigo had he been acquainted with the custom of the American general, and his plan of attack would have been modified accordingly. Decamping from Gibbons's late in the evening of the 22d, Wayne exchanged positions with his picket, and thus fortunately held the very post against which the Indian warrior had pointed his attack.

Here the light infantry under Parker (who had been for several days close to Savannah) joined, and being much harassed by the late tour of duty, was ordered by the brigadier to take post near his

artillery, in the rear. Knowing but one enemy, the garrison of Savannah, Wayne gave his entire attention to that quarter; and conscious, from his precautions, that no movement could be made by the enemy in Savannah without due notice, he forbore to burden his troops with the protection of his rear, because in his opinion unnecessary. A single sentinel only from the quarter-guard was posted in the rear, on the main road leading through the camp to Savannah, and the very road which Guristersigo meant to take.

Soon after nightfall the Indian chief at the head of his warriors emerged from the deep swamps, in which he had lain concealed, and gained the road. He moved in profound silence, and about three in the morning reached the vicinity of our camp; here he halted, and made his disposition for battle. Believing that he had to deal with a small detachment only, his plan of attack was simple and efficient. Preceded by a few of the most subtle and daring of his comrades, directed to surprise and kill the sentinel, he held himself ready to press forward with the main body upon the signal to advance. This was not long delayed. His wily precursors having encompassed our sentinel, killed him, when Guristersigo, bounding from his stand, fell with his whole force upon our rear. Aroused from sleep, the light infantry stood to their arms, and the matrosses [sic] closed with their guns.

But the enemy was amongst them; which being perceived by Parker, he judiciously drew off in silence and joined the quarter-guard behind Gibbons's house at head-quarters. The general had about this time mounted, and concluded that that garrison of Savannah was upon him, he resorted to the bayonet, determined to die sword in hand. Orders to this effect were given to Parker and dispatched to Lieutenant-Colonel Posey, commanding in camp, distant a few hundred yards. Captain Parker, seconded by the quarter-guard, advanced upon the foe; and Posey moved with all possible celerity to support the light troops, nevertheless, continued to press forward, and Parker drove all in his way back to our cannon, where the Indian chief with a part of his warriors was attempting to turn our guns to his aid. Here Guristersigo renewed the conflict, and fought gallantly; but the rifle and tomahawk are unavailing when confronted by the bayonet in close quarters. We soon recovered our artillery, and Guristersigo, fighting bravely, was killed. Seventeen of his warriors and his white guides fell by his side, and the rest fled (Lee 1969:557-558).

Desiring to set the record straight, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Posey provided a different account of the June 23 battle:

The whole of the troops had for several weeks been doing hard duty, every night lying down in their rank with clothes and accoutrements on, and their arms by their sides, and almost worn out with fatigue in watching and loss of rest, in constant expectation that the British would either come out of Savannah in force for action, or that we might have an opportunity of falling in with foraging parties. When the attack was made, it was with such fury and violence, at a dead time of the night when the men were in profound sleep (except the guards), with yelling and the use of their tomahawks, spears, scalping-knives, and guns, that our men were thrown into disorder. Wayne and Posey had thrown their cloaks about them and lay close to each other. The alarm soon roused them, and they had proceeded but a few steps when Capt. Parker met Col. Posey, and informing him that the suddenness of the attack had confused his men, wished to know if the colonel had any particular orders. Posey immediately ordered that the Light Infantry should be rallied behind the nearby house, and his exertions, united with Parker's, in a short space of time collected the men. Posey then placed himself with Parker at their head, and ordered a charge through the enemy to the regiment; the charge was made with celerity and firmness; though the conflict was severe, many of the Indians falling by the force of the bayonet.

One or more of the enemy fell by Posey's own arm, and unfortunately for Sgt. Thompson of Parker's Light Infantry (who, contrary to orders had taken off his coat and tied up his head with a handkerchief who manfully engaged and had immediately next to Posey fired at an Indian), Posey took him, from his appearance with his coat off and his head tied up, for an Indian and thrust his sword through his body and laid him at his feet. But he greatly lamented the circumstance when he visited the hospital the next morning, and learned from the brave but incautious sergeant the particulars of his wounds. General Wayne with the calvary followed by Posey, who had filed off to the right to gain his regiment, which he had met on its march to the scene of action, and placing himself at the head, charged immediately upon the rear of the enemy and put them to flight.

General Wayne filed off to the left, where he fell in with a considerable body of Indians, and compelled them to retreat after a severe conflict. Thus, with the united force and much bravery of both officers and soldiers, the whole of the Indians were defeated and routed. Chief Guristersigo was killed by bayonet. Corporal William Rhodes was once again a casualty of war and was one of Parker's Light Infantry men wounded that night. In October of 1782 Posey's regiment marched home to Virginia(Second Virginia Regiment 2002).

Henry Lee's memoir, as edited by Robert E. Lee, includes another statement on the battle of June 23 by Thomas Posey, in which Posey again attempted to correct the historical record of events, established by Anthony Wayne:

The army on that night was disposed agreeably to general orders in the following manner. The artillery, the cavalry, and the light infantry of Posey's regiment, commanded by Captain Alexander Parker, were arranged in proper order, at the lower Mrs. Gibbons's (distinguished in that way, there being two widow ladies of the same name, where the troops were encamped alternately), with a guard and chain of sentinels in the rear, and Posey's regiment, posted a few hundred yards on the road leading by Mrs. Gibbons's to Savannah, with a proper disposition of guards, and a chain of sentinels in front. Major Samuel Findley was with the regiment, Posey having received orders to remain with General Wayne that night, the regiment being within so short a distance. The whole of the troops had for several weeks been doing hard duty, every night lying down in their ranks with their clothes and accoutrements on, and their rest, in constant expectation that the British would either come out of Savannah in force for action, or that we might have an opportunity of falling in with foraging parties. The account General Lee gives until he commences with the attack made by Guristersigo is correct, except as to the disposition of the troops above stated.

When the attack was made, it was with such fury and violence, at a dead time of the night when the men were in profound sleep (except the guards), with yelling and the use of their tomahawk, spears, scalping-knives, and guns, that our men were thrown into disorder. Wayne and Posey had thrown their cloaks about them and lay down close to each other, the alarm soon roused them, and they had proceeded but a few steps when Captain Parker met Colonel Posey, and informing him that the suddenness of the attack had confused his men, wished to know if the colonel had any particular orders. Posey immediately ordered that the light infantry should be rallied behind the house, and his exertions, united with Parker's at their head, and ordered a charge through the enemy of the regiment; the charge was made with celerity and firmness, though the conflict was severe, many of the Indians falling by the force of the bayonet. One or more of the enemy fell by Posey's own arm, and unfortunately for Sergeant Thompson of Parker's light infantry (who contrary to orders had taken off his coat and tied up his head with a handkerchief, but who was manfully engaged, and had immediately next to Posey fired at an Indian), Posey took him, from his appearance with his coat off and head tied up, for an Indian, and thrusting his sword through his body, laid him at his feet. But he greatly lamented the circumstance when he visited the hospital the next morning, and learned from the brave but incautious sergeant the particulars of his wounds. General Wayne with the cavalry followed Posey, who had filed off to the right to gain his regiment, which he met on its march to the scene of the action, and placing himself at the head, charged immediately upon the rear of the enemy and put them to flight. General Wayne filed off to the left where he fell in with a considerable body of Indians, and compelled them to retreat after a severe conflict. Thus, with the united force and much bravery of both officers and soldiers, the whole of the Indians were defeated and routed. Posey then sent to Wayne for orders, and informed him that he should be found on his march toward Savannah, whither he was proceeding, with a view to ascertain the situation of the British. When the regiment reached the forks of the road (within one mile of the town), a small party was detached to examine the British guards, and ascertain whether they retained their usual positions, who soon returned and reported that they did. Shortly after this a trooper brought information that within half a mile in our rear he had discovered a large body of men, but that it was too dark to distinguish whether they were Indians or British. Posey immediately marched, ordering the trooper to show him where he had discovered the enemy. On approaching them it was light enough to see they were a body of Indians. They were standing in a road leading through a large swamp. While the regiment was preparing for action, several of the chiefs advanced about twenty or thirty steps and halted, looking very

earnestly and apparently at a loss to know whether we were the enemy or British troops, as we were marching directly out from toward Savannah. Posey discovering that all retired and hid in the swamp except those few that had advanced, them under guard, and made search in the swamp for the others, but could not find any of them. He then returned to the forks of the road, and shortly after General Wayne joined with the balance of the troops. The general appeared in a good humor until he discovered the Indian prisoners, his countenance then changed, and he asked Posey in a very peremptory manner, how he could think of taking those savages prisoners. Posey related the circumstances of the manner in which they were decoyed, and observed that he thought it wrong to put them to death after they became prisoners; he said they should not live, and they were accordingly put to death (Lee 1969:558-559).

Major General Wayne, while at his Sharon HQ, was provided with timely military intelligence on June 24 by Mrs. Morels, a concerned civilian. Although the original letter was not located, an abstract of this correspondence was described in an auction catalogue as follows: "Mrs. Morels Comp'ts & acquaint Gen'll Wain that one of his artillary [sic] Soldiers escaped from the Indians & arrived at Brompton this morning. Mrs. Morel likewise informs the Gen'll that A large party of Indians were seen at Mr. McGilvays plantation about an Hour ago" (American Anderson Galleries 1934). The location of Brompton Plantation has not been determined, although members of the Morel family later resided in the Mount Pleasant vicinity of Effingham County. That same day (June 24) Wayne provided Greene with his own description of the battle:

The advance of a large body of Creek Indians, headed by a number of their most celebrated Chiefs, and warriors, and a British officer, was announced at ½ after one o'clock this morning, by a most furious attack upon Lieut. Col Posey's light company placed for the protection of two field pieces a little in the rear of his Battalion, their onset was impetuous, and their numbers so superior, as to cause that little gallant corps to fall back a few paces, which put the enemy for a few moments in possession of that artillery, abut immediately rallying under the conduct of Captain Parker, and Captain Gunn arriving at that period with his Troop of Dragoons; I ordered the two Companies to advance to the charge, which they did through a most tremendous fire of small arms accompanied by a hideous [sic] Yell from almost every direction, Colo Possey, and Major Finley hearing the fire came up about the same time, and charged the Indians in flank, the whole was performed with such irresistable fortitude, as soon to terminate in the total rout of the Savages, who did not betray want of prowess on this occasion, see end of letter, but met our charge with that ferocity for which they are famous at the first onset, not a little heightened by their temporary success. They found an asylum in the Pipe makers Swamp, situate about 200 yards on our left flank into which they dispersed with precipitation, many Indians and two white men were left dead on the field, among the former were several Chiefs, and the famous Emistesego, our greatest enemy, and principal warrior of the Creek nation. Their proportion of wounded must be considerable, as the bravery of the Indians, fighting hand to hand, gave an opening for the free use of the Sword and Bayonet.

As I had every reason expect a combined operation by an attack from the British, we formed to receive them, making a disposition at the same time to prevent a junction with their savage allies, for which purpose Col. Possey with part of his Battalion advanced to a position near the enemy's line, where we forced their pickets and produced a conviction to them that we were at once in the possession of the field of action, and in a condition to profit from events. A little after sunrise, we formed a junction of the whole, when the enemy showing a disposition to advance, caused some Indians (captured by Possey) to experience the bayonet, to free us from incumbrance. The British after sustaining some loss, were drove back to their works by a small detachment of Infantry and Cavalry, but notwithstanding every precaution to prevent it, part of the savages found their way into Savannah, under cover of the Swamp already mentioned.

Our Trophies are a British Standard, one hundred and seven horses with a number of Packs, Arms &c and more are hourly bringing in.

It's not in the power of language to do justice to the Military virtues of the little Corps, that I have the honor to Command. Numbers may prevail against them, but I will be answerable, they will never be disgraced. ...Inclosed is a return of our killed and wounded. ...[postscript refering back

to early note to see end of letter] Such was their determined bravery, that after mortally wounding one of their Chiefs, and charging at the head of the Dragoons over his body; he with his last breath, drew his trigger and killed my horse under me (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3: 417-423).

Included with Wayne's June 24 letter to Greene was a return of the Americans killed and wounded in the June 24 battle, which was compiled the following day. This return is transcribed in [Table 15](#).

Table 15. Return of the Killed and Wounded in the Actions of the Morning of the 24th June 1782.

	Killed	Wounded	
Light infantry company	4	5	Possey's
----Battalion		1	Possey's
White's Dragoons		1	mortal
Clark's Rifle men of this State	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
Total	5	8	
Horses killed and wounded			
White's reg. Dragoons	3	6	
Artillery	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	
Total	5	8	

Head Quarters, State of Georgia
 Five miles from Savannah June 25. 1782
 Ben.ⁿ Fishbourne,
 A.d. Camp (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3: 424).

The Creek leader Gueristersigo [Guristersijo and other spelling variants], who was killed in the June 23rd attack on Wayne's camp was the same person that Wayne had suggested an American-Creek alliance with in 1772. At that time, however, the young chief was known by the name Emisti-Siguo Gueristersigo (Wildes 1941:286).

Major General Wayne remained at Sharon plantation until sometime after June 30 (Mitchell 1978:423). Although he would return following the war to the region to claim his plantations that had been given him by the State of Georgia, June 22, 1782 marked the last documented day that Ebenezer served as Wayne's HQ. Wayne's location from July 1 to July 10 was not determined. Wayne may have returned to Ebenezer at least once during this period. Scruggs (1975:89) noted that on July 3, 1782 the Georgia General Assembly met at Ebenezer and Wayne may have been present for this gathering. Henry Lee noted the events of early July, 1782: "In the mean time Wayne had consulted Governor Martin, who, soon after the American detachment entered Georgia, removed with his council of state to Ebenezer, for the purpose of extending the limits of civil authority" (Lee 1969:561). Governor Martin's correspondence shows that he was at Ebenezer on June 26 and 27. In August 1782, the Georgia General Assembly convened at Augusta (Martin 1782; Lee 1969:563). The minutes of the House of Assembly for the State of Georgia met, "at Ebenezer the 3d of July 1782" (Georgia House of Assembly 1782).

Lieutenant Colonel James Jackson's papers include a General Order from Major General Wayne, which was issued from Wayne's HQ camp at Gibbons plantation on July 10, 1782. Wayne ordered Jackson: "to take possession of Savannah after the British evacuate" (Jackson 1782b). On July 11, 1782 the British Army and Loyalist residents and refugees evacuated Savannah giving it to the Americans. The British made their way to St. Augustine and other points in East Florida,

which remained a British stronghold. British control of East Florida was short-lived however, and it was given to the Spanish the following year. From St. Augustine many of the Georgia loyalist refugees, including Reverend Triebner and his family, other Ebenezer loyalists, Thomas Brown and his King's Rangers, and Loyalist Creek warriors were given safe haven in the Bahamas. The British exodus from Savannah was orderly and without bloodshed.

Upon hearing this news of the British evacuation of Savannah, Major General Wayne wasted no time in establishing his headquarters there. This is evidenced from an extract of Wayne's Orders issued from Savannah HQ on July 11: "The light Infantry Company under Capt. Parker to take post in the Center work in front of the town, placing Sentries at the respective gate ways & sally ports, to prevent any person or persons going out or entering the lines without written permits until further notice..." (Letters by Wayne, New York Public Library).

The British contingent in the Savannah theatre was estimated by Wayne to have numbered more than 6,000 persons. This body was composed of soldiers, refugees, and Negroes, who were camped at Tybee. On July 14, Major General Nathanael Greene issued orders congratulating Wayne and his troops on the successful takeover of Savannah (Greene 1782:14). Wayne remained in his Savannah HQ until it was clear to him that the threat of their return was over, as he stated in a letter to Wayne, dated July 17. Wayne remained in Savannah until August 9, when he left for South Carolina to join Greene's army (Mitchell 1978:423-424, 427). Lieutenant Colonel Posey's Virginia Regiment had joined Greene prior to August 17 (Greene 1782:52). On August 18, Major General Wayne was given command of the Pennsylvania and Maryland brigades (Greene 1782:55).

In a letter written by Major General Anthony Wayne to General George Washington, dated November 1, 1783, Wayne summarized the accomplishments of his Georgia campaign:

.....
...[19 Jan 1782] ...with only three troops of Dragoons i.e. two of the 1st Virginia Cavalry under Lieut. Colo White & one troop of Marylands under Capt. Gill, amounting to 120 effectives...On the 4th of April I was reinforced by a small but gallant corps of Virginia infantry, amounting to near 300 men under the worthy & experienced officer Lieut. Colo Posey. I had also formed two corps of lately reclaimed citizens, one was added to Colo Jackson, who took a fluctuating position, about 14 miles in front of the enemy, the other was sent to reenforce Colo Cooper who commanded a corps of Georgia Volunteers, on the Great Ogeechee....[after July 13]...the desertion of one whole company of Grenadiers from the 60th Regiment [from East Florida], 29 had already arrived at my camp... (Bancroft Collection, Wayne MS 3:513-525).

BRITISH RESPONSE TO WAYNE'S CAMPAIGN

Major General Anthony Wayne's entry into Georgia had immediate effect upon the loyalist residents in the Ebenezer vicinity. As noted, the hard-core loyalists had fled with the King's troops the previous month. Thirty-five loyalist soldiers, probably all residents of Ebenezer or St. Matthews Parish, surrendered to Wayne on January 21, 1782 and swore into service in the American Army. Their story is recorded in a single document, which survived as part of the Andre DeCoppet Collection at Princeton University Library (DeCoppet 1782). This document is transcribed in the following and the a portion of the signature page is illustrated in [Figure 19](#).

An Acct. of People who have surrendered themselves & received protection from—B. G.
[Brigadier General] Wayne—Jan^y 1782

In Consideration of the Generous pardon & protection offered us by Gen^l Wayne, & from a Conviction of our error in joining the arms of our Enemy against our Country & the Liberties of America.

We whose names are hereunto subscribed do solemnly engage to serve as faithful soldiers in the American army, & in such Corps as Gen^l Wayne thinks proper to post us for & during the present war or until the Enemy are taken or driven out, unless sooner discharged, from South Carolina & Georgia & in pain of forfeiture of life and property, we do also solemnly engage to join the Army under his Command in the vicinity of Abercorn or Mulberry from or else where on or before the first day of February next.

In witness whereof we have here unto subscribed our names this 21st day of Jan^y 1782.

Jacob C. Waldhauer
Michael Subtrein
Samuel Kraus
Johannes [Zoin?/illegible]
Lucas Ziegler
John Waldhauer
Nicholas [Herbelew/ illegible] (his X mark)
Gottlieb Schneider
John Ihly
Ephraim Ihley
Richard Stephens (his X mark)
Saml. Ihly
Matthew Mick (his X mark)
William Thomson (his X mark)
James Davis (his X mark)
Jacob [Langl?/illegible]
Casper Zitrouer
Godhulf Schmidt
John Kogler
Johannes [illegible]
George Ziegler
Jacob Mock
[illegible] Zipperer
Joseph Helvenstine (his X mark)
Jno [Jonathan] Hobbs
John Washington (his X mark)
Tomas Brasscell (his X mark)
John Wisenbaker
John Hangliter (his X mark)
E [illegible]
John Lowman
William King
Henry King
William Warren
Joseph Brown (leave of absence for 3 weeks 22d Feby)

(Andre DeCoppet Collection 1782).

I sincerely, we do also solemnly
 engage to join the Army under
 His Command in the Vicinity
 of Abbeville or Mulberry point
 or elsewhere on or before the
 first day of February next
 In witness whereof we have here
 unto subscribed our names
 This 21st day of Jan^y 1782

+ Jacob Walther	John Kelly
+ Amos Gilchrist	Ephraim Wiley
+ Samuel H. Paces	Richard Stephens
+ Johann G. G. G.	Saml. Tilly
+ Lucas Ziegler	Matthew ^{his} Meek
+ John Walther	William ^{mark} ^{his} Thomson
+ Nikola ^{his} Herbelin	James ^{mark} ^{his} Davis
+ Joseph ^{mark} G. G.	

Figure 19. Portion of Ebenezer Surrender Document, January 21, 1782 (Andre DeCoppet Collection 1782).

In February and March 1782 the British appeared to be losing ground in the interior of Georgia. The Georgia governor issued a proclamation on March 5 enticing the British troops to desert and join the American cause. In less than a month 26 Hessians heeded this call and deserted to the Americans (Davies 1978:19:260). Two previous deserters, Mark King and William Henson, both privates in Major Wright's Corps, made depositions that included details on the British troop strength and fortifications in December 1781 and early January 1782. Mark King's deposition of January 5 contained the following:

A reinforcement has arrived to Savannah from Charles Town 21 Decr. 1781 of the 7th Regiment consisting off [sic] about 150 men... He further says Major Wrights corps consists of about 35 men fitting for duty about 40 in the whole... That the Enemy is making every preperation [sic] for a Siege, they are making two redoubts one at the Spring Hill the other at the Trustees gardens, the Citadel has twenty four guns, of twenty four and twelve pounders,.. Coll: Campbell corps consists of about 36 men 35 of which does constant duty as dragoons.. Coll: Browns corps has about 25 dragoons and about 40 Infantry many invalids. Delanseys Corps about 25 men infantry... Coll: Fannings corps about 40 men .. About 300 Hessians commanded by Genl. Proback [Porbeck] .. The present commander in Savannah Coll: Clark .. About 200 militia men in Savannah, the commander he does not know .. About 150 Negroes armed and equipt [sic] as infantry, commanded by Coll: Brown ... The enemy has eight platforms round the lines of Savannah with 4 guns in each. 12 pounders... About 3 or 4 brigs in the harbour, 4 row galleys in the River, and but

very indifferently manned, they are Obliged to man them with men from the diffirent [sic] Regiments, the men on the return of the Galleys to Savannah repair to their respective Regts. ... The Troops in Savannah in Genl. are very dissatisfied... There was about 5 weeks ago about 100 Indians Cherokees & Creeks in Savannah and returned to the Nation with a large quantity of amunition[sic]... It was reported the time that Ebenezer was evacuated, that a fleet was off, but did not know what fleet... About three weeks ago a dispatch boat arrived from Charles Town and it was reported she brought news for the Troops to evacuate Savannah . . (Telemon Cuyler Collection 1782).

William Henson's deposition read as follows:

The Deposition of Wm: Henson a deserter from Major Wrights corps in Savannah, he says he is an American born, he was taken on Edistoe in So. Carolina about 2 months ago, about 10 miles below Orangeburgh, and says his reason for Enlisting with the British was that they threatened to put him on board of a man of War; he left Savannah 22 Decr. 1781 ... A reinforcement has arrived to Savannah from Charls Town consisting of about 150 men... The Countrymen are daily moving [sic] into town, a Seige [sic] being expected by them daily, they are laying in great quantity of Provisions, he says they are a number of Cannon in the Citadel and on the Lines. Three or four Brigs in the Harbour. . . There is two small redoubts on the Island of Cockspur, and a post at Ogechee and one at Habercorn consisting of 25 men. In regard [sic] to the different corps in Savannah, he is entirely ignorant off [sic].. . The Troops in General are dissatisfied. (Telemon Cuyler Collection 1782).

Lieutenant Governor John Graham wrote to Lord Germain from Savannah on February 25, 1782 advising him that General Wayne had not yet attacked but was in preparation for an attack. He noted that the American government was at Ebenezer and that many had joined the rebel cause (Davies 1978:19:261).

By April 1782 New Ebenezer was securely in American hands after Major General Anthony Wayne and his troops made New Ebenezer their headquarters. Georgia Governor John Martin wrote in May 1782 of his plans to convene the State Assembly at Ebenezer on July 1. In May 1782 the British made a feeble cavalry and infantry sortie against New Ebenezer in an attempt to dislodge Wayne, but it was unsuccessful (Tappert and Doberstein 1948:482, 494). On May 15, Sir James Wright, wrote to Lieutenant General Alexander Leslie, from Savannah, anxiously looking for arrival of the 30th Regiment. Royal Governor Wright expressed his hopes that troops would be sent to dislodge Wayne's army (Emmett Collection, New York Public Library EM6682). By June 26, 1782, a letter from Governor Martin to General Wayne was postmarked Ebenezer, which suggests that New Ebenezer was the Executive seat of state government at that time (*Georgia Historical Quarterly* 1(4):281-346).

Historian Siebert provides this description of conditions among the British in late June 1782:

For some time past Savannah had been the place of refuge for loyalists from the outlying parts of Georgia. Many of these had first resorted to Ebenezer and other posts, where they had helped to construct the defenses and had carried arms. Later they had retreated to Savannah in the spring and summer of 1781 with the garrisons, and had served in the militia or worked on the fortifications. Here their wives and children had joined them. ...The number of the loyalists was about fourteen hundred, of whom five hundred were women and children...at least five hundred loyal militia...several thousand negroes, three hundred and fifty Indians, and thirteen hundred regular troops (Siebert 1972:105).

In late 1781 the tide of war in Georgia turned. People loyal to the Crown, including Reverend Triebner and more than a dozen loyalist families, evacuated New Ebenezer for Savannah, St. Augustine, and, ultimately, the Bahama Islands.

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown and his East Florida Rangers were another important loyalist body that was stationed for a period at New Ebenezer (Cashin 1999). Brown had settled near Augusta in the early 1770s and, after being tortured for his loyalist beliefs, became a vicious operator in Georgia's guerrilla war. Brown and his men teamed up with loyalist Creeks to become a very effective fighting unit. It is reasonable to conclude that Brown's contingent at New Ebenezer included a few Creek warriors. Thomas Brown's task was clear, which he wrote in a letter to his superior: "...I am therefore to hope that you will see this matter in the light...to order a sufficient number of troops here to dislodge General Wayne & his army, which I conceive will be rendering a most essential service to His Majesty & His cause in America."

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown and his King's Rangers were highly mobile. They were active in the Ebenezer vicinity in late 1781. Brown's men left Ebenezer, along with the other Ebenezer loyalists, for Savannah on December 8, 1781. Brown's troops were based in Savannah and from there they made forays upriver and harassed Wayne and his troops in the interior of lower Georgia throughout the Spring of 1782. Wayne viewed Brown's movements with a watchful eye as the British evacuated Savannah that July, knowing that Brown possessed the capability to move quickly once General Wayne's army left Georgia. Following Savannah's evacuation, Lieutenant Colonel Brown established his camp on Ossabaw Island. For this reason Wayne was reluctant to leave Georgia, despite Major General Greene's prodding. Only after Brown and his men were in Florida and perceived as no longer a threat to Georgia did Major General Wayne pull his men out of the state. This was in August of 1782.

Writing in Savannah on July 1, 1782 Brown informed General Alexander Leslie that:

...part of Creeks, 150 men under Emistisicho (headman and warrior) left their towns to Savannah, attacked Wayne's army at Gibbon's plantation, driven them from camp, destroyed their baggage and ammo, lost of rebels was great, 17 Indian losses...By some people from the country it is reported that the rebel army consists of between 7 to 800 men & that their loss was 34 officers killed & 1 wounded with [about] 100 RF killed wounded & missing... (Brown 1782).

Cashin (1999:249-294) and Clark (1981, Volume 3) provide numerous muster rolls for Thomas Brown and his King's Rangers. A review of these incomplete muster lists, which span the period from June 1779 to June 1784 provided some information relevant to the study of Ebenezer. Likewise, the muster roll of Captain John Bond Randall's Company of King's Rangers, which was made in Savannah on June 24, 1782 and covered the period since April 24 of that year included several former residents of Ebenezer. They were:

- Privates Jacob Giger [Geiger],
- Benjamin Cloner [Glaner],
- Frederick Lackner,
- John Miller,
- Gotlis [Gottlieb] Ott,
- Christian Shuption [Shubdrein] and,
- Samuel Zippero [Zipperer].

These men may have been former members of Wright's Georgia Loyalists, whose ranks had merged with the King's Rangers that year. Major James Wright's Company of Georgia Loyalists was mustered at Abercorn on December 6, 1779 (Clark 1981, Volume 3:435-436). Wright's command consisted of 11 junior officers and 31 enlisted men. None of the men in Wright's

company have surnames associated with Ebenezer. Captain Hewatt's company, which was mustered in December 1779 and February 1780, consisted of Captain Hewatt, three junior officers, and 16 privates on December 6, 1779 but by February 1780, it was reduced to only 1 officer (Drummer Jesse Hall) and 11 privates. The February 1780 muster list of Captain Andrew Hewatt's company includes a David Reister, which may be a corruption of David Rieser. David Reiser was born in 1765, the son of Michael Rieser, II, and was documented in Ebenezer as late as 1775 (Jones 1986:92). By February 23, 1781, when Captain Hewatt's company was mustered in Savannah, the ranks had swelled to include Captain Hewatt, eight junior officers, and 35 privates. David Reiser was not listed in the December muster list, probably because the February 1781 muster listed a David Restor as having died on February 24, 1781.

A muster roll for Captain Randell's [Randall] Company of King's Rangers, covering the period from April 25 to June 24, 1783, was recorded in St. Augustine on April 24 (Clark 1981, Volume 3: 425-426). Among the enlisted men in this company were these individuals were these Germans from Ebenezer (which differs slightly from the previously cited list):

- Samuel Zippero,
- Benjamin Cloner,
- Frederick Lacker,
- Gotleb [Gottlieb] Ott
- John Miller (on command at Matanza)
- Jacob Guyger [Geiger] and,
- Christopher Snider [Schneider] (prisoner with rebels).

Captain Randell's Company of King's Rangers consisted of seven junior officers and 33 enlisted men (Clark 1981, Volume 3:425-426). Among the officers were two people with German surnames, Lieutenant Jacob D. Obman and Sergeant Jonathan Bocker. The enlisted men in the King's Rangers who were probably former residents of Ebenezer (compiled from the two cited lists) included:

- Jacob Geiger,
- Benjamin Glaner,
- Frederick Lackner,
- John Miller,
- Gottlieb Ott,
- Christian Schubdrein,
- Christopher Schneider and,
- Samuel Zipperer.

These loyalist Ebenezerites are difficult to track in the Ebenezer records, due in large part because the record keeping at Ebenezer declined significantly after the death of Pastor John Martin Boltzius in 1765. Benjamin Glaner, who may have been the son of Georg and Gertraut (Lemmhoffer) Glaner, was in Ebenezer in 1775 when he married Hanna Margaretha Bach. Frederick Lackner was probably the same person as Johann Friedrich Lackner, who received a grant in St. Matthews Parish in 1765, married Johanna Schubdrein in 1774. Lackner was present in the Ebenezer Mill District as late as 1778. John Miller was possibly the same person as Johann Boul Miller, II, who was documented in Ebenezer in 1772 and 1773. Johann Gottlieb Ott was the son of Sigismund Ott, who was an original Salzburger emigrant, Gottlieb was in Ebenezer in 1774, and in 1794 he served as a witness in Probate Court in Effingham County, which suggests

that he returned to the region after the war. Although no Christopher Schneider was identified, a Christian Schneider, son of Georg and Anna Barbara Schneider, was born in 1764, making him about 18 or 19 years old at the close of the American Revolution. Christian Schubdrein, born in 1762 was the son of Magdalena and Daniel Schubdrein. No record of Jacob Geiger or Samuel Zipperer was found, although several families of Geigers and Zipperers lived at Ebenezer prior to the American Revolution (Jones 1986:30, 62, 73, 81, 101, 103).

The fate of Ebenezer's loyalists following the war is sketchy at best. Some sought refuge in other British colonies, while others chose to remain in America. Most suffered financially in the transition and a number of them filed claims with the British Government for their losses.

Andrew Hewat, who was appointed commander of a company in the Georgia Loyalists Regiment, filed a claim with the British Government in 1786. In support of his claims he included a warrant from Governor Wright, who appointed Hewat in command of a Company in the Georgia Loyalists Regiment, as transcribed below:

By virtue of an authority delivered to me by Sir Henry Clinton Knight of the Bath, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America, to raise a Regiment of able bodied men to be composed of Thirty Sergeants, Thirty Corporals, Ten Drummers and Five Hundred Privates, divided into Ten Companys, Each Company consisting of one Captain, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, Three Sergeants, Three Corporals, one Drummer and Fifty Privates, who will engage to carry arms under my Command, subject to the orders of the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces in North America, for two years, or during if required, the present Rebellion in North America, to receive the same pay, and be under the same discipline as his Majesty's Regular Troops.

By virtue of the said authority, I do nominate and appoint you Andrew Hewat Esq^r and you are hereby nominated and appointed to the Command of a Company in the said Regiment to be called the Georgia Loyalists.

And as your Appointment by Commission will depend upon your success in Recruiting, you are hereby instructed to raise the number of Thirty Men to entitle you thereto. And it is to be made known to you that your pay will not commence until half the above number is raised and brought to the Rendezvous at Savannah or Ebenezer.

All officers Civil and Military and others his Majesty's liege subjects are hereby required by virtue of the said authority, to be aiding and assisting unto you and all concerned in the execution of the above service for which this shall be to you and them a sufficient warrant.

Given under my hand and seal in Savannah the 29th of May 1779.

James Wright
Maj^r. Command^t. Geo. Loy^{ts}.

To Andrew Hewat Esq^r.

I do hereby certify that in consequence of the foregoing warrant, that Captain Hewat raised One Hundred Men for his Majesty's services at a very considerable expense, and was constantly from this time on duty with me on all occasions both in the Georgia Loyalists and for some time after my Regiment joined the Kings Carolina Rangers.

That on the 30th May 1782 a new arrangement took place by which he was seconded and Captain William Wylly ordered to take Command of his Company, which I have never been able to learn the cause of, and which appears to me a very great piece of injustice and cruelty towards Captain Hewat who has suffered very considerably by the war.

James Wright
Maj^r. K.C.R. (BPRO AO13/138).

Royal Governor Wright received orders from Sir Guy Carleton in mid-June, 1782 to evacuate the province of Georgia (Davies 1978:21:116-119). Although such orders had been anticipated for

more than a month by the senior British officers in Savannah, this news took townspeople by surprise. Governor Wright viewed the order with disdain but he followed it nevertheless. On July 11, the evacuation of the town was completed and the former residents of Savannah were huddled at Tybee Island awaiting transport to a safe haven in Florida.

AFTERMATH OF WAR

The Treaty of Paris was signed in September 1783, thus ended the war with England. Ebenezer played no significant role for either the Americans or British as a headquarters complex after July 11, 1782. Consequently, information about the town from July 1782 until war's end in September 1783 is sparse indeed.

In an undated letter to Henry Muhlenberg, Jenkin Davis, who was a resident of the Ebenezer township and American officer, returned to Ebenzer and wrote: "I found Ebenezer in a most deplorable situation, the People having lost most of their Property, the Church very much damaged and most of the Houses, and only two families in the Town, most two Thirds of the Inhabitants in and about Ebenezer being either dead or carried off by the British" (Lewis 1965:434-435).

In a letter to Reverend Henry Muhlenberg, dated March 18, 1783, Ebenezer residents Johannes Hangleiter, Caspar Heik, Nicholas Schubdrein, Johannes Michel, Jacob Gnann, Christopher Cramer, and Samuel Kraus wrote describing to the Lutheran minister the destruction in the community resulting from the war, "The glory is gone from EbenEzer...The people have become poor from plunder, robbery, and stealing" (Lewis 1965:435-436). They noted that Hangleiter had had his plantation plundered more than 10 times and that Mr. [John Casper] Wertsch, who was described as a "royalist", had died. In another 1783 letter, Ebenezer resident Jacob C. Waldhour informed Reverend Muhlenberg that, "...armies had passed through for 4 years & kept garrisons in Eben-Ezer, especially when the looting parties invaded". Waldhour added that Ebenezer's mill dam was destroyed by British troops and that of the Jerusalem Church congregation who signed the constitution to which Reverend Muhlenberg had supervised in 1774, 45 were alive, 31 were dispersed, and 57 were dead (Lewis 1965).

Waldhour's comment on the destruction of the milldam is quite significant, since Ebenezer's success during the colonial era was due in large part to its thriving mill industry. Ebenezer never regained this industrial stature, which had once provided the West Indies and a large part of the Eastern Seaboard with timber and wheat (Wilson 1988).

On July 27, 1782 a House Committee report included this reference to some Germans from Ebenezer:

That Andrew Bedingback [Biddenbach], John Gnamon [Gnann], Jacob Yoakley, Emanuel Keifer, Israel Reizer, John Glamer, John Metzgar [Metzger], Andrew Granon [Gnann], Christopher Coogle [Gugel] and Oliver Mathews, should not be compelled to serve as Continental Soldiers in the Georgia Battalion, for the space of two years or during the continuance of the Present War, the Committee having fully investigated their several Characters and have found them to be friends to the American Cause (Candler 2001, 3:147).

On August 3, 1782, the Committee report listed these residents of the Ebenezer area in a class of former British soldiers, whose punishment was to, "serve as soldiers or find substitutes":

Christopher Creamer; Samuel Ealy [Ihley], John Axley [Oeschle], Jacob Meyers, John Rentz, Gottlieb Smith, and the Heirs of John Wertsch (Candler 2001, 3:177-179).

In January 1783, petitions praying for discharge from service in the Georgia Regiment were read before the Georgia House and included these residents of Ebenezer:

- George Beechtley [Bechtle];
- George Buckley;
- Christopher Buntz;
- Solomon Gnann, son of George Gnann/Gnam [Gnann];
- John Lowerman;
- Matthew Meek/Meick;
- Jacob Metzgar [Metzger];
- ___ Metzgar, son of Margaret;
- Michael Mock;
- Nathaniel Ott;
- Jonathan Rhan/Rahm [Rahn] and,
- Matthew Wyncauf (Candler 2001, 3:203-204, 209).

The petitions for Meick, Wyncauf, Buntz, Gnann, Ott, Mock, Rham, Beechtley, and the two Metzgars was not granted (Candler 2001, 3:212-213).

A petition from Colonel Anthony Walton White read before the Georgia House in January 1783 stated:

Praying That the friends of the Dragoons who fell in defence of this state may be Considered, also that the Honorable House will make some Provision for the Orphan Child of Christian Dasher who died in the execution of his duty as guide (Candler 2001, 3:216).

Some information on Ebenezer's military men can be gleaned by studying later historical documents. These include muster lists, State of Georgia bounty land grants, and federal pension applications.

A list of officers in the Effingham County militia in 1790, which was commanded by Colonel Celeb Howell, reveals several Ebenezerites. The 2nd Company of militia was commanded by Captain John Martin Dasher, and assisted by 1st Lieutenant John Kogler and 2nd Lieutenant Ernest Zettrouer. The 3rd Company of Militia was led by Captain Thomas Wylly, assisted by 1st Lieutenant Johnathan Rahn and 2nd Lieutenant Matthew Rahn. The 4th Company of Militia included 1st Lieutenant Christian Dasher (Jarrard 1998).

Although it post-dates the American Revolution by 11 years, a 1794 muster roll of the Effingham County militia, commanded by Captain John Kogler, provides additional clues as to the identity of those in the community who were involved in military service. Nearly all of these men are German, including their Captain. This muster roll is transcribed in [Table 16](#). No attempt was made to correct the spelling of personal names in this transcription. One can almost hear the German accents from the phonetic spellings in the weapon descriptions in this document.

Table 16. Muster Roll of Kogler's Company, Effingham County Militia, 1794.

To Cornel Tomas Wyly [Colonel Thomas Wyly]
 Muster Rolls of Effingham County Militia
 Abstract made to the President, April the 9th 1794

A Return of Men and arms of Capt. John Koglers Company Arms and Accoutrements

Mans Names	Arms and Accoutremants
John Kogler Capt.	Sword
John Waldhouer 1 Liet [1 st Lieutenant]	Sword
Mathew Weithman Ins [Ensign]	Sword
Ser [Sergeant] David Reisser	FoullinPees and Schorbuch [Fowling Piece and Shot pouch]
John Perry	FoullinPees and Schorbuch
Jonathan Arnstorph	FoullinPees and Schorbuch
Daniel Reimsarth	FoullinPees and Schorbuch
Co Godhil Zittermer	Frank Mouskit [French Musket] and Schorbuch
John Foyd	Masqket [Musket]
Jonathan Fetzer	anglich Mouskit do Schor [English Musket and Shot pouch]
Israel Leimbarger	FoullinPees and Schorbuch
Godhilf Smith	Frank Mouskit do Schorbuck
Jadidiah Weithman	Frank Mouskit do Schorbuck
Matthew Burgsteiner	FoullinPees and Schorbuch
David Keiuffer	Foullin Pees Cartoge buch [Cartouche box]
John Heinly	Frank Mous do Scharb
John Scharous	Raeffil [Rifle] do Schorbuck
Godhilf Zitterouer	Foullin Peers do Schorb
David Zitterouer	Foullin Peers do Schorb
Samuel Snyder	Foullin Peers do Schorb
Godhilf Snyder	Raeffil do Schorbouch
Jacob Heinly	Dragder do Schorbouch
Gorge Arnsdorph	Raeffil do Schorbouch
Jonathan Seckinger	Raeffil do Schorbouch
Christian Piddenpach	Anglich Mous do Schorb
Christian Schuptrin	Anglich Mous do Schorb
Joel Kieuffer	Grater do Schorbouch
Christopher Millir	Franch Mous do Schorb
David Zickler	Franch Mous do Schorb
John Freyermuth	Grater do Schorb.
David Doomer	Raeffil do Schourbouch
Jamse Jons	Raeffil do Schourbouch
George Ness	Franch Mous do Schor
Andrew Schinger	Grater do Schorbouch
Israel Flerl	Grater do Schorbouch
Amanuel Ziglar	Anglich Mous do Schorb
Salomon Gnann	Grater do Schorber
Daniel Weithman	Anglich Mous do Schorbouch
Jonothan Snyder	Raeffil do Schorbooch
Abiel Heidt	Foullin Pees do Schorbuch
George Heidt	Grater do Schorbouch
Thomas Sweighoffer	Grater do Schorbouch
John Glaner	Foullin Pees do Schorb.

Banjamin Dulk	[ditto?]
David Dulk	[ditto?]
Wiliam Pird	[ditto?]
Fridrick Nussshr	[ditto?]
Josua Zund	[ditto?]
John Snyder	[ditto?]
Christian Crovington	[ditto?]
George Meikil	[ditto?]
Banjaman Steirk	[ditto?]
Christian Heidt	Grater

I do herby sertyfy that tis is a threw and just return of my combany
John Kogler Capt.

This document also informs us of the nature of the weapons possessed in the Post-War era by Ebenezer's townspeople. It is also a useful document for identifying military men in the community. Although 11 years had passed since the American Revolution, many soldiers on this list were probably Revolutionary war veterans.

In 1791 President George Washington toured the South, which included a visit to the lower Savannah River region. The Georgians hosted a ball for Washington, which was held in Savannah's former silk filature building. Although it was not determined if any of the residents of Ebenezer were in attendance, they did communicate their gratitude to President Washington, which is preserved in Washington's papers. A letter, written in latin, from the German Congregation at Ebenezer was signed by their pastor, Ernst Bergman. This letter is reproduced in [Figure 20](#).

For the staunch Ebenezer loyalists, their new home was in the Bahamas and their story remains largely untold. Some eventually returned to live in Georgia. Others, including Reverend Triebner, had their lands confiscated and were banned from the State. By an act of the State Legislature, Christopher F. Triebner was finally given permission to return to Georgia in 1800 (Candler 2001: 1:630). Triebner's son Christopher Frederick Triebner, Jr., had returned to Effingham County years earlier where, in 1819, his daughter (Reverend Triebner's granddaughter) married the grandson of his father's archrival, John Adam Treutlen (Jones 1986: 116). Undoubtedly, this marriage stood as a symbolic reconciliation for the people of post-war Ebenezer.

Although peace was officially declared between the United States and Great Britain in September 1783, the official end of the hostilities did not mean an end to the tension in Georgia, as Creek Indian depredations in Georgia continued throughout the 1780s and 1790s. Ebenezer, therefore, maintained a militia unit throughout this period.



May 1791

To the President of the United States of America.

Permittas, quaeso, Illustrissime Washington, ut devoti
nūque animi sensa T. B. J. declararem, cui contigerit insignis
illa felicitas, Te Savannah adevendi, virum, tot tantis-
que factis illustrem. Profecto admiratus sum Tuam huma-
nitatem et indulgentiam, qua me hominem ignotum ex-
cepisti, qui non ausus essem ad Te accedere nisi ab amico
optimo certior factus essem, tristem abo Te discedere non inven-
Georgia lactatur de Tu et Splendidissima praesentia, qua
eam exhilarare dignatus es. Dū vivas o Washington!
Delicias americani populi, tuumque nomen, et facta illa spina
sera potentia celebrabit. Semper precabor Deum Opti-
mam Maximum, qui Te Praesidem harum civitatum
constituit, ut omnes res conatibusque Tuis propitius
edat. Accipe hanc tenuiorem epistolam, nullo ornata com-
mendabilem, eadem indulgentia, qua me excipere dignatus es.
Anglice qui dem scripturus eram, si facultate pollerem elecan-
ter scribendi, et ut dignum esse posset insignibus virtutibus
et illustrissimis factis Tuis. Peregrinus, in hanc provin-
ciam missus sum benignissimam doctrinam Ledemtonis nostri
profutendi inter poteros colorum Silisbrugenfium, quos
in primis quia curae meae concrediti sunt, cum omni gente
germanica Georgiae Americanae Tuo potentissimo patro-
cinio maonopere comendo. Cui vero nunquam desinam
ardentissimas preces mittere ad Deum benignissimum, pro
totius populi Americani salute.

Savannah.
d. 14. May
1791.

John Earnst Bergman,
Minister of the German
Congregation of
Benazer.

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Figure 20. Letter of Thanks Written in Latin from Ebenezer's Reverend Bergman to President George Washington, 1791.

Creeks were not the only reason for the militia's existence. A May 6, 1787 letter from James Gunn to General James Jackson describes other duties of the militia:

Lieut Col. Howell informed me at one O'clock this morning that the negroe men encamped on Bear Creek. At half past ten O'clock I discovered some signs of them in the swamp belonging to the Estate of Patton, a few miles below Zubleys ferry, their camp was situated on the lower side of Bear Creek, it was 700 yds in length & about 120 in width. They had thrown the logs & cane that came out of the cleared ground, into a kind of tree work about 4 feet high, the place they went in & out at, would admit but one person to pass at a time. Their sentry was about 150 yds. Advance down the creek. About two miles below their camp, they had fallen large logs across the creek in order to prevent boats passin up (small canoes might pass at high water) as soon as I discovered their sentry, I ordered Lieut. Lemden with eight men to rush on, fourteen of the light Infantry followed with charged Bayonets, Capt Tattnell with the remainder of the detachment moved on the right, with as much expedition as the nature of the ground would admit of Maj Mcpherson with a detachment of South Carolina Militia, & fifteen of the Catawabah Indians composed the second line. As soon as the negroes discovered that the troops had gotten into their encampment, they run into the swamp firing a few shot at random, they were pursued two miles in every direction the swamp would admit of. They left six of their head men, dead on the ground, the parties that pursued them, found many blankets covered with blood, I have every reason to believe there were many of them wounded. Their baggage & provisions were taken, & the Indians got as many good blankets & clothing of different kind, as they were able to take with them. I ordered Lieut Col. Howell with his detachment to search the swamp as high as the ferry. At five O'clock I had their houses (21 in number) & the works set on fire. The whole of the cleared land was planted in rice and potatoes. The great fatigue the men had undergone, for four days, made it necessary to retire to some place, where they might be refreshed. Maj Mcpherson returned to Purysburg, & the Chatham detachment to Abercorn. I shall return to Savannah with the Troops in the morning, as keeping them longer on command in my opinion would be of no advantage to the State, but a great injury to those individuals whose lot it was to be in the first draft, as it chiefly fell on men of small property, them men of large fortune & who were more particularly interested in the destruction of the Runaways, being generally defaulters, the depreciation of the paper money reducing the fine to a mere trifle. It is with pleasure that I inform you there was not one white man killed. Lieut Fitzgerald of the light Infantry was slightly wounded in the side (Gunn 1787).

The battle described by Gunn took place only a few miles south of Ebenezer. Local historian Norman Turner refers to this little-known engagement as the Battle of Patton Swamp (Turner 2002).

A quote by traveler John Pope, who visited Ebenezer by keelboat from Augusta in the 1790s :

On the 4th Day of our Passage from Augusta, we anchor'd abreast of Ebenezer, an old inconsiderable and declining Village, situate on an high commanding Bluff, on the Georgian Side, from Whence runs off a great Extent of level, tho' very sandy, piney barren Land--Here the British Troops, whilst in Possession of Savannah in 1779, established a Garrison of about 1500 Men, aided by a good Train of Artillery, strong Fortifications and deep Intrenchments, which however were no Impediment to the rapid Career of General Wayne, at the Head of his victorious Myrmidons (Pope 1799:74-75).

This unflattering description Ebenezer, written slightly more than a decade after the end of the American Revolution, demonstrates that by that date the once-thriving town was fast fading into history.

TIMELINE OF EBENEZER AS HQ COMPLEX

While no major battles were fought within the town of New Ebenezer during the American Revolution, the town nevertheless played a vital role in the military theater. The town was occupied by both sides during the war, and the residents of town suffered greatly as a result. At various times during the war there were thousands of troops garrisoned at Ebenezer. The town was considered by General Prevost as the primary British headquarters during the campaign against the interior. After most of the British forces advanced towards Savannah, Augusta, and Charleston, Ebenezer remained guarded by the 71st Regiment, 2nd Battalion for another six months. It is probably this period of occupation (ca. 1779) is most evidenced in the archeological record on the Fifth Tything, East Ward. The present archeological data, which lacks large numbers of military accoutrements, suggests that most military occupation was outside the bounds of Ebenezer proper (Campbell 1981:32, 62, 65; Boatner 1969:1035).

The preceding historical data, as it pertains specifically to Ebenezer and its role as a headquarters complex, is summarized in the following narrative with a minimum of bibliographic citations. Readers desiring to know the source of this information should consult the preceding section. A summary of Ebenezer's timeline as a headquarters complex is presented in [Table 17](#).

Table 17. Ebenezer Headquarters Timeline.

Army	Commanding	Month	Day	Year
American	Goldwire, James, Captain, Upper District, St. Matthews Parish, Georgia militia	1		1776
American	Undetermined	3	10	1776
American	Walthour, Jacob, Captain, Georgia Continentals	5	2	1776
American	Flerl, John, Captain [1st Georgia Regiment Continentals]	5	8	1776
American	Keebler, Jonathan, Captain, Grenadier Company, Georgia Continentals	12	7	1776
American	Mackay, Charles, 1st Lieutenant, Grenadier Company, Georgia Continentals	12	7	1776
American	McKay, Charles, 1st Lieutenant, Grenadier Company, Georgia Continentals	2	25	1778
American	McKay, Charles, 1st Lieutenant, Grenadier Company, Georgia Continentals	7		1778
American	Moore, _____, Captain	8		1778
American	McKay, Charles, 1st Lieutenant, Grenadier Company, Georgia Continentals	8		1778
British	Campbell, Archibald, Lieutenant Colonel, 71st Regiment	1	2	1779
British	Campbell, Archibald, Lieutenant Colonel, 71st Regiment	1	23	1779
British	Prevost, Augustine, Brigadier General, British Army	1	29	1779
British	Prevost, Augustine, Brigadier General, British Army	2	18	1779
British	Campbell, Archibald, Lieutenant Colonel, 71st Regiment	2	24	1779
British	Prevost, Augustine, Brigadier General, British Army	2	24	1779
British	Prevost, Augustine, Brigadier General, British Army	3	5	1779
British	Brown, Thomas, Lieutenant Colonel, King's Rangers	5		1779
British	Prevost, Augustine, Major General, British Army	7	8	1779
British	Brown, Thomas, Lieutenant Colonel, King's Rangers	9	1	1779
American	Pulaski, Casimir, Brigadier General, Pulaski's Legion	9	11	1779
American	Lincoln, Major General, Southern District, Continental Army	9	12	1779
American	Lincoln, Major General, Southern District, Continental Army	9	15	1779

	Army			
	Lincoln, Major General, Southern District, Continental			
American	Army	10	19	1779
British	Undetermined [Royal Artillery]	3	1	1780
British	Prevost, Augustine, Major General, British Army	3	6	1780
British	Prevost, Augustine, Major General, British Army	3	7	1780
British	Goldwire, John, Captain [Indians]	3	7	1780
British	Goldwire, James, Captain [Indians]	3	7	1780
British	Prevost, Augustine, Major General, British Army	3	8	1780
British	Prevost, Augustine, Major General, British Army	3	9	1780
British	Goebel, ____, Major, Unidentified Hessian Regiment	5		1781
British	Boodiker, ____, Captain [Hessian Regiment?]	6		1781
British	Goldwire, John, Captain, Loyalist militia	10	25	1781
British	Rahn, ____, Captain, Ebenezer militia	12		1781
British	Brown, Thomas, Lieutenant Colonel, King's Rangers	12	8	1781
American	Jackson, James, Lieutenant Colonel, Georgia Legion	12		1781
American	Wayne, Anthony, Major General, Continental Army	1	19	1782
American	Wayne, Anthony, Major General, Continental Army	6	21	1782

Ebenezer began its military life during the American Revolution as a small American post in 1775. In order to safeguard Georgia's munitions, a large quantity of gunpowder and lead was moved from Savannah, where it was perceived as vulnerable to naval attack, to Ebenezer, which was more difficult to access. That Ebenezer was a rebel post implies that the Loyalists in town were either persecuted or had abandoned the place. In his restitution claim to the British government, Captain Jacob Buehler later stated that he and 21 other loyalists were forced to hide in the woods outlying Ebenezer until the arrival of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell in December 1778. Ebenezer was not the nerve center of the Georgia rebel military during the early years of the revolution, as was Savannah, but it was not an inconsequential post either.

Ebenezer was thrust into prominence on January 2, 1779 when the bulk of the British invasion force, led by Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell, entered the town and established it as the primary British headquarters. Ebenezer was chosen for this purpose by Campbell for strategic reasons. Although Savannah was a thriving port town and capital of the colony, Ebenezer was situated with better access to crossing points on the Savannah River. With the huge force of the American Southern Army on the east side of the River at Purysburg, Ebenezer was a logical site for the British. At that time there were relatively few crossing points on the Savannah River. Opposite the town of Savannah was an extensive system of meandering marsh and swamp, which was not a reasonable place for an army to cross over. Ferrys were positioned both above and below Ebenezer. Ebenezer also had had a ferry, although the land directly opposite Ebenezer also was extensive river swamp. From Ebenezer, however, the British could maintain a watchful eye on the ferries at Zubly's (to the southeast) and Two Sisters' and Hudson's (to the northwest). Archibald Campbell was at Ebenezer for a relatively brief time. From his correspondence and other writings, we postulate that he was at Ebenezer on the following days in 1779:

- January 6 to 15;
- January 21 to 24 and,
- February 24 to 25.

Campbell spent the rest of his time in Georgia at Savannah, Augusta, and on the march between these towns. Although his time in Ebenezer was brief, Campbell was primarily responsible for

developing Ebenezer as a British defensive post. It was under his direction that most of the fortifications were constructed. Campbell argued strongly for the strategic importance of Ebenezer in the struggle for control of territory with Major General Lincoln's Southern Army.

The number of British troops at Ebenezer fluctuated considerably during Campbell's occupation. At a maximum it probably consisted of over 2,000 men and that number probably never fell below 800. Just prior to leaving Georgia, Campbell recommended to Augustine Prevost that a post of 1,000 men be kept at Ebenezer, composed of 700 men from the 2nd Battalion of the 71st Regiment and 300 Hessians.

Brigadier General Augustine Prevost arrived in the Savannah area by January 13 and assumed overall command of the British forces. Like Campbell, Prevost also established Ebenezer as his primary post. Prevost sent Campbell and a large British force to Augusta on January 24. By January 29 Prevost was in Ebenezer and he may have arrived there a few days prior to that. From his correspondence and writings, Prevost was at Ebenezer on these days in 1779:

- January 29 to February 25;
- March 2 to April 26 and;
- Prior to July 8th.

Prevost's army was on the offensive in South Carolina on April 27, crossing into South Carolina below Purysburg. The British offensive continued during May and June 1779. Following the battle of Stono Ferry on June 20, Major General Prevost (newly promoted from Brigadier General) led his army back into Georgia.

Prevost probably left a substantial force in garrison at Ebenezer although most of the 71st Regiment was used in the assault against the Americans near Charleston. When Prevost returned to Ebenezer in early July 1779, he observed widespread sickness from fever. Sometime thereafter, Prevost shifted his command to Savannah. This was a reasonable move since the American forces had been driven towards Charleston and were no longer amassed at Purysburg. Prevost stayed at Savannah until his departure from Georgia around June 1780. Prevost assigned Thomas Brown and his rangers, who numbered about 400 men, to the post at Ebenezer.

The British maintained a post at Ebenezer throughout the summer of 1779. Surgeon Henry Jackson, 71st Highlanders, noted that many Hessians at Ebenezer suffered from fever at Ebenezer during mid-1779, which suggests that a garrison of Hessians was maintained there. Surgeon Jackson left Ebenezer to accompany the main army of the 71st Regiment on their campaign in South Carolina, however, and the size of the British presence left at Ebenezer after the 71st Regiment left is unclear. Approximately 270 of Thomas Brown's King's Rangers were stationed at Ebenezer during this period. An unknown number of Hessians probably were also garrisoned at Ebenezer during this period. Under orders from Major General Prevost, the British, led by Lieutenant Colonel Brown, abandoned the post at Ebenezer by September 8, 1779 after burning their powder magazine.

In mid-September, as the Americans regrouped for a major offensive against the British in Georgia, Count Casimir Pulaski and his Legion occupied the town on September 11, followed the next day by Major General Lincoln and his staff. Lincoln used Ebenezer as his headquarters until September 15 when he began the move towards Savannah. The Southern Army under Lincoln consisted of 2,127 men prior to the battle. The British had already regrouped at Savannah and were preparing for the American assault. During the American and French siege of Savannah, in late September and early October 1779, Ebenezer was nearly abandoned. Many of

the loyalist residents of Ebenezer had sought refuge in Savannah and the Americans were preoccupied with events in Savannah.

Following the unsuccessful siege attempt General Lincoln and his army fell back to Ebenezer, where Lincoln remained for only two days—October 18 and 19 before returning with his army to Charleston. Thereafter, Charleston served as Lincoln's headquarters, until his capture by the British in May 1780. The days in 1779 that Ebenezer served as headquarters for the Continental Southern Army were:

- September 12 and 13;
- September 15 and,
- October 18 and 19.

The fate of Ebenezer during the period from November 1779 through mid-1780 is poorly documented. Apparently the town possessed no major garrison during this period. The loyalists living in the vicinity were harrassed during these months. On January 8, 1780 several houses at Ebenezer were reportedly plundered by rebels [American patriots]. A muster of Prevost's army in Georgia, which was made on March 1, 1780 numbered about 3,000 troops, although only five enlisted men in the Royal Artillery were listed as "On command in Ebenezer". This suggests that Ebenezer was no longer considered of major strategic importance by Prevost. By June 1780 General Alured Clarke, who had replaced Prevost, was advised that there was no need for a British post at Ebenezer. Like Prevost, Clarke made his headquarters at Savannah, where it remained until July 11, 1782.

A combined British force of about 1,500 men occupied Ebenezer temporarily from March 6 to 9, 1780. These men, under command of Lieutenant Colonel Patrick Ferguson, were enroute to North Carolina. Although the events at Ebenezer from March 1780 to May 1781 are not well recorded, the British did not completely abandon Ebenezer. In May 1781 the town was fortified with a garrison of 200 Hessians. The Hessian mercenaries shared similar culture and language with the natives of Ebenezer, and the British command preferred to leave the Hessians in garrison (fearing that they were prone to desertion). The commander of the Hessians in garrison at Ebenezer in June 1781 was Captain Boodiker [Bodiker], of whom little has been learned. The conditions at Ebenezer were not completely secure, since the Ebenezer loyalists had to flee the town in early June. The British garrison at Ebenezer probably remained relatively stable until their withdrawal on December 8, 1781.

The American victory at Yorktown in October 1781 was a serious blow to the British and most of their leaders knew that their time in America was short. George Washington and Nathanael Greene were pushing to reclaim the Southern colonies for the Americans. In order to recapture Georgia, Major General Anthony Wayne was dispatched from Yorktown. Meanwhile, sometime soon after the British abandonment of Ebenezer on December 8, Lieutenant Colonel James Jackson and the Georgia Legion occupied Ebenezer. Wayne arrived at Ebenezer on January 19, 1782 and established the town as his primary headquarters. The size of his initial army was about 350 men. This was augmented on April 4 by the arrival of Lieutenant Thomas Posey's Virginia Battalion, numbering just under 300 men. Wayne's army at Ebenezer probably never reached 1,000 men. Although Wayne moved about the lower Savannah River region over the next few months, Ebenezer remained the main base of operation for Wayne's army until June 22. In late June, Wayne began his final push towards Savannah. Wayne returned to Ebenezer to consult with

Georgia Governor Martin briefly on or a few days after July 1. The British officers negotiated with Wayne for a peaceful withdrawal from Savannah, which was completed on July 11, 1782.

Ebenezer faded from significance in strategic military terms after June 1782 and by September 1783 peace between Great Britain and the United States was finally declared. Although a small American military post may have continued at Ebenezer after Major General Wayne's departure from Georgia, little documentation is available for this time period.

THE COMMON SOLDIER AT EBENEZER

The British

The plight of the common soldier in the American Revolution is a fascinating subject of study (Bolton 1964; Bray and Bushnell 1978). Prior to the present study little was known of the thousands of soldiers who passed through Ebenezer. Of the common British soldier at Ebenezer probably few primary accounts have survived. Only one brief account was located and the identity of its author has not been fully researched. Francis John Kelly was a British soldier who served under Augustine Prevost from April through November 1779. His daybook, or diary, has survived and it contains details of this period, which includes time spent at Ebenezer (Kelly 1779).

The Americans

Thousands of American infantry, cavalry, artillery, and a handful of sailors and marines stayed at Ebenezer at various times in the war. For most their time at Ebenezer was brief, while others were stationed in garrison for several months. The entire Continental Southern Army, which comprised over 4,000 men, rested at Ebenezer following the failed Siege of Savannah in October 1779. Hundreds of noncommissioned officers and privates served under General Wayne's command at Ebenezer. Many of these are nameless, while others are listed in assorted returns and rosters but little else is known about them. Some of the luckier ones survived the war and later filed applications for pensions. The passage of time and fading memories had an affect on some of these men, however, and many dates, names, and regimental details are often garbled or inaccurate. Nevertheless, information gleaned from these pension applications often provides clues about them that are otherwise unavailable. Family genealogical research has also added details to the lives of these ordinary foot soldiers. To assemble biographical summaries of all of these men would be an enormous task and one that is far beyond the scope of the present study. A few examples, however, are presented.

A number of enlisted men who were posted at Ebenezer during the war were identified from internet research. Most of this information had been compiled by descendants of these individuals who used military pension applications, muster lists, and troop returns as sources. Other genealogical information on these people, including such details as the identity of their wives and children, property that they owned, and their location of residence following the war has been identified. All of this information combines to make these people a little less obscure in American history.

In his pension application that was filed in 1832, Private Reuben Brizandine, a soldier in the Virginia Battalion, provided this brief account of his time in Georgia in 1782: "From Cumberland Barracks marched under the Command of Colo. Posey to the State of Georgia to a place called Ebenezer on Savannah River. At that place General Wayne took Command of the detachment. From thence we marched to one Widow Gibbins in five miles of Savannah Town. There we had a battle with the Indians at which time General Wayne had his horse shot from under him. That same night we killed the Indian Chief named Sege" (Elder 2002).

The pension application of Private Cornelius Bybee described the experiences of his relative Private Nealy Bybee in 1782 with the Virginia Battalion: "In spring of 1782, Nealy's regiment, under command of Colonel Posey, marched to the Savannah River and encamped in this South Carolina location until the Fall. At this point Nealy Bybee was taken sick, small wonder all he was exposed to during the rigors of his 1781 campaign. Suffering from the deadly malaria or yellow fever along the Savannah and Santee Rivers, he was honorably discharged (Jones 2002).

James Swords, a native of Pennsylvania, was a private in the Georgia militia who served at Ebenezer under Captain William Kemp in 1754. He survived the war and filed for land in northern Georgia in 1787. James Swords was also listed under the command of Captain William Kemp on April 22, 1782. He is reported in the "return of the Militia belonging to the Upper Georgia Counties of the State of Georgia serving with the army under the command of General Wayne Headquarters Ebenezer". Below is an extract from the transcript of his Revolutionary War Pension statement, which is on file at the National Archives:

... on the 1st of March 1781, volunteered in the service of the United States as a Georgia Militiaman for a tour of another three months with Jonathan Jones Captain under General Anthony Wayne as Commander and this deponent can't remember any other of his officers during the tour but remembers that Jones was permitted to return home when this deponent was under William Camp as his Captain during the three months tour and this deponent further declares that he did not leave the service until the expiration of the said last three months but that he served the same fully and was honorably and verbally discharged by Captain Camp at the expiration of said three months, a relief having arrived and this deponent was not engaged in any battle during this three months tour....The deponent marched...down to Ebenezer upon the Savannah River at which place and at a place about one mile below this deponent was stationed during said three months last named at which latter place this deponent having fully served last three month tour he was honorably and verbally discharged by Captain William Camp.

Undoubtedly many other biographies of the common soldiers at Ebenezer can be reconstructed from additional research. The muster lists of Posey's Virginia Battalion, for example, contains several hundred enlisted men and non-commissioned officers, who are suitable fodder for historical research.

EBENEZER'S RESIDENTS AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

Loyalists

Ebenezer's populace was a mixed bag of political and military allegiance in the American Revolution. While fellow Georgians debated the pros and cons of rebellion at Peter Tondee's tavern near Savannah, the people from Ebenezer were noticeably absent. Despite their lack of attendance at these formative meetings, they were asked to sign a petition to King George, which

they did. Upon learning of the true use that was made of the document, which was to rally against the King, the Ebenezerites were outraged. They immediately issued a second petition that negated their agreement with the earlier document and voiced their solid support for the king. Two names that were glaringly absent from both of these documents were Ebenezer's clergy—Christian Israel Rabenhorst and Christopher Frederick Triebner.

A sizeable number of Ebenezer's residents remained loyal to King George III throughout the American Revolution. A list of some of them is compiled below:

- Geiger, Jacob, Private, King's Rangers, 1782
- Glaner, Benjamin, Private, King's Rangers, 1782
- Lackner, Frederick, Private, King's Rangers, 1782
- Miller, John, Private, King's Rangers, 1782
- Ott, Gottlieb, Private, King's Rangers, 1782
- Shuptrine, Christian, Private, King's Rangers, 1782
- Rahn, _____, Captain, Ebenezer loyalist militia, 1781
- Triebner, Christopher Frederick, Reverend, 1778-1782
- Zipperer, Samuel, Private, King's Rangers, 1782
- (Cashin 1999:275).

Other loyalists from Ebenezer who made their exodus to the Bahamas in late 1783 or early 1784, but whose military career is less well documented included: John Maurer; Oeschele; Schneider; Frederick Schrempff and George Ziegler (Bethel 1930).

Loyalist claims for lost property and expenses are recorded for a few Ebenezerites, including Christopher Triebner. Triebner's claim, which was filed in 1783, included a house in Ebenezer and another in Savannah, 600 volumes of books destroyed by the Americans, a grist mill, Negroes, and 900 acres of land (Coldham 1980:495; BPRO AO13/37/407-429).

Some of Ebenezer's loyalist families moved to Canada after the war, including the Freyermuths and the Buehlers. John Adam Friermuth [Freyermuth] filed a claim with the British government for his losses sustained in the war. Freyermuth was living in Effingham County at the time of the peace but later settled in Canso, Nova Scotia. Freyermuth claimed the loss of a 525 acre plantation in Georgia. Freyermuth was married to Maria Elizabetha Buehler. Jacob Behler [Buehler], who had served as Captain in the Ebenezer loyalist militia, also filed a claim with the British government following the war. In it he stated that he was a "native of Georgia", who had "emigrated to America in 1770". Such a contradictory statement is puzzling but one plausible explanation is offered here. Peter Buehler, a Moravian colonist, arrived in Georgia in 1738 but, like the other Moravians in Georgia, left the colony within a few years after being pressured to serve in the Georgia military against the Spanish. Historian Fries notes that Peter Buehler left the colony in 1738 and most of the Moravians went directly to Pennsylvania (Fries 1967). In 1743, however, a Peter Buehler receives a grant for land in Abercorn in St. Matthews Parish, which was only a few miles south of Ebenezer. Jacob Buehler may have been Peter Buehler's son, born in Georgia and returned to Europe for a period of time before returning to the colonies in 1770. Maria Buehler Freyermuth may have been Jacob Buehler's sister. By 1775 Jacob Buehler claimed that he was living in Ebenezer, where he had a house and a store. He stated that he was one of 21 Germans of Ebenezer who had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the Americans, or to sign, "an association". Buehler was, "obliged to hide in the woods until Colonel Archibald Campbell arrived at Savannah, where he was made a captain in the militia". Buehler was taken

prisoner during the 1779 Siege of Savannah and later exchanged. Following the evacuation of Savannah in July, 1782, Buehler went to Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia (Palmer 1984:58, 870-871; Jones 1986:10-11, 27).

John and William Miller, both of Georgia, filed claims with the British government for losses sustained in the war, but their petition was disallowed for want of evidence. Although the identity of William Miller is unclear, John Miller may be the same as John Boul Miller, Jr., who was a Georgia Loyalist militiaman and King's Ranger from Ebenezer in the final years of the war (Clark 1981, Volume 3:425, 449).

Private George Zeagler, along with Privates Jacob and Nicholas Zeagler, enlisted in Captain John Fisher's Regiment of the Orangeburgh militia in Captain Daniel Kelly's Company from June 14, to December 14, 1780 (Clark 1981, Volume 1:204). Like Ebenezer, Orangeburgh, South Carolina was a predominantly German-speaking Lutheran settlement. That the Zeaglers were in this South Carolina militia regiment does not preclude that they were the same as the Zieglers from Ebenezer, since there was considerable interchange between Ebenezer and Orangeburgh in the colonial period.

The Wylly family was another in the Ebenezer community that had split allegiance. While not a German surname, at least one Wylly (Thomas) married into German stock. His second wife, Naomi Roseberg [Roesberg], who was possibly born in 1770 [although Royce dates their marriage to 1780, which would have made Naomi only 10 at the time], was the daughter of Freiderich Roesberg from Savannah and Johanna Cronberger, an Ebenezer resident. Thomas Wylly was born in 1762 in the Tortola, British West Indies. Thomas was a staunch supporter of the rebel cause. He was appointed 2nd Lieutenant in the 4th Georgia Battalion, Continental Army. He was appointed Deputy Quartermaster General of Georgia, where he served under his uncle, Richard Wylly. Thomas Wylly acted as a spy for General Moultrie. Thomas fought in the battles of Midway Church and Brier Creek in early 1779. In 1788, Thomas was appointed Captain of the 3rd Company, Effingham Regiment. In 1792, he was elected to the Georgia Senate. In 1814, he was elected Captain of the Effingham Guards. Thomas Wylly emerged from the American Revolution as a wealthy plantation owner. He owned three plantations—all upstream from Ebenezer in Effingham County on the Savannah River, known as Tuckassee King, Walnut Hill, and Illinois plantations. In 1785 Thomas married his third wife, Sarah Grace King Goldwire, whose family owned the Mount Pleasant plantation. In 1792 Thomas was granted another 800 acres in Effingham County. Thomas Wylly also acquired several town lots in Ebenezer (Royce 2002; Elliott 1987:Appendix 1;CRG 30:273).

The other members of the Wylly family also prospered. Alexander Wylly, Alexander Campbell Wylly, and William Wylly, all natives of Georgia, were loyalists during the war and filed claims with the British government for their losses. Exiled, Alexander Wylly returned to Georgia with Major General Prevost in 1779. William Wylly and Alexander Campbell Wylly were captains of King's Ranger companies under Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown. Several of the Wyllys accompanied Brown to the Bahamas in 1783 or 1784. The Wylly name became prominent in Bahamian government in the latter part of the 18th and 19th centuries (Palmer 1984:951; Cashin 1999:Appendix 2: 249-294).

Dozens of Hessian mercenaries deserted from the British Army when the British were in the lower Savannah River region. Although the letters of Anthony Wayne and James Jackson suggest

that many dozen deserted, most of their names were not recorded. No records were located to indicate that any of these Hessians settled at Ebenezer, although the presence of the German speaking community there may have served as a stimulus for these battle weary soldiers to desert.

A few examples of Hessian deserters were located from the present research and are described. Private Lorenz Schoenbacher, 1st Company, Regiment von Rall deserted near Savannah on December 29, 1778. Private Johann Nicholas Bahner [Bahnert], deserted on April 11, 1779 near Savannah. Grenadier Daniel Hilgenberg deserted on April 24, 1779 near Zitterauer's [Zittrauer] Bridge, Georgia. Zitterauer's Bridge probably refers a bridge near the plantation of Rupert Zittrauer, Jr., who was a resident of the Ebenezer area (Jones 1986b:128). Both Bahner and Hilgenberg served in the 2nd Company, Regiment von Rall. Private Johannes Reid, 2nd Company, Regiment von Wissenbach deserted from Savannah on June 21, 1782. Musketeer George Peter Zoellner, 2nd Company Regiment von Anspach, deserted in June 1783 and eventually settled in Lincoln County, Georgia (Johannes Schwalm Historical Association 2002).

Ebenezer's loyalists took flight following the evacuation of Ebenezer by the British military in December 1781. Their circuitous path led them first to Savannah, where they found refuge until Savannah itself was evacuated in July 1782. From Savannah, Ebenezer's loyalists took refuge in St. Augustine in British East Florida. When the transfer of East Florida from Great Britain to Spain became apparent in 1784, the Ebenezer refugees sought safety in the newly established British colony of the Bahamas. A "Return of Loyalists who have arrived in the Bahama Islands from North America" on June 4, 1784 contained the names of 52 people, which included: "C. F. Triebner from east Florida with 7 whites, 11 blacks settled in Westward District" (BPRO CO 23/25:138). Reverend Triebner and his party may have actually arrived in the Bahamas as early as 1783, and he was almost certainly present by March 25, 1784, when he preached at White Ground, near New Providence, Bahamas (Strobel 1953:214-215). Bahamas Governor John Maxwell noted in a letter on June 19, 1784 that: "Four Transports of the first Division of Transports from St. Mary's [Georgia] are arrived and have about Two Hundred Negroes on board without order; as I unfortunately do not know whither the purchase of the soil has been made by the Govt." (BPRO CO 23/25:132). On August 22, Governor Maxwell summarized the refugee situation in an address to the House of Assembly:

"The Loyalists are about five hundred whites and one thousand Blacks: What the Evacuation of St. Augustine may affect, I cannot say... There are two Classes of Loyalists: the first consists of Farmers, who have set themselves down on the out-islands with large families and ten, twenty or one hundred slaves; those, in my opinion, merit a particular attention, and I will show it to them. The second class is composed of the officers, merchants, and people under a certain description, who hope to return to the American continent, when they have made their peace there..." (BPRO CO 23/25:103-105).

Reverend Triebner voiced his support of Governor Maxwell on November 3, 1784, but by May 1787 Reverend Triebner and most of his family had settled in England. The fate of the others from Ebenezer is unclear. Some eventually traveled back to the United States and some resettled in Effingham County. A preliminary search of land records yielded disappointing results, as only a few relevant land records were located. Reverend Triebner [misspelled Tubner] was granted 80 acres on New Providence Island. Ebenezer loyalist, Johann Heinle (John Hinely), received a 40 acre land grant on Cat Island in 1790 and a grant for 40 acres on Great Exuma Island in 1791 (Bahama Royal Grants C-79, F1:26). George Zeigler [misspelled as Teigler] received a grant for

100 acres on Cat Island (Bethell 1930). One of the most tantalizing modern clues to the presence of Ebenezer loyalists on the Bahamas was found by a cursory review of the current Bahamas telephone book. Three surnames, which are strongly linked to Ebenezer, and these were: Scimpff [Schrempff], Schneider, and Oxley [Oeschle].

Patriots

The role of those Ebenezerites who supported the American cause also is difficult to reconstruct. As noted earlier, Reverend Rabenhorst supported the American cause but he died early in the war, which left Ebenezer's rebels without any Lutheran clergy. It was not until 1785 that another Lutheran minister was sent to Georgia from Europe. His name was Johann Ernst Bergman. Bergman's correspondence suggests that he was well integrated into the Post-War German society of Effingham County, although he continued to correspond with Reverend Triebner for decades after the war. Another strong voice for the Patriots in the German community of Ebenezer was Johann Adam Treutlen, who was Georgia's first governor. Treutlen was drawn and quartered by British soldiers in South Carolina (Riley 1999).

A review of the surnames in the roster of Georgia Continentals revealed very few Germans, which may indicate a bias against allowing Germans to serve in the Continental Army in the South. Ebenezer did possess a sizeable body of American rebels, however, most of whom were served in the state militia. Muster rolls and returns of these militia companies are generally lacking from the historical record, however.

From August 21, 1782 minutes of the Executive Council:

A certificate of Colo James Jackson respecting Andrew Snider, who acted as pilot to General Wayne in the service of this State, being considered—Therefore,

ORDERED, That on account of his superior exertions, as specified in said certificate, that the said Snider do receive at the rates of four pounds, current money of this State, from the time that Genl Wayne crossed the river, to the fall of Savannah—this to be deemed a continental charge (Candler 2001, 2:366).

Major Ferdinand J. S. DeBrahm served as a Mechanical Engineer in the Continental Army under command of Major General Benjamin Lincoln. This officer was the nephew of Johann Gerar Wilhelm DeBrahm, who was a noted cartographer and engineer, resident of Charleston, Ebenezer, and Savannah and King's Surveyor for the Southern District. Unlike his uncle, Ferdinand supported the American Cause (DeVorse 1971; Stone and Lang 2002). Ferdinand DeBrahm was instrumental in recruiting soldiers the Ebenezer and Purysburg vicinity in June 1778. A "Plan of the Town of Purisburg & the Camp of Jan'y 9, 1779, by Ferdd J. S. de Brahm M.E." was among the papers of General Lincoln presently housed in the New York Public Library. DeBrahm drafted other military maps in the Southern theater, although few have survived (New York Public Library Emmet Collection 1779; Gibbes 1972, 1:120). Ferdinand DeBrahm's skills as a cartographer were less accomplished than that of his uncle, who remained loyal to the King throughout the war. Benjamin Lincoln considered Ferdinand a reliable officer and Ferdinand seems to have found his way into Lincoln's inner circle of staff officers. Lincoln's letter of January 25, 1779 to Rawlins Lowndes was delivered by Major DeBrahm (Allis 1967). Ferdinand DeBrahm wrote a letter to Lincoln from Charleston on March 10, 1779, in which he complained of a lack of recognition of his authority in Charleston and of the lack of supplies necessary for performance of his job as an engineer. Ferdinand wrote: "...I cannot think of staying

in Charleston any longer...”, and that he was, “...obliged to quit the service”. Finally, DeBrahm begged Lincoln for a military discharge. Apparently none was granted, however, and General Lincoln’s account of the capture of Charleston in 1780 was penned by DeBrahm. It was not determined if DeBrahm was captured along with General Lincoln when Charleston fell in May, 1780, although he survived to serve again in the Southern Army. Major F. DeBrahm was among a number of officers in the Southern Army who received supplies from Dec 12 1781 to July 29, 1782 (NARA M927, Roll 1:39). Ferdinand DeBrahm was later a witness to the will of James Cannon of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, whose will was dated October 28, 1781 and probated on February 13, 1782. No military service record for Major Ferdinand DeBrahm was located in the National Archives.

Although Wilhelm DeBrahm originally settled in Ebenezer and Ebenezer’s satellite farming community of Bethany in 1751, he moved about the Southern Colonies and was residing in Charleston at the beginning of the American Revolution. William DeBrahm was living in Philadelphia after the American Revolution. DeBrahm’s property in Georgia and South Carolina was confiscated following the war, but his name was taken off the confiscation and banishment list in 1784 (DeVorse 1971; USGenweb 2002).

IV. Defining Ebenezer in the Modern Landscape

Many features were identified from historical research that could possibly be identified by archeological field survey. These included the following:

- Augusta Road;
- Town of Ebenezer;
- Jerusalem Church;
- Jerusalem Cemetery;
- American and British Magazines;
- DeBrahm's 1757 Fort;
- British Redoubts 1, 2, 3 and 4;
- Connecting Abatis and Trench line, and;
- Ebenezer Creek and the Savannah River.

Immediately upon their arrival at Ebenezer in January 1779 the British troops began fortifying the town of New Ebenezer as their headquarters. A contemporary plan map of these defenses (presumably drawn by Engineer John Wilson) has survived and served as a guide for the mapping project. This map shows the town surrounded by a series of seven redoubts that are linked by an abatis, or palisade line. The map also shows the town of Ebenezer and the road network that existed in 1779. The redoubts on Wilson's plan are numbered (1 through 7), and this phase of our study included Redoubts 1 through 4. The location of Redoubt 4 was well known from visible traces and a portion of the palisade ditch of Redoubt 3 had been located by archeological test excavations by the Elliotts in 1999. No obvious trace of Redoubts 1 and 2 were known, although an elevated patch of ground on the northeastern quadrant of town was considered a possible candidate for one of the redoubt's location. In addition, prior to the inception of this study, one other earthen enclosure was known to exist. It was located just west of the town in its northwestern quadrant. The date of this redoubt was unknown but it was suspected to be associated with the Revolutionary War. We had no indication of which army constructed it. Another major feature on the landscape that was known prior to fieldwork was the Old Augusta Road, which linked Augusta and Savannah. It was the oldest public road in Georgia, with two sections in this area known to exist.

The first project task of the topographic mapping project was to establish reference datums for key transit stations throughout the town. The primary site datum, which is a concrete post at 1000 meters North 1000 meters East, was established in the first archeological project in 1987. Additional datums were established throughout the town and near areas of military interest. The overall result was the creation of a topographic map of the town and surrounding areas, which was based on the entire database of more than 6,000 transit shots. The general topographic plan of Ebenezer is shown in [Figure 21](#). The next task was the detailed topographic mapping of Redoubt 4—the most obvious of the earthworks at Ebenezer. This redoubt, which is enclosed by a wooden fence for its protection, is located just west of the town on its southwest quadrant. The laser transit mapping revealed it to be a well-preserved design, akin to a baseball home plate in plan, with a single entrance at the center of its northern wall. A small appendage on the northwestern side suggested the addition of a cannon battery outside of the redoubt. The map generated by the present survey was then compared to Wilson's plan map with startling results.

Wilson's plan was discovered to be highly accurate in terms of the redoubt's plan design, compass orientation, and horizontal dimensions.

Next we began the search for Redoubt 2. Wilson's map indicated that it was a diamond-shaped fortification approximately 60 meters in maximum extent. The approximate location of the center of the redoubt was calculated by triangulation from known reference points, including Redoubts 3, 4, Center Street and the Jerusalem Church. A visual inspection of this targeted area revealed no obvious signs of fortifications, although a few high and low elevation points were noted. This area was laser transit mapped in great detail. To supplement our knowledge of the military resources in this vicinity, we opted to use a metal detector to locate ferrous and nonferrous signals in the suspected redoubt vicinity. A subset of these metal detector hits was

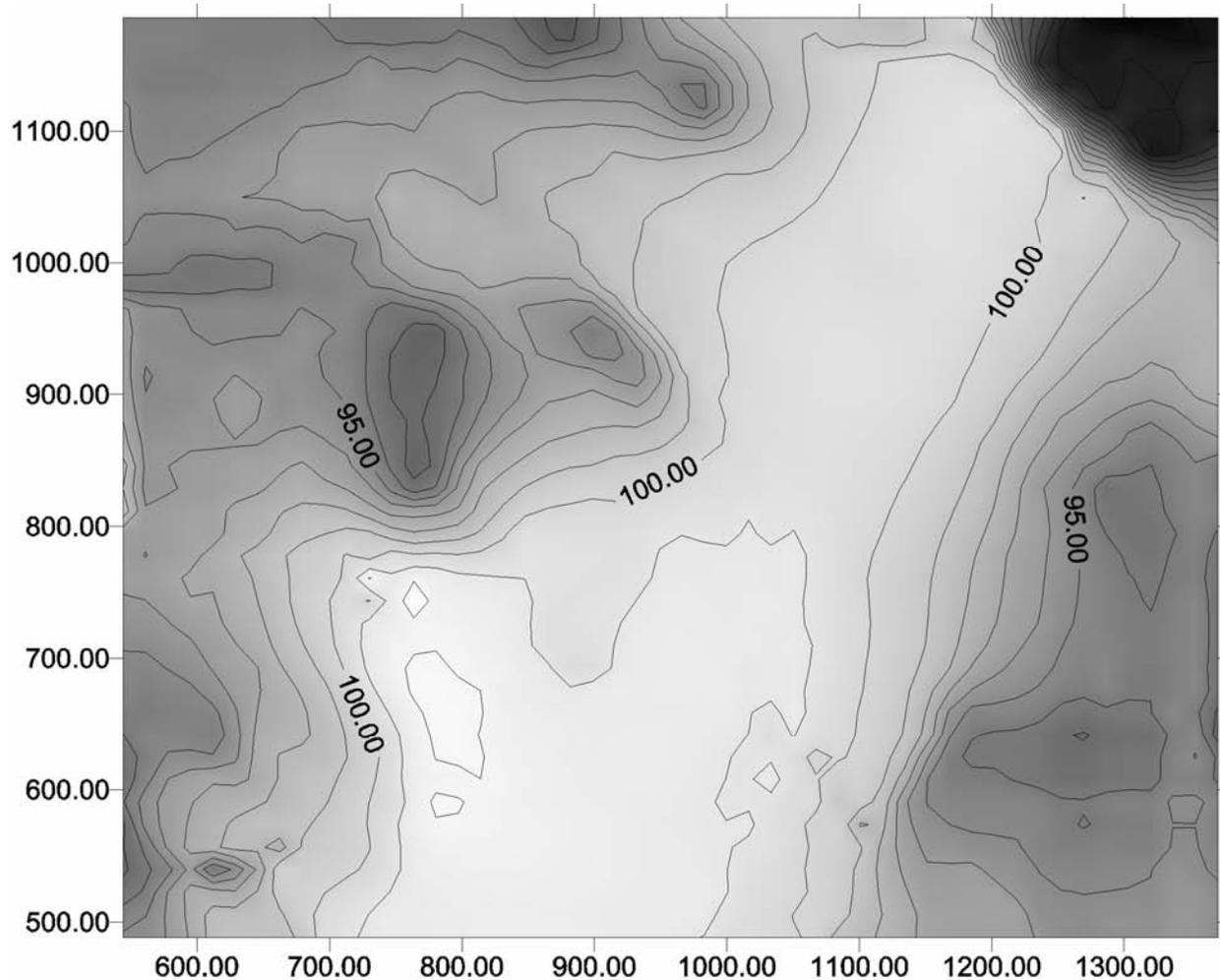


Figure 21. Topography Map of New Ebenezer, Georgia.

ground-truthed, taking care not to disturb soils below the plowzone. The finds were plotted with the total station, recorded in the field notebook, and then returned to their original location on the site. By this process, more than 80 metal items of a military nature were plotted and the results revealed the general location of Redoubt 2. It should be noted that a part of the Redoubt 2 vicinity was intensively surveyed with shovel tests spaced at 20-meter intervals in 1987 but these

tests were mostly unproductive. The present field research will result in a significant eastward extension of the archeological resources at New Ebenezer archeological site 9Ef28.

The search for Redoubt 1 began with archeologists mapping the elevated area (mentioned earlier) in the northeastern quadrant of town. It was not known if this slight earthen rise was part of the British Revolutionary War-era redoubts, some other undocumented fort, part of William DeBrahm's 1757 fort, or a natural topographic feature. The mapping quickly eliminated the latter two possibilities when elevations revealed a small earthen enclosure, somewhat similar in plan to Redoubt 4. Although this earthwork was degraded, an earthen berm representing the parapet and a depressed area representing the dry moat were identified through intensive laser transit shots. This fortification was given the field designation of "Mystery Redoubt 2". The interpretation of this feature was complicated by the fact that it was superimposed on DeBrahm's 1757 fort and some of the depressed areas in this vicinity may be traces of the moat of DeBrahm's fort. A prominent landscape feature in this vicinity is an old road grade that leads from the bluff to the Savannah River. This road is quite old and may date to the Colonial period. Slight undulations on the landscape flanked both sides of this road and were suspected to be beaten-down earthworks. The metal detector was used to confirm these suspicions and these areas were carefully mapped. Within this complex area lies Wilson's Redoubt 1, although our mapping project revealed more fortifications than are shown on his plan.

The vicinity of Redoubt 3 was mapped in great detail but no visible signs of the fortification were readily apparent. Several subsequent features have served to mask the fort's location and these include: Georgia Highway 275, the older Ebenezer Road, Jerusalem Church Cemetery, and the New Ebenezer Retreat Center parking lot. Careful study of Wilson's map, combined with the knowledge gained from the 1999 archeological project, suggests that this fort was octagonal in plan and located at the southern end of Center Street. This position would have it underlying a section of the cemetery with several dozen graves from the 19th and 20th centuries intruding on top of the earthworks. Headstones and footstones of 139 graves in the northeastern section of the cemetery were mapped in detail as part of the present study. Death dates for each of these were recorded so that the expansion of the cemetery can be mapped chronologically.

The only other extant map of Ebenezer that shows military defenses is William DeBrahm's (ca. 1757) map of the town. Several versions of this map have survived in various archives and libraries. They all show a fortification that surrounds a group of 10 house lots and the Silk Filature lot on the northeast quadrant of Ebenezer. Since this fort may have been extant in the 1770s, it was considered an important target of the mapping project. The Americans had established some sort of fortification at Ebenezer by 1775 and a small permanent garrison was assigned to it. The location of the arms and powder magazine was unknown, but the vicinity of DeBrahm's fort is a likely candidate for it.

An act of the Georgia Legislature, passed in 1816 provides an interesting reference to a former magazine at Ebenezer. Article 4 of that act provided: "That the Justices of the Inferior court, or any three of them, be and they are hereby authorised to sell and dispose of a decayed brick building in the town of Ebenezer, formerly used as a Magazine, in such manner as they may deem most proper -- the monies arising therefrom to be applied by the Justices aforesaid, for the purpose of aiding and completing the Court-House to be built in said county". An earlier act, passed in 1799 approved the relocation of the Effingham County courthouse from Ebenezer to a newly planned town (Springfield), which continues as the County Seat (Georgia Acts 1816,

Volume 1:106). This reference to a decayed brick building is most provocative, since only one brick building is known for Ebenezer, and that is the Jerusalem Church.

The only other location in town where archeological evidence has uncovered any significant amount of brick rubble is at the Silk filature, which was a wood frame building with a “stone” foundation. The silk filature building at Ebenezer was completed in 1752. Pastor John Martin Boltzius provided a lengthy written description of the building immediately following its completion. The building was sited on the earlier location of the public commissary, which was a storehouse of goods distributed as needed to the community by Ebenezer’s clergy. No physical description of this storehouse has survived, but it was likely a sturdy and secure log or wood frame building. As late as 1770 the silk filature at Ebenezer was probably in operation, for in that year the Salzburgers produced 291 pounds of raw silk (McKinstry 1930:233).

The silk filature building at Ebenezer was completed in 1752 when it was described by Pastor John Martin Boltzius. The filature was built on a public lot that measured 198 feet by 98 feet. The dimensions of the building were 42 feet by 22 feet and it was 26 feet 3 inches in height. It had two floors, the lower story was 9 feet high, had 12 windows, 8 kettles and 8 spinning machines. The second story was used for keeping the silk cocoons. The remainder of the public lot contained a dense growth of mulberry trees (Bergmann 1825).

The approximate vicinity of the Silk Filature was determined in 1990 by archeological survey and testing. In the present study, this area was extensively mapped and surveyed using a metal detector. Only a very small sample of the metal detector “hits” was ground truthed but the readings that were obtained provided a preliminary understanding of the location of DeBrahm’s 1757 fort ditch, particularly on the southern and western sides. The eastern side of DeBrahm’s 1757 fort may overlap slightly with Redoubt 2. Areas suitable for GPR mapping on both DeBrahm’s fort and Redoubt 2 were identified in the present study and will be targeted in the next phase of fieldwork.

Mystery Redoubt 1 was the earthwork located just off the western side of town on its northwestern quadrant. This redoubt was mapped in detail and discovered to be considerably smaller than Redoubt 4 having an irregular polygon shape in plan. This earthwork was flanked by an old road that formerly led to the Savannah River. Its trace was clearly visible and mapped in detail by our crew. Several low berms were located in the vicinity and may represent additional earthworks but their status was not fully determined. In addition, several lines of ditch work, a possible cellar, and another possible road were located south of Mystery Redoubt 1 and these were partially mapped. The fieldwork time expired before this area was exhaustively mapped, however, so additional mapping in this vicinity is warranted.

The traces of the Old Augusta Road were mapped in detail. This included two major sections. The first extended from a creek bottom southeast of Ebenezer to Georgia Highway 275 and the second extended from the western fence of the Jerusalem Church Cemetery to an unnamed stream crossing southwest of Ebenezer. Numerous traces of defensive trenches, including several that paralleled the Augusta Road and others that guarded vulnerable approaches against invasion, were mapped by this project. Portions of several other old road traces that were associated with the Augusta Road were mapped in detail. At the stream crossing southwest of Ebenezer were numerous defensive ditches, a house cellar depression and building pad, possible well depression, a major borrow pit (of considerable antiquity), and a deeply entrenched road bed. Most of these features were mapped in detail, although this effort was not exhaustive and the area would benefit from additional mapping.

The Jerusalem Church grounds were mapped in detail. According to local lore (and possibly to be verified by historical accounts) the Church, which was completed in 1769, served as a hospital and stable during the British occupation. From this, it is reasonable to expect that features (possibly including human burials or discarded body parts) and other associated debris fields may be preserved in this vicinity. The Church building is the only standing architectural landmark (other than the earthwork traces) in the town that dates to the Revolutionary War era. This building has been photo-documented in the Historic American Buildings Survey files but no scaled drawings of the building are known to exist. It should be noted that the Jerusalem Church maintains an active congregation and is one of the oldest Lutheran congregations on the Eastern Seaboard. This building is one of the oldest standing public structures in Georgia and is a remarkable example of Salzburger industry and 18th century architectural design. The interior of the church was remodeled in the mid-19th century and again in the mid-20th century. The building was rocked by the 1886 Charleston Earthquake, which caused fractures that were secured by metal braces. The Church steeple contains two large bronze bells that predate the American Revolution.

The approximate corners of the church building were located with the total station. Ancillary buildings and other features are located outside the Jerusalem Church, including heating and air conditioning facilities, a large brick Sunday School building, a Boy Scout hut/garage, well and well house, and a subterranean grease trap. In addition other utilities are present, such as a septic tank and drain field and buried electrical cables and the precise location of these features is not readily apparent from surface observation.

Jerusalem Church is currently planning to expand their facilities with a large building that will extend from the current Sunday School building northward. This building will impact approximately 8,000 square feet of the town site, excluding areas required for additional utilities such as electric lines, water lines, and a new well, septic tank and drain field. Construction of this facility is in the planning stages and no ground breaking has occurred as of this writing. The adverse impact of this new construction on the archeological resources at Ebenezer is a matter of concern to the LAMAR Institute's archeologists, as well as members of the Jerusalem Church and a plan to mitigate this impact is presently being implemented. The Jerusalem Church was considered a contributing element of the NRHP nomination in the 1970s and we would concur with this. The surrounding church grounds also have the potential to yield important information about the Revolutionary War and earlier Colonial period.

In addition to these major military resources that were mapped, many minor features were mapped that may relate to the American Revolution. These include small trench features, cellar depressions, and three series of rectangular depressions that are suspected to be clusters of human burials. Two of these suspected cemeteries were located south of the enclosed Jerusalem Church Cemetery, while the other was located southeast of Mystery Redoubt 1 on the original Orphanage Lot. The precise age and cultural affiliation of these suspected cemeteries was not determined in the present study but they may include Revolutionary War dead. The oldest recorded marker in the Jerusalem Church Cemetery is dated 1813, and likely thousands of burials took place at Ebenezer in the 77 years prior that the town was occupied. The presence of thousands of British and American troops at Ebenezer, including garrisons of several hundred men for many months at a time, almost certainly insures that dozens of Revolutionary War veterans from both sides of the war were buried in and around Ebenezer. None of their graves, however, are presently known. Some of the suspected graves that were mapped in this study may be war dead.

EBENEZER'S EARTHWORKS

While no major battles were fought within the town of New Ebenezer during the American Revolution, the town nevertheless played a vital role in the military theater. Artifacts found eroding in the dirt parking lot are testament to a military presence in colonial Ebenezer. The town was occupied by both sides during the war, and the residents of town suffered greatly as a result. At various times during the war there were thousands of troops garrisoned at Ebenezer. The town was the primary British headquarters during the campaign against the interior, and, after most of the British forces advanced towards Charleston, the town remained guarded by the 2nd Battalion of the 71st Regiment for another six months. It is probably this period of occupation (ca. 1779) that is most evidenced in the archeological record on the Fifth Tything, East Ward (Campbell 1981:32, 62, 65; Boatner 1969:1035).

Ebenezer was heavily fortified in the American Revolution and although some earthworks were built by the American rebels in 1776, most of the military construction at Ebenezer is attributed to the British, who arrived in January 1779 (Jones 2001:329). Defensive constructions were begun at Ebenezer soon after the town was created in 1736, but it was not until the 1750s that substantial earthworks were built. These defenses were built in response to the French and Indian threat in the Seven Years War. If any fort was built at Ebenezer during King George's War, also known as the War of Jenkin's Ear, these efforts are not well documented. By the early 1770s, however, the 1750s fort was in disrepair. Charles C. Jones, Jr.'s summary of the state of Georgia's fortifications at the beginning of the American Revolution included this observation about Ebenezer, "Of the fort at New Ebenezer...and the other minor defences erected in the early days of the colony scarce a vestige remained" (Jones 2001, 2:298). The Americans, who used Ebenezer as a food and ammunition depot in 1775 and 1776, probably built earthworks but these are undocumented. When the British occupied Ebenezer in January 1779 they built an extensive defensive web around the town that included at least seven redoubts connected by an abatis wall.

The most detailed source of information about the military earthworks surrounding Ebenezer is found in an unattributed British Military map on file at the Georgia Salzburger Society Museum at Ebenezer. This map, entitled, *Plan of Ebenezer Showing the Works made for its Defence since in Possession of His Majesty's Troops* was probably drafted about 1779. The history of this map should be the subject of further study. This map is reproduced in [Figure 22](#).

Although unattributed its precise date unknown, and its original provenance undetermined, the map is in the style of Ensign John Wilson, 71st Regiment, who drafted a similar map of the fortifications at Savannah. The unattributed Ebenezer fortifications map is cited as (Wilson 1779) for purposes of convenience in this report. Wilson's map shows an extensive line of defense surrounding the town with five redoubts positioned along the line and two additional redoubts west of the town. Construction of the redoubts had begun by January 1779 (Campbell 1981:71).

Spy accounts of the British defenses, which were relayed to General William Moultrie in February, 1779 provides a brief, but informative description of Ebenezer's defenses at that time. The spy's identity is not recorded, although it may have been Thomas Wylly, who was a resident of Ebenezer. The location of the first area of defense described by spies to General William Moultrie was described as, "about three miles on the south side" of Ebenezer. This is well outside of the present study boundary and these defenses were not located. The "strong picquet at

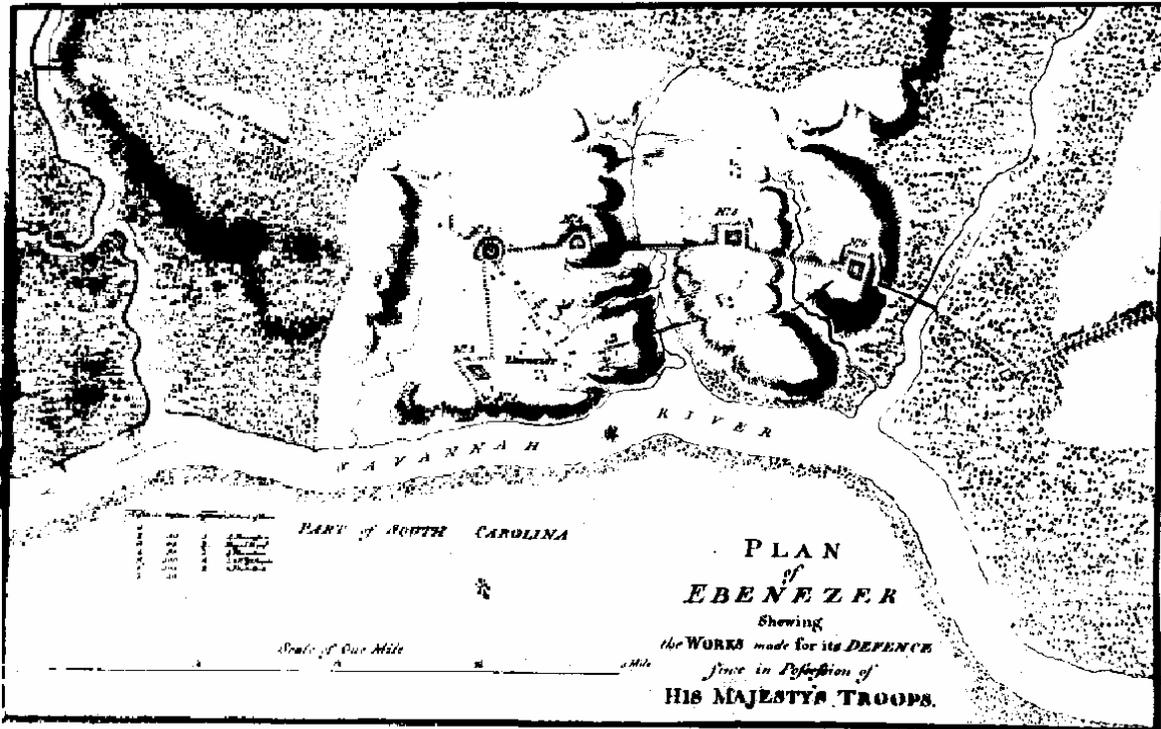


Figure 22. Plan of Ebenezer Showing the Works Made for Its Defence Since in Possession of His Majesty's Troops (Wilson 1779).

the bridge” probably refers to Redoubts 6 or 7, which were located near Ebenezer Creek. Both of these locations were north of the present study boundary. The redoubt described as, “on the water on the north side [of Ebenezer]” may refer to Mystery Redoubt 2 (Moultrie 1802, 2:336). The redoubt described as, “down at the ferry [at Ebenezer]” may refer to an, as yet, unlocated fortification. Local resident Milton Ziegler remembered that another elderly local resident, Harold Fail, had told him that an earthwork was located on the opposite bank of the Savannah River from Ebenezer, which may have been at the ferry. The area of the Savannah River floodplain at Ebenezer was reconnoitered for evidence of earthworks. The South Carolina side of the river at Ebenezer was not examined in the present study. The redoubt described as, “round the little house near the tavern [at Ebenezer]” undoubtedly refers to Redoubt 3. Previous archeological research at Ebenezer by the LAMAR Institute has located this tavern, which was owned by John Rentz. The tavern is located a short distance north of Redoubt 3. The redoubt described as, “on the hill, the south side of the south pass, and a very strong picquet [above the Ebenezer ferry]” may refer to Wilson’s Redoubt 1, Mystery Redoubt 1, and/or Wilson’s Redoubt 2 (Moultrie 1802, 2:336). Wilson’s Redoubt Number 4 is probably synonymous with one of “two strong redoubts” that were described by an American spy to General Moultrie in February, 1779 (Moultrie 1802, 2:336).

Two earthworks are clearly visible on the ground surface of New Ebenezer, and another remnant of a redoubt is recorded west of the town on private property. The best preserved redoubt is identified on John Wilson’s map of the British military defenses as Redoubt Number 4, which is situated on the southwestern corner of New Ebenezer, where it is enclosed by a wooden fence

(Wilson 1779). Another earthwork is located immediately west of town near the Orphanage lot and its origin and association is enigmatic. This undocumented redoubt was not part of the outer defensive perimeter that surrounded New Ebenezer. One suggested explanation was that it was the remnants of a headquarters compound, either British or American. There is even a slight possibility that it dates to the American Civil War when skirmishes between Union and Confederate troops occurred at Ebenezer Creek, although the possibility is considered extremely remote. Redoubt Number 3 was located in the vicinity of the present cemetery, but no visible traces of this earthwork remain. Part of the 1996 Elderhostel research was in the general vicinity of the British Redoubt Number 3, as shown on Wilson's map. Although the initial results did not locate remains of the British fort, a renewed effort in 1999 resulted in the successful location of a palisade ditch that was most likely part of Redoubt 3. Remnants of another substantial earthworks exist adjacent to the northwest corner of town, but this construction is not shown on the British military map and its age and association are unknown.

Military buttons have been recovered from the area immediately south and west of town, on the Riley property, including ones from the 60th, 70th, and 71st Regiments (Elliott 1990). Buttons associated with the Hessian regiments also may have been recovered but, as Troiani and others have noted, Hessian uniform buttons were usually plain brass buttons and indistinguishable from civilian buttons of the period (Troiani 2001:79; Larry Babits personal communication June 26, 2002). Numerous plain brass buttons, which may be from Hessian uniforms, have been recovered from the Ebenezer excavations. Miscellaneous other items from the Revolutionary War are housed in the Georgia Salzburger Museum including a bayonet confiscated from looters and attributed to the Redoubt 4 locale (Lorene Riley and Peck Riley personal communication March 1989), and a small iron cannonball (or large grapeshot) from an area west of Ebenezer Creek collected by Charles Gnann. The Trustees of the Lutheran Churches of Effingham County (a church governing body) also have a small collection of artifacts in their vault at Ebenezer, which were confiscated from looters from their property south of Ebenezer (Charles Gnann personal communication January 1992).

The military artifacts found during the second Elderhostel project probably are associated with the troops stationed at Redoubt 3, and probably date to the first half of 1779. Redoubt 3 is identified on the map by a hexagonal symbol, and is located south of town near where the Augusta Road makes an angled turn. According to the legend on the map, this redoubt was manned by 60 soldiers and was armed with two "Royal mortars".

Artifacts were discovered in the Retreat Center parking lot, west of Highway 275, and a minimum effort was expended to examine the research potential of this area during the second Elderhostel session. This area lies within New Ebenezer's East Ward, Fifth Tything, which was designated Provenience 7. Provenience 7 also includes areas of Center Street and Ebenezer Commons.

As a result of heavy rains in 1992, colonial period artifacts were eroding out on the surface near the entrance of the unpaved parking lot attracting the attention of the archeologists. An initial surface collection yielded artifacts associated with the British military occupation of New Ebenezer, a pewter button from a British 71st Highlander's uniform. Since no artifact data had been located thus far from the military occupation, some attention was diverted to investigate this area. An additional and more complete surface collection was made, grid coordinates were established and a portion of the parking lot was troweled to expose features. Several 18th century

pit features were identified and mapped, and a small post mold feature was excavated during the second Elderhostel session.

The broader research questions likewise can be applied to the features exposed in the parking lot. Initial observation indicates artifacts within the features date to the Revolutionary War period and some have a military function. Prior to this project, absolutely no archeology had been done on this period at New Ebenezer, in spite of the fact that the war had a devastating and permanent effect on the town and its inhabitants. Over 3,000 military troops were stationed at New Ebenezer between 1775 and 1783, as the town alternated between British and American control. Ebenezer is rarely mentioned in histories of the American Revolution, probably because no major battles were ever fought in the town. The town was, however, of strategic importance as a headquarters and staging area for military campaigns. In the early years of the war, Ebenezer served as a munitions and rations depot for the American rebel militia. During 1778 and 1779, the British at Ebenezer faced a standoff with the Americans under command of Benjamin Lincoln at Purysburg, South Carolina, less than 5 miles away. Contingents of the 71st Highland Regiment and German mercenary Hessians were stationed at Ebenezer. The high command of the British resided at Ebenezer for a period of time. During this period the two sides exchanged prisoners. Most of the British troops abandoned Ebenezer as they pursued Lincoln's Southern Army to Charleston. Near the war's end American Major General Wayne and a large force of regular army and militia occupied the town and established it as his headquarters during his campaign to retake control of Savannah and the southern coastal region. While most of the troops were not always in town, it served as a base for supplies. It likely also served as a hospital for sick and wounded soldiers.

The period of greatest military construction was probably during the British occupation, as Wilson's map of the fortifications that surrounded Ebenezer and nearby sections demonstrates. This system of defenses stretched more than five miles around the town. A series of heavily armed redoubts, connected by a line of abatis (sharpened stakes or palisade line) surrounded Ebenezer. The defensive line incorporated portions of the Augusta Road. At least two of the redoubts shown on this map can be linked to modern day features. One is located northwest of the cemetery, while the other is located across a small branch on private land (Elliott 1990). Other minor British fortified posts at Gibbon's plantation, Cherokee Hill, Abercorn, Zubly's Ferry, Two Sisters, Mount Pleasant, and Hudson's Ferry served to tighten the British stranglehold on Georgia.

Very few visible traces of these intensive military activities remain, except for the military redoubts. Encampments, privies, human burials and other such information-filled features presumably remain underground, awaiting archeological recovery. The parking lot stains may be two such feature just coming to light after more than two hundred years of dormancy. Mapping, recording, and excavation of these features will eventually result in additional information for this terminal period of Ebenezer's history.

Excavations in the Town Commons of New Ebenezer yielded exciting findings. This area immediately south of town was public land. Garden lots were located east and west of town but the area to the south is identified on early plats as the town commons. This area contains the Jerusalem Lutheran Church cemetery and a large part of this land is presently owned by the Trustees of the Lutheran Churches of Effingham County. As previously noted, the British took the liberty of developing this area for their military defense network. Redoubts were constructed immediately south of Center Street (Redoubt Number 3) and just beyond the southwestern corner

of town (Redoubt Number 4). The redoubts were linked by a continuous palisade line and remnants of this linear earthwork remains visible west of town on the Riley property. This portion of the Town Commons also contained a section of the Augusta-Savannah Road, which was the earliest overland transportation route established in the colony. Old traces of the route of this road have survived. A deeply entrenched segment is visible east of Georgia Highway 275, although the road probably changed over the course of its history. The route of the road was undoubtedly affected by the construction of the British defensive works, which would have forced the road away from the town, thereby limiting access to the town.

The military engineering also may have adversely affected the Jerusalem Church cemetery and other features within the town. The number of troops who were stationed at New Ebenezer fluctuated wildly during the war, ranging from a few soldiers to more than 3,500 troops. The Americans were the first to use the town as a storage depot. When the primary British invasion force arrived in 1778, the effect on the townspeople was significant. Those who supported the American cause probably fled and their houses were prey to pilfering and ransacking. When the theater of war shifted to Charleston, South Carolina, most of the British troops left New Ebenezer. A contingent of more than 700 soldiers, mostly Hessians, was left to guard the town. After Charleston fell to the British most of coastal Georgia and South Carolina remained firmly in British control, except for limited guerrilla activity. The balance of power changed dramatically in early 1782 when Anthony Wayne and his army moved southwestward to recapture Savannah. General Wayne established New Ebenezer as his headquarters, as did the Georgia's Governor Martin. General Wayne's men no doubt occupied the fortifications built by the British. Evidence of this was observed in the archeological excavations by the recovery of a single American uniform button from the vicinity of Redoubt Number 3.

Test Unit 82, as well as the shovel-tested area south of town, was dominated by late colonial or early federal period artifacts. Some of the artifacts from this area clearly postdate the American Revolutionary period, which suggested that people were possibly living in this area after most of the town was abandoned. During the colonial period this area was part of the Ebenezer Town Commons and was not used for domestic residences. The British established Redoubt 3 in the same general area, which was manned by 60 men and two royal mortars (Wilson 1779). This redoubt guarded the main entrance into town.

As indicated in the correspondence from Nathanael Greene to Anthony Wayne, most of the earthworks were filled-in prior to Wayne's departure from Ebenezer in June 1782. This leveling effort was completely effected at two of the town's redoubts (Redoubts 2 and 3) and possibly partially completed at several others. Redoubt 4 was left intact, however, possibly to serve as a refuge for the whigs at Ebenezer in the event of another British invasion.

At least two attempts were made to revive New Ebenezer; one in the 1790s and another in the 1820s. Both presumably failed but not without leaving some archeological evidence. The 1790s revival was accompanied by reissuance of several town lots, particularly those empty lots located on the south side of town. The 1790s plat is noteworthy because it shows a different arrangement on the southern end of town from earlier and subsequent plans.

Magazine

From March 1776 to November, 1778, New Ebenezer served as a major supply depot for arms, munitions, and foodstuffs for the American rebels. In July 1778 the magazine at Ebenezer held

7000 hundredweight of gunpowder, which was greatly increased in November, when the rebel Georgia government passed a resolution to move the stores of lead and gunpowder from Savannah to New Ebenezer (Candler 2001, 2:39-40, 57, 82, 115, 119).

Outfitting an army required a large store of supplies. An American, “Estimate of Arms, Accoutrements, and Ammunition Required for an Army of 30,000 Men”, which was compiled at the time of the American Revolution included the following: “Flints, six to each Man 180,000 Required; 180,000 Supposed to be on hand, Musket Cartridges, 5 Sets of 60 each are to each man 300; 9,000,000 required; 1,500,000 Supposed to be on hand” (NARA M927, Roll 1).

Obviously, the magazine at Ebenezer was not stocked to arm a 30,000 man army but it probably housed substantial stores. No detailed records of the Ebenezer magazine were located from the present research but relevant records were found for Purysburg, which was located 5 miles below Ebenezer in South Carolina. When the supply of Georgia’s powder, which had been transferred to Purysburg, was inventoried following the fall of Savannah in 1778, it included 8,175 hundredweight, which was divided into the categories, as shown in [Table 18](#).

Table 18. Extract from “Return of Powder in the Purysburgh Magazine”, January 6, 1779.

	Lbs	Lbs	Lbs	Marks
Powder Casks	100	50	25	
Cannon Powder	45	7		CP
Musket Powder	14	24	1	MP
Rifle Powder	3			MPR
Glase Powder	2			MPG

(Allis 1967:Reel 3).

The Georgia militia was active at Ebenezer, particularly prior to Campbell’s campaign of 1778-1779. Officers in the Georgia militia who were directly associated with (or garrisoned at) Ebenezer include Captain Jacob Walthour, Charles McKay, and Captain Francis Moore. In early 1779 Colonel Leonard Marbury was given command of the Georgia militia. Marbury, a resident of the Ogeechee River region, was active in interior Georgia, although he was not directly linked to Ebenezer. Captain William Camp was another officer in the Georgia militia who may have been at Ebenezer.

An ammunition magazine was built by the rebel Government of Georgia at Ebenezer prior to the official start of the American Revolution. Powder and ammunition was taken there from Savannah for safekeeping and this munitions depot was defended by a small guard. Although no details on the size, configuration, or location of this magazine was located, we can surmise that it was a substantial construction given the large volume of powder that was stored there.

Official Georgia records contain key information on the munitions magazine and stores at Ebenezer. From the minutes of the Executive Council on February 19, 1778, we learn:

Charles McKay who commands a party of men for the purpose of guarding the Magazine at Ebenezer represented to the Board that out of twelve men which he had on duty four have left him and that the remainder refuse to Serve any longer as the sum allowed them for pay & Rations is not Sufficient to maintain them being only two Shillings and four pence half penny per day and says that if he was allowed at the rate of four pounds and ten Shillings for each man per month he believes he could raise his former compliment—That the Magazine is almost completed and thinks

that it would be proper to have a Small Guard house erected near it, as it is a considerable distance from any house where the Guard can stay.

ORDERED That it be recommended to the honorable house of Assembly to make such augmentation to the pay of the Guard at Ebenezer as may be thought Sufficient, and also to direct that a house be erected for the accommodation of the Said Guard (Candler 2001, 2:39-40).

The minutes of the Executive Council provided orders for manning the magazine in its February 25 minutes:

The House of Assembly having discharged the Company of men raised for a Guard over the powder Magazine at Ebenezer It is Ordered that Colonel Jack be directed to station an Officer and twelve men out of Captain Moore's Company of Minute Men at that place—the Continental Troops having marched Southwardly.

ORDERED, That a Copy of the Resolve of the House of Assembly dated February 19th 1778 respecting the Powder Magazine at Ebenezer, and the Guard placed at the same be transmitted by the Secretary of this Board to Charles McKay, who is appointed Keeper of the said Magazine (Candler 2001, 2:43-44).

The minutes of the Executive Council for March 24, 1778 gave this cautious advice:

ORDERED That the following Instructions be given to the keepers of the Magazines in Savannah and Ebenezer respectively.

You are to be vigilant and attentive in the care of the Magazine and powder committed to your Charge—to have the same properly placed so as to prevent it receiving the damage from the Weather or otherwise to have it frequently turned and looked at and if at any time the Casks or Kegs want Coopering or if the powder requires new ones to have the same done at the public Charge. you are also to give an Eye to the Guard placed at the said Magazine and if at any time you observe any remissness or negligence in them, to make immediate report thereof to the Governor. In short you are with the utmost exactness and fidelity to do every thing which appears Necessary for preserving, taking care of and Securing the said Magazine and the Powder therein contained.

And you are not to deliver out any of the said Powder to any persons whatsoever without a written order from the Governor or in his absence from the President of the Council.

ORDERED That the Treasurers pay Charles McKay one hundred and Six pounds ten Shillings being the amount of his pay and that of his men hired for taking Care of the Magazine at Ebenezer up to the time of their being disbanded as appears by vouchers lodged in the Treasury (Candler 2001, 2:61-62).

Only four months later, on July 23, the Executive Council expressed concern that its advice was unheeded:

Whereas by a letter laid before the Board from Charles McKay and from other information Received it appears that the Magazine at Ebenezer in which there is near Seven thousand w^t of Gun Powder is at this alarming time very Weakly guarded and that the Militia who Keep Guard there are very remiss in their duty.

ORDERED That Charles McKay do hire Sixteen men for the purpose of guarding the said Magazine and to be under the Command of the said McKay and to be continued on pay (at the rate of five pounds per Month for each Man to include rations) until relieved by the Continental or Some other Troops—And that the said McKay have two Centry Boxes built at the expence of the public for the use of the said Guard and upon having so done that he make a report thereof to this Board, that the Militia who are now on duty may be discharged (Candler 2001, 2:82).

In spite of concerns, minutes of the Executive Council for August 31, 1778 show that additional supplies were sent to Ebenezer's magazine:

ORDERED That the account of Charles McKay keeper of the Magazine in Ebenezer amounting to [pounds]24. 19. 0 to be paid by an order of the Treasurer, and that Lb. 5000, lead be sent up to Ebenezer and placed in the hands of the said Charles McKay for public use when ordered by the Governor (Candler 2001, 2:94).

The Executive Council continued to pay troops guarding the magazine, as shown in the December 21, 1778 minutes:

ORDERED, That the Treasurers pay to the Commanding Officer of the Guard in company in Effingham County forty five pounds, five shillings and eight pence, being the amount of two pay-rolls for duty done by order of Colo. Treutler [Treutlen] (Candler 2001, 2:125-126).

The British also kept munitions at Ebenezer, although the only detail of this is a brief mention by Reverend Triebner noting that the British burned their magazine before evacuating the town in December 1782. Since Triebner was part of this evacuation, his account is very plausible. When Anthony Wayne and the American troops occupied Ebenezer in January 1782, it is quite likely that they also established a magazine depot at Ebenezer, but no details of it were located. Both the British and American occupying forces had artillery units stationed at Ebenezer, which would have required a substantial supply of gunpowder.

Powder magazines represented significant safety hazards to the Ebenezer townspeople, and this thought may have influenced the location of these hazardous facilities. The Ebenezer powder magazines (both American and British) were probably situated within the general defensive perimeter around Ebenezer, but were probably placed in an area away from most of the residences, such as a public lot or in the garden lots on either side of town.

Magazines of the period were made of various materials, including earth, wood, stone, and brick. They were often semi-subterranean and would probably have been placed in a well-drained area. Quantities of stone were generally unavailable at Ebenezer and even brick was a precious commodity. It is doubtful that either army hauled rock and brick to Ebenezer for this purpose, so the available resources would have included: earth, wood, and any available local brick. Although brick may have been salvaged from some of the available buildings at Ebenezer, most of the residences were built without brick. An 1816 reference was found that described a decayed brick building at Ebenezer that had served as a magazine and later used as a courthouse. An act of the Georgia legislature provided that building was to be salvaged. At present this brick magazine building has not been recognized archeologically. Only two buildings in Ebenezer exhibit any substantial use of brick—Jerusalem Church, which was completed in 1769 and remains intact, and the silk filature, which has tentatively been identified by archeological study. The results of archeological testing of the silk filature suggested that brick salvors had mined the area for whole brick. Although it is only speculation at this point, perhaps the silk filature building is the same as the decayed brick magazine/courthouse referenced in the 1816 Act. Although the filature, which was a two-story structure completed in 1752, was built mostly of wood, Reverend Boltzius described it as having a stone foundation and numerous hearths and ovens for processing the silk worms. Archeologically, no building stone was found in the limited test excavations, but large brick fragments were abundant. If the filature building was the magazine that was used by the British and subsequently destroyed upon their evacuation in 1781, it may have been rebuilt by General Wayne's troops in 1782, and later converted for use as the Effingham County courthouse. Alternatively, the brick magazine/courthouse may have been located elsewhere at Ebenezer and has eluded archeological discovery.

Redoubt 1

British Redoubt 1 appears on Wilson's map as a small V-shaped earthwork overlooking a bluff above the Savannah River swamp, north of Redoubt 2. No details of its artillery composition or troop strength is noted on Wilson's map. Although this redoubt was given a number, it is the least developed of the seven on Wilson's map, which may indicate that it was unfinished.

The approximate vicinity of Redoubt 1 was extensively mapped by the research team. No obvious earthworks were observed on the surface, although a slight undulation of the landscape, east of a road cut leading down the bluff to the Savannah River, was observed. The land immediately south of this suspected area has been modified by modern land use, including a dirt road and an equipment lay-down yard. The bluff west of the road leading to the Savannah River also has been modified in the late 1980s and early 1990s as a trash-burning and dump site. Evidence that heavy equipment was used to push topsoil to the bluff edge was observed in this area. A prominent historic feature in this vicinity is a ramp/causeway that leads off the Red Bluff to the Savannah River floodplain. According to local informants, this ramp was created by a local timberman in the 1950s for the purposes of extracting timber from the river swamp. He purportedly constructed the ramp from soil acquired from the bluff summit, which may also have adversely impacted earthworks in the vicinity of Redoubt 1 (Milton Ziegler personal communication September 1, 2002).

A metal detector was used to locate shallow buried metal objects in the predicted vicinity of Redoubt 1, as well as the areas nearer to the bluff. The areas near the bluff yielded a variety of metal objects that likely are associated with the Revolutionary War occupation. These include small lead balls, lead scrap, cast iron cookware, a square nail, a brass jewelry part, and two plain buttons. The locations of these items, which were returned to the ground following their location, is provided in [Table 19](#).

Table 19. Metal Detected Artifacts at Redoubt 1.

North	East	Elev. (m)	Description
1,080.40	1,236.78	100.37	Brass jewelry part
1,071.01	1,237.91	100.33	Cast iron kettle
1,073.79	1,238.25	100.37	Cast iron kettle
1,057.96	1,274.57	99.76	Lead ball, small
1,058.44	1,270.39	99.94	Lead ball, small
1,037.06	1,290.26	99.36	Lead button, plain
1,069.84	1,235.74	100.28	Lead sprue
1,072.75	1,239.18	100.36	Lead strip
1,042.84	1,285.79	99.42	Pewter button, plain
1,000.17	1,254.75	99.58	Square nail

The results of the archeological survey in the vicinity of Redoubt 1 remain somewhat inconclusive. No clear evidence of a V-shaped earthwork was discerned. Rather, the entire area of the bluff northeast of Ebenezer yielded evidence of possible defensive works that were severely degraded by subsequent land use. Despite these adverse impacts, the area may retain important colonial and Revolutionary War deposits, as suggested by the metal detector survey in the area. Some vestiges of the earthworks also may be preserved, particularly on the east side of the river access road.

Redoubt 2

British Redoubt 2 appears on Wilson's map as a large, diamond-shaped earthwork. No such earthwork is presently visible at Ebenezer. The topography of the Redoubt 2 vicinity is shown in [Figure 23](#). Most of this area has a gentle slope. One small, depressed area, flanked on the south by a slight remnant of an embankment, may represent a vestige of Redoubt 2. The surface evidence of Redoubt 2 is, for the most part however, non-existent.

Approximately one-third of the vicinity of Redoubt 2 was sampled by 20 m interval shovel tests in 1987, which suggested that this area had few archeological resources within it. Prior to the present study, Wilson's map of the Ebenezer defenses was interpreted as not highly accurate and little hope was held for locating the remains of Redoubt 2. Once it became apparent in the present study of Redoubt 4 (see discussion below) that Wilson's map was quite precise in that vicinity, the archeological team scrutinized the map more closely. Since the location of Redoubt 3 had been partially defined by previous archeological testing, the approximate distance between Redoubts 3 and 4 was measured on the landscape and compared with the location indicated on Wilson's map. The distances and angles appeared to match. Extrapolating from these locations, the predicted site of Redoubt 2 was plotted.

The mapping team then proceeded to the predicted location and closely examined the topography looking for any traces of berms or depressions that could have been part of the British earthworks. This area proved to be surprisingly level, however, and only one small, depressed area (the approximate size of a house cellar) was observed. This depression is clearly indicated in [Figure 23](#) in the approximate vicinity of 990 North 1255 East. Nevertheless, the area where Redoubt 2 was predicted to be was completely mapped with a laser transit, which reaffirmed the initial observation that the area was nearly level. At this point in the research, the survey strategy was modified to include the use of a metal detector to look for buried metal objects associated with the American Revolution in this part of Ebenezer. According to its predicted location, Redoubt 2 would have been located in the two-acre garden lots that flanked Ebenezer's east boundary. Consequently, this area was not expected to yield any significant deposit of domestic refuse. That preliminary hypothesis was supported by the 1987 shovel test data. The systematic shovel testing only covered a portion of this area, however, and its spacing on a 20 m grid meant that only a few shovel tests sampled the suspected redoubt vicinity.

The first object located with the metal detector was a lead musket ball, which was lying just below the ground surface in the plow-disturbed zone west of the predicted redoubt location. The location was plotted with the laser transit and the object was returned to the ground. There followed the location, identification, and detailed mapping of more than 80 metal objects, most of which were military items. After spending approximately one day searching for metal items in the shallow topsoil, a spatial distribution of metal artifacts was emerging that was slightly larger than the predicted size of Redoubt 2. Metal items that may not have been related to the Revolutionary War occupation included small lead shot (probably lost by civilians while hunting) and several machine cut square nails. Most of the objects, however, were probably associated with Redoubt 2. These included: lead shot (of various calibers), wrought nails, spikes, barrel hoop fragments, a bayonet fragment, cast iron cookware fragments, buttons, uniform braid; and other unidentified items. The most diagnostic (or dateable) item was a silver button that was fashioned from a 1775 Spanish coin. This button likely replaced a missing silver uniform button. The locations of these metal detected items are provided in [Table 20](#).

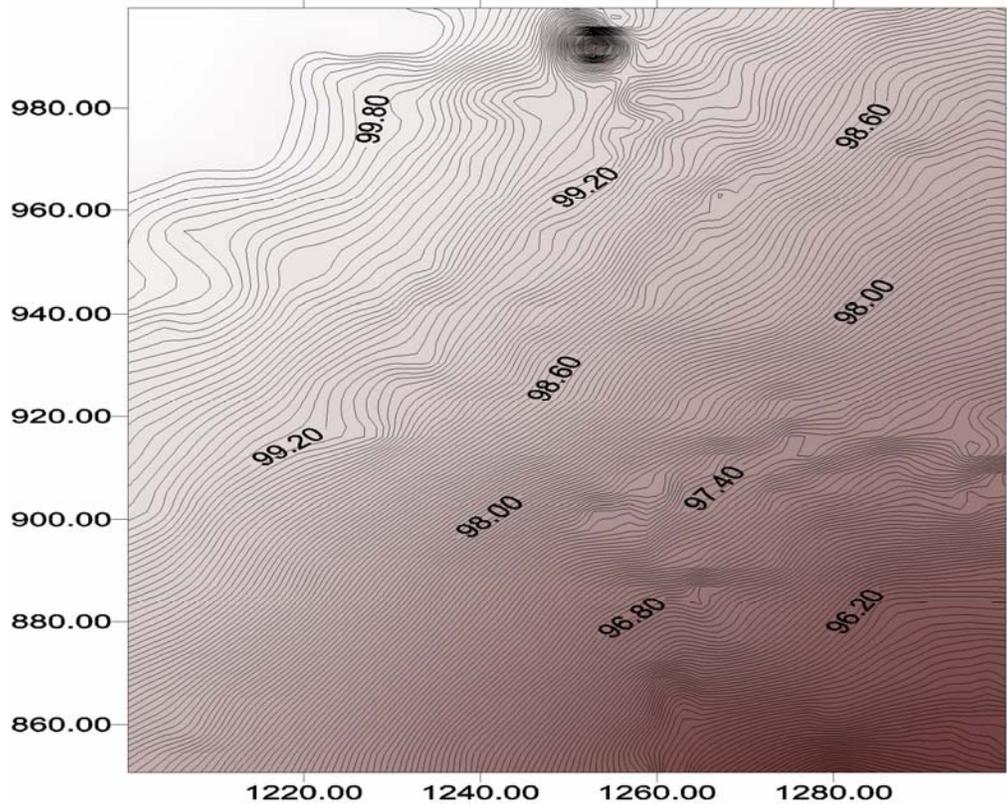


Figure 23. Topography at British Redoubt 2.

Table 20. Metal Detected Artifacts at Redoubt 2.

North	East	Elev. (m)	Description
941.66	1,232.53	99.30	Barrel hoop
951.88	1,215.59	99.69	Barrel hoop
967.97	1,263.95	98.95	Bayonet fragment, triangular blade
943.71	1,234.64	99.31	Brass button
973.55	1,267.04	98.91	Brass button, plain, spun back
962.91	1,270.48	98.68	Brass folding ruler hinge
935.52	1,234.75	99.19	Brass item, possible clasp
995.20	1,257.49	99.48	Brass rivet
859.39	1,281.06	95.65	Cast iron fence finial
910.88	1,257.94	97.78	Cast iron kettle
949.95	1,215.68	99.66	Cast iron kettle
921.66	1,299.34	97.18	Copper coin, worn smooth
972.56	1,265.74	98.92	Decorated brass item
920.35	1,247.92	98.49	Gold uniform braid
924.16	1,233.62	98.99	Iron ax blade
924.09	1,261.10	98.05	Iron chain
949.82	1,219.57	99.62	Iron gouge and hook
969.98	1,288.59	98.27	Iron gun part
989.76	1,265.00	99.22	Iron object, possible large hook
957.73	1,273.58	98.49	Iron spike
950.65	1,215.31	99.72	Iron strap hinge
978.54	1,255.70	99.19	Iron tool
987.70	1,281.00	98.79	Iron wrench

North	East	Elev. (m)	Description
888.06	1,256.68	96.96	Lead ball
911.98	1,248.88	98.17	Lead ball
909.05	1,229.97	98.74	Lead ball
956.79	1,263.18	98.67	Lead ball
935.95	1,257.96	98.44	Lead ball
919.77	1,298.16	97.16	Lead ball
890.63	1,298.88	96.24	Lead ball
973.65	1,261.73	98.96	Lead ball, cut
943.30	1,245.55	99.03	Lead ball, impacted
884.74	1,265.63	96.76	Lead ball, impacted
962.33	1,249.11	99.18	Lead ball, mutilated
980.36	1,254.79	99.25	Lead ball, small
946.76	1,233.31	99.42	Lead ball, small
984.58	1,226.92	99.83	Lead ball, small
988.52	1,223.28	99.93	Lead ball, small
991.08	1,226.47	100.04	Lead ball, small
992.55	1,226.56	100.10	Lead ball, small
991.34	1,262.02	99.28	Lead ball, small
987.26	1,273.51	98.96	Lead ball, small
987.06	1,286.85	98.61	Lead ball, small
990.87	1,290.83	98.65	Lead ball
973.35	1,294.16	98.28	Lead ball, small
955.40	1,288.19	98.14	Lead ball, small
953.33	1,291.57	97.98	Lead ball, small
967.71	1,270.28	98.70	Lead ball, small
862.08	1,277.09	95.73	Lead ball
993.45	1,259.09	99.36	Lead ball, small, impacted
981.61	1,273.18	98.93	Lead ball, small, impacted
987.34	1,283.77	98.67	Lead ball, small, impacted
911.53	1,230.07	98.82	Lead scrap
876.67	1,267.80	96.57	Lead sprue
951.02	1,266.03	98.58	Machine cut square nail
994.71	1,254.49	99.47	Machine cut square nail
987.57	1,265.19	99.18	Machine cut square nail
933.01	1,263.42	98.20	Pewter spoon
973.18	1,265.07	98.93	Sheet brass
967.32	1,286.13	98.33	Small rolled sheet brass
947.55	1,273.75	98.39	Spanish 1775 silver coin button
982.49	1,253.91	99.31	Square nail
983.26	1,260.08	99.13	Square nail
975.42	1,256.35	99.19	Square nail
976.79	1,259.19	99.14	Square nail
972.18	1,263.73	98.94	Square nail
958.62	1,277.94	98.38	Square nail
951.36	1,261.37	98.67	Square nail
952.07	1,265.76	98.58	Square nail
950.74	1,260.38	98.62	Square nail
953.57	1,262.40	98.65	Square nail
962.38	1,270.87	98.63	Square nail
961.01	1,257.98	98.96	Square nail
961.10	1,258.78	98.92	Square nail
940.74	1,235.57	99.19	Square nail
941.36	1,270.06	98.35	Square nail
961.52	1,232.13	99.59	Square nail
996.13	1,258.62	99.45	Square nail
998.26	1,267.95	99.31	Square nail

North	East	Elev. (m)	Description
974.01	1,289.14	98.43	Square nail
967.97	1,286.82	98.32	Square nail
962.22	1,288.21	98.23	Square nail
962.51	1,272.14	98.60	T-head wrought nail
990.67	1,227.71	99.99	T-head wrought nail
941.88	1,278.19	98.18	Wrought iron, large
972.94	1,257.72	99.15	Wrought nail
968.08	1,270.74	98.70	Wrought nail
948.74	1,242.50	99.17	Wrought nail
996.43	1,224.78	100.10	Wrought nail

Ground Penetrating Radar Survey was conducted on a portion of Redoubt 2. Area J investigated part of the suspected location of British Redoubt 2, east of the town of Ebenezer. Area J measured 20 m North to South by 10 m East to West. It covered an area from 967.5 to 987.5 m North and 1259.5 to 1269.5 m East. Transects were spaced at 40 cm intervals in Area J. Transects were done from South to North and the transect lines progressed from East to West. The northwestern part of this Area J intersected a shallow depression, which is possibly a trace of the British earthwork moat. A plan view of the radar data from Area J, viewed at a depth of 55 cm below ground surface is shown in [Figure 24](#). Several linear anomalies are visible in this GPR image. These may represent components of British Redoubt 2. This image is complex and a complete interpretation of its meaning will require additional study. The image does suggest that subsurface features that are associated with the British Redoubt 2 are likely preserved in this vicinity. The GPR sample in Area J represents only a small portion of the fortifications however and, at present, a precise relocation of the redoubt is not possible. The metal detector data would suggest, however, that the redoubt is positioned primarily south of Area J.

Redoubt 3

British Redoubt 3 appears on Wilson's map as a large octagonal earthwork located at the southern end of Center Street where the Savannah and Augusta roads converged. Ditchwork associated with this redoubt had been located by test excavation in 1999. The approximate location of Ebenezer's Center Street also was determined by previous excavation. Using these two reference points, the predicted location of Redoubt 3 was plotted on the modern landscape. From this it was apparent that a substantial segment of the redoubt extended in areas now containing 19th and 20th century graves in the Jerusalem Church cemetery.

Although the Redoubt 3 vicinity contains some topographic undulations that were thought to possibly represent vestiges of the British redoubt, the topographic mapping revealed this relief to be associated with early roadways rather than the fortifications. The topographic map of the

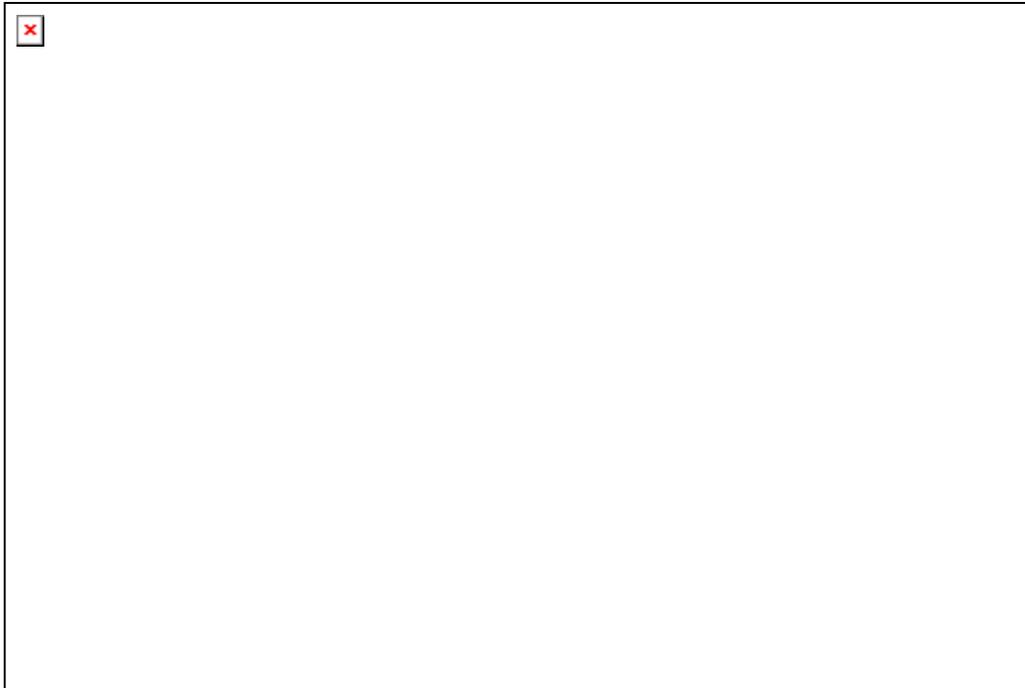


Figure 24. GPR Map, Area J, Redoubt 2.

Redoubt 3 vicinity is shown in [Figure 25](#). Several local informants recalled the route of the Ebenezer road, before the road was paved in the 1950s, and their descriptions corresponded to the linear depressions exhibited in the topographic map of this area (Milton Ziegler personal communication, January 15, 2002; Vernon Fail personal communication, September 1, 2002). The earlier route of this road is further confirmed by the 1938 aerial photograph of the Ebenezer vicinity.

The British Redoubt 3 and vicinity were sampled in five locations (Areas B, C, D, E, and F), which cover a total surface area of 497 square meters. Each of these sampled areas is described below. The transects in Areas B were oriented North to South and in C through F were oriented East to West. This orientation was selected to best intersect the anticipated cultural features within each of these areas.

By far, the best GPR evidence for British Redoubt 3 was observed in Area B. A plan view of this area at 1 meter below surface is illustrated in [Figure 26](#). Two cross-sectional views, which are keyed to this figure are shown in [Figure 27](#). Area B measured 20 m North to South and 12 m East to West. It covered an area from 675 to 695 m North, 1014 to 1026 m East. Transects were spaced at 20 cm intervals and were traversed from North to South. The survey progressed from East to West. A total of 61 transects was recorded in Area B. The 800 MHz antennae was used to

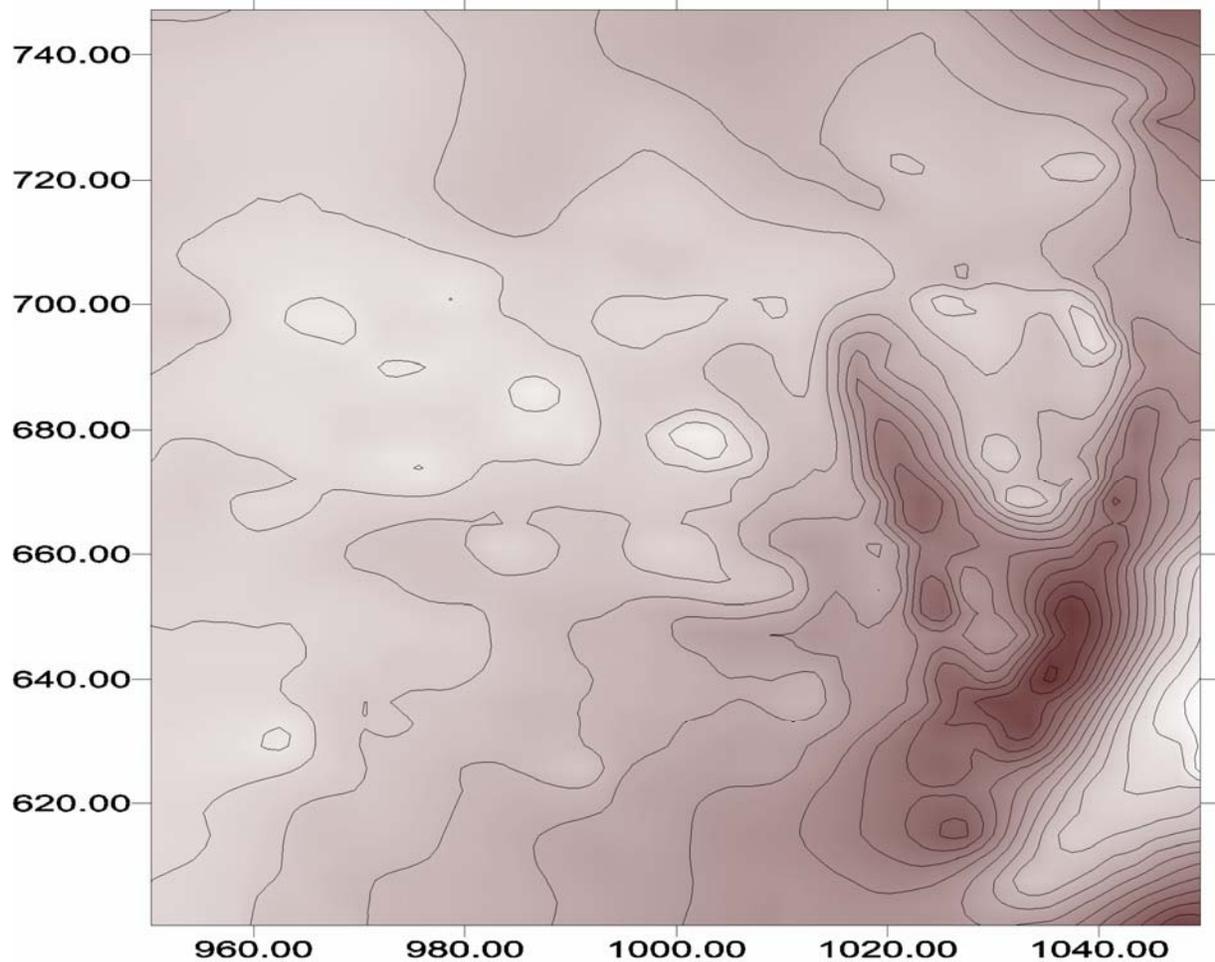


Figure 25. Topography of British Redoubt 3 Vicinity.

survey this area. Area B incorporated the area previously surveyed as Area A. Three previously excavated 2 m by 1 m archeological test excavations are contained within GPR Area B. Large Revolutionary War-era features were identified previously in each of these tests. The two northern test units sampled what was interpreted as the northern palisade ditch for the British Redoubt 3. The other test unit sampled a feature of unknown function. The vicinity of Area B also was sampled archeologically in the 1990s with a series of small shovel tests (approximately 30 cm in diameter and excavated to sterile soil). These shovel tests were spaced at 10 m intervals.

British Redoubt Number 3 was constructed by British troops in early 1779 and probably backfilled by American troops in mid-1782. It is shown on the contemporary maps as an octagonal shaped fortification, approximately 45 m across. Most of the eastern one-half of Area B contains a post-Revolutionary War disturbance, which is the former route of Ebenezer Road. This linear feature consists of the slightly raised roadbed and a ditch on the eastern flank. This road was used as late as the early middle 20th century when it was replaced by the paved highway known as Georgia Highway 275, or Ebenezer Church Road. Although this transportation feature

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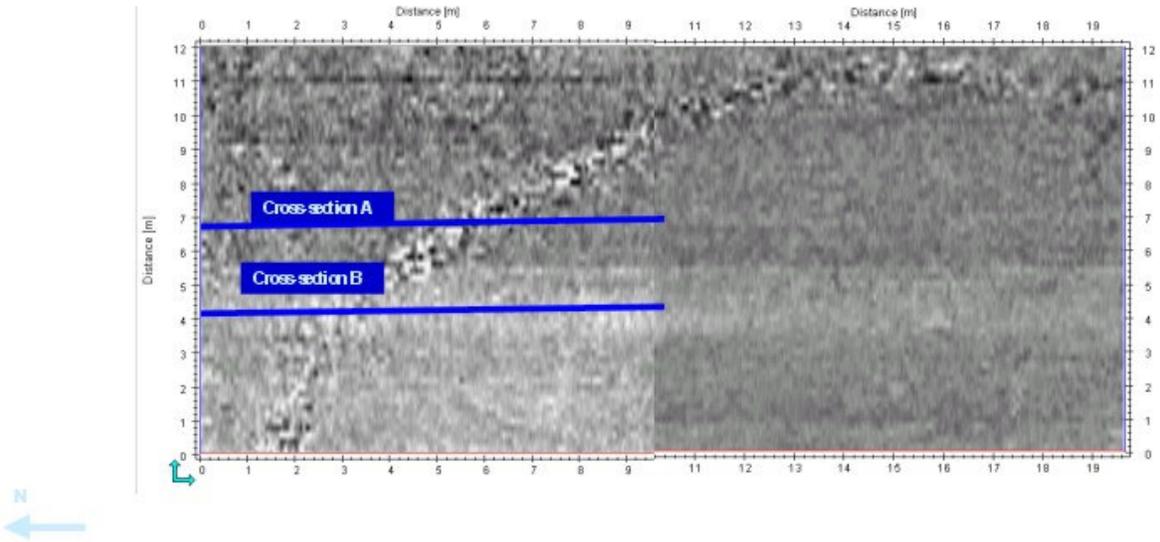


Figure 26. GPR Map of Block B, 1 m Below Surface, British Redoubt 3.

Cross-sectional views across the trench showing potential artifacts in Area B.

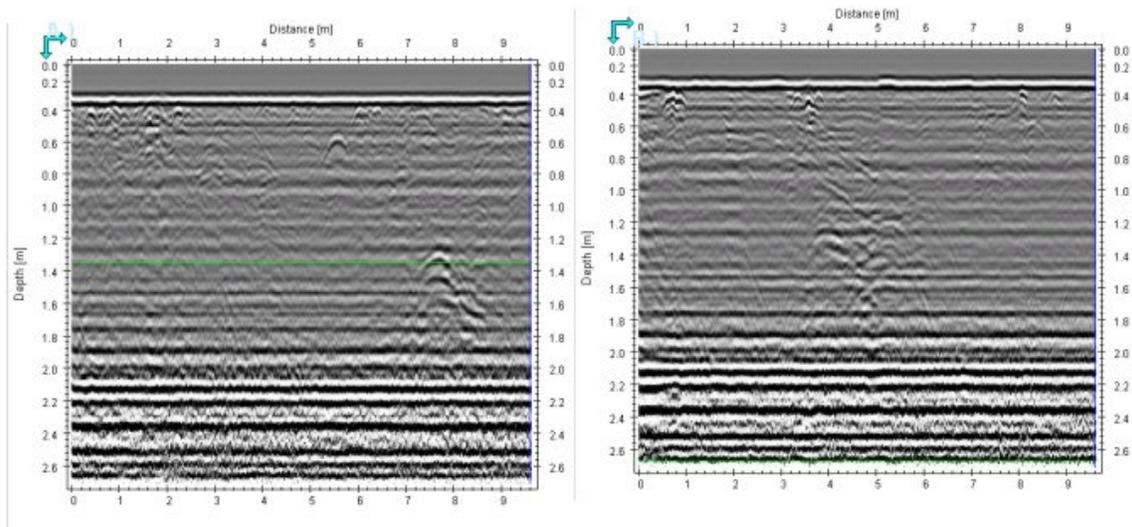


Figure 27. Cross Sections A and B, Block B, British Redoubt 3.

has clearly impacted the archeological site and was expected to alter the radar imagery within Area B, the archeological excavation data suggests that intact Revolutionary War deposits may be preserved beneath it. This old roadway, which is presently completely vegetated in grass, is clearly evident from topographic mapping.

Area C measured 11 m North to South and 10 m East to West. A total of 57 transects was recorded in Area C. Transects were placed on an area suspected to be the Old Augusta Road. The Augusta Road was the earliest road built in Georgia during the British colonial period, begun in the 1730s linking Savannah with Augusta. The northeastern corner of Area C is at site grid point 676.25 m North 1006.29 m East. It measured from 665.25 to 676.25 m North, 996.29 to 1006.29 m East. The area had once been a more pronounced road rut (of the Savannah to Augusta Road) but fill dirt was brought in during the 1950s or 1960s to level out the terrain (Milton Ziegler personal communication January 15, 2002). Today, a slight trace is visible of a portion of this old road. Transects within Area C were spaced at 20 cm intervals and were traversed from East to West. The survey progressed from North to South. A portion, or possibly all, of Area C was probably within the walls of British Redoubt 3. This area was slightly undulating and approximately 60 percent vegetated in grass. Area C is located just west of the former route of Ebenezer Road (previously described) but was not likely impacted by this road. The GPR plan view of Area C, sliced at an approximate depth of 80 cm below surface, is shown in [Figure 28](#). The map of Area C exhibits several large anomalies that may represent large objects or features. Conversely, these also may represent natural tree disturbances. A linear East-West zone of radar anomalies also is visible in this map, which may relate to the British fortifications. No clear evidence of the route of the Savannah to Augusta Road, which was described by oral informants as trending southwest-northeast in this general vicinity. No obvious human graves were detected by the GPR in Area C, although some of the larger anomalies bear further investigation in this regard.

Area D measured 3 m North to South and 10 m East to West. It was placed 5 m south of Area C to avoid a large water oak tree growing between the two areas. This 5 m gap probably corresponds the vicinity of the old road trace that was described by Milton Ziegler. The northeastern corner of Area D is at site grid point 660.25 m North, 1006.29 m East. A total of 16 transects was recorded in Area D. Transects were spaced at 20 cm intervals and were traversed from East to West. The survey progressed from North to South. A portion, or possibly all, of Area D was probably within the walls of British Redoubt 3. This area was slightly undulating and approximately 60 percent vegetated in grass. The GPR plan view of Area D, sliced at an approximate depth of 80 cm below surface, is shown in two segments in [Figure 29](#). A prominent anomaly is exhibited in Area D, which may represent one or two human graves in the approximate vicinity of 658 North 1005 East. It should be noted that these possible graves are located north of the cemetery wall.



Figure 28. GPR Map of Area C, 80 cm Below Surface, Redoubt 3.

Area E measured 2 m North to South and 6 m East to West. The northeastern corner of Area E is at site grid point 657.25 m North, 1006.29 m East. It covered an area from 655.25 to 657.25 m North and 1000.29 to 1006.29 m East. It was located immediately south of Area D, but its East-West dimension was shortened to avoid a heavily landscaped area flanking the entrance to the Jerusalem Church cemetery. A total of 11 transects was recorded in Area E. Transects were spaced at 20 cm intervals and were traversed from East to West. The survey progressed from North to South. A portion, or possibly all, of Area E was probably within the walls of British Redoubt 3. Several anomalies were observed in the field in Area E and possibly relate to the military construction or human graves. Some of the anomalies in Area 3 may be related to a large live oak tree that was growing a few meters southeast of Area E. This area was nearly level and approximately 60 percent vegetated in grass. The GPR plan view of Area E, sliced at an approximate depth of 80 cm below surface, is shown in [Figure 30](#). Area E appears to contain a dense concentration of human burials. At least seven probable grave anomalies are apparent in the GPR plan view at 80 cm depth and others can be recognized at other depths. As with Area D, Area E is located north of the present cemetery fence. Undoubtedly other human graves are located in the grassy area north of the fence but time did not allow complete GPR coverage of these areas. Consequently, these additional graves await discovery. Archeological confirmation of these suspected graves was not attempted in the present study.

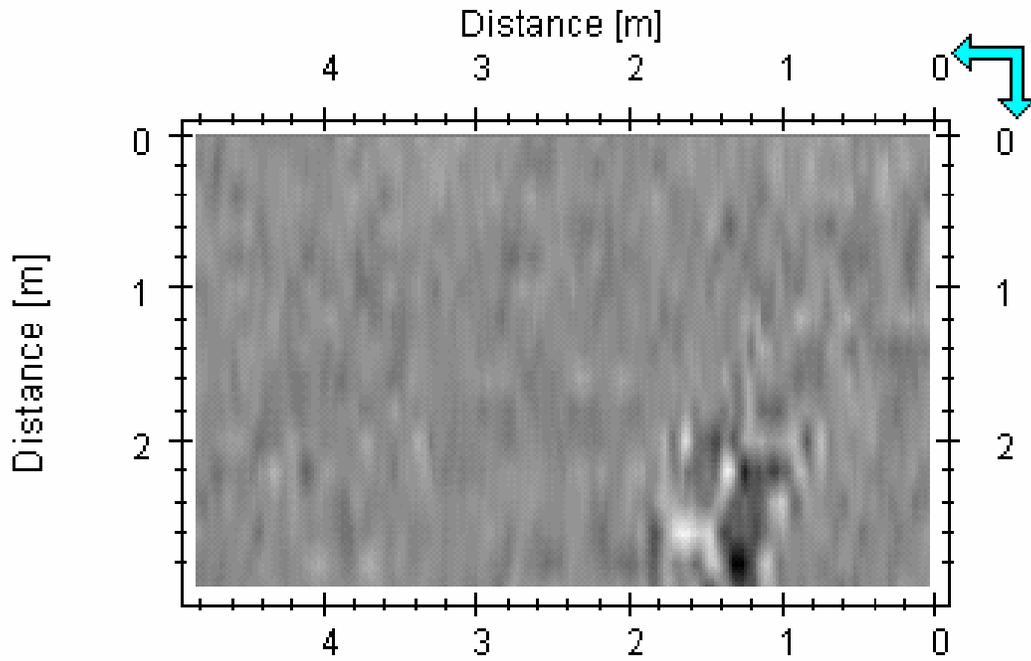


Figure 29. GPR Map of Area D, 80 cm Below Surface, Redoubt 3.

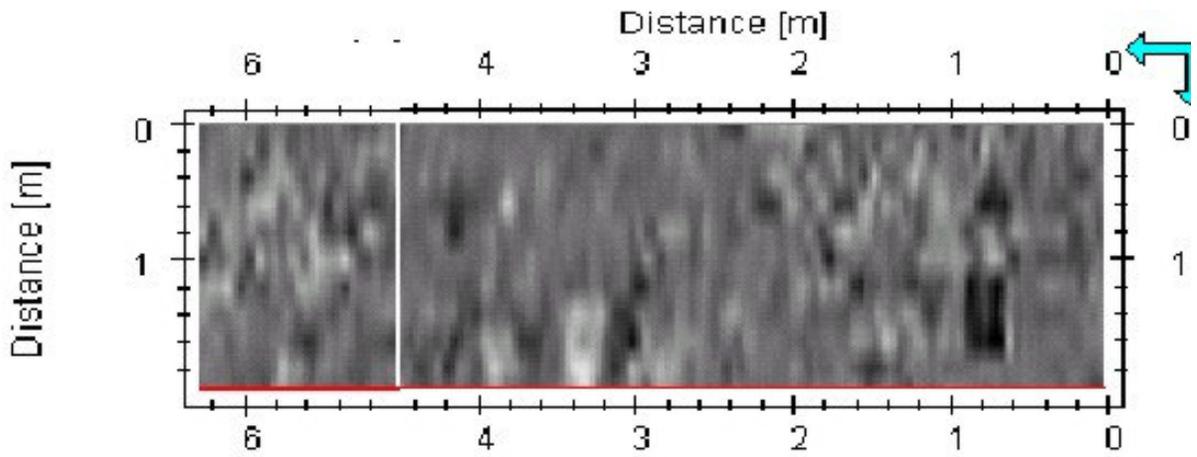


Figure 30. GPR Map of Area E, 80 cm Below Surface, Redoubt 3.

Area F was located within the Jerusalem Church cemetery. This area is predicted to be a few meters southeast of Redoubt Number 3 and no major anomalies associated with the fort's architecture were anticipated. Area F measured 7 m North to South by 15 m East to West. The northeastern corner of Area F is at 638.51 m North, 1002.83 m East. The GPR sample block covered an area from 631.51 to 638.51 m North and 987.83 to 1002.83 m East. A total of 36 transects was recorded in Area F. Transects were spaced at 20 cm intervals and were traversed from East to West. The survey progressed from North to South. Eleven marked graves are located within this sample area, although more than 50 percent of the sample area contains no surface indications of any burials. None of the marked graves exhibit any signs of soil slumpage or depressions. The identified graves all dated to the nineteenth century. None of the wooden grave markers contained any legible markings. Many of the radar transects in Area F were modified slightly to avoid headstones and footstones. All of the marked graves within this area were oriented with their long axis aligned to the town grid, or approximately 35 degrees East of Magnetic North. Headstones were located South of the footstones. The grave markers included simple marble slabs and heart pine slabs. All of them were standing vertically, or nearly vertically. Many subsurface anomalies were observed in this area and many of these are suspected to be human burials. For example, Line 61 crossed no marked graves but contains at least seven anomalies that are similar to the radar signature for marked graves. Line 31 crossed a marked grave approximately 4 to 5 m from its begin point, which illustrates what a typical marked grave radar signature looks like in the cemetery. Dozens of similar anomalies were observed in the field, which suggest that the number of burials within the cemetery is far greater than the number of tombstones or tomb sticks (heart pine or cypress plank markers). The topography of Area F was nearly level and completely vegetated in grass. Virtually none of the graves exhibited any visible depression on the ground surface. The GPR plan view of Area F, sliced at an approximate depth of 50 cm below surface, is shown in [Figure 31](#). This perspective exhibits at least 16 anomalies that probably represent human graves. GPR "time slices" at various depths revealed other probable grave anomalies.

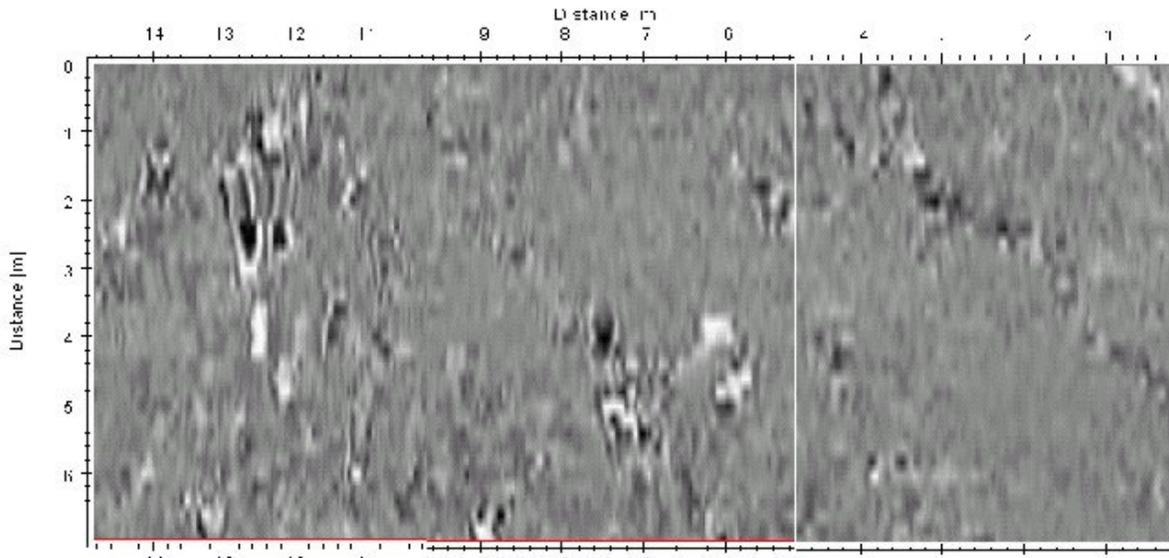


Figure 31. GPR Map of Area F, 50 cm Below Surface, Redoubt 3.

The GPR survey in Area F yielded many anomalies, most of which represent human burials or grave shafts. The survey of this area provided an opportunity to ground truth the GPR data by comparing radargrams with other grave evidence, particularly grave markers. These survey data also provided an opportunity to ascertain the frequency of other, unmarked graves within this area. Quite possibly some of these graves in GPR Areas D, E and F may represent military burials.

A linear anomaly that trends northwest-southeast was identified in the eastern part of Area F. This anomaly may represent a single line of posts, which may be associated with the British fortifications. It was not determined if this line of posts was part of the octagonal redoubt palisade ditch. It may represent a portion of an outer line of palisade posts, as indicated on Wilson's 1779 plan.

In conjunction with the GPR investigation within the confines of the Jerusalem Church Cemetery, detailed topographic mapping was conducted. This mapping included the laser transit plotting of head and foot markers for graves in the northeastern section of the cemetery. Survey coverage of the western and southern parts of the cemetery was not attempted. All wooden markers were mapped, which accounts for the cluster of markers in the southwestern part of Figure 32. Stone markers were not mapped in that area. Names and death dates also were recorded for these. The map of the graves in the cemetery is shown in [Figure 32](#) and a representative view of the cemetery (in the vicinity of GPR Area F) is shown in [Figure 33](#).

Few burial records exist for Ebenezer burial records from the mid-1770s through the early 1800s. Many of the burials from this period include soldiers and civilians killed in the American Revolution. The earliest marked grave in the Jerusalem Cemetery dates from 1813 and very few marked graves dating prior to 1830 have survived. Consequently, it is reasonable to expect that hundreds of unmarked graves exist at Ebenezer but their precise whereabouts are not known. As shown by this study, GPR survey represents one nondestructive avenue for locating lost graves.

Two additional radar profile transects were run in the vicinity of Redoubt 3 and are described below. A single 20 m North-South line, designated Redoubt Number 3, 20 m Cross-section, was traversed from North to South from grid point 675.25 m to 695.25 m North, along the 1021.29 m East axis. This radar transect was run with machine settings that included a sampling frequency to 17172 and the number of samples taken to 1024. This line crossed the suspected palisade ditch near its beginning. It did not go as far as the opposite side of the fortification. This line was within Area B.

A single 40 m North-South line, designated Redoubt Number 3, 40 m Cross-section, went from site grid point 655.23 m to 695.25 m North, along the 1006.29 m East axis. This line was located west of Area B. It was predicted to intersect the Redoubt 3 palisade ditch at least one point. The southern end of this line approached the Jerusalem Church cemetery and some of the subsurface anomalies at that end are possibly human burials. This transect followed along the eastern boundary of Areas C, D, and E.

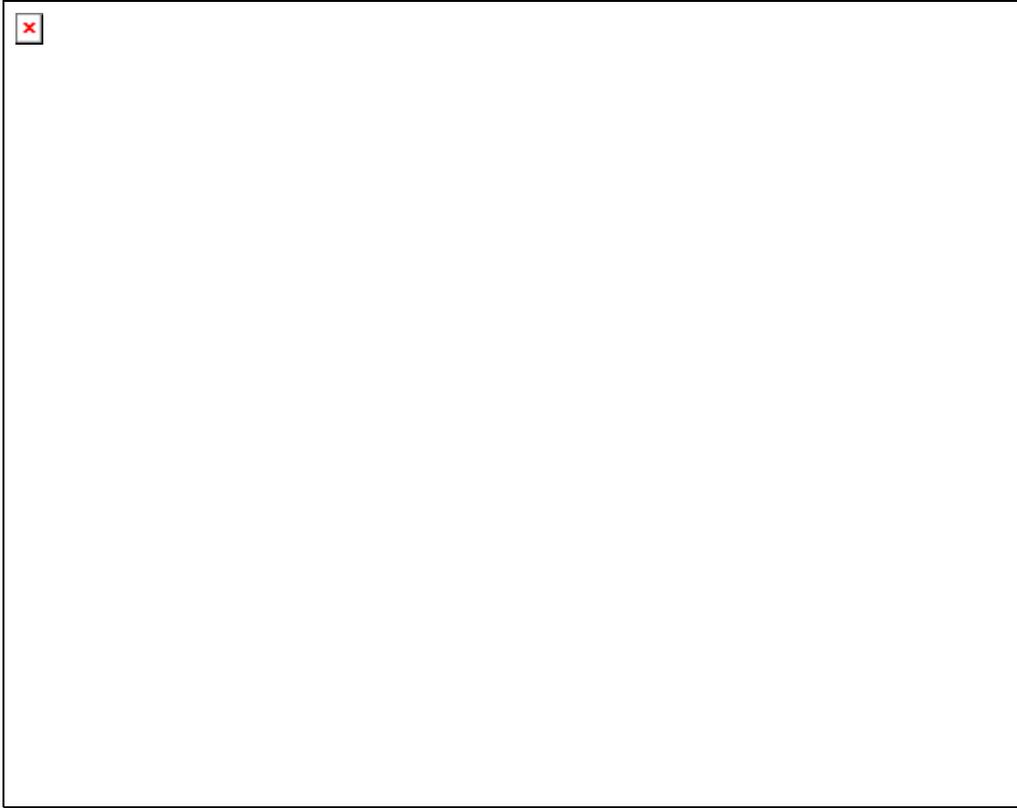


Figure 32. Mapped Tomb Markers in Jerusalem Cemetery.

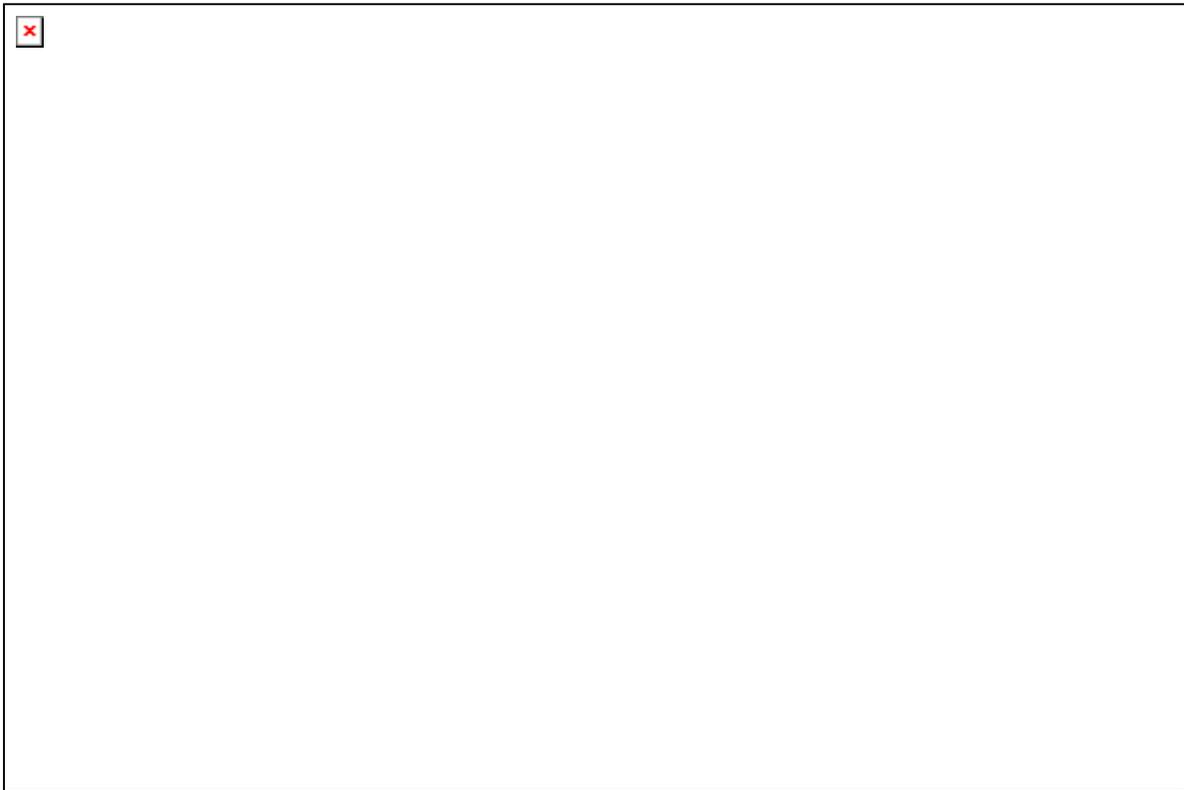


Figure 33. View of Jerusalem Cemetery, Redoubt 3 Vicinity.

Redoubt 4

British Redoubt 4 appears on Wilson's map as a well-defined earthwork, shaped similar to a baseball home plate. Topographic mapping of Redoubt 4 showed that Wilson's depiction was extremely accurate in both outline and orientation (Figure 34). The single difference was a linear appendage that extended north from the western side of Redoubt 4, which was not shown on Wilson's map. This suggests that this earthwork was added, perhaps to secure Ebenezer from an attack from the creek swamp northwest of Redoubt 4. This earthwork was sufficiently large for a single artillery piece, or possibly several rifle positions.

Redoubts 5, 6, and 7

British Redoubts 5, 6, and 7, as shown on Wilson's map, were beyond the scope of the present study and these were not examined. Permission has been obtained by the LAMAR Institute to conduct research on Redoubts 5 and 6, but not for Redoubt 7. Redoubt 5 has been damaged by heavy machinery, which was done by the previous landowner Mr. Smith (deceased). According to his neighbor Milton Ziegler, Mr. Smith also bulldozed dirt to fill the vestiges of the palisade ditch (west of the unnamed branch) that connected Redoubts 4 and 5. Mr. Smith is buried in the vicinity of this redoubt, which was also the site of his mobile home. The mobile home has since been removed. Adjacent properties may contain components of Redoubt 5 and its associated camps. Redoubt 5 was recorded by reconnaissance survey in 1989 (Elliott 1990a). Redoubts 6 and 7 are completely unexplored.

Mystery Redoubts, West and East

A number of military earthworks were identified, which were not shown on Wilson's map and their age, function, and military association was not known. Topographic maps were prepared of these areas. Figures 35 and 36 depict these earthworks.

Mystery Redoubt West was a small irregularly-shaped earthwork, which defended against an attack from the Savannah River swamps immediately northwest of Ebenezer (see Figure 35). The redoubt measures approximately 25 meters in diameter and has four straight sides. Mystery Redoubt West is not depicted as an earthwork on Wilson's map, although he does show improvements and enclosures in this vicinity that may relate to this earthwork. The vicinity of this earthwork has not been sampled by shovel tests, nor was the metal detector employed in this area. Some relatively recent evidence of looting was visible north of this redoubt, and within its ramparts.

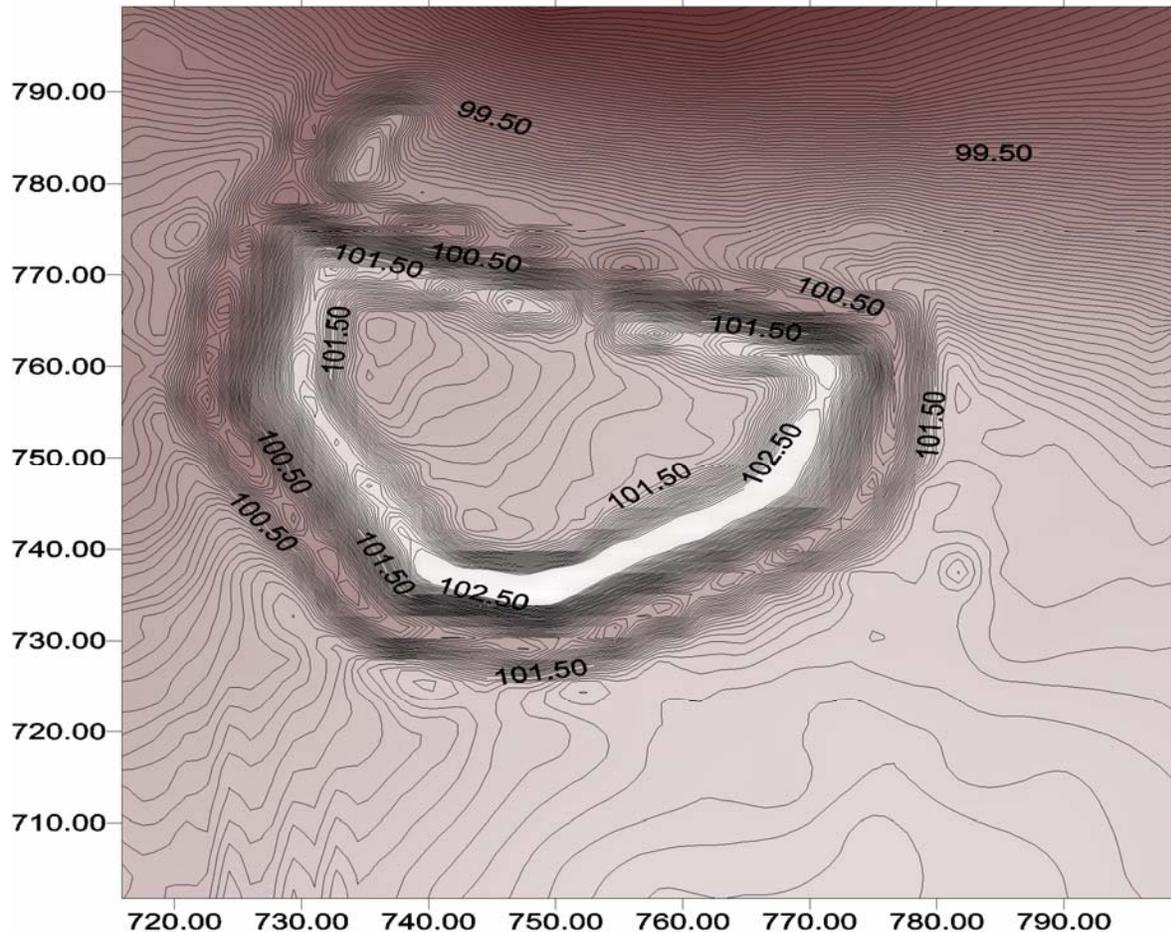


Figure 34. Topography of British Redoubt 4 Vicinity.

Although Wilson shows no fortification in this vicinity, his plan of the Ebenezer defenses does indicate improvements in this area, including roads, enclosures, and buildings. Since this vicinity was located on the original garden lots of Ebenezer, domestic colonial residences in these areas are not expected. Furthermore, the improvements indicated by Wilson are not in alignment with the Ebenezer town grid, which may suggest that they were built for military purposes. The absence of the redoubt leads to two plausible explanations:

- The redoubt was built by the British after Wilson completed his plan of defenses, or,
- The redoubt was built by the Americans either before or after Wilson drew his plan.

Local informant Milton Ziegler related a story told to him by his brother George (deceased). According to George: mules were kept within the confines of this redoubt in the early 20th century. These mules were used to haul logs from the adjacent river swamp. Although this redoubt has suffered some damage from erosion and looting, the majority of it appears to remain intact. No archeological survey shovel tests or excavations have been excavated on this redoubt to date. Systematically placed shovel tests were excavated to the western edge of the original town of New Ebenezer in 1989 (Elliott 1990a). Other features that were observed in the vicinity

of Mystery Redoubt West include two road traces, seven shallow rectangular depressions (possibly a cemetery), and short and medium-length trenches.



Figure 35. Topography of Mystery Redoubt West Vicinity.

The second mystery redoubt was located approximately ¼ mile east of the one just described. Mystery Redoubt East was a small, irregularly-shaped earthwork, which defended against an attack from the Savannah River swamps immediately northeast of Ebenezer (see Figure 36). It measures approximately 30 meters in diameter but its exact configuration was not determined. Traces of the ramparts, parade and outer ditch area evident. This redoubt is not depicted on Wilson's map. This earthwork was visible as a small rise and was first thought to be part of DeBrahm's 1757 Fort. After the topography in this vicinity was thoroughly mapped however, it was clear that this was a unique earthwork. Its size and placement suggests that it was part of the British defenses. Its absence from Wilson's map suggests that it was a late addition to the defense network. The vicinity of this mystery redoubt was covered by 20 m interval shovel tests in 1987. In the present study, the area was traversed with a metal detector but very few metal readings were encountered, which strongly suggests that shallow metal artifacts were previously removed from the area by relic hunters. This fort is superimposed on DeBrahm's 1757 fort. Fill from

DeBrahm's fort and from colonial town lots in the vicinity were probably used in the Mystery Fort's construction. This area is well suited for GPR survey but time did not allow it to be examined in the present study.

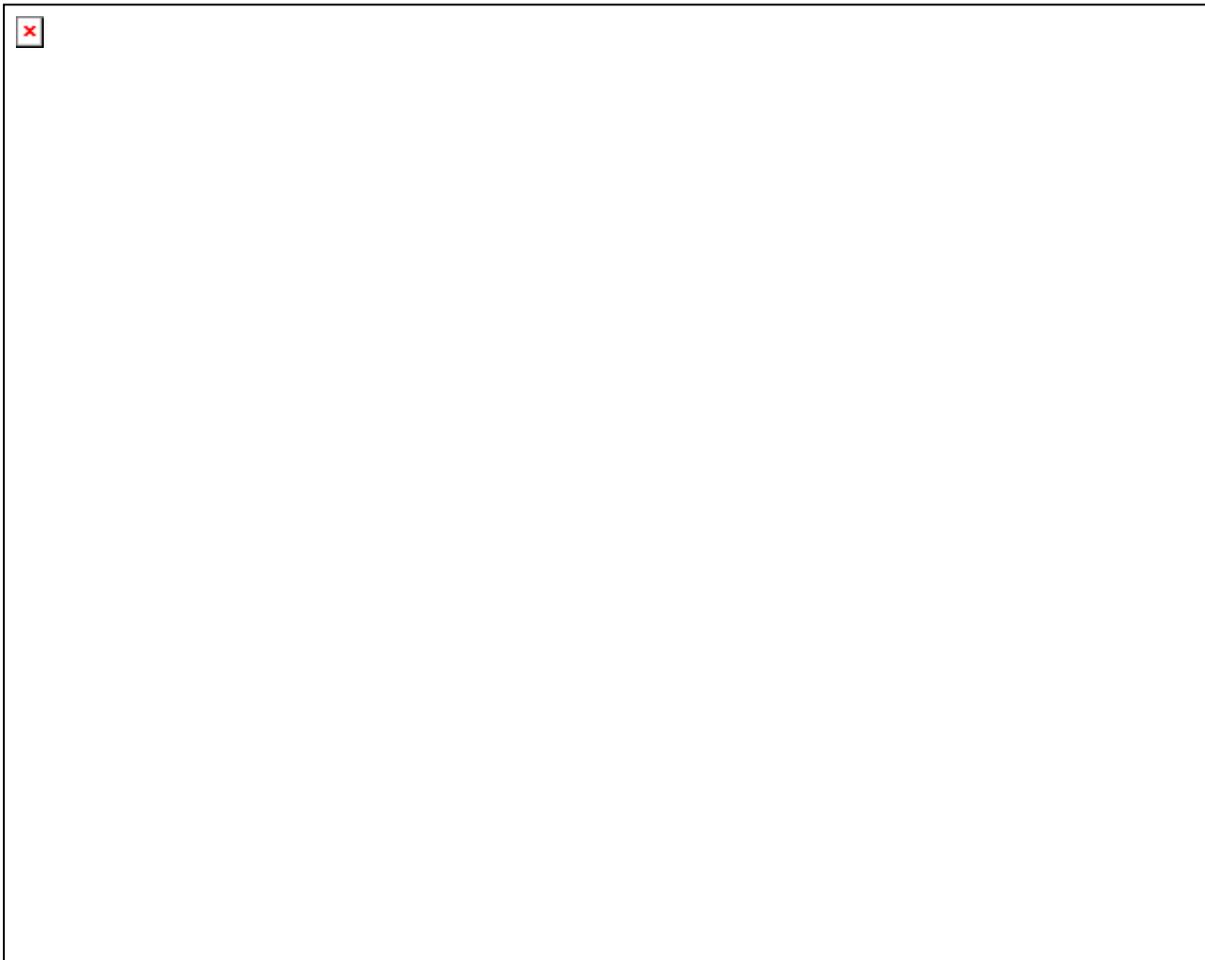


Figure 36. Topography of Mystery Redoubt East Vicinity.

DeBrahm's Fort

During the French and Indian War (or Seven Years War) the Georgia colonial government authorized the construction of a series of defenses at its major settlements, including Ebenezer. The residents of Ebenezer were fortunate to have William Gerard DeBrahm, the British Crown's surveyor for the southern colonies, as one of their citizens. Although DeBrahm later had homes in Savannah and Charleston, his first home was in the Ebenezer colony. In 1751 DeBrahm led new Swabian and other German colonists to the Bethanian settlement, which was a satellite farming community a few miles upstream from Ebenezer (Jones 1984). Trained as an engineer William DeBrahm had planned and designed forts in Savannah, Charleston, Fort Loudon, to name a few, and his fort at Ebenezer possessed similar design features to those fortifications.

Using funds from the Royal government, the Ebenezerites constructed a large earthen fort in the northeastern section of town. A plan drawing of the fort was drafted by DeBrahm about 1757, which shows that it was rectangular in plan with projecting corner bastions. Several manuscript

versions of DeBrahm's Ebenezer town plan are known to exist but all show the fort in essentially the same configuration.

DeBrahm's fort encapsulated a group of 10 domestic town lots (known as Tything 1, East Ward), as well as the Silk Filature lot (which was formerly the site of a commissary building). The owners of the 10 town lots were compensated for the condemnation of this property for military use. One of these town lots was owned by DeBrahm, which also may have entered into his planning decision for selecting this location for the fort.

The silk filature building, which was a large wooden structure completed in 1752 continued to be used for that purpose at least until the early 1770s. The 1752 detailed description of this building also noted that a 25 foot deep well that was covered was located on the silk filature lot.

DeBrahm's 1757 Fort is shown on several town plans of Ebenezer that were drafted by DeBrahm (DeVorse 1971; Hulbert 1907:Plate 9; DeBrahm 1849) (Figure 37). DeBrahm was also responsible for the design of this fort and he owned property within, and immediately northeast of the fort. This fort surrounded the 10 house lots that comprised the 1st Tything, East Ward of Ebenezer and the Silk Filature lot. Records indicate that the silk filature at Ebenezer was actively used for silk filament manufacturing until at least 1771, and possibly continuing up to the American Revolution (McKinstry 1930:233-234).

The probable site of the silk filature building was located by limited archeological work in 1990, which included the excavation of several 2 m by 1 m test units and a series of small shovel tests spaced at 10 m intervals. Further corroboration for this building site was obtained by the use of a metal probe, which located the brick chimney rubble concentrations at the East and West ends of the building, and by topographic mapping and metal detector survey. The topographic map of the DeBrahm's Fort and Silk Filature vicinity is shown in Figure 38.

Pastor John Martin Boltzius wrote in June 1765, shortly before his death, regarding the silk filature and silk production at Ebenezer for the year 1764 and his expectations for 1766:

...The great price which silk hath further sustained has for the present here reduced 9d The still sells for 2sh 6d. Last spring was sent to savannah for to be spun 5675 pounds of silk cocoons—
Through the judicious arrangement of our respected Govr we shall next spring enjoy the priviledge of spinning our own silk—in the silk house, this place which is now about to be repaired (Bergman 1825).

Test excavations have been conducted in three areas within the confines of DeBrahm's 1757 Fort. The most notable of these was a 1 m by 4 m excavation in the suspected vicinity of the Silk Filature building. This excavation yielded many brick fragments and a light deposit of other colonial period artifacts, notably lacking in domestic content. Test units also were dug in the vicinity of Rupert Schrempff's 1st town lot (and blacksmith shop), later encompassed by

DeBrahm's fort. These excavations yielded a dense deposit of colonial period artifacts and several small features. A single test unit, which was located north of the Silk Filature and east of Schrempff's blacksmith shop, yielded very few artifacts and no features.



Figure 37. DeBrahm's Plan of the Town Ebenezer and Its Fort, 1757.

The suspected location of William DeBrahm's 1757 Fort that protected the northeastern corner of Ebenezer was sampled by two radar blocks, Areas H and I. Together, Areas H and I sampled an area 37 m North to South and 4.8 m East to West, or 177.6 m².

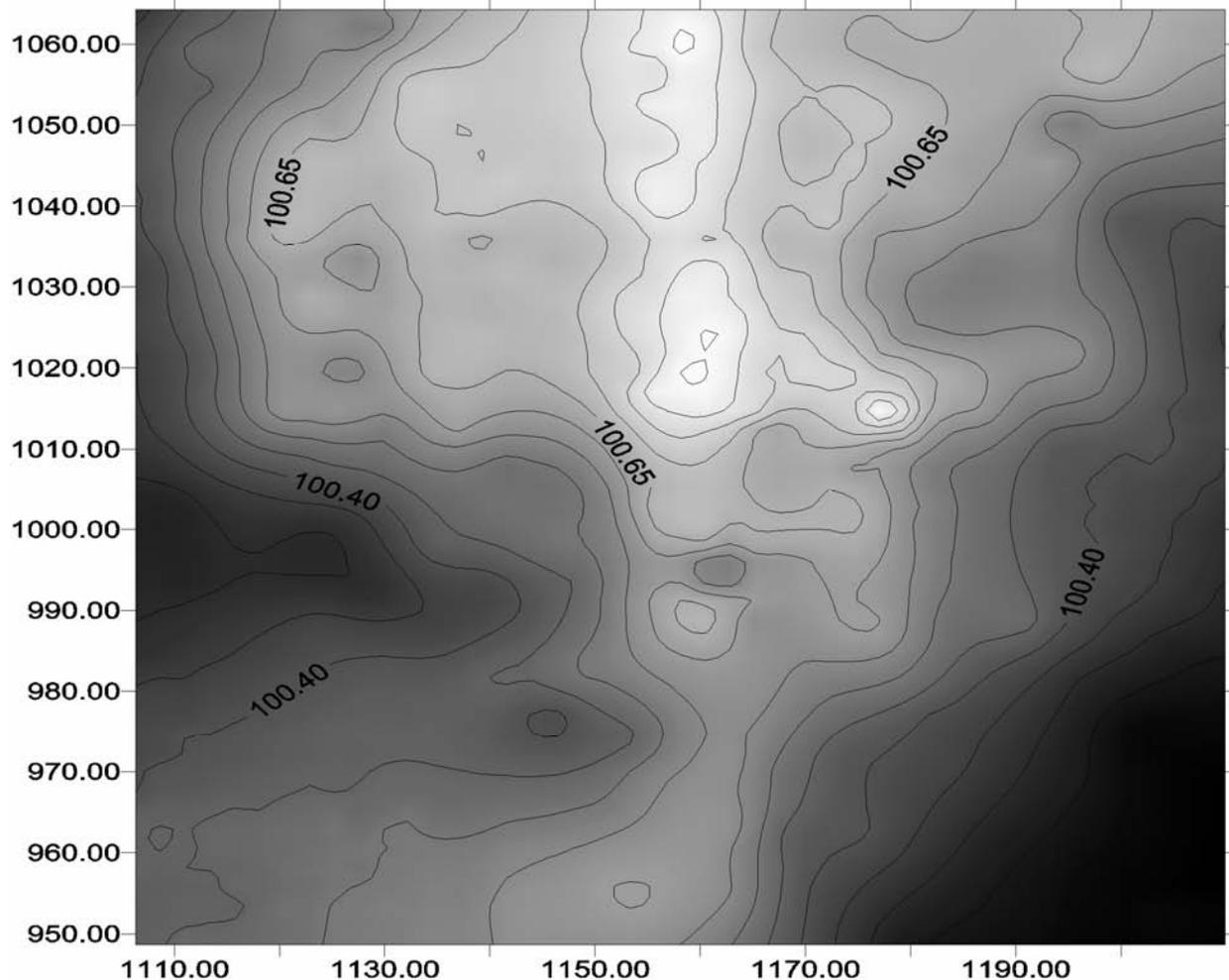


Figure 38. Topography of DeBrahm's Fort and Silk Filature Vicinity.

Exploratory GPR survey was conducted in two areas (designated Areas H and I) in the vicinity of DeBrahm's 1757 fort and the Silk Filature lot. Area H measured 25 m North to South and 4.8 m East to West. It encompassed an area from 1003 to 1028 m North and 1157.2 to 1163 m East. Transects in Area H were spaced at 40 cm intervals and were traversed from South to North. The survey progressed from East to West. A total of 13 transects was recorded in Area H. A GPR plan map of Area H, shown at a depth of 90 cm below surface, is presented in [Figure 39](#).

Area I was located immediately south of Area H and it measured 12 m North to South and 4.8 m East to West. It encompassed the area from 991 to 1003 m North and 1157.2 to 1163 m East.

Transects in Area I were spaced at 40 cm intervals and were traversed from South to North. The survey progressed from East to West. A total of 13 transects was recorded in Area I. A GPR plan map of Area I, shown at depths of 75 cm and 90 cm below surface, is presented in [Figure 40](#).

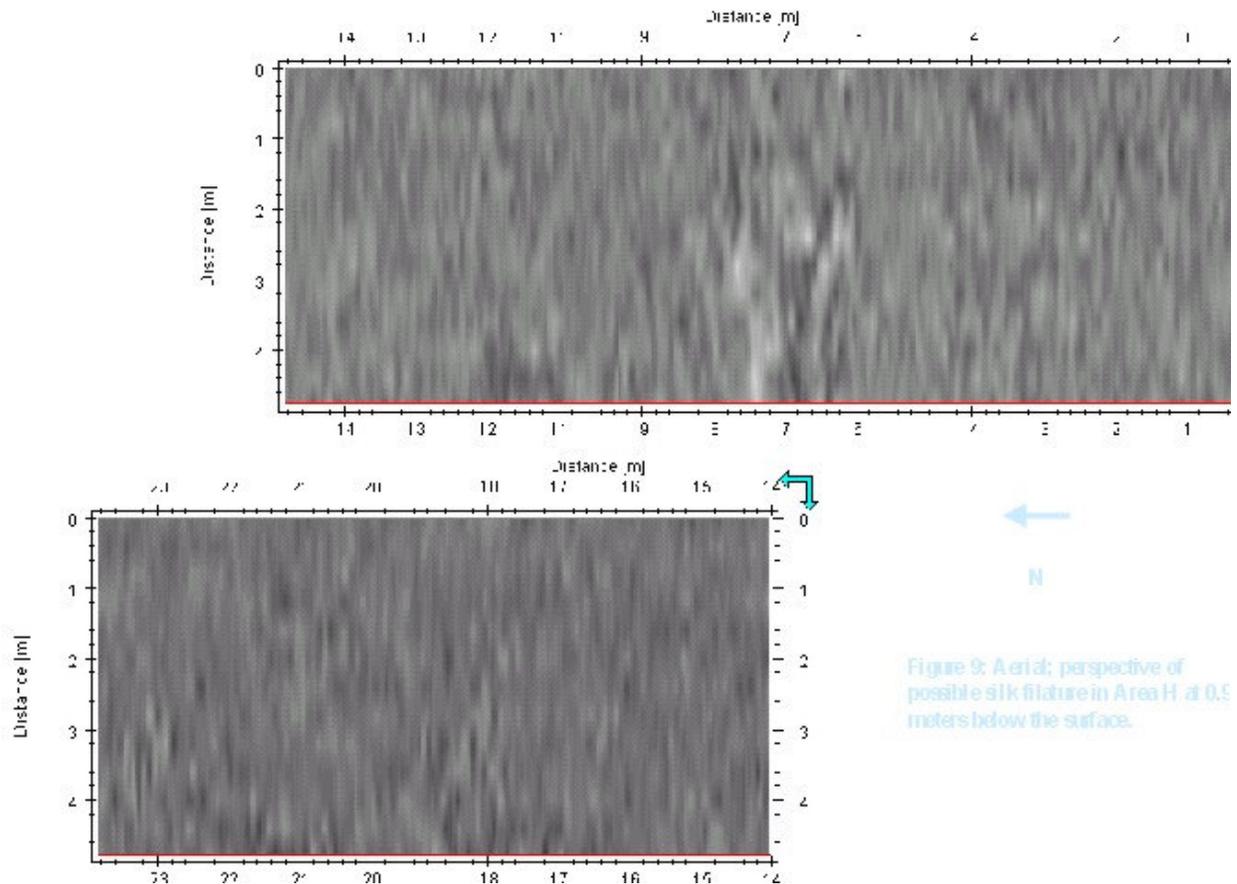


Figure 39. GPR Map of Area H, 90 cm Below Surface, DeBrahm's Fort.

Ditchwork

The Savannah to Augusta Road, best known as the Augusta Road, passed by the southern edge of Ebenezer. At two locations on the modern landscape the trace of this road, which has entrenched itself several meters below the surrounding land surface, is irrefutable. Cartographic evidence from the 18th Century indicates that the road approached the town at an angle from the south, struck a tangent at the southern end of Center Street, and then veered at an angle north of town. The best-defined areas of the Augusta Road are located immediately east of Georgia Highway 275 and immediately west of the modern Jerusalem Church cemetery brick wall. Cement benchmarks have been established in these areas by Effingham County surveyors.

Several minor earthworks are associated with the Augusta Road and these were mapped in the present study. The largest of these is a long trench (or ditch) that intersects the old road trace at its clearest southernmost point, as shown in [Figure 41](#). While this ditch, which now serves to drain the area during heavy rains, may postdate the American Revolution, it may have its roots in

A) Aerial perspective of Area I, down 0.75 meters below the surface. B) The same area at 0.9 meters below the surface.

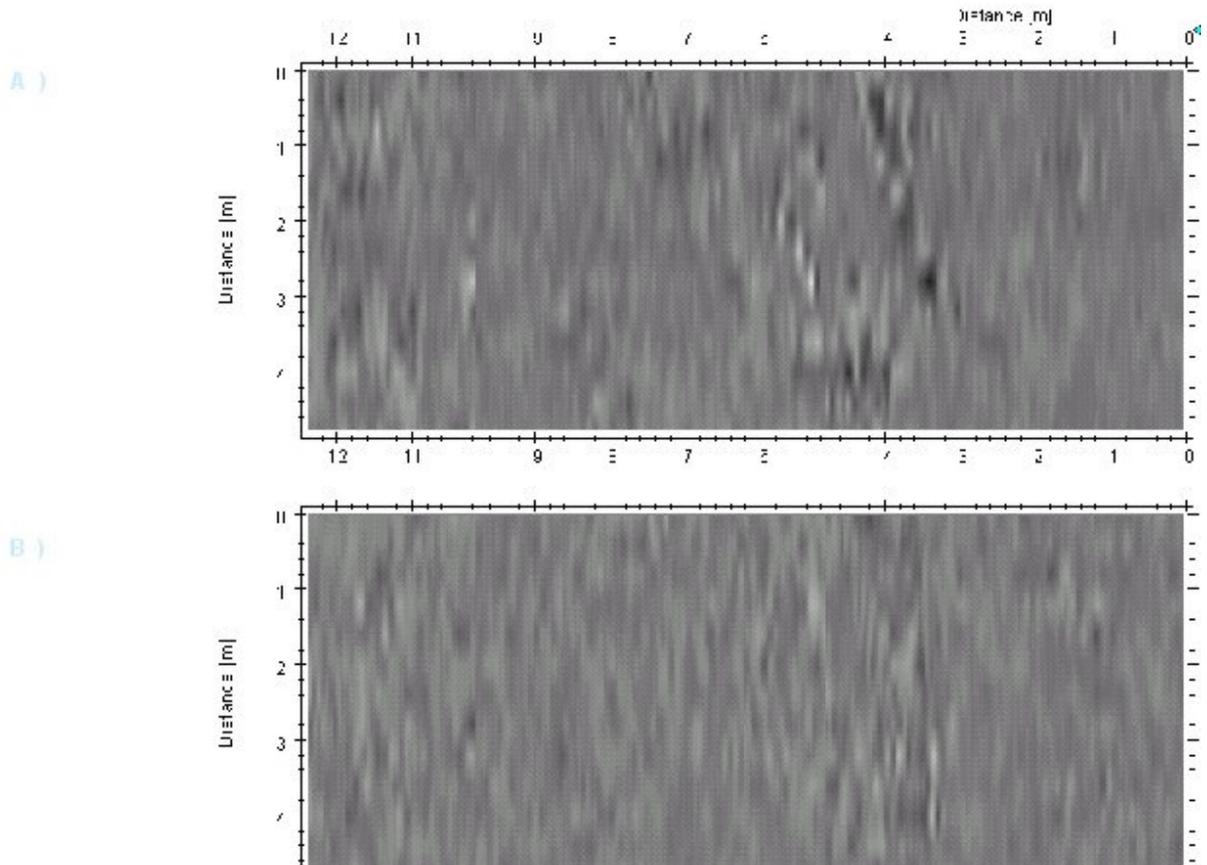


Figure 40. GPR Map of Area I, 75 cm (upper) and 90 cm (lower) Below Surface, DeBrahm's Fort.

antiquity. This trench continues northward across the Augusta Road where it fades from view. Wilson's map of the British defenses around Ebenezer indicates that a palisade line existed in that approximate vicinity, which continued to surround the east side of Ebenezer. This area was extensively mapped by archeologists for any subtle traces of the eastern ditchwork. Several possible small segments of its continuation were mapped northeast of Ebenezer (and southeast of Redoubt 2). Alternatively, these suspected sections of ditchwork may represent fire plow ditches, old agricultural ditches, or other unrelated activity. Most of the eastern ditchwork, however, has apparently been leveled.

The strongest evidence for earthworks associated with the Augusta Road are two trenches that flank the road on its northwestern exodus from Ebenezer. These are clearly visible from the topographic map shown in Figure 42. These trenches are both nearly 40 m from the road and are perfectly parallel with the road and directly opposite each other. These are interpreted as rifle trenches, which would have served as the advance defense of Ebenezer from a northern approach by the Augusta Road. No shovel tests or metal detecting was done at these trenches and their archeological potential remains undetermined. Their age also remains subject to debate since this locality also was the scene of a skirmish during the American Civil War, as a portion of

Sherman's Army was traveling south along the Augusta Road. Evidence of relatively recent looting was observed on the northeastern end of the northern trench.

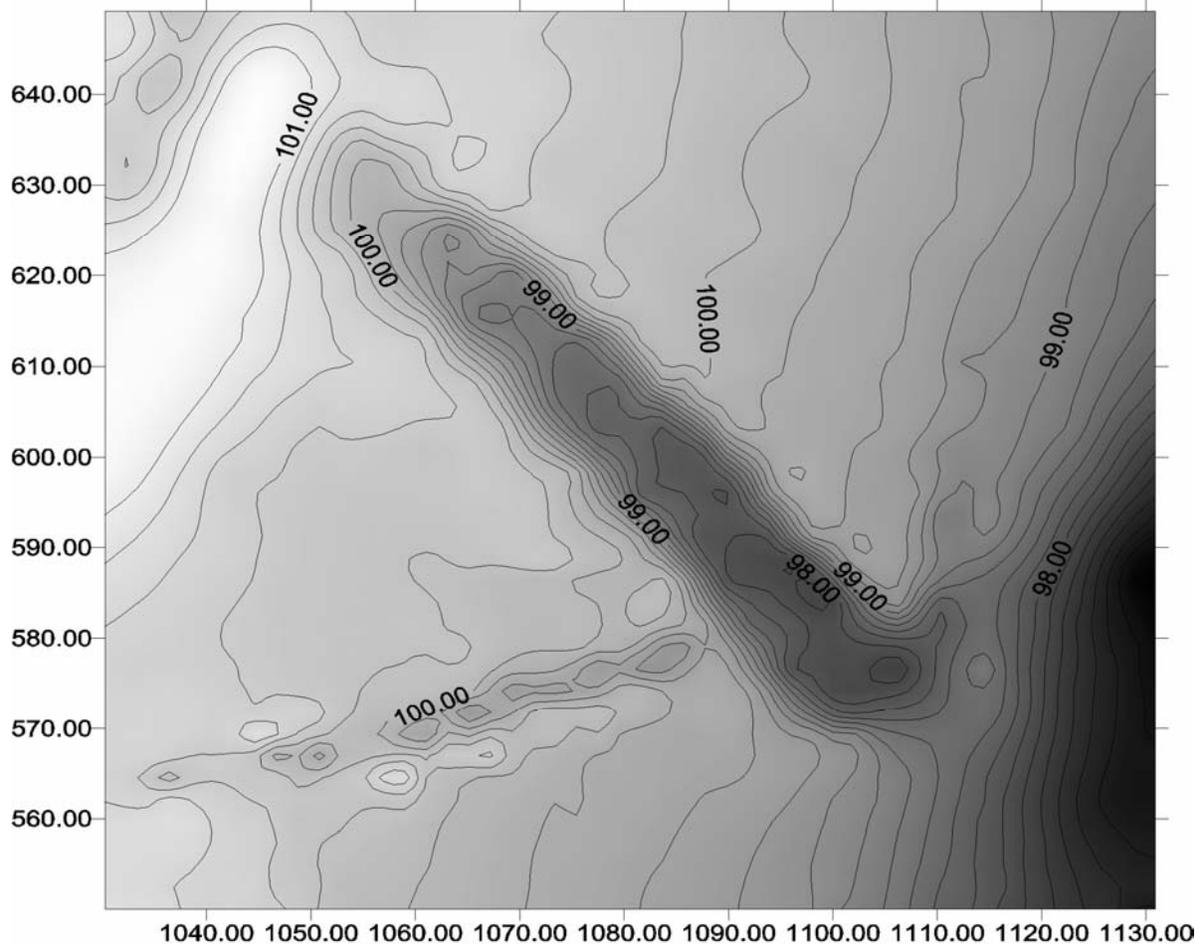


Figure 41. Topography of Augusta Road (South) and Associated Trench.

As the Augusta Road headed northward from Ebenezer it crossed a small, unnamed drainage. At this point the road trace is deeply entrenched and an area of the adjacent bank was deeply scalloped, which suggested that the soil from this area was used to create the causeway across the wetlands. The topographic map of this area is shown in [Figure 43](#). Several additional rifle trenches guarded this area. Survey of these features was not complete and additional study of this vicinity is warranted.

The detailed mapping in the vicinity of the New Ebenezer Retreat Center revealed another road trace that was previously overlooked. This trace cuts across the town grid on a bearing of (grid) northeast-southwest as if it represents a short-cut from Jerusalem Church to the western (northern) route of the Augusta Road. Other small sections of ditchwork, which may represent rifle trenches, were mapped at several locations northwest and west of Ebenezer. These ditches extended onto private property, which was outside of the present study area.

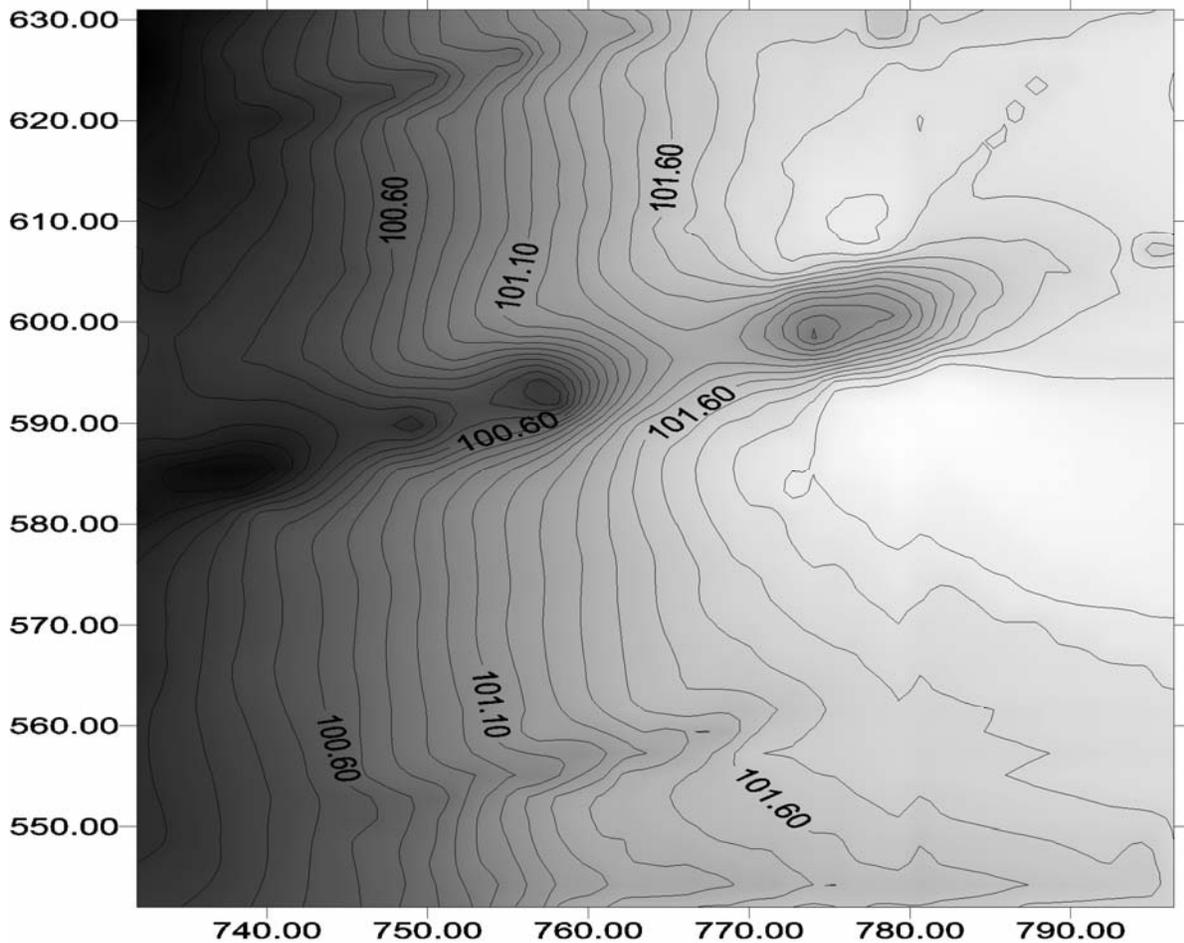


Figure 42. Topography of Augusta Road (Middle) and Associated Trenches.

Jerusalem Church

A central feature of Ebenezer was the Jerusalem Lutheran Church, which was located on a large Church lot. The first church building on this site, which was a large wooden structure, was completed in 1742. That building was replaced by a larger brick building that remains intact and relatively unchanged by the Jerusalem Evangelical Lutheran Church. This church continues in use as a sanctuary. Jerusalem Church stands as the oldest public building in Georgia and it has one of the oldest continuous Lutheran congregations on the Eastern Seaboard. Jerusalem Church is a two-story rectangular brick building, which was constructed from 1767 to 1769. The false clock face on the church's steeple bears the completion date of 1769. This church had an active congregation throughout the American Revolution, although after the departure of Reverend Triebner in December 1781, it was without a minister until several years after the war.

The town of Ebenezer was already experiencing decline in religious unity before the American Revolution. Dissension within the Jerusalem Church council and disputes between the two polarized clergymen, Rabenhorst and Triebner, had created a deep divide in the community.

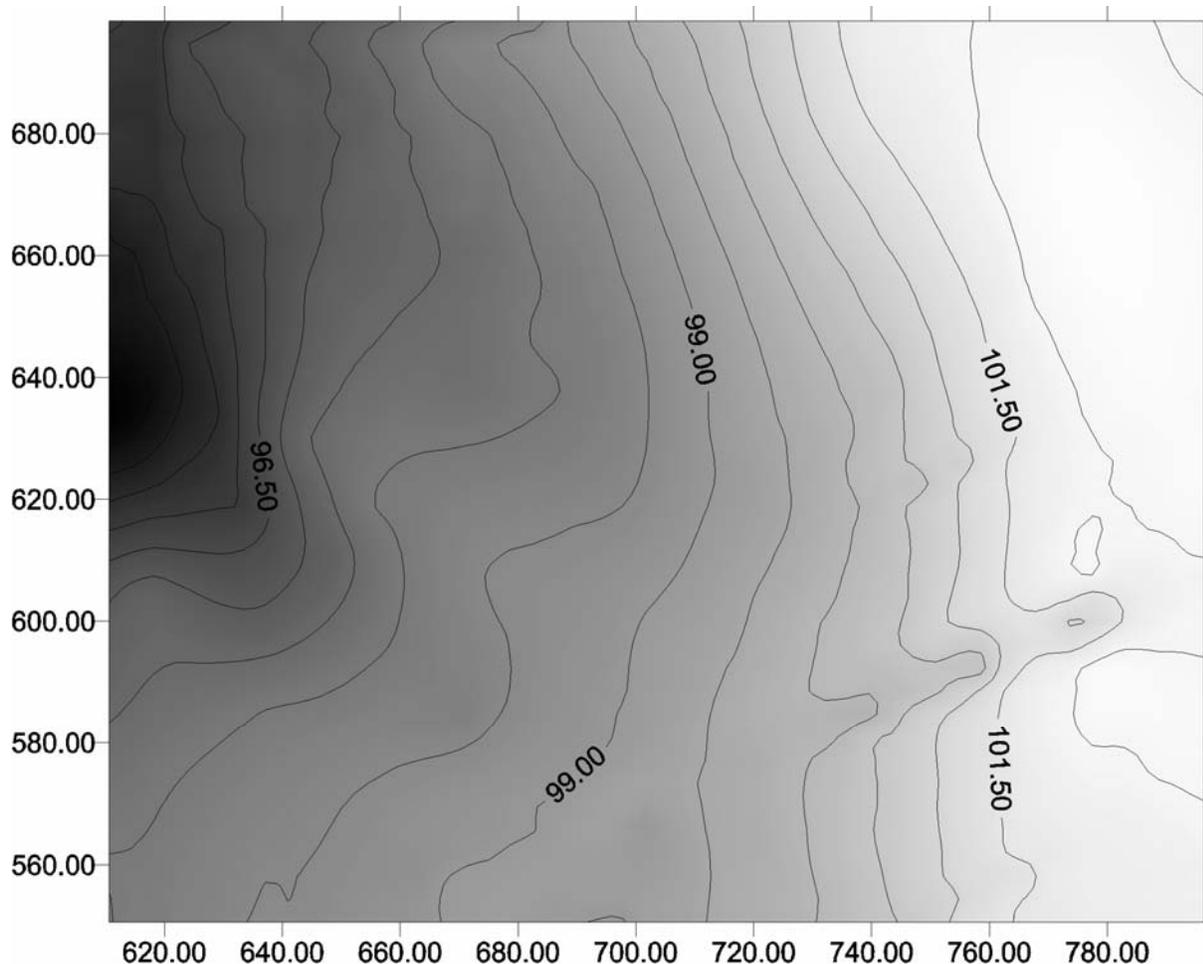


Figure 43. Topography of Augusta Road (North).

Reverend Henry M. Muhlenberg, the head clergyman of the Lutheran churches in America, traveled from Pennsylvania to Ebenezer in November 1774 and spent more than a month helping to restructure the Church's organization. Although he was successful in creating a church constitution, which was approved by the Jerusalem Church congregation in January 1775, Muhlenberg's resolution of disagreement in the community was ineffective (Strobel 1953:152-187).

Pastor Philip Strobel led the Lutheran congregation at Ebenezer from 1844 until 1849. During this time, Strobel obtained most of the conversations with older residents that he used in writing his history of the Salzburger settlement. Although his is not a primary reference, it is quite valuable and unique because Strobel had access to oral information from living participants in the war, which is unavailable to modern historians. A critical study of Strobel's history reveals many factual errors, for example he dates the evacuation of Savannah by the British to 1783 rather than 1782, but most of the details are likely accurate. Strobel (1953:206-207, 211) provides these comments on the physical condition of Ebenezer following the American Revolution:

There was one act performed by the British commander [Campbell or Prevost] which was peculiarly trying and revolting to the Salzburgers. Their fine brick church was converted into a

hospital for the accommodation of the sick and wounded, and subsequently it was desecrated by being used as a stable for their horses. To this latter use it was devoted until the close of the war and the removal of the British troops from Georgia. To show their contempt for the church, and their disregard for the religious sentiments of the people, the church records were nearly all destroyed, and the soldiers would discharge their guns at different objects on the church; and even to this day the metal "swan" (Luther's coat of arms,) which surmounts the spire of the steeple, bears the mark of a musket ball, which was fired through it by a reckless soldier. Often, too, cannon were discharged at the houses; and there is a log house now standing not far from Ebenezer, which was perforated by several cannon shot. In short, it was the policy (an unwise one, truly) of the English officers at this post, as it was at every other which they occupied, to make their power felt, and by mere brutal force to awe the colonists into subjection....

....As soon as the British left Georgia, the Salzburgers had an opportunity to return to their much beloved Ebenezer. This many of them did; but alas! what a scene of desolation was presented! Many of their dwellings had been burned, others had been very much injured, their gardens were completely destroyed, and the general aspect of the place so entirely changed that they could scarcely realize that here they had once had their homes....They, however, went to work immediately to repair their houses, and to restore, as far as they might be able, order out of the general ruin which everywhere prevailed.

One of the first objects to which the pious Salzburgers directed their attention, was the renovation of their church. This they found to be in a most deplorable condition.....It has already been stated that the British had converted the church into a hospital, and subsequently into a stable for their horses. For this latter purpose they continued to use it until their departure from Ebenzer....by industry and perseverance they removed the filth which had accumulated, repaired the edifice, and having completely renovated it, they once more assembled for the worship of God (Strobel 1953).

Strobel's account of the British use of Jerusalem Church as a hospital and its use later as a horse stable, as well as his account of the musket fired at the swan weathervane on the Church's steeple, has had lasting impact and has become engrained in the local folklore of Ebenezer (Brantley 1930:221). His statements have been further legitimized by their acceptance as fact on the historical marker that was erected near the church by the Georgia Historical Commission. These attributes of the church's history are even recorded as fact in Ebenezer's nomination for listing in the National Register of Historic Places.

If one accepts Strobel's account of the church's desecration by the British army as factual, then one question begs to be answered. Where did the British relocate their hospital after it was removed from the church? When the British army arrived in Ebenezer in early January 1779, it had just fought an intense battle at Savannah days earlier. Many of the more severe British casualties probably remained in Savannah or were moved to hospital ship. The walking wounded, or those who were fit for duty, were the ones who were treated upon their arrival in Ebenezer. These British soldiers had experienced an unpleasant voyage by ship from New York in the weeks immediately prior to their arrival in Georgia (Jackson 1795).

Interestingly, the American Civil War produced a story of Union desecration of Jerusalem Church that was quite similar to the one recounted by Strobel for the American Revolution. An advancing wing of General William T. Sherman's army traveled along the Augusta Road and briefly occupied Ebenezer in early December 1864. Historical documentation to support this is found in records of a lawsuit brought against the United States of America filed by the Jerusalem Evangelical Lutheran Church of Ebenezer in the early 20th Century. Ebenezer's Reverend Jacob Austin made a 1906 deposition recording the removal of carpeting, communion service, altar chairs, and the church library. Austin also described desecration of the church cemetery fence and other damage caused by wagon ruts and Union campsites (Austin 1906). According to Austin, who served as pastor of Jerusalem Church at the time of the Union invasion, the Union soldiers

burned the church's pews for firewood, used the church as a stable for their cavalry, and also used the church as a hospital. Reverend Austin described the destructive effects of the Union occupation:

I went to the Church the next day after they [Union Army] left, Sunday morning. I saw where they had camped in and about the cemetery of the Church which is about one hundred and fifty yards from the Church. The fence around the cemetery, inclosing one acre of land, had been taken down and burned. It had apparently been used for fuel. It was a picket fence, pickets about four feet long, with about a twelve inch board at the bottom. The fence was of dressed lumber, neatly painted and in good condition. I saw all around the cemetery where there had been camp fires; wagon and horse tracks, places where horses had been fed, and about fifty old horses broken down which they had left, many of these were branded with the United States mark. On visiting the Church I found that it had been entered, and the following property was missing which I can recall at this time: the carpeting of the altar and the pulpit had been carried away, there was about fifty yards of this carpeting; the silver communion service consisting of pitcher, plates and goblets were gone; about four alter [sic] chairs, one pulpit Bible, one alter Bible, library consisting of Sunday-School books, and Church library were also missing. I saw where some of the books had been piled up and burned outside of the Church (Austin 1906).

The interior plan of Jerusalem Church in colonial times was probably similar to that of other Lutheran Churches. Family boxes were likely arranged within the church rather than the linear pew arrangement seen today. Significant remodeling of the church's interior was done in the 1830s (Stroebel 1953). These included replacement of the pulpit and removal of the clay floor tiles with wooden plank flooring. Renovations that were made since the 1930s HABS documentation included removal of the wood stove heating system, addition of electric overhead lights, installation of a heating and air conditioning system, replacement of the wooden and remaining clay tile (or brick pavers) floor with modern terrazzo flooring, addition of a large pipe organ, and revamping and rearranging of the pews. Despite these alterations the building retains most of its original character. A slave gallery is preserved above the entrance to the church. Two large brass bells in the steeple predate the American Revolution by several decades. Many of the glass panes in the windows appear to be original. In the past few years the large wooden doors on the front and side entrance were replaced by congregation member Bowers Gnann and his sons and the door hardware was redone, in keeping with the previous historical style.

The Jerusalem Church building was photographically documented by the National Park Service's Historic American Building Survey in the 1930s. The HABS photograph of the rear view of Jerusalem Church is reproduced in [Figure 44](#). This perspective is useful because it shows the vegetated state of the churchyard. This documentation consisted of a brief written description and large format photographs of the front, rear, side, and interior of the sanctuary. No architectural drawings or building elevations were attempted in that study, nor were any measurements of the church taken. Jerusalem Church (and town site) was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 1974.

Several renovations to Jerusalem Church were completed since the American Revolution. The earliest documented of these was in the 1830s when the Church's interior was revamped and the pulpit replaced. The 1886 Charleston Earthquake was strongly felt in Ebenezer, which prompted the congregation to add steel supports to the building's exterior. The Church's weathervane has



Figure 44. HABS Photograph of Jerusalem Church, Rear View.

that soldiers fired their guns at the swan on the weathervane, thus resulting in the bullet holes that are evident today. In reality, however, those holes were intentionally fired into a replica weathervane, sometime in the middle to late twentieth century. Portions of an older, non-swan weathervane, simple in style, are preserved in the Salzburger Museum at Ebenezer.

Throughout Ebenezer's history this area was always public land assigned to the Church. Construction of the present brick sanctuary was begun 1767 and completed in 1769. An earlier wooden church, completed in the early 1740s, was located on the public lot but its precise location within the lot is not known. Some of the anomalies in Area L may be associated with this earlier building, or may be associated with the construction of the brick sanctuary. Oral and written tradition (as yet unconfirmed by primary documents from the period) attest to the church being used variously as a stable, hospital, officer's quarters, and headquarters during the American Revolution, as well as use as a stable by the Union Army during the American Civil War. Some of the anomalies may be associated with these military events. Also, the diaries of the Lutheran pastors at Ebenezer include a mention of burial in the "churchyard", which may indicate that this property was used for that purpose.

The topography in the vicinity of Jerusalem Church is relatively level, although the slope towards the Savannah River increases a short distance north of the church. The topographic map of this vicinity is shown in [Figure 45](#).

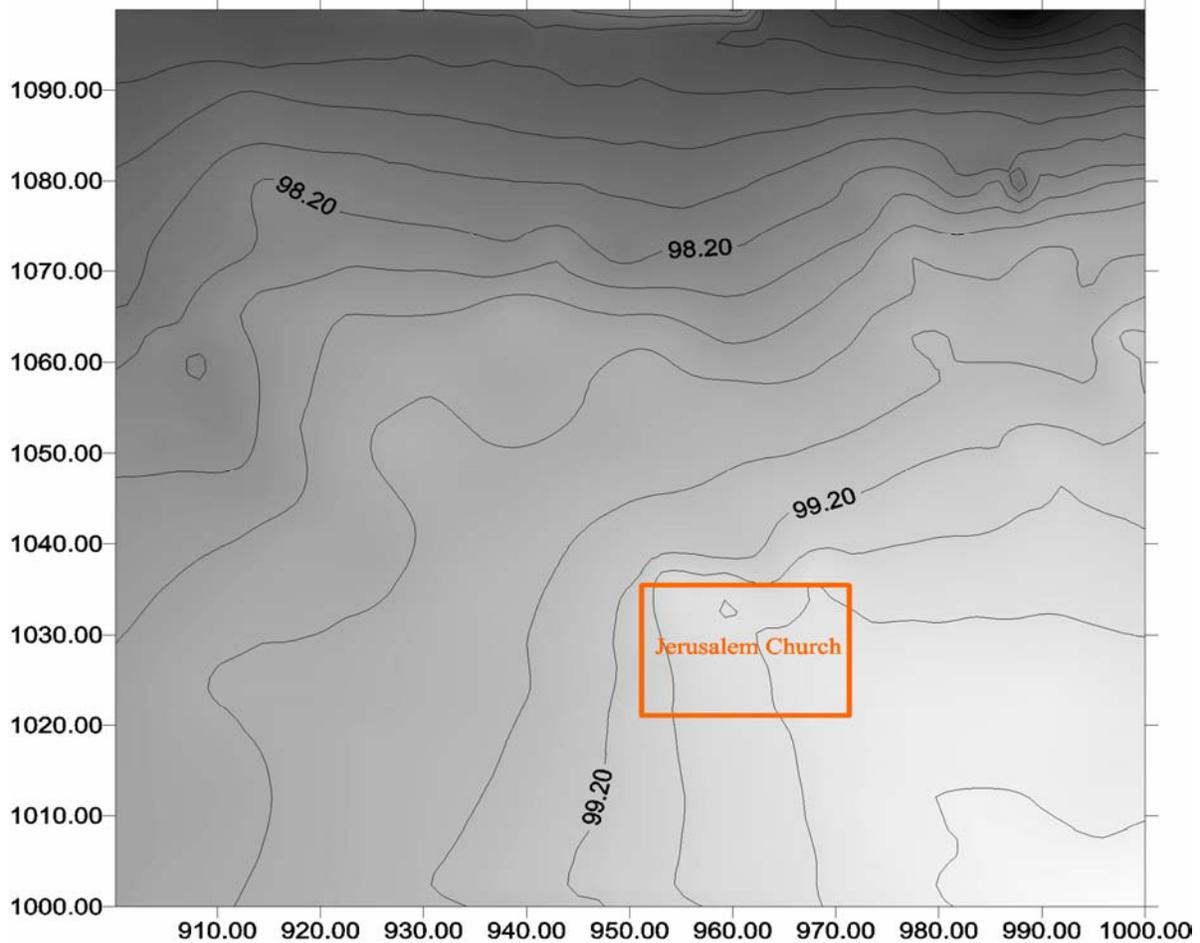


Figure 45. Topography of the Jerusalem Church Vicinity.

Exploratory GPR survey was conducted in the churchyard and adjacent areas. The Jerusalem Church grounds were sampled by archeologists in two areas (Areas G and L). Area G was an area characterized by heavy pedestrian traffic with some erosion evident. Area L, located along the southern side of Jerusalem Church is subject to less frequent traffic. A side entrance to the church is located adjacent to Area L but no erosion is evident in this area.

Area G was located northeast of Jerusalem Church and measured 5 m North to South by 8 m East to West. It encompassed an area from 944.05 m to 949.05 m North and 980 m to 988 m East. Transects in Area G were spaced at 40 cm intervals and were traversed from West to East. The survey progressed from South to North. A total of 13 transects was recorded in Area G.

The decision to broaden the transect interval from 20 cm to 40 cm was made to increase the amount of surface area that could be covered on the town site within the allotted field time. Several of the anomalies in this area were images of buried utility gas, water, and electrical lines leading from a buried propane gas tank and a well pump house to the Jerusalem Church Sunday School building, which is located a few meters south of Area G. Heating and air conditioning units are housed immediately south of Area G and the well and buried gas tanks are located a short distance north of Area G. Buried utility lines connecting these facilities to the Sunday School building are almost certainly responsible for the anomalies encountered in the radar

survey of Area G. Area G includes part of the original Jerusalem Church lot. Historical information suggests that the church was used by the military during its occupation in the Revolutionary War. No obstructions were encountered in this sample and the area was nearly level and mostly denuded of vegetation. The vicinity of Areas G and K (discussed later in this text) face adverse impact from proposed church expansion construction, which was another reason why these areas were selected for examination.

Area L was located parallel to the long axis of Jerusalem Church, along its southern flank. Area L measured 7 m North to South by 21.1 m East to West. The northern edge of this sample block was located 1 m south of the brick Jerusalem Lutheran Church. The 1 m off-set allowed for the avoidance of a small cement steps and the building roof drip-line. A total of nine transects was recorded in Area L. Transects in Area L were traversed from East to West and progressed from North to South, spaced at 1 meter intervals. No obstructions were encountered in this sample and the area was nearly level and vegetated in grass. A massive eastern red cedar tree was located just beyond the southeastern side of the sample area. It was centered approximately 1 m South and 3 m West of the southeast corner of Area L. A substantial soil disturbance anomaly that was possibly associated with the roots of this tree was observed in the field.

Area K investigated a portion of a domestic town lot in Ebenezer's West Ward and portions of two of its main streets. It was located north of the Jerusalem Church Sunday School building and East of the old Boy Scout hut. Area K measured 10 m East to West by 8 m North to South. It covered an area from 1064 to 1072 m North and 980 to 990 m East. Transects were spaced at 1 meter intervals in Area K and were run from West to East. Transects lines progressed from South to North.

THE SWAMP HOSPITAL AND EBENEZER'S WAR DEAD

Ebenezer was used as a military hospital by the British and American armies during their stay in the region. Although these facts are clearly documented in the historical record, the geographical location of these hospital facilities proved to be elusive.

In 1782 the Americans established a military hospital at Ebenezer, although no specific records were located providing any details of its location or operation. Surviving hospital records of the Southern Army at the National Archives were briefly reviewed but none were located for Georgia or Ebenezer. References to the hospital are most numerous in the returns of the Virginia Battalion for 1782.

Baron Von Steuben's drill manual, which was published and distributed in 1780 was adopted by the American military. In it, Von Steuben described the standard procedure for sanitation in the hospitals: "When a soldier dies, or is dismissed the hospital, the straw he lay on is to be burnt, and the bedding well washed and aired before another is permitted to use it" (Ashburn 1929:22; Von Steuben 1985:119). Von Steuben's manual did not provide any instructions for the disposal of the dead.

The period from 1774 to 1785 was a time of great turmoil and upheaval at Ebenezer, as well as most of colonial Georgia. The Jerusalem cemetery was not immune from this activity and it experienced negative impacts as a result. The Revolutionary War period was also a time of many deaths in the Ebenezer community, including both military personnel and civilians.

The people of Ebenezer were well acquainted with death, as hundreds of their congregation had died and been buried since New Ebenezer was established in 1736. Church burial records for most of the colonial period are spotty, however. Extant burial records for Ebenezer begin in 1756, twenty years after the town had been in existence, and they continue through December 14, 1781. After that, with the exception of one burial recorded in January 1800. Records end abruptly with the departure of Reverend Triebner from Ebenezer. The two subsequent pastors of Jerusalem Church, Johann Ernst Bergmann and Daniel Bergmann, did not record burials, or at least no records have survived. The earliest tombstone in the cemetery dates to 1813.

In 1775 Reverend Triebner reported to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) in London that “upwards of 50” members of the congregation had died that year, including Mrs. Lemke, who was Reverend Lemke’s widow, and her son, Timothy, aged 24. Triebner attributed many of the deaths to “violent epidemical Pleurisy, dry cough and burning fever” (SPCK 1775:91-92). The Ebenezer Record Book, however, records only nine burials in 1775. The record book also noted that the Widow Lemcke and her son Timothy actually died in February 1776 (Jones and Exley 1991:138).

No annual reports were received from Ebenezer by the SPCK for 1776, 1777, or 1778, but in a letter to the SPCK from Triebner, dated March 4, 1779, the Reverend noted that 40 members of the congregation were buried in the previous two and one-half years (SPCK 1778:89). If Triebner’s statistics are to be believed, then more than 90 residents of the Ebenezer community died between January 1775 and March 1779.

No records were located concerning deaths and burials in the Ebenezer community during the year 1779. This is unfortunate, for it was during that time that the town was occupied by several thousand British and allied loyalist troops. Ebenezer also was used briefly in 1779 by the Americans and some of their casualties from their ill-fated attack on Savannah in the Fall of 1779 may have been buried in Jerusalem cemetery. The troops included a large contingent of Hessian mercenaries, who no doubt felt a kindred bond with the Germans at Ebenezer. Given the large garrison of Hessians at Ebenezer, it is likely that a number of deaths occurred there and some of these corps may have been buried in the Jerusalem cemetery. Alternatively, a separate military cemetery may have established immediately outside of the town, but no evidence of such a cemetery has been located yet.

Writing to the SPCK on May 22, 1780, Reverend Triebner noted that 36 members of the congregation had died within a three-month period (presumably Triebner was referring to the first part of the year 1780 (SPCK 1779:96).

From these SPCK reports made by Reverend Triebner, we learn that more than 126 members of his congregation died between 1775 and 1780. This tally probably does not include British military deaths in the town, except for possibly a few Hessians, who had joined the congregation. This rate of attrition in the Ebenezer community is remarkable, particularly when one considers that the entire settlement of Ebenezer, including the satellite communities, consisted of fewer than 1,000 people. Thus, within a six-year period, Ebenezer had lost more than 10 percent of its population. While some of these were no doubt soldiers engaged in the war, many were probably civilians who died as a result of malnourishment and disease.

Although thousands of soldiers on the American and British sides were garrisoned at Ebenezer in the American Revolution, no graves of the war dead are known. Undoubtedly many people succumbed to sickness or mortal wounds at Ebenezer during the war years. Revolutionary War

records provide surprisingly few clues as to the number of men dying in post and they usually do not include any details as to the disposition of the corpses.

A review of the “Record Books Concerning Military Operations & Service, Pay & Settlement of accounts, & supplies...Revolutionary War Records of Pay and Settlement of Accounts Records of Pay and Settlement of Accounts Pertaining to VA, NY, and GA Officers and Men and to Members of the Hospital Department of the Southern Army, 1775-1856” provided some information on surgeons and their mates who served in the Southern Army. The American surgeons and mates, who possibly served in Georgia included:

- James G. Sharpe, surgeon, July 1784;
- Robert Johnson, P [physician?] and surgeon, 1782, 1783, 1784;
- Joseph Warren, surgeon, 1782;
- Nathan Brownson, surveyor, 1782, 1783, 1784
- Joseph Ramsey, mate, 1782, 1784
- Thomas Waring, mate, May, 1782;
- Henry Lattimer, surgeons mate, 1782;
- George Stevenson, mate, 1782;
- Josiah Root, mate, 1782;
- John Cowell, mate, 1782;
- John Coventry, mate, 1782;
- ____ Wainwright, mate, 1782;
- Andrew Caldwell, Apo [apothecary?] mate, 1782 and,
- Thomas Prudden, Apo [apothecary?] mate, 1782 (NARA 1`957: M853, Roll 22).

Obviously with such a large army amassed at Ebenezer and with heated engagements at Savannah and other battles to follow, a number of British soldiers at Ebenezer were either sick or dying. To deal with this problem Surgeon John Stuart of the 71st Regiment was assigned as Surgeon to the Hospital at Ebenezer on January 15th. Henry Clinton wrote to Campbell on March 14th advising him that, “A Surgeon will be sent from hence [New York] for the Hospital at Ebenezer...” (Clinton Papers 55:35; 54:3). Two Surgeon’s Mates in the 71st Regiment are also identified: Robert Ochiltree and David Burns (Campbell 1981:84). The British medical officers quickly recognized and commented on the severity of “Swamp fever” in the Savannah vicinity (Reiss 1998:206).

Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown and the King’s Rangers were posted at Ebenezer from late June 1779 to September 8, 1779. This was a sickly time to be at Ebenezer, as malaria and other swamp fevers raged. Three privates in Brown’s Company of King’s Rangers died while they were posted at Ebenezer in the summer of 1779. These include: Gibson Sutherland, died July 15; Jacob Huston, died July 17, and Edward Prue, died August 18 (Cashin 1999:251). Although their cause of death is not listed, these months were a time of limited hostilities in lower Georgia making unlikely that they died in battle.

Troop returns of July 1st noted that 38 of 253 members of the King’s Rangers regiment (14.6%) were sick. Four other companies served at Ebenezer under Lieutenant Colonel Brown during this period but their muster lists have not survived, consequently, no mortality statistics are available for them. If one assumes that the death rate in Brown’s Company (3 of 67 men total, or 4.5%) was typical of the regiment, then an estimated mortality of 11 or 12 men is predicted for the entire regiment (this was calculated on the presence of between 253 and 274 men) for the duration of Brown regiment’s occupation at Ebenezer.

Both the American and British armies posted surgeons in their hospitals at Ebenezer. Surgeons on the British side in the 71st Regiment included Colin Chisholm, William Fraser, Henry Jackson, and John Stuart, although the only surgeons of this regiment who are specifically linked to Ebenezer were Jackson and Stuart (Jackson 1795; Campbell 1981:84). Nathan Smith was the surgeon in Delancey's Battalion while they were in Georgia, although he was captured by the rebels. George Clark served as surgeon for the South Carolina Royalists in 1779. John Clark (1779) and John Allen (1779-1782) were surgeons for Thomas Brown's King's Rangers (Clark 1981, Volume 3:1, 423). Surgeons for the Wright's Georgia Loyalists, while stationed at Abercorn, were Samuel Beecroft (1779) and William Peterson (1780), and while stationed at Savannah, were Thomas Taylor (1781) and Joseph Mervin (late 1781) (Clark 1981, Volume 3:435-439). Most, if not all of these men, were posted at Ebenezer where they treated sick and wounded British soldiers in the British hospital.

Few surgeons in the American ranks at Ebenezer were identified, although this list could probably be expanded by additional examination of various muster rolls. A native Georgian, Nathan Brownson served as a surgeon at the great Swamp hospital in 1782, and George Monro was surgeon for the Virginia Battalion, when they were posted at Ebenezer that same year (Candler 2001, 2:358; NARA M246, 113:38). Duncan (1970:386) stated that, "Nathan Brownson [Brownfield] of Georgia was purveyor of hospitals for the Southern Army from March 27, 1781 to the close of the war. It should be noted that Brownson also served as Georgia's governor during the Revolutionary War. The Journal of the Continental Congress for October 16, 1781 included this referenece to Brownson: "Ordered, That Thursday next be assigned for electing a deputy purveyor for the military hospital, in the room of Doct Brownson, who is elected governor of Georgia" (JCC 2002). Bronson was elected Deputy Purveyor of Hospitals in the Southern Department by Congress on March 27, 1781 and June 6, 1782.

On September 30, 1780 the Continental Congress debated a report on the military hospitals, which recommended detailed rules and responsibilities. The physicians in command of each hospital were to:

....cause daily returns to be made to him of all the sick and wounded which have been removed to the hospitals, all that remain in the hospital tents, all that are become fit for duty, all that are convalescent, and all who may have died, specifying the particular maladies under which the sick and wounded labour, and shall make a monthly return thereof to the director, who shall add it to his general hospital returns, to be transmitted monthly to the Medical Committee (JCC 2002).

The hospitals in Georgia and North Carolina were exempt from these recommendations however. If any such daily or monthly returns were made of the American hospital at Ebenezer, no record of it was located.

Although Sir Henry Clinton's papers document that the British established a hospital at Ebenezer, its precise location was not recorded. Russell (2000) noted that Lieutenant Colonel Campbell established a hospital in the Salzburger's Church, although no specific source is cited for this claim. If the church was indeed used as a hospital, this use may be evidenced in the archeological record. British military medical practices in the 18th century were crude by today's standards and mortality rates were high in their hospitals. Although no mortality statistics were located for the Ebenezer hospital, Henry Jackson, who was posted at Ebenezer in 1779 with the 71st Regiment, paints a gloomy picture of that place (Kauffman 2001; Jackson 1795).

Returns of the American troops in Georgia, taken at Ebenezer in March and April 1782, provide a limited amount of information on sickness and mortality. Only two Continental dragoons in the

1st Regiment died during that period, which is a relatively small percentage of an army whose numbers hovered around 900 men. Two officers were reported wounded and six were listed as sick. Similar statistics for the enlisted ranks were not recorded (Harmar 1782a, 1782b). The late winter and early spring apparently was not too unpleasant at Ebenezer, which was a stark contrast to the late summer and early autumn.

The Virginia Regiment, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Posey, provides the best documentary information for American soldier mortality at Ebenezer. Muster rolls for the eight regiments and one company (Parker's) that comprised the Virginia Regiment were used to construct the table shown below (Table 21). Eighteen members of Posey's battalion died between April 1 and September 1, 1782. For at least one-half of that period Posey's men were posted at Ebenezer. Consequently, it is reasonable to expect that a significant proportion of these 18 men were buried there. About one-half of them approximately 310 officers and enlisted men in Posey's Virginia Regiment at Ebenezer was either sick, wounded, or deceased in the period from April to September. Although many of those who died were wounded in battle, most were sick from natural illness. Many of the sick and wounded were confined to a hospital that was located somewhere in the swamp near Ebenezer. It was referred to variously in the muster rolls as the: Hospital, Swamp Hospital, Big Swamp Hospital, Deep Swamp Hospital, and Great Swamp Hospital. Some of those who died may have been buried near this swamp hospital, while others may have been buried at Ebenezer, or at the other minor military posts in the vicinity, such as Sharon plantation. Five of the soldiers in Posey's Battalion died between June 23 and 24, and were likely casualties of the surprise attack on Wayne's camp at Sharon by the Creeks led by Gueristersigo.

Table 21. Military Dead of Posey's Virginia Regiment, April 1 to September 1, 1782.

Regiment	Rank	Name	Date of Death
Parker's	Sergeant	Horn, Simon	6/24/1782
Parker's	Private	Evans, William	5/22/1782
Parker's	Private	Hicks, James	5/22/1782
Parker's	Private	Bullock, Joseph Lee	6/24/1782
Parker's	Private	Sanders, Daniel	6/24/1782
Parker's	Private	Mangren, David	6/24/1782
1	Private	Burnet, Michael	8/5/1782
2		<i>None reported</i>	
3	Private	Howard, John	7/8/1782
3	Private	Jackson, John	8/20/1782
4	Private	Davis, Edward	7/23/1782
5	Private	Stokes, Charles	6/1/1782
5	Private	Franklin, Thomas	6/23/1782
5	Private	Moore, William	6/23/1782
5	Private	Fortune, Samuel	8/4/1782
6	Lieutenant	Barbour, James	7/7/1782
6	Private	Sligars, Diedrich	unk/1782
6	Private	Melton, Hubbert	6/15/1782
7	None	None reported	None
8	Private	Jones, Joseph	7/7/1782
TOTAL	18		5/22 to 8/5/82

These corpses may have been buried at Sharon, or possibly were returned to the main headquarters at Ebenezer for burial. The burial site of those soldiers (4 in number) who died after July 11 is less predictable, since General Wayne was in possession of Savannah by that date and the whereabouts of Posey's regiment is unclear. By mid-August, Posey's regiment was in South Carolina but none of the death dates are from that period. The mortality statistics for Posey's regiment serves to underscore the attrition rate of the American military. Within a five-month period, most of which was spent at Ebenezer, Posey lost more than 17 percent of his regiment.

Similar mortality statistics may ultimately be compiled for the other military units at Ebenezer, both British and American. We predict that such research would augment the number of military veterans on both sides of the conflict who died, and were likely buried at Ebenezer. Our preliminary research suggests that mortality statistics for the balance of General Wayne's army at Ebenezer was not as thoroughly recorded as those for the Virginia Battalion. In the returns for March and April 1782, only two soldiers were listed as dead, both in White's 1st Regiment Continental Dragoons. As British surgeon Henry Jackson noted, however, March and April were relatively healthy months at Ebenezer (Jackson 1795). Few official military records were identified in the present research effort that specifically pertaining to sick, wounded, or dead British soldiers at Ebenezer. One source was the muster lists of the King's Rangers for mid-1779, which identified three deaths in Thomas Brown's Company (Clark 1981, 3).

The British invasion force of Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell and Brigadier General Augustine Prevost was quite large and the troops that were garrisoned, or temporarily posted, at Ebenezer were numerous. Among these troops were likely wounded soldiers from the December, 1778 battle at Savannah, as well as subsequent battles at Sunbury, Augusta, Brier Creek, and other minor skirmishes. While only seven British soldiers were killed in the capture of Savannah, 19 were wounded (Searcy 1985:166).

Major General Prevost remarked in 1781 that many of the British troops at Ebenezer were sickly and the Ebenezer locale gained a reputation as unhealthy. Historical folklore recounts that the Jerusalem Church was converted into a hospital by the British in 1779. If so, then it is reasonable to expect that the corpses that were taken from the hospital for burial were not hauled any great distance. If this hospital truly existed in the town, then a British military cemetery is probably located nearby.

As medical historian Kaufman (2001:vii) noted, bayonet and saber wounds represented a significant proportion of the battlefield injuries among British troops in the American Revolution. This same trend is probably true for the Americans as well, although no statistics are available to support this assertion. Kaufman (2001:vii) concluded that illness rates of 20 to 40 percent, resulting from venereal disease, were not uncommon among the British troops during the American Revolution.

Dr. Henry Jackson, who had served as Surgeon for the 71st Regiment from 1778 until it disbanding in 1783, later wrote a book on the fevers in Jamaica and North America. It provides wonderful insight into the health and medical conditions at Ebenezer during this period (Jackson 1795). Although Jackson and his 18th century medical colleagues did not have an understanding of the disease vectors that caused malaria and other "autumnal fevers", the medical community was very interested in understanding, preventing, and treating them. Several extracts from his book, which pertain specifically to Ebenezer, are presented below (Jackson 1795:7, 57, 192-195, 199):

...the reigning epidemic of the Southern provinces of America, often loses its distinctive marks of intermission in the hot months of summer; whilst it approaches, in other respects, so near to the fever of Jamaica, as to be distinguished from it with difficulty. This was particularly the case at Ebenezer in Georgia, in the year 1779, during the months of June and July. A cold fit was seldom observed in this place; unless perhaps in the first attack; lowness, languor, head-ach, pain of the back and other disagreeable feelings remained even in the most perfect remissions; the disease was likewise much disposed to terminate of its own accord: on the usual critical days, frequently by signs of crisis, that were far from being obscure: yet though these resemblances were so striking, the fever of Ebenezer was perfectly under the control of Peruvian bark, which was not exactly the case with that of Jamaica....

...In an expedition into South Carolina, in the year 1779, a part of the army was near five hours in passing Purisburg 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 was the consequence in a great number of soldiers: 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 of the men who composed the detachment. the most of them had suffered from it severely the preceding autumn [prior to their arrival at Ebenezer]; and a temporary return of it, was generally observed to follow any extraordinary exertion, or the application of a debilitating cause...

...[Upon departing from New York in November 1778] the regiment was then embarked in transports, on an expedition to the southward. The sick were collected into one ship, which after a stormy and tedious passage, arrived with the rest of the fleet at Savanna, in Georgia in the latter end of December. The voyage had an excellent effect on the health of the men. Out of a hundred and twenty convalescents, who embarked at New York, in the month of November, not a man died; and there only remained two, who were unfit for service of the field, on the day of our arrival in the Savanna river. during the months of January, February, and March, the battalion of the regiment in which I served, was a total stranger to sickness. It was employed in long and almost continual marching, till the latter end of April, when, encamping at Ebenezer, on the Savanna river, the intermitting fever soon made its appearance, and spread so rapidly, that before the end of June, very few remained, not only in this regiment, but even in the garrison, who had not suffered more or less from this raging disease. ...I left the garrison of Ebenezer in the beginning of July, and went directly to Savanna, where the same epidemic prevailed, though in a degree of less frequency, and with symptoms of a less alarming nature than at the above-mentioned place....From Savanna, I went to Beaufort [South Carolina] in the beginning of August. The fever, which usually prevails at this season of the year, in all the southern provinces of North America, was then epidemic among the troops who were stationed on this island...This epidemic was still acquiring force, when the outposts were summoned to the defence of Savanna [in late September 1779]. Its progress was, in some measure, suspended during the active service of the siege. The enemy, however, had no sooner retired from before this place, than a fever began to rage with violence, which carried off prodigious numbers, particularly of the foreign troops....The rage of this epidemic ceased in December, but relapses continued to return occasionally, during the following winter; which was an unusually severe one in that Southern latitude...The 71st regiment had now served three campaigns in the southern provinces, and might be considered as being perfectly well seasoned to the climate. It was in fact more healthy than the other corps in the army; there not being more than five or six unfit for duty of the line, when the French and Americans invested the place [Yorktown in October 1781]. After the capitulation the proportion of the sick of the army increased considerably. Some instances of a fever, similar to that which prevailed at Camden and Savanna, in the month of November, was observed in several regiments; but a species of dysentery, which appeared often to have originated from an ill cured intermittent, was the complaint which proved principally fatal.

Dr. Jackson (1795:201) offered this summary of the unhealthy climate at Ebenezer:

The real nature of the endemic fever of Georgia, is perhaps, properly of the intermitting kind; yet remissions were often scarcely perceptible at Ebenezer; which is situated immediately on the bank of the river Savanna, and which, in some degree, is surrounded by creeks of fresh water. It may not be improper to remark with regard to Ebenezer, that few places in America have been observed to

be more unhealthful; though such a conclusion probably would not be drawn from a general view of the situation. It occupies a sandy eminence of considerable elevation, and possesses a considerable environ of cleared ground.

Dr. Jackson (1795:200, 203-207, 215, 226) observed that the treatment of Peruvian bark was effective in treating fevers at Ebenezer, more than in the northern latitudes. He commented that this treatment was only effective if applied in a timely manner at the onset of the fever. Dr. Jackson recounts an experiment that he conducted on 30 fever victims at Ebenezer in May [1779]:

...I selected thirty cases of fever, which had commenced within twenty-four hours of each other. This experiment was made at Ebenezer, in the month of May; where the disease, though highly epidemic, had not yet discovered any signs of malignancy; so that danger was not apprehended from a delay of a few days. I classed those thirty cases in three divisions, without paying regard to the nature of the symptoms of any individual case. To one I prescribed a repetition of emetics, at such intervals as were judged proper; for another, cathartics of various kinds, or managed in various manners; while I left the third wholly to its own course. I watched the progress of the disease attentively for the space of eight days, and cannot pretend to say, that I observed any material difference in the changes or appearance of those cases, which were treated in so different a manner. The type, which was generally single tertian at the commencement of the disorder, changed for the most part to double tertian or quotidian, after the second or third paroxysm; though not in a different proportion, as far as I could judge, in those which were left entirely to Nature, or which were treated in the manner which has been mentioned above. It deserves however to be remarked, that the paroxysms were usually milder, more regular and distinct after the repeated use of cathartics; as also the bark succeeded more speedily and more certainly after a repetition of antimonial emetics....Bleeding was often found to be useful in particular cases. It moderated the violence of symptoms, and seemed not to be without effect in removing a certain state of the system, which resisted the successful operation of the bark...Peruvian Bark is the chief remedy, upon which we now depend, for the cure of intermitting fevers. It is a remedy, which like others, has undergone some reverses of reputation, since its first introduction into Europe; and though its efficacy is now fully acknowledged, perhaps over-rated by English practitioners, it does not seem yet to have gained the same general credit with other European nations. The French use it with caution, and many of the Germans are still its enemies....I was aware early of these objections, and watched narrowly that I might discover its real effects; and am warranted in saying, that it has every right to be considered as a specific in ague and fever; while it is totally free from the imputation of occasioning dysentery, dropsy, or visceral obstruction. Those complaints were always most frequent, where the remedy had been the most sparingly employed....The Hessians were all of them inveterate enemies to the bark; and these were ever some of the British surgeons who employed it very sparingly. The mortality among the troops trusted to the care of those, was uniformly in great proportions. There was a Hessian regiment, the situation of which I had the opportunity of knowing exactly, that lost one third of its men by this disease and its effects, during one year's service in Georgia. There were British regiments also, which lost more than a fourth; while there were others, which did not lose a twentieth. The whole of these regiments were engaged in the same services; they were all alike foreigners in America; and there appeared to be no obvious cause for so great a difference in the degree of mortality, except a difference in the management of the bark. Bark was scarcely ever employed in one case; in another it was used with timidity; whilst it was given with the earliest opportunity, and in quantities far exceeding the usual practice in the third....The good effects of gestation or traveling, even in awkward conveyances, were very obvious in almost every stage and situation of the ardent bilious fever....At Ebenezer in Georgia, at a season, when the thermometer, in the coolest part of the house, often stood at ninety-six, and even sometimes rose above it, I was seized with the ardent bilious fever, which at that time made dreadful ravage among the troops. For six or seven days I did not once shut my eyes; my thirst was so great, yet every fort of liquid, which I could procure, was nauseous; the distinction of paroxysm and remission was no longer perceivable; the pulse, at the wrist, was neither uncommonly frequent nor strong; but the pulsation of the descending aorta was so great, as to shake the whole frame; anxiety and restlessness were intolerable: in short, the torment was so excessive, that human nature could scarcely suffer more. The situation was precarious; and without

much reflexion I indulged the desire of being carried to Savanna; though the distance was not less than twenty-five miles....I had not traveled two miles before I felt a wonderful increase of vigour....Instead of being hurt, I was surprizingly benefited....

Dr. Jackson kept detailed medical records on the effects of fever among the 71st Regiment, while posted in the Southern colonies from the time of his arrival in the Summer of 1778, until the Fall of 1781. Unfortunately, he was forced to leave them in America after he, and most of the regiment, was captured at Yorktown (Jackson 1795:64).

For most of the period between January 1779 and December 1781, between 200 and 300 Hessians were posted (with slight interruptions in September and October 1779) at Ebenezer. Estimates of Hessian losses can be made, based on the statistics from Posey's Regiment. If one assumes that an average of 250 Hessians were in garrison at Ebenezer for 20 months and using a similar mortality rate of 17 percent, this yields a tally of 42 dead. Even if their mortality rate was only one-half that of the Americans, still an estimate of 21 dead is significant. Perhaps a more accurate estimate of British mortality rates at Ebenezer can be generated based on Surgeon Henry Jackson's writings (Jackson 1795). Jackson noted that one Hessian regiment lost one third of its force while in Georgia. Since Jackson was most familiar with Ebenezer, it is highly likely that this was the regiment to which he referred. Given the duration and intensity of the Hessian occupation at Ebenezer, again an average of 250 soldiers over a 20-month period, possibly 80 or more Hessians died at Ebenezer. Jackson noted that the mortality rate of the British regiments was more variable, ranging from one-fourth to one-twentieth.

Since the troop strength of these British regiments at Ebenezer was highly variable, an accurate estimate of their mortality is more speculative. Jackson noted that none of the 71st Regiment died from January through March 1779. Those three months coincided with the period of greatest British troop strength at Ebenezer. Fever raged at Ebenezer from April through June of that year. Surgeon Jackson was gone from Ebenezer by July, therefore the conditions of the rest of the summer and fall, which was the period when malaria was most frequent at Ebenezer, are not recorded. Jackson was treating at least 30 cases of fever at Ebenezer in May 1779 and, although apparently none of these 30 men died during his study period, these figures give a sense of the pervasiveness and scale of the epidemic. If one assumes an average population of 1,500 British troops in Georgia, a mortality rate of 15 percent of their force over the course of their 20 month occupation in Georgia and that 20 percent of these men were posted at Ebenezer, this yields an estimate of 45 soldiers. When added to the estimate of 80 Hessians, this yields an estimated 125 men in the British military service that may have been buried at Ebenezer.

The Americans led by Major General Lincoln retreated to Ebenezer following their trouncing at the October, 1779 Siege of Savannah, where they remained for several days. During that period General Lincoln was preparing to shift his army to South Carolina. Many injured soldiers were probably transported there from Savannah, where some probably died. Again, no records were located in the present research to support this supposition, although the extensive records of General Benjamin Lincoln were not exhaustively searched. While most of the French and some of the wounded American officers, such as Casmir Pulaski, were evacuated from the battlefield by ship, others were probably less fortunate. Bonaventure plantation, near Thunderbolt, was used as a hospital by the French and some of the American wounded were taken there, where some no doubt died and were buried. Lincoln's army was in residence at Ebenezer for only a brief period, compared to the British occupation and Wayne's occupation, yet it is not unreasonable to expect that a dozen or more of his soldiers died and were buried there.

The American hospital at Ebenezer continued to function after the departure of Major General Wayne's army from Georgia. From the August 16, 1782 minutes of the Executive Council:

Two letters being presented this Board by Major Habersham from Doct. Brownfield Surgeon of the Hospital at the great Swamp, representing the melancholy situation of the Hospital at that place for the want of necessary supplies for the said Hospital Therefore,

ORDERED, That the said articles requisite for the said Hospital be immediately furnished. And that one quarter cask of wine, one of rum and eight bushels salt be procured for that purpose (Candler 2001, 2:358).

Creek and other southeastern Indians also are among the ranks of Ebenezer's war dead, although the circumstances of the disposal of their bodies are undocumented. Accounts of the battle of June 24, 1782 attest to the deaths of numerous Creek warriors, including one of their war chiefs, Gueristersigo. Wayne ordered the slaughter of a number of Creek prisoners, as a matter of convenience, on the morning following the battle. This battle was not fought directly at Ebenezer, however, but near Sharon Plantation and the Indian graves, if indeed any were dug, are probably located near Sharon. Other Indians were held captive at Ebenezer and quite possibly some may have died while in confinement. If so, their bodies were likely buried nearby. None of these are documented.

Altogether the number of war dead buried in and immediately surrounding Ebenezer, excluding civilians, probably exceeds 150 persons. With the exception of one or two Revolutionary War veterans who died decades later and were buried in marked graves in Jerusalem Church cemetery, none of the grave locations are known. Furthermore, none are memorialized, which is strange considering the extent to which Georgians in the 19th and early 20th century commemorated the Revolutionary War dead in Savannah, Kettle Creek, and Augusta. Ebenezer's role as a sepulcher of military veterans has been largely overlooked.

These Revolutionary War dead may simply have been included with the other graves in Jerusalem Church cemetery. The location of the 18th century cemetery at Ebenezer remains to be verified and cartographic evidence for the cemetery's location is conflicting. The earliest known map of the town by Seutter and Lotter (1747) depicts the cemetery a short distance south of the southeast quadrant of town—some distance from the present cemetery. The next surviving detailed plan of Ebenezer by DeBrahm (1757) depicts the cemetery centered at the south end of town, although the number of rows of town lots shown by DeBrahm is less than that shown on Seutter and Lotter's map. DeBrahm's depiction would place the cemetery some distance north of its current location in the vicinity of the modern New Ebenezer Retreat Center parking lot. A later plan of New Ebenezer by Powers (1822) shows the cemetery centered at the south end of town, but other portions of the town plan are probably copied from the Seutter and Lotter map. One other unattributed and undated plan of Ebenezer has survived, which shows the cemetery in the same location as Powers' plan (Anonymous n.d.). By the 1820s, the town plan of Ebenezer was probably a distant memory for most of the people of Effingham County, as most of the town lots were unoccupied and their property boundaries were fast disappearing by being absorbed into larger land holdings. Gardner's (1797) plan of Ebenezer, which is intermediate to DeBrahm's and Powers' plan, shows the cemetery centered on the south end of town but it also shows additional rows of town lots that are not shown on any other map. This piece of evidence serves to only further confuse the issue. Since none of the tombstones in the cemetery date from the 18th century, archeological study may be the best solution to the location of graves.

Alternatively, the Jerusalem Church cemetery may not have been used by the military. Special areas dedicated for the military dead may have been established elsewhere by the two armies and their locations remain unknown. For pragmatic reasons, including the need to quickly bury diseased corpses to prevent the spread of illness, as well as the practicality of not hauling corpses great distances, the military cemeteries were likely located near hospitals. The Great Swamp Hospital and its as yet unknown location may hold some secrets to this mystery.

Prisoners of War and Ebenezer

Having spent more than a year as a prisoner of war Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell probably empathized with the men on both sides who were held prisoner. Prisoners were abundant in both armies and although the officers were usually allowed to be on parole, most of the enlisted men were placed on prison ships lying offshore where they were prey to viruses, diseases, and plagues. The Americans at Ebenezer had a stockade for prisoners in 1782, which was used to contain captured British, loyalist Indians, and other Tories. The location of this facility within the town is not documented. The British in Savannah likewise were holding Americans prisoners in 1782, but no negotiations of exchange were identified from the present research.

Campbell had captured a total of 453 Americans, including 321 from Georgia and 132 from South Carolina, when he took Savannah. (Clinton Papers 52:3). General Lincoln received lists of officers taken in Savannah in December 1778 and in Sunbury on January 9th (Allis 1967: Reel 3). On January 9th from his HQ at Ebenezer, British Lieutenant Colonel Campbell exchanged letters with Lincoln, who was at his Purysburg HQ, regarding the mutual release of prisoners (Papers of the Continental Congress M247 R177: 158, 203, 205; Campbell 1779c, 1981:117-118). Campbell wrote Lincoln, advising the American general that the British:

...will readily enter upon any reasonable plan for the release of Prisoners and will appoint a major of the British army to confer with Major Thomas Pinckney on the subject; the parole of the American officers will be extended; but Gen Lincolns proposition for release of Pvt's is totally inadmissible unless British soldiers be exchanged for them... (Emmett Collection, New York Public Library EM7389).

On January 28th American Major General Lincoln wrote to British Brigadier General Prevost to discuss the exchange of supplies between the American and British armies:

This evening received your two favors. I have not time now fully to answer them. You will please to march your men upon the Two-Sisters-Road until you come to the road which turns off to the left, and leads to this place [Purysburg]. There, I shall order wagons to meet you in the morning with ammunition. I am sorry that you have not brought on a supply of bread. meat we have here. If you send back for any provisions you will confine yourself wholly to flour (Allis 1967:Reel 3).

On January 29th General Lincoln wrote to Brigadier General Elbert, "Major Pinckney will meet the officer you shall appoint at Zubly's ferry tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, to confer on the subject of a reasonable exchange of prisoners". On January 29th Augustine Prevost issued orders from Ebenezer HQ to Lieutenant Colonel Mark Prevost: "...to proceed to Zubley's ferry, in order to open a conference with an American officer for the exchange of prisoners..." A conference was held at Zubley's Ferry on Jan 31st, whereupon the articles for the exchange of prisoners were agreed to by Prevost and Lincoln and the exchange was completed .On February 1st Lieutenant Colonel Mark Prevost wrote to American Major Thomas Pinckney presenting his compliments as

an introductory formality in the ensuing negotiations for prisoner exchange (New York Public Library, EM7498, EM7532, EM7533; Allis 1967:Reel 3; Campbell 1981:117).

On March 2nd, Augustine Prevost wrote thanking Lincoln for the gentlemanly behavior of officers Moultrie and Pinckney in the prisoner exchange negotiations. A return of Prevost's troops made the previous day noted that 392 non-commissioned officers and privates were held prisoner by the Americans. On March 11th Prevost wrote from Ebenezer to Lincoln providing him with a list of men who were taken prisoner on March 3rd [at Brier Creek]. Alex Shaw, Aide de Camp for General Prevost wrote from Ebenezer on March 16th to Major Pinckney at Purysburg providing him with a list of "British prisoners in your hands", as a prelude to another exchange. By early March, a detachment of the 2nd Regiment, South Carolina Infantry, Continentals, comprised of 1 field officer and 4 companies (164 men total) was posted near Zubly's Ferry. On April 14th, British Ensign Alex Shoeld wrote from Zubly's Ferry to American Major Thomas Jenkins regarding another prisoner exchange (Allis 1967: Reel 3; Campbell 1981:117-118).

On April 8th Lincoln had been given authority by Congress to exchange prisoners on the terms offered by the British. This was effected when Lincoln wrote 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...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 in a weak, dying state (Papers of the Continental Congress 158, 253, cited in Campbell 1981:117).

On May 13th J. Wright of the [British] 60th Regiment wrote from his camp at Ashley Ferry to Lincoln referring to: "...the scheme we have spoken of at Ebenezer..." Apparently no such exchange transpired. Ironically, General Lincoln himself would be taken prisoner the following year, leading to an advanced round of prisoner exchange negotiations (Allis 1967: Reel 3).

On July 4, 1779 British officer John McArther sent a list from Savannah of 13 American prisoners to Purysburg in exchange for the like number received at Savannah (New York Public Library EM7536). Georgian George Walton, who was captured by the British in the battle of Savannah and held at the British prison camp at Sunbury wrote to Lincoln in September 1779 requesting that he be exchanged soon. Walton feared that he and his fellow prisoners would soon be massacred (Walton 1779:1-2). No later correspondence regarding prisoner exchanges at Ebenezer or in the vicinity were located from the present research.

NAVAL ACTION AT EBENEZER

Ebenezer was located at the uppermost end of tidal fluctuation on the Savannah River. As such, it was upstream from most American and British ship traffic on the river. Despite its relative inaccessibility, both the British and American navies had activity in the area. Although Ebenezer was on the fringe of most maritime commerce in Georgia, it did have a maritime tradition. From its first settlement people and supplies were rowed upstream on flat boats from Savannah. As illustrated by Baron Von Reck, flatboats were probably the preferred vessel type for traffic between Ebenezer and other towns along the Savannah River (Hvidt 1980). In the late 18th century flatboats and ferries were active on the Savannah River between Augusta and Savannah. Ferries were maintained at Two Sister's Ferry and Zubly's Ferry, upstream and downstream from Ebenezer, respectively. A ferry also was operated at Ebenezer but since the ground on the

opposite bank in South Carolina was poorly drained, the Ebenezer ferry never was considered a major crossing point. In 1779, the British fortified the west bank of the river at all three ferries, and the Americans fortified the east bank at Zubly's Ferry, and possibly at the others as well. It was difficult to move men and supplies across the river, particularly in times of high water.

Among the residents of Ebenezer was Nicholas Kronberger, who, in addition to his occupation as a planter, was a boatbuilder. Nicholas originally settled in Purysburg but he later acquired land in Ebenezer and moved there. South Carolina land records for 1769 identify "Nicholas Cronberger of Ebenezer, Georgia, boat builder" (Charleston County 1769:247). Elsewhere in the colonial documents Nicholas Cronberger is listed as a "shipwright" in 1769, which serves to further support his occupation of building large vessels (MESDA 1994). Nicholas died in 1775, however, so his boat-building skills were only a factor in Georgia's naval Revolutionary War history at the very beginning of the war, although some of the boats [probably flat boats] that he built probably were involved in later naval engagements on the Savannah River. Despite its substantial timber and naval stores industry in the colonial period, Georgia constructed fewer ships, as measured by gross tonnage, than any other colony, except New Jersey. Ships built in Georgia, however, were larger than those built in all the other colonies, save for South Carolina (Goldenberg 1976:122). Two other Ebenezer residents, in addition to Nicholas, were identified in colonial records as shipwrights or boat builders. These were John Jacob Kieffer/Keiffer in 1769 and Conrad Rahn in 1777 (MESDA 1994; Charleston County 1770:479).

The British Navy had a significant presence on the Savannah River between Purysburg and Ebenezer. British ships and flat boats also were used to transport men and supplies from England and the other colonies to Georgia where the primary port was Savannah. Sunbury also served as an important port in this period. The Savannah River at Ebenezer was not navigable for larger vessels, such as the man of war *HMS Vigilant*, commanded by Captain Christian, which served as the flagship during Colonel Campbell's invasion. Ships that were moored at Ebenezer, sometime after March 21, 1779 when the river passage upstream from Purysburg was secured, included the armed sloop *HMS Greenwich* and the bomb galley *Comet*. Other British vessels that were active in the Savannah River above Savannah included the armed brig *Keppel* and the galleys *Thunderer*, and *Hornet*. Lieutenant Whitworth commanded the *Keppel*. Both the *Comet* and *Keppel* saw action in the 1779 Siege of Savannah (Hough 1975:60, 67, 134-135).

On January 7th two "Boats of the Navy" commanded by Captain Stanhope and Lieutenant Clarke, surprised and captured, "a Spanish Brig, a Schooner and two Sloops in Savannah River near to the Creek of Abercorne". This opened up water communication to Ebenezer for the British (Campbell 1981:38). The approach to Ebenezer by water was secured as Campbell noted in his January 16 letter to Lord Germain:

Captain Stanhope of the navy who commanded the flatboats of the fleet, and to whose exertions we are much indebted, went with Lieutenant Clarke and a number of armed boats of the fleet and boarded an armed brig, two sloops, and a schooner who interrupted the passage to Abercorn, by which means the navigation of the river to that post was happily opened. 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 (Davies 1978:17:37).

In October 1778 the *Greenwich* had been grounded twice in the battle at Egg Harbor, New Jersey (Ditmire 2002). Although the *Comet* later saw action in the Siege of Savannah in September and October 1779, the *Greenwich* is not mentioned in those battle reports. Possibly she remained

moored at Ebenezer, which seems unlikely, or was stationed somewhere between Ebenezer and Savannah during that battle.

Muster lists for the *Greenwich* for the periods October 1778 to February 1779, July 1779 to June 1780, July 1780 to June 1781, July 1781 to June 1782, and July 1782 to March 1783 are preserved in the Admiralty Records in the British Public Records Office in England but were not examined in this study. Similarly, muster lists for the *Comet* cover the periods June 1777 to August 1778 and June 1780 to July 1782 (BPRO ADM 36/9918, 7726 and 10258). Apparently, neither vessel remained at Ebenezer so any archeological trace of them will be limited.

Another British ship that affected water travel to Ebenezer, although she was never at Ebenezer, was the *H. M. S. Rose*. The *Rose*, which according to one British account was, "...Bottom Worm-eaten quite through, and her Stern rotten...her Guns, Men, and Ammunition being on Shore..." was scuttled perpendicular to the Savannah River channel to prevent American vessels from approaching the town. Joining the *Rose* in this underwater blockade were the armed ship *Savannah*, four transports, and several smaller vessels. This obstacle effectively hindered further travel upstream for the duration of the war (Hough 1975:139-140). The British also placed navigation obstacles in Abercorn, or Mill Creek, which disrupted and altered the water flow to the Salzburger's mills on that stream and led to their abandonment.

Several American ships escaped capture by the British in Savannah by sailing and rowing upstream. The British Navy pursued them, as detailed in a letter from Admiral Hyde Parker to Mr. Stephens, dated February 23rd:

On the 1st of January, Lieutenant Clark 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 was at a plantation on the South Carolina shore; unfortunately he did not get the Governor, but returned with one Bryan, a notorious ringleader in rebellion, 1 Captain-Lieutenant, and about 13 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 and Greenwich sloop, with a number of boats under the command of Captain Stanhope, were kept advancing up the river, in hopes of being able to come up with the rebel galleys and other armed vessels, but such was the diligence of the rebels, and 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 the service, the rebels have been able to secure their galleys under the town of Purisburgh; as also two sloops, one loaded with gunpowder, and the other with stores; Four others were taken, viz, A sloop of 10 guns and another of 4 burnt; a brig and schooner brought off; By the station of the King's armed vessels now occupy, we are enabled to transport provisions and stores to 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 flates, 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. (*Caledonian Mercury* 1779:2).

Days prior to March 21, 1779, a naval battle took place on the Savannah River at Yamasee Bluff, about 3 to 6 miles below Purysburg. On March 28, 1779 Major General Prevost noted in another letter from Ebenezer that rebel galleys from Purysburg were taken on March 21 (Davies 1978:16:145). On March 19, Lincoln wrote to Captain Milligan ordering the *Congress* and *Lee* galleys 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 Ramsays' Bluff" (Allis 1967:Reel 3).

A newspaper account of the naval battle on the Savannah River below Purysburg appeared in the *Royal Gazette*, which was published in New York on May 22. This article, which was extracted from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of May 12 reads as follows:

"March 30: Our advices from Head Quarters, inform of an unsuccessful expedition of two of our [American] gallies and an armed sloop, against a galley and an armed sloop of the enemy, that were stationed a little above Abercorn creek. The following is the most authentic account of that affair that has been yet received: On the 20th instant our two gallies and sloop set off from Purysburgh about midnight, and intended to have boarded the enemy's vessels immediately, but by some unlucky fatality the sloop got ashore before she had proceeded two miles, and the largest galley met with the same accident, when within a mile of the enemy's vessels. By these misfortunes, our vessels were retarded from their intended attack till the enemy were apprized of their approach, and had time to be reinforced by an armed flat, and to have a marked battery erected on the south side of the river. At length the galley got off, and with the other proceeded to the attack next morning; but just as the action commenced, and when only within 250 yards of the British vessels, she again unfortunately got aground. The engagement began at 10, and continued with great fury and obstinancy till near one o'clock, when 40 of our men being killed and wounded, among the former Capt. Campbell, and finding the enemy to be superior, and no possibility of bringing the gallies off, they were at last obliged to abandon them and take to their boats.

April 2. The British forces in Georgia having advanced higher up the country, has occasioned General Lincoln, with the main body of our army, to make a movement.

April 7. The bayonets to the British light infantry pieces taken at Beaufort on the 4th of February last, are at the moderate length of eighteen inches" (Clinton Papers 58:42).

The American Navy likewise had established a presence at Ebenezer, although documentary proof of this presence was fleeting. British sources noted that their two ships that were stationed at Ebenezer replaced those of the Americans, although the names of the American vessels were not provided. Two named American vessels, the galleys *Congress* and *Lee*, are documented in the waters. The *Congress* was commanded by Captain Milligan. This vessel bore the same name as a more notable vessel, which served as the flagship of Benedict Arnold. No additional historical information was identified for the *Congress* galley that plied the Savannah River and South Atlantic coast.

The galley *Lee* was first under command of Captain John Cutter Braddock. Braddock ran the *Lee* aground in Amelia Narrows, East Florida in April 1777, while ferrying Continental troops from Georgia to Florida. In April 1778 the *Lee*, also under Braddock's command, along with two other American galleys, captured three British men-of-war in the vicinity of St. Simons Island, Georgia (Claghorn 1988:30). Braddock was apparently not in command of the *Lee* when she was captured by the British in 1779 on the Savannah River at Yemassee Bluff, below Purysburg, South Carolina. The commander of the *Lee* at the time of its capture was Captain Boitar (or Boitard), a Frenchman, of whom little information was gathered (Allis 1967:Reel 3).

The American galleys were the *Congress* and the *Lee*, accompanied by an armed French sloop "lying at Purysburg". The French sloop was the *Mary Magdalen*, commanded by Captain Correight. The Americans were opposed by the British vessels *Greenwich*, *Comet*, *Thunderer*, and *Hornet*. In a letter written to John Jay several days after the event Lincoln wrote:

...unfortunately for us, about three miles from our camp, the sloop got on ground. She was left and all her men, except Correight, were put into boats...[2 miles further down] 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 weighed anchor and fell down till the *Congress* (more unfortunate than ever) ran on shore within short cannon-shot of the enemy...obliged to leave his Galley upon that the *Lee* was abandoned by her crew, although afloat and might have been easily brought off; but the officers had no sufficient authority over the men to keep them to their duty; and both the Gallies were lost (Papers of the Continental Congress M247 R177:247-248).

Lincoln wrote a similar description of the naval battle to Governor Rutledge on March 22 (Allis 1967:Reel 3). Lincoln's letter to Jay on April 2 noted that the *Congress* and *Lee* galleys were brought up to Purysburg upon their retreat from Savannah in December 1778. Although the Americans lost this naval engagement, Lincoln commended the Captains, who had, "behaved well in the action" (Allis 1967:Reel 3).

In his summary of American naval history for 1779, Gardner Allen wrote:

Through Commodore Collier, commanding a squadron in Chesapeake Bay in the spring of 1779, came the intelligence that "Capt. Henry, R. N., Senior Officer in Georgia, reports in letter dated April 16, 1779, from Savannah, Ga., that 2 Rebel Gallies, Called *Congress* and *Lee*, former of 1 18 Pounder and one 12 in her Prow, two 9 pdr and 2 Sixes in her Waste & manned with 100 Men; the other with 130 French & carrying one 12 and one 9 Pdr. in her Prow, 2 fours and 2 one Pounders besides swivels in her Waste, attacked *H. M. S. Greenwich* & Gallies *Comet*, *Thunder* [*Thunderer*] & *Hornet* off Yamasee Bluff, & that action ended with Capture of Rebel gallies." This was a death-blow to the Georgia navy, and its revival was made impossible by British control of the waters of that state until the end of the war (Brit. Adm. Rec., Captains' Letters, No. 1612, 2 (May 22,1779); Almon, viii, 298; Paullin, 461;Allen 1913).

When the Americans finally made their move against the British in Savannah in September 1779, the Savannah River proved a formidable obstacle for Benjamin Lincoln's Army. Lincoln noted this in his September journal entries (Hyne 1780; Lincoln 1810):

Col. Sinf. on the day before with a party of men to reconnoitre the ground & provide Boats to cross at Zubly's ferry-- least the boats from Augusta should not arrive in time he reported to me on my arrival towards night that he had found one small canoe, a rowing boat & one flat which was junk in the river one mile below Purisburg. & that a party was just to get it up--but they returned without effecting it-- a larger party was sent they also failed, the other boats were brought up to the ferry.

11th-- We crossed a party of Count Pulaskie's Corps to reconnoitre Ebenezer & the road leading to it--the officer reported towards night that the enemy had withdrawn their outposts & retired to Savannah--but that the Bridges & Roads thru the Swamp were much out of repair. On this information I ordered the troops to the ferry as the mast[illegible] from [illegible?] place for there to cross ordered a flat at the ferry partly built to be finished & a raft made from the Boards & timber of the buildings.

12th The troops began to cross in the morning the raft sunk the first time the men attempted to cross in it--we were then left with one canoe which would carry three men another about 15, and the flat which was now finished which would carry about 20, but before noon we procured another large canoe from McClay Creek which would care 30 men.

To date, no formal underwater archeological surveys have been conducted at Ebenezer. This avenue of research promises great potential, however, as these historical documents suggest. Relic collectors, however, have been active in this arena over the past decades, as evidenced in a scuba diving publication (Tower 1987). Among the artifacts in the Georgia Salzburger Society Museum at Ebenezer is a large olive green glass demijohn, which was retrieved from the river bottom at Ebenezer by a diver, who donated it to the museum (Karl Gravelin, personal communication Ebenezer, Georgia, March 12, 1990).

Mr. Gravelin also noted that a wooden hull of an unidentified shipwreck on the Savannah River bank directly opposite from Ebenezer was visible at low tide in previous drought years. Gravelin's sighting remains unconfirmed by field survey.

V. The Future of Ebenezer's Military Past

CONCLUSIONS AND SIGNIFICANT FINDINGS

The original search target battlefield for the Ebenezer ABPP project was the engagement of June 23, 1782, as documented by 19th century historian Francis Heitman. Research findings resulted in the determination that this particular engagement of June 23 did not take place directly at the town of Ebenezer but was located at an undetermined location, more than 10 km south of the town. Consequently, the project failed to identify any archaeological resources directly associated with this engagement. The research did identify, however, one previously under-documented skirmish that took place immediately at Ebenezer, which was Brigadier General Casmir Pulaski's capture of the town on September 11, 1779. In that event, Pulaski and his mounted legion swarmed into the town capturing or killing a small British defense force, which was a skeleton crew had been left as caretakers after the bulk of the British and Loyalist troops and Ebenezer's loyalist citizenry had vacated the town for the refuge of Savannah. By far the most important finding, however, was the recognition of Ebenezer's role as an American and British headquarters at various times in the American Revolution. Ebenezer served as a primary British headquarters in early 1779, after the British captured Savannah and launched campaigns against Augusta, Georgia and Charleston, South Carolina. Ebenezer served as a primary American headquarters early 1782, when Major General Anthony Wayne was dispatched to Georgia to reclaim it for the American cause. In both of these periods, Ebenezer served as the brain center for military decisions affecting broad areas of Georgia and South Carolina. Numerous small campaigns and sorties were launched from this station. These include British campaigns against Augusta and the American troops at Brier Creek and Major General Prevost's 1st Carolina campaign. It also includes American campaigns against the British posts on the Ogeechee River and Hutchison Island near Savannah. Ebenezer was used for major negotiations with the Choctaw and Creek Indians by the Americans in 1782. The town was used by the British during a flurry of communiqués pertaining to prisoner exchange with the Americans. These exchanges were effected at Zubly's Ferry, which was located several kilometers downstream from Ebenezer. Ebenezer also served as a prison stockade for the British and Americans during their respective periods of occupation. In one incident, a large group of Loyalist Choctaw escaped from their confinement at Ebenezer. Ebenezer also served as a hospital for the British and Americans, although many of the specific details of this activity remain sketchy.

The project identified several specific features that pertain to the American Revolution. These are summarized below and in [Table 22](#):

Augusta Road—Two sections of the Augusta Road were identified by the field survey (see Figures 41-43). the Augusta Road was the main land thoroughfare in and out of Ebenezer. Deeply entrenched sections of the abandoned road were identified in wooded areas immediately south of the town of Ebenezer.

Town of Ebenezer—The boundaries of the Town of Ebenezer were delineated by detailed topographic mapping, remote sensing, comparison with previously collected archaeological data, and comparison with historical maps, plats and aerial photographs (see Figures 1-3, 6, 21-22).

Jerusalem Church—Jerusalem Church was a large brick sanctuary that was completed in 1769. When the British entered the town in January 1779, they commandeered this structure for use as a horse stable and hospital (see Figures 44-45). The church was photographically documented and the surrounding landscape was mapped topographically. GPR survey was conducted in areas north and south of the Church.

Jerusalem Cemetery—Jerusalem (Church) Cemetery is the large town cemetery of Ebenezer, which was located on its southern edge. This cemetery was likely established decades prior to the American Revolution, although the marked tombstones that remain post-date the American Revolution by more than three decades. Archaeological delineation of Redoubt 3 (see below) indicated that portions of the cemetery were built on top of the earlier British earthworks, which had been leveled in 1782. GPR survey in the cemetery, as well as north of the cemetery, revealed many subsurface anomalies that probably represent human graves (see Figures 28-33). Some of these may represent Revolutionary War dead, although this cannot be determined based on present data. Extrapolations from preserved mortality statistics suggest that several hundred British and American soldiers died and were buried at Ebenezer.

DeBrahm's 1757 Fort—A large earthwork, designed by William De Brahm and constructed about 1757, was tentatively delineated by the study (see Figures 37-40). Although this earthwork was constructed during the French and Indian War, it was probably Ebenezer's sole defense at the beginning of the American Revolution and it was possibly used by the Americans who established a magazine and storage depot at Ebenezer at the beginning of the war.

Silk Filature/Magazine—The previously described 1757 fort enclosed the Salzburger's Silk Filature building, which was completed in the early 1750s (see Figures 37-40). This large public building may have been converted for use as a magazine by the Americans in the Revolutionary War. The archeological footprint of this large building has been tentatively defined by a variety of exploratory techniques.

Redoubt 1—Redoubt 1 was built by the British in 1779 and it guarded the northeastern corner of Ebenezer. Contemporary maps identify this earthwork as a simple chevron-shaped fortification. The area containing this redoubt has undergone considerable land modification in the past three decades. During that period it was used as a landfill and trash-burning site. Although this activity has degraded the archeological integrity of the location, the potential for intact 18th century military deposits remains (see Figures 21-22 and Table 19).

Redoubt 2—Virtually no surface evidence remains of Redoubt 2, which was constructed on the east side of Ebenezer by the British in 1779. This diamond-shaped fort was the largest of the seven earthworks that were built by the British surrounding Ebenezer. The probable site of Redoubt 2 was determined by careful cartographic analysis, which was then ground-truthed by GPR survey and metal detector survey (see Figures 22-24 and Table 20). A large debris field was identified using the metal detector, which indicated a concentration in the vicinity of the redoubt, as well as a broader debris scatter that may represent British camps outside of the earthworks. Historical documents suggest that this earthwork was leveled by American troops in June 1782, on orders from Major General Nathanael Greene.

Redoubt 3—Absolutely no surface evidence remains of Redoubt 3, which was an octagonal-shaped redoubt built by the British in 1779 and located south of the main entrance to town via Center Street. Test excavations conducted by the LAMAR Institute in 1999 identified subsurface evidence of this feature, which was confirmed in the present study by GPR survey. The GPR

survey was able to trace a large portion of this octagonal earthwork (see Figures 22, 25-31, 33). This deeply buried feature likely extends beneath graves in the Jerusalem Cemetery, as well as extending beneath a portion of Georgia Highway 275. Historical documents suggest that this earthwork was leveled by American troops in June 1782, on orders from Major General Nathanael Greene.

Redoubt 4—Redoubt 4 is a five-sided earthwork that was built in 1779 by the British on Ebenezer's southwest corner. This earthwork corresponds remarkably to the graphic depiction of Redoubt 4 on John Wilson's map of the British defenses at Ebenezer, with one slight addition. The addition is a short appendage that was probably intended to protect an artillery emplacement on a vulnerable side of the fort. It remains largely intact and largely unexplored. In the present study the surface topography of this earthwork was extensively mapped but no subsurface exploration was conducted (see Figures 22 and 34). This feature represents one of the best-preserved earthworks of the American Revolution in Georgia.

Mystery Redoubt East—This unidentified redoubt was visible on the surface as a slight rise near the northern edge of Ebenezer. It was delineated in the present study by detailed topographic mapping of its surface (see Figure 36). This earthwork did not correspond to any earthwork identified by historical research and its age and association remain undetermined. The vicinity of this unidentified redoubt was subjected to a systematic shovel test survey with tests spaced at 20-meter intervals in 1987 but it was not explored further by subsurface means in the present study. A metal detector was passed over the redoubt with very disappointing results, which probably indicates that the earthwork was plundered of its shallow metal artifacts by metal detector enthusiasts in modern times.

Mystery Redoubt West--This unidentified redoubt was visible on the surface as an obvious earthwork in a heavily wooded area, although its plan was not known. It was delineated in the present study by detailed topographic mapping of its surface (see Figure 35). This earthwork did not correspond to any earthwork identified by historical research and its age and association remain undetermined. It is located immediately west of the town of Ebenezer on its northern quadrant. It represents the second best preserved earthwork at the site, in terms of surface evidence. The subsurface in the vicinity of this redoubt remains completely unexplored.

Connecting Trenches—John Wilson's contemporary plan of the British defenses surrounding Ebenezer indicates that a series of redoubts that were connected by a linear abatis or ditch. Visible remnants of these trenches are preserved on the southwest side of town. These extended beyond the defined study area in the present study. This ditchwork has become largely obscured on the south and east side of Ebenezer, although faint traces of a possible ditch were visible at several locations. One place where the trench is well defined is where it departs to the north from the Augusta Road on Ebenezer's southeast side (see Figure 41). These trenches were topographically mapped but no subsurface investigations or remote sensing was attempted. They are located in a heavily wooded section.

Rifle Trenches—Well-defined rifle trenches were observed on the surface southwest of the town of Ebenezer in a heavily wooded section. These trenches flanked both sides of the Augusta Road and both were parallel to the road and approximately 40 meters from it (see Figure 42). These trenches would have guarded an approach along the Augusta Road into Ebenezer from the north. The age of these trenches remains undetermined and the possibility that they date to the American Civil War era cannot be entirely discounted. Some evidence of relatively recent ground disturbance was observed in the vicinity of these trenches, which may indicate site vandalism.

Revolutionary War Artifact Debris Field/Campsites—Over the course of the American Revolution many thousand soldiers, representing a wide diversity of military units on both sides of the conflict, were in temporary or permanent garrison at Ebenezer. Although their primary campsites await to be fully identified, some areas of revolutionary war debris, which likely represent military campsites, were identified by the present study. This evidence was in the vicinity of British Redoubts 1 and 2 and east of those locations.

Table 22. Significant Project Finds.

Feature	Location Method	Ground-truthed
Redoubt 1	Remote sensing--Metal detector (MD)	Minimally
Redoubt 2	Remote sensing—GPR and MD	Minimally
Redoubt 3	Remote sensing-GPR	Yes, 2 test units
Redoubt 4	Topo mapping	No
Connecting Trenches	Topo mapping	No
Mystery Redoubt East	Topo mapping, remote sensing (MD)	No
Mystery Redoubt West	Topo mapping	No
Rifle Trenches	Topo mapping	No
DeBrahm's 1757 Fort	Topo mapping, remote sensing (GPR/MD)	Minimally
Silk Filature/Magazine	Topo mapping, remote sensing (GPR/MD)	Yes 1 test unit
Jerusalem Church	Topo mapping, remote sensing (GPR)	No
Jerusalem Church Cemetery	Topo mapping, remote sensing (GPR)	No
Rev. War. Debris Field/Camp	Topo mapping, remote sensing (GPR/MD)	Minimally

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Although a great number of primary documents were examined in the present study, many more archival repositories and libraries were identified that contain documents not examined. Future research on Ebenezer should include visits to these facilities, which include:

- Duke University manuscript collections, Durham, North Carolina;
- Huntington Library, California, Various Revolutionary War collections;
- Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey;
- Society of the Cincinnati Library, Anderson House, Washington, D. C.;
- Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania;
- Indiana Historical Society, Thomas Posey Collection;
- Canadian Archives, Ottawa, Canada;
- Christopher Prevost Collection, Augustine Prevost Papers, Belgium;
- British Public Record Office, London, Carleton papers;
- British Public Library, Manuscripts, including Ms 21, 661-21892 (Haldimand papers); 38197-38236 (Liverpool papers); 42074 (Hamilton and Greville papers); and 34,412-34,471 (Auckland papers);
- Oxford Library (SPCK records), Oxford, England;
- Die Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle/Saale, Germany and,
- Hessian State Archives, Marburg, Germany.

Collections at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania that should be examined include:

- Benson John Lossing Papers;
- Order-book, 1781-1782. Kept by Colonel Christian Febiger and Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Posey for the 1st Virginia Battalion, headquarters near Yorktown and at Cumberland Old Court House;
- Irvine-Newbold families. Papers, includes revolutionary war papers of General William Irvine;
- Charles Janeway Stillé Papers;
- United States, Continental Army, Returns, 1777-1778. List of soldiers and contributing data on casualties in the Revolutionary War and,
- Order books, MS973, Brig. Gen. Anthony Wayne (kept by Benjamin Fishbourne), 1778-1782.

One particularly important documentary source, Benjamin Fishbourne's Orderly Book, was identified late in the present research project and it promises to contain a treasure trove of information about Ebenezer. Fishbourne was Captain of the 4th Pennsylvania Battalion from January 1777 to December 1782 and Aide-de-Camp to General Anthony Wayne from 1779 to 1783. His orderly book includes entries made from January 26 to May 12, 1782, when he was serving under General Wayne at Ebenezer, Georgia. The bibliographic description of his orderly book notes that the bulk of the manuscript, "describe guard details and daily officer assignments with camp in Ebenezer, Georgia" (The Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2002). Examining this document is a priority in future historical research on Ebenezer.

The private collection of Christopher Prevost in Belgium contains many papers of his ancestor Augustine Prevost that are particularly relevant to a study of the American Revolutionary War in the South and these include:

- General Augustine Prevost, accounts as Comander in Chief Southern District, 1776-1780;
- Address of the officers of various regiments at Savannah, 1779;
- Small diary of Augustine Prevost, 1777-1778, and
- Map of Savannah with fortified positions, 1779.

The German archives that should be visited include the Hessian State Archive at Marburg and the Franckeschen Stiftungen in Halle/Saale. The Hessian State Archive at Marburg of about 15,000 soldiers in German regiments sent to fight in the American Revolution from 1776-1784. They were mostly recruited from Kassel and Waldeck. The Franckeschen Stiftungen, otherwise known as the Francke Institute, is the repository for *the Detailed Reports...*, which have been published, but their archives also contain thousands of unpublished correspondence and reports from Georgia and Ebenezer. Some of these date to the Revolutionary War years and they promise to contain unique insight into life in Ebenezer during that period.

PRESERVATION EFFORTS AND ALTERNATIVES

At present, only three history groups exist in the region to advocate preservation of Ebenezer and its resources. These are: the Georgia Salzburger Society, the Historic Effingham Society, and the

LAMAR Institute. Recent efforts have been mounted by each of these groups to increase awareness of the 18th and early 19th century historical resources in eastern Effingham County.

Additional archeological survey and laser transit mapping of other earthworks, camps and military features in the Ebenezer vicinity is recommended. Limited test excavations are recommended for areas within and adjacent to military fortifications and other military features at Ebenezer. The LAMAR Institute has secured permission from the landowners to conduct archeological survey and test excavations on the vicinities that are likely to contain British Redoubts 5 and 6, as well as areas adjacent to these redoubts that are likely to contain associated camps. Archeological investigation of these resources should be limited in character, with an emphasis on conservation of the remaining resources. Sufficient data should be gathered, however, to make a determination of the fortifications age and military association, recognition of artifact classes that are present, and to allow a better understanding of fortification construction techniques. The research potential at Redoubts 2 and 3 are particularly exciting, since these earthworks were possibly leveled in 1782 and, therefore, represent sealed deposits of colonial and revolutionary war period material culture.

Another preservation avenue that is recommended is to nominate additional properties (which in this situation translates to archeological sites) in the Ebenezer community for inclusion in the National Register of Historic Places. The NRHP boundaries of the Ebenezer town site should be amended to better reflect the archeologically documented reality. No related sites in the vicinity of Ebenezer are presently listed in the NRHP, although test excavations have been conducted on a number of colonial farmsteads on the Ebenezer Mill District, which demonstrated their potential NRHP eligibility. A multiple property nomination should be considered as a good approach to nominating these sites and others that contribute to the colonial, Revolutionary War, and early Federal period themes that have been developed at Ebenezer. If the landowners can reach a consensus, then seeking National Historic Landmark status for New Ebenezer would lend greater recognition of the historical significance of these cultural resources. A list of defining features associated with Revolutionary War activity at Ebenezer, which could be used to develop a NHL nomination, is presented in [Table 23](#).

Table 23. Preliminary Inventory of Defining Features at Ebenezer, Georgia.

Defining Feature	Threat	Condition	Ownership
Augusta Road	Moderate	Portions intact	Private
Town of Ebenezer	Moderate	Large portions intact	Private
British Redoubt 1	Moderate	Heavily disturbed	Private
British Redoubt 2	Moderate	Portions intact	Private
British Redoubt 3	Low	Large portions intact	Private
British Redoubt 4	Low	Intact	Private
British Redoubt 5	Undetermined	Heavily disturbed	Private
British Redoubt 6	Undetermined	Undetermined	Private
British Redoubt 7	Undetermined	Undetermined	Private
Connecting Trenches	Moderate	Portions intact	Private
Mystery Redoubt East	Low	Intact	Private
Mystery Redoubt West	Low	Intact	Private
DeBrahm's 1757 Fort	Low	Portions intact	Private
Silk Filature/Magazine	Low	Portions intact	Private
Rifle Trenches	Moderate	Intact	Private
Debris Fields/Camps	Moderate	Portions intact	Private
Savannah River/Maritime	Moderate	Undetermined	State

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