“Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution”, is dedicated to the study of the War for American Independence in the Southern Department from 1760 to 1789. We want to encourage the exchange of information on the Southern Campaigns' Revolutionary War sites, their location, preservation, historic signage, interpretation, artifacts, and archaeology as well as the personalities, military tactics, units, logistics, strategy, and the political leadership of the state. We highlight professionals and amateurs actively engaged in Revolutionary War research, preservation and interpretation to encourage an active exchange of information. All are invited to submit articles, pictures, documents, events and suggestions. We feature battles and skirmishes, documents, maps, artifacts, Internet links, and other stories in each newsletter.

IN THIS EDITION:

- Editor’s Notes ....................................................................3
- Your letters........................................................................3
- Massacre at Hayes Station................................................3
- Maj. Thomas Young’s Narrative........................................5
- Col. James Williams of the Little River Militia and Book Review: James Williams: An American Patriot in the Carolina Backcountry......................................................8
- The Library of a South Carolina Backcountry Patriot................9
- Touring Laurens County, South Carolina’s Revolutionary War Sites.................................................................14
- Research Materials on Laurens County Sites.........................19
- The South Caroliniana Library – Revolutionary War Collections.................................................................23
- Battle of Camden Preservation Update..................................29
- Calendar of Upcoming Events..............................................29

Editor’s Notes

Last month we looked at new scholarship on the Battle of the Waxhaws. In May of 1780, just after the surrender of Charleston, South Carolina, Lord Cornwallis dispatched the young cavalry officer, Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton, and his famed British Legion provincial troops and 17th Regiment regular redcoats to run down and attack Col. Abraham Buford and 350 Continentals. After Col. Buford’s defeat at the Waxhaws (see SCAR, Oct. 2004), the British quickly solidified their Southern dominance of the East Florida, Georgia and South Carolina coastline 150 miles inland extending an arc of forward bases from Augusta, Ninety Six, Camden, to Georgetown with advanced outposts at Cheraw, Hanging Rock, Rocky Mount, Silver Bluff, and other places.

In this newsletter we will look at early 1776 and 1780-1781 Revolutionary War historical sites as we go to the locations on tour with dynamic local historian, Admiral Joe Goldsmith of the Cambridge Chapter SAR. Laurens County, South Carolina, was named for successful Charleston merchant, planter and politician, Henry Laurens, who served as the 4th President of the Continental Congress of the United States (yes, before George Washington). Laurens County is a portion of the old Ninety Six District, predominately settled by Scots-Irish Protestants and still very Presbyterian.

We also explore the interesting and controversial career of South Carolina Patriot militia Colonel James Williams. Col. Williams was a regimental commander in the Ninety Six militia district and led a regiment often called the “Little River Regiment”, named for the Little River in present day Newberry-Laurens Counties, SC. “Little River” is geographically and historically confusing, as it is one of four or five “Little Rivers” found in South Carolina. Loyalists living on the Fairfield County, SC Little River under Tory Col. John Phillips organized the other “Little River Regiment”, which is more often called the “Jackson Creek Regiment”, named for the principal tributary of the Fairfield County Little River. Both Whig and Tory Little River soldiers served at the siege of Ninety Six in the summer of 1781. Col. Williams was an active militia commander from 1775 until his death at the pivotal Battle of Kings Mountain in 1780 - the highest-ranking officer killed in that battle. After the fall of Charleston, the British invasion of the South Carolina backcountry, and the surrender of Williams’ commander, SC Patriot militia Gen. Andrew Williamson, Col. Williams joined Col. Thomas Sumter embodied SC Patriot militia. According to Sumter’s and Williams’ peer and memoirist Col. William Hill, Williams had a “personality conflict” with Gen. Thomas Sumter over command, promotion and recognition. Luckily, Williams was not with Sumter at his defeat at the Battle of Fishing Creek (August 18, 1780). Williams was about 50 miles west, cooperating with the North Carolina and Georgia militias when they defeated the Crown’s forces at Musgrove Mill. I review the work of Charlotte researcher William T. Graves, author of James Williams: An American Patriot in the Carolina Backcountry. Will shares with us his examination of Col. Williams’ library. Contrary to Rev. Charles Woodmason’s description of the ignorance of the Carolina backcountry’ residents, Williams was apparently educated and his books demonstrate a wide interest.

I was in Savannah on October 8-9-10, 2004 enjoying the fall weather and the 225th anniversary of the bloodiest hour of the Revolution where the Patriot and French allied attack on October 9, 1779 focused on fortified Savannah’s Spring Hill redoubt failed. On Saturday and Sunday, over 600 splendidly dressed, armed and drilled reenactors recreated the bloodiest hour in the Allied forces’
assault on the Spring Hill redoubt before a large crowd. More than 20 sutlers plied their wares and a cannonade of over 10 guns opened the siege and assault. Reenactments are critical for understanding the Revolutionary War’s battles: they give an accurate picture of the deployments, the speed of unit level maneuver, the battlefield tactics, create the smoke, noise and confusion of orders given and countermanded. They accurately depict uniforms, camp life as well as typical drill and training regimens. For reality you would only need to add starvation, real lead, confusion, forced marches, and 18th century medicine. I was impressed with the mounted officers yelling commands: this clearly demonstrated the advantages of mounted infantry officers for their instant recognition, better vision of the battlefield and mobility required. I enjoyed watching the cannon drills. Several crews demonstrated a once a minute firing (not bad for amateurs), the fatigue of matrosses dragging the cannon into firing positions, and a grasshopper cannon with its hopper legs for manhandling on the battlefield. This field offered firsthand visualization of effective ranges of fire explained by the patient artillery crews. Students of the Revolution learn much from these dedicated reenactors.

My hat’s off to excellent work performed by the City of Savannah and Scott W. Smith’s crew at the Coastal Heritage Society, event organizers Mike Vaquer, Jean McRae and Herb Puckett of the recreated South Carolina 2d Regiment, Continental Line, and the other unit leaders. In addition to the reenactment, Savannah hosted memorial services on the Spring Hill redoubt site at the location of the new Battlefield Park (under development by the Coastal Heritage Society in downtown Savannah: see http://www.chsgeorgia.org/battlefield) and dinner to the fallen Polish hero of the Revolution Continental Gen. Count Casimir Pulaski, who died in a heroic cavalry charge at the Spring Hill redoubt. My Savannah 225th pictures are posted at: www.southerncampaign.org

Thank you for all of your kind letters, offers of assistance, donations and emails. Again I must reiterate that this is not Charles Baxley’s newsletter; it is a shared open forum for all fellow cohorts – rebel or loyalist partisans alike. Your input, criticism, contribution, and support are appreciated.

As the British renewed their initiatives in the Southern Department in December 1778, Southern Campaigns fans will be treated to many 225th anniversary events in the next two years. Reenactments, memorial services, scholarly conclaves, and tours are now being planned and scheduled. We will attempt to keep you informed with a list of events and contacts for which I need your help. Please submit your scheduled events and contact information. Charleston, SC May 2005, Lancaster County, SC for the Waxhaws (May 2005), Beckhamville, SC (June 2005), Ramseur’s Mill (July 2005), Camden, SC (August 2005) and Kings Mountain, SC (October 2005) are already planning major 225th anniversary events next year.

David Reuwer and I spent a few days in New York City and central New Jersey reconnoitering Mid-Atlantic Revolutionary War sites in October. Next month I will report on this excellent road-trip, the great New Jersey Revolutionary War parks, and the knowledgeable and friendly people we met. As you might expect, fall in central New Jersey is stunning and we met some of the friendliest cohorts in our historical pursuits. I now have to reprogram many of my Southern stereotypes of Yankeel and. Special thanks to Bruce E. Jones of the Sons of the Revolution and their crew at Fraunces Tavern Museum, Todd Braisted of the Bergen County Historical Society, Sue Shotte at the Steuben House at New Bridge Landing, John K. Mills at the Princeton Battlefield State Park, Dan Sivilich and the BRAVO group at Monmouth, the terrific interpreters at Fort Lee, the old Barracks Museum in Trenton, and Washington Crossing State Park.

If you do not want to be on our mailing list, just let me know. Hopefully, your contributions will allow a monthly publication schedule. As there is no subscription fee at this time, I solicit your voluntary contributions in proportion to your evaluation of the product. The second edition cost over $800 to print and mail. I am glad to print and mail a copy to anybody without access to the Internet and a printer; however, electronic publication will allow me to use better color graphics and save printing and postage costs. Beginning in December 2004, I will email you a note when a new edition has been posted; so you may review or download and copy the newsletter from our website at www.southerncampaign.org. Let me know your email address and preferred medium. Better maps and graphics are desirable and a volunteer with layout experience would be great. Please send me any names, addresses and email contacts of persons you know who are interested in sharing information about the Southern Campaigns of the American Revolution and I will add them to our list.

A few words about trespassing. In South Carolina it is illegal to enter another’s property without an invitation or permission from its owner. This is true whether land is “posted” (i.e. with no trespassing signs) or not. Many important Revolutionary War battle sites are on private property. While I may show you where actions were fought, that does not imply that I have or am giving permission to go to this place. It is always proper to get permission from the owner before you enter another’s property. This is for your safety and to show respect and courtesy to the owners of these important historic places.

Next month, I plan to cover David Reuwer’s and my tour of Berkeley County, SC Revolutionary War sites.

It is important to give proper credit where credit is due. I claim no copyrights on reprinted articles and excerpts contained in these materials. Copyrights are reserved to the authors. I often edit old documents for easier reading and insert comments as to alternative dates, and modern punctuation and spelling. I also from time to time forget to appropriately reference my sources, to whom I offer my humblest apologies.
Dear Editor:

I was most impressed with Mr. Reuwer's review of Dr. Scotti's work *Brutal Virtue* . . . [SCAR, Oct. 2004]. The passage Reuwer quotes, [from Dr. Scotti’s pages 130-133] certainly are thought provoking. However, so are many slurs in other works. I feel that Dr. Scotti's attribution of manipulation and ulterior motives for our founders' virtuous behavior is akin to that employed by those who belittle any who truly possess and practice High Moral Character. Moral Authority does exist. Those of the same ilk criticized Americans distributing bread, cheese, canned meat, and fruit to the bombing victims in liberated Germany at the end of World War Two. The people there were truly hungry - we did wrong by feeding them? By Dr. Scotti's logic, it would only have been for propaganda motives. What cynicism!

I am sure that not all of our early military leaders were long on virtue. And I know of some today, still in command, who certainly rival the most saintly of soul's practices in high quality of Moral Virtue and battlefield practice.

I fail to see what end is served, other than Dr. Scotti's publicity and name recognition, his ego, and book sales. Those who live in glass houses should not criticize other's motives, when their own are so glaring. By undermining the fact that George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and our own Pinckneys, Heyward and Lynch were men who took the moral high road and high standards in battle, business, international affairs, or foraging, for no other reason than "...because it's the right thing to do."

Scotti insults the foundation upon which our entire Country is built, further that hypocrisy besmirches the memory of those from the American Revolution to the ones currently in Iraq, who stood in harms way and were wounded or killed to buy his Freedom of the Press. Mr. Scotti, have you no shame? Has Academia, or even American Culture as a whole become so jaded as to need to find fault with what remains essentially good in our culture and American Legacy? My understanding is that the best-paid critics are in Hollywood. Dr. Scotti would probably be more comfortable there as well.

Joe Goldsmith, Laurens County, SC

Mr. Baxley and Mr. Piecuch,

I have read with fascination the newsletter (SCAR, Oct. 2004) with the articles about Buford/Tarleton at the Waxhaws battle/massacre and the myths surrounding it. Really very, very well done. Thank you. I'm putting some coin of the realm in the mail to you to help with your expenses.

There is a tombstone in Sparta (Georgia) city cemetery for a man named Henry Mitchell who died in 1839 at the age of 79 that I thought you might find interesting. The stone reads:

Henry Mitchell

His "stone placed by his bereaved consort. Animated by the same love of liberty which inspired the tongue of Henry and the sword of Washington, he cheerfully exposed himself to the hazards of war and poured out his blood like water at Burfoot's defeat where he was cloven down by a British sabre while gallantly bearing the standard of his country. Within a few years after the establishment of American Independence, he became a citizen of Georgia, and in the course of a long life filled various offices of trust and dignity with honor to himself, and usefulness to the State. In his character and deportment he united the simplicity of Republican manners with the sternness of Republican principles. Embalmed in the memory of noble deeds, his name will live when this frail monument shall have crumbled into dust."

Best regards,

Hugh T. Harrington
Milledgeville, GA

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**Commemorating The Massacre at Hayes Station and the Little River Regiment**

*Frank Wyman and Joe Goldsmith*

Why are we here, out in the middle of nowhere, between a field and a forest? Why this diminutive monument? 1 Why this battle? Who were these men? Why do they make any difference? This was the tragic yet heroic end of a valiant last chapter in the American Revolution, the Battle of Hayes Station; the final sacrificial engagement of one of the most effective and efficient fighting organizations ever to call themselves Americans. They had already come home from the war.

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

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

They fought the Redcoats and the Tories and gave better than they got in some 23 battles and campaigns. A sample of their widely varied ages shows how universal was the deep feeling that bound them together; their ages were: 39 yrs., 10 yrs., 35 yrs., 71 yrs., 10 yrs., 35 yrs., 12 yrs., 11 yrs., 13 yrs., 26 yrs., 35 yrs., 68 yrs., and 16 yrs. old. 2 All were neighbors; many were uncles and nephews, fathers and sons, with even a grandfather mixed in here

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**Frank Wyman and Joe Goldsmith**
and there, and lots of “in-laws.” The men in each company probably went to the same church. One man even brought his wife along to battles and campaigns: did they perhaps think she was safer in battle than at home alone among Tory neighbors? 

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

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

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

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

Why here? The trail you rode in on and the trail going through the woods behind you [pointing] is the original roadbed of the old Ninety Six Road northward to Buncombe, North Carolina probably looking much as it did then. All commerce and all settlers used this road because it was the only one. This road, from the end of the 1760 Cherokee War, was the boundary between Cherokee’s lands and English speaking settlers, … not that we honored that very much.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1 In no way intended as any deprecation of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. Thank God for this monument or this site would become “lost” as surely as many others in this area, which are of historical and military significance… and for the preservation and educational work done by the DAR.
Frank J. Wyman III, PhD - in Statistical Analysis, is married to the former Renee Johnston and they have three children. Frank runs his own interstate internet-based business from home, is active in the All Saints Episcopal Church and Rotary Club in Clinton, SC. His hobbies are tennis, sailing, exploring old Revolutionary War sites, and helping with the children's tee-ball teams. He is direct descendant of at least six Revolutionary War Patriots, including the commander and four others from the Duncan Creek Company of the Little River Regiment of the SC Militia.

Revolutionary Reminiscences related by Maj. Thomas Young of Union District, S. C., dated March 27th 1843 [annotated by Charles B. Baxley, from the Lyman Draper Papers.] Young was one of seven Patriot Young brothers, all sons of Capt. William Young, who commanded the Duncan Creek Company of the Little River Regiment. Young’s descendant, Lawrence E. Young of Clinton, SC, furnished this transcription. Various editors have amended and supplemented Young’s Narrative; another somewhat different version of Maj. Young’s Narrative was published in Orion Magazine in their October and November 1843 issues and which is posted on Phil Norfleet’s excellent website at http://sc_tories.tripod.com/thomas_young.htm. Young (1764-1848) was a private Patriot militiaman in the Revolution and rose to the rank of major in the War of 1812. He is buried in the Old Union Church Cemetery in Union, South Carolina.

Major Thomas Young was born in the Laurens District, Jan. 17, 1764, and was brought to Brown’s Creek below the present site of Unionville (now Union, SC) when a sucking child. The son of Thomas Young and Catherine his wife, whose maiden name was Brandon, sister of Col. Thomas Brandon. The father was an Episcopalian, the mother a Presbyterian. An elder brother, John Young, was killed in Brandon’s defeat (June 8, 1780). Thomas fled to North Carolina the day after this disaster, and remained among his relatives there for some time. After this he returned and joined the army under Col. [Thomas] Brandon, in Capt. [Benjamin] Jolly’s company. For some time we dodged about in small squads. The first engagement was at Stallion’s (about June 12, 1780). We heard of a body of 25 Tories and pursued them to Stallions; they got into the house. Col. Brandon led a party—lay in ambush; while 15 of us led by Col. [Capt. William] Love, assaulted the house. Mrs. Stallion, his (Love’s) sister came out and begged him to desist. He told her to go into the house, and get the party within to desist, or they would all be killed. She started, but was shot and killed by the party in her own house. My cousin William Kennedy was wounded by my side. The Tories under Stallions soon surrendered. William Kennedy, Esq., killed a man in this engagement in a minute after his son was wounded. We then retreated towards North Carolina.

Some time after we got there, the mother of Capt. Reed came to us, and begged us to go and revenge the death of her son, who had been murdered in cold blood by two Tories. Twenty-five of us, under Col. Brandon turned out and rode all day and till midnight to the place where these Tories were. We found three men in a stable loft in some hay. They were fired on, and the two that killed Capt. Reed were killed; the other man made his escape. We took guns, and the guns of all the old Tories we found on our return. By the time we got back every man of us had two guns apiece.

Nothing else of importance occurred till the Battle of Kings Mountain (October 7, 1780). We dodged about the best way we could till that time. Our party, underCols. James Williams and Brandon, fell in with the Mountain Men, under Cols. [William] Campbell, [Benjamin] Cleveland, [Isaac] Shelby, etc., at a place said to be the Cowpens. They were killing beevies—we received a little of their beef. This was in the afternoon. We then proceeded on towards the Cherokee Ford on the Broad River, where the enemy were said to be. We traveled on till late at night, we then lay down to sleep without any attention to order that I could perceive. When I awoke in the morning, Joseph Williams, the little son of Col. Williams, was lying at my back. We arose and pursued on, and crossed Broad River at the Cherokee Ford. The enemy were not there. It soon commenced raining on us. We passed a meetinghouse, around which the enemy had cut off the tops of the chestnut trees to get the fruit. We came to a field where it was said we were to have some beevies killed. Here we met George Watkins, a Whig, who had just been paroled by the enemy. He gave our officers information that we were within half a mile of Ferguson’s party on the top of Kings Mountain, and of their position. Orders were immediately given to tie our blankets behind us, pick and prime [our guns]. A consultation was held who should take the command, no officer higher than Colonel being present. The command was given to Col. William Campbell (of Virginia). We were divided into four parties to attack in every direction. The first attack was made at the far end of the mountain when we all raised a shout. We had been ordered to tie our horses. But I let mine go, and ran up. I found three men lying down behind a chestnut tree. I met with Ben Hollingsworth; we got behind a tree and fired till the enemy cut nearly all the bark off the tree above us. Hollingsworth says “it won’t do here; we shall be killed.” Some of the bark fell in my eyes, and we got into another place where we could stoop and be safe until we had loaded; and then rise and fire with effect. The enemy gave way in that quarter, and we rushed up. I got lost from Hollingsworth, and got between the two parties. I heard our regiment hollow, and looked round and saw our men; about a dozen of them shook hands with me. A little fellow of the name of Cherry gave me a round scolding for my conduct, and told me to stick with him for some time. After we had fairly got on the mountain, I heard a great noise and voices saying, Col. Williams is shot. I ran to him—his son Daniel had raised him up; they ran into a tent and got some water & washed his face so that he could speak. The first words he spoke were, “For God’s sake, boys, don’t give up the hill.” We now had the enemy bottled up on the top of the mountain; they wheeled to fire a platoon on us, some of our men ran back, but I was too much fatigued to run. They fired, but without effect. They soon hoisted two flags and surrendered. I had no shoes, and of course my feet were much torn and bleeding all over.

The next morning we were ordered to fire a round. I fired my large old musket, charged in the time of the battle with two musket bullets, as I had done every time. The recoil in this case was dreadful, but I had not noticed it in the battle.

I had two cousins in this battle on the Tory side—[Lt.] Col. [William] Young, and Mr. McCrory, whose father was a prisoner with the British on Edisto Island, and his mother made Matthew turn out with Ferguson’s army for fear his father would be hung. Just after we had reached the top of the hill, Matthew saw
me, ran and threw his arms around me. I told him to get a gun and fight, he said he could not. I told him to let me go that I might fight. After the battle was over, we hung nine, against whom sufficient proof was made out that they had murdered Whigs previously. This battle was fought on the 7th of October 1780, to the best of my recollection.

After this battle we went on with the Virginians and North Carolinians to help guard the prisoners for a considerable distance through the mountains of North Carolina. We were all nearly starved in this trip. When I got home to my Mother's, I buried the few rags I had left in consequence of the abundance of the lice with which they were infested.

A few days previous to the Battle of the Cowpens (January 17, 1781), Col. [William] Washington was dispatched to Hammond's Old Store, in Laurens District. I was in [Gen. Daniel] Morgan's camp when he left Grindal Shoals (of the Pacolet River) for the Cowpens. I joined the cavalry the night before the battle and drew a sword—just at the charge was made upon Tarleton's cavalry, I fell in with Col. Brandon who accompanied Washington in the charge. I was just about engaging a British dragoon, when Col. Brandon darted between me and killed him, and told me to follow him; I did till he killed two more. We charged through the British cavalry till they left the ground. The bugle then sounded, and we partly formed and charged the infantry in the rear, and raised the scream. Washington directed us not to strike a man. Their line was broke and they began to drop their guns, and run towards the wagon road. We then charged upon their cannons which were immediately deserted. We then wheeled and head to the fugitives and drove them back. After their surrender, a party of us, about fourteen in number, made a dash down the road to get possession of Tarleton's baggage, some 12 or 14 miles distant. In this party were Major [Benjamin] Jolly, H. Deshaser, James McJilton, William Kennedy, and the French De Barron [Lyman Draper added a footnote here saying this reference was to Baron DeGlaubeck] who led us on. We got ahead of Lt. Col. Tarleton before he could collect his party, and get into the road. When we had got some distance we took two British soldiers, two negroes and two pack horses, loaded with portmanteaus said to contain their gold of the paymaster of the regiment. Major Jolly sent me back with them toward the battle-grounds, promising to follow soon himself. I met Tarleton's corps and fled, but finding my horse had become stiff I wheeled suddenly from the road, but was soon overtaken and wounded badly on my arm and head and taken prisoner. One of the Tories tried to shoot me, but was prevented by the British. I was then accused of robbing the women at the British camp, and searched for proof of the fact, but nothing was found in my pockets but about 75 cts. in cash—this given back.

Lt. Col. Tarleton's party went on and overtook Jolly and his party; there made their escape, but Deshaser and McJilton had been taken by Tarleton before I was. McJilton was slightly wounded in the head, fainted and was left near a house, taken care of by a woman. This lady gave Washington information of McJilton's being there, and McJilton told them that I was a prisoner with Col. Tarleton and cut all to pieces.

Tarleton sent for me on the march and I rode with him several miles. He questioned me about whether we had not been reinforced on the night before the battle. I told him we had not been reinforced on the night before, but was expecting a reinforcement every hour. This latter was false. Tarleton pushed on towards Hamilton's Ford, on Broad River. Just before night a man rode up very fast and hollowed as he passed us: "Washington is coming like hell." This produced a good deal of consternation. When the party reached the ford many were apprehensive that the river could not be passed by fording. Tarleton drew his sword and swore that they should go. Great confusion took place. At this time, Deshaser and myself made our escape a short distance down the river. We also expected a soldier to desert with us, but we never saw him afterwards. I was almost dead with thirst, having drank nothing that day but some vinegar given me by a British soldier. Deshaser lifted a little water in his hands and held it to my mouth. We left the river and proceeded towards a ford on Pacolet River, with which I was acquainted. But providentially, I was unable to find the way to it, as I have reason to believe the river was swimming there from the depth where we did cross. We, however, got near the stream, and passed through a plantation by a barn in which some straggling British dragoons had taken up their quarters for the night. As soon as we discovered in what manner the barn was tenanted, we passed on silently by the dwelling house, crossed the Pacolet River by another ford, and got to the house of Capt. Grant where we passed the night. Here I received every attention which my fellow soldiers, and the good ladies of the family could bestow. The next day I reached my Mother's residence, though very feeble through fatigue, the loss of blood, and the soreness of my head and arm.

After I had recuperated somewhat from my wounds, I joined Col. Brandon's party, amounting perhaps to 50 or 60 men—among whom were Capt. Benjamin Jolly, William Giles, afterwards Capt. Giles. We proceeded down Broad and Congaree Rivers, leaving Granby (the fortified Cayce House, extant into the 20th century, located in modern Cayce, SC) on our right, and arrived at Buckhead (Buckhead Hill was the location of a plantation owned by Rebecca Motte near the McCord's Ferry over the Congaree River in Calhoun County, SC now called Fort Motte), after the siege of that place had been commenced (on May 8, 1781). A party of us were sent on to the Siege of Orangeburg (May 11, 1781). I was present when the latter place was taken. The siege was commenced by a party at night. In the morning the rest of the troops reached the place with a three pounder. The main body of us marched down the road, and drew the whole attention of those engaged in the defence of the house. The house was two-story brick building, and the Tories who defended it were in the second story. They shot at us, and hollowed furiously as we passed on. When we were beyond the reach of their balls, we waited till our cannon had got near enough at another to play upon the house. It was discharged three times and a flag was hung out. Here we found a quantity of rum and sugar, but the common soldiers received none of it, but a gill of rum to a man. One man who was set to guard the sugar, filled his pockets with it, and this was all of that article that was of any benefit to us, and we at that time needed this article very much, as we were in pressing need of provisions. Col. Wade Hampton was the commander who is said to have made private property of the spoils on this occasion.

We returned to Granby where our party was dismissed, and all returned home besides [except] Col. Brandon, Capt. Jolly and myself—we went on to Ninety Six to which Gen. Nathanael Greene had now laid siege (May 22-June 19, 1781).

Sometime after this I was taken prisoner incompany with the McJilton mentioned above. We were engaged in hauling corn at the time. Our captors were a parcel of Tories who lived on Fair Forest [Creek], above McBeth's Mill. They were a set of outlaws, who murdered a great many Whigs, but did us no injury. Their names were Jesse Gray and Sam Gray, and a little fellow by the name of Morgan.

Sometime before the Battle of Cowpens, a party of the Moores and others who lived on Sandy River in Chester District, had erected a large tent in a thicket in which they had deposited a great amount of plunder and some negroes. Col. [Thomas] Brandon—Col. [Joseph] Hughes—Maj. [Samuel] Ottersson and a good many others went and surprised them—they flew—I pursued one little fellow, Tom Moore by name, shot at him and broke his arm, brought him back, and kept the rest of our party from taking his life; as they did the others.

Col. Thomas Brandon was a native of Pennsylvania, and came to this region of country when quite a young man a good many years before the War of the Revolution commenced. He married Elizabeth McCool, who owned the ferry on Broad River, now the property of Skeif. His marriage took place sometime before the war. His services commenced with the very first operations in the war, and served very soon as a Captain in the regiment of Col. John Thomas. Brandon was engaged almost or
altogether in every campaign, and soon rose to the rank of Major. When the Spartan regiment was divided, he was appointed Colonel of the lower division. He was a very efficient officer and devoted patriot. He was probably the master spirit among the Whigs in that own party, I saw but little of his conduct on that occasion till the battle was nearly over. He took a British officer prisoner, and obtained by it a very noble charge. He was out as a spy for Morgan previous to the battle of Cowpens, and saw Tarleton’s army the day before the battle in pursuit, and got before them and joined the army of Gen. Daniel Morgan the night before the battle. He commanded a part of the militia in the battle and brought Washington to the charge. When Tarleton’s cavalry fell upon the militia, and participated largely in their destruction effected by Washington’s corps, for I saw him kill three dragoons myself, and I was with him but a small portion of the time in which the work of death was going on, I having dismounted to catch a very fine horse whose rider had been killed, I saw no more of him after the first part of the onset. He accompanied Morgan after the battle as far as the Yadkin, and then returned to defend his own State. He was engaged in various expeditions afterwards, and was always actively engaged till the war closed.

After that event Col. Brandon purchased the tract of land before owned by Col. Fletcher [Tory militia Col. Thomas Fletchall], which was sold under the confiscation act, where he lived till the day of his death—a peaceable, industrious, honorable citizen—rose to the rank of Brigadier, and served frequently in the Legislature on the State.

Col. Joseph Hughes was raised upon Broad River, near McCool’s Ferry and was constantly in the army after the fall of Charleston. He was at the Cowpens, and when the charge was made upon the militia by Tarleton’s cavalry, the flint came out of Hughes’ gun, a dragoon struck him at several times, and cut the barrel of his gun. Hughes dodged round a tree several times till he got a chance to club his gun, which he threw and struck the dragoon, and nearly dismounted the fellow, and then left him. After the war he married Sarah Wright, and lived a number of years, sold out and moved away.

Maj. Benjamin Jolly was raised on Tinker Creek, and served through the whole war, and in addition to other engagements was at the Battle of the Eutaw Springs, and commanded those from this region who were there. He lived in the fork of Tinker Creek, and on the day appointed for his wedding he died.

Major Joseph McJunkin was raised on Tinker Creek, on the plantation now owned by Miss Patsy Beattie. His services commenced with the war and continued through its whole duration to render active service. He was wounded and afterwards taken prisoner.

Col. [James] Steen was murdered before I took any part in the war.

Capt. John Savage was a great hunter before the war, and was considered one of the best marksmen in the country—i.e. besides Maj. Jolly and William Thorpe, who were his equals. His service commenced in the first of the war, and continued portion of country lying between Broad River and Tyger River, as high as the mouth of Pacolet [River]. I was with him in two battles—i.e. Kings Mountain and the Cowpens. He commanded a party at the former, but in consequence of my getting away from my throughout. He was in several battles. At the Cowpens a British officer who rode before the advancing British line apparently very busy in directing their movements, was shot down by Capt. Savage before any of the men fired a gun. He married the widow of John Jolly after the war closed, lived on Little Brown’s Creek, raised a large family, and died in a good old age.

Col. William Farr lived in the neighborhood of Fish Dam on Broad River, commenced service as a Captain, was almost constantly in service during the war, except a while when he was in Virginia. I saw him at the Cowpens after the battle was over. He died in the year 1793.

Col. James Williams. The first personal acquaintance I ever had with him occurred under the following circumstance. Some 200 of us were in North Carolina, probably Lincoln County. The first time I was ever on guard, I heard a horse walking, I hailed but the beast walked on. I fired and the horse fell. The picket guard was greatly alarmed, and one of them fired in the air. An examination was had, and the horse was found dead. I was greatly troubled at the occurrence. The next day, Col. Williams inquired if I was the little lad that had killed the horse last night? I answered in the affirmative. “Well,” said he, “my little son, you did right;” and from that time to the time of his death he treated me with great kindness. His conduct towards the soldiers was always kind and parental, and he was greatly beloved by them. He had two of his sons with him, Daniel, hardly grown, and Joseph, about thirteen. Towards the close of the war these lads were with Col. (Joseph) Hayes and some others in a house out toward Saluda. The Tories surrounded the house; Hayes and his party defended it until a corn crib was set on fire, which soon caught the other house, and Hayes was obliged to surrender. Daniel Williams took his father’s pistols and threw them into the flames of the burning crib rather than deliver them to the enemy. Hayes and these young men were immediately hanged by the Tories. Col. Hayes, I consider to have been a first rate man from the knowledge I have of his conduct, and his only crime, if he had any, was patriotic bravery.

General Observations. The Whigs in general rarely engaged in predatory excursions. They were manifestly much more influenced by conscientious principles than the Loyalists. Though there were some who were greatly addicted to plundering, and did their country much more harm than good. The Tories in general plundered—the Whigs on all occasions when they had the power to do it with impunity. The feelings of the Tories towards all the more distinguished Whigs was alike—no matter what a man’s private character & virtues were, it was sufficient to ensure his destruction if he fell into the hands of the Tories that he had been gallant in the defense of the cause of liberty. Vindictive feelings were often gratified by both parties, but I am persuaded much more and under slighter provocation by the Tories.

This narrative, written many years after the Revolution, joins the documentary resources we have to understand these actions. These participants’ narratives were always written with an author’s purpose and after many years of reflection, forgetting details, and supplementation that all great often-retold stories inherit. Pension affidavits suffer from similar reliability problems. Period newspaper reports, while often relatively contemporaneous, were notably partisan and often based on one hand-me-down report. The Revolutionary Era was one of great printed propaganda and there was a conscious effort to win minds and hearts worthy of a free people. We are fortunate that so many after action reports from the commanders engaged survive; however, they are also self-serving. A great example is Lt. Col. Banastre Tarleton reporting his victory at Blackstock’s to his boss, Lord Cornwallis. Diaries were sometimes reedited for posterity prior to publication. Private letters, such as James Williams’, to his family members offer better-unfiltered insights. Order books and collateral military administrative records also provide reliable resources when available for analysis.
James Williams: An American Patriot in the Carolina Backcountry is fully referenced and may be purchased from http://www.iuniverse.com/bookstore/book_detail.asp?&isbn=0-595-21374-X.

Patriot Colonel James Williams of the Little River Militia

Charles B. Baxley

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

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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Two Saddles and bridles</td>
<td>£ 25.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Rifle gun</td>
<td>40.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair of pistols and Holsters</td>
<td>16.5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Blankets</td>
<td>9.15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Great Coats</td>
<td>35.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pair plated spurs</td>
<td>3.5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Hatts</td>
<td>10.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Coat Jacket and 2 pair Breeches</td>
<td>29.5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 214 yds Manchester Velvet</td>
<td>13.0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 2 pair of shoe buckles</td>
<td>9.15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 2 pair of ? Buckles</td>
<td>4.17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 3 pistols</td>
<td>12.2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 2 pair of Shoes</td>
<td>4.17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To 1 pair Saddle Baggs</td>
<td>6.10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>£ 239.12.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| To [pair of] stock Buckles       | 6.10.0 |
| To 1 large glass                 | 20.0.0 |
| To 2 Breeches                    | 6.10.0 |
| **Total**                        | 33.10.0 |
|                                  | 239.12.6 |
|                                  | 272.12.6 |

Received the 22\textsuperscript{nd} Sept 1785 full satisfaction for this acct No. 669

S/ Mary Williams

S/ John Williams

[On reverse side of this document is the following]

96 District

John Williams made Oath before me that the Within Articles Belonged to his two Brothers that was murdered when Col. Hay’s Station was taken by Wm Cunningham and his party & that to the best of his knowledge they were all taken by the Enemy & none of them ever After Got.

S/ John Williams

Sworn the 22\textsuperscript{nd} of May 1783

S/ Levi Casey

No. 6 £276.12/6 (sic)

SC Archives, Columbia, SC: Series Number: S108092; Reel:0158; Frame: 00272 [but these are illegible—must see the originals, also at the Archives]

Transcription made from the originals by Will Graves.

When he died on October 8, 1780, Colonel James Williams, one of the militia commanders at the Battle of King's Mountain, left an estate that included what must have been a fairly extensive library for a resident of backcountry South Carolina in the late 18th Century. An examination of Williams' holdings helps to reveal not only his personal ambitions for his own and his family's education, but also the influences that not doubt shaped this diehard revolutionary's ideas and ideals for which he was willing to, and did, sacrifice his life.

The contents of Williams' library are known because Williams took it, along with most of his other valuable movable property, to his brother's home in Caswell County, North Carolina. There, on June 12, 1780, he signed his Last Will and Testament providing the source of our knowledge of the contents of Williams' library. King's Mountain, his brother took an inventory of his estate in North Carolina including his library. It is that inventory that provides the source of our knowledge of the contents of Williams' library.

What follows is a list of the books included in the library. The actual wording of the inventory appears in underlined bold type at the beginning of each entry except where corrections have been inserted in parentheses. The materials in brackets following each entry are attempts to identify the likely books referred to in the listing together with a brief reference to the author, if known. The word "do" in the listings was used by Henry Williams to indicate a duplicate of some portion of the preceding entry, usually the title or description of the book. For clarity, the word referenced by "do" has been reinserted in parentheses. Again, for clarity, the word "to" which precedes each entry in the original inventory to connote "item" has been omitted.

### Listing of Books

1. **1 Large Bible**

2. **1 Burkitt's Expository** [Expository notes, with practical observations, on the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: wherein the sacred text is at large recited, the sense explained, and the instructive example of the blessed Jesus, and his Holy Apostles, to our imitation recommended: the whole designed to encourage the reading of the Scriptures in private families, and to render the daily perusal of them profitable and delightful. By William Burkitt (1650-1703) was a vicar and lecturer in Dedham, England.]

3. **6 Voliams (sic, volumes), Henry's Comment.** [Family Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, and the Apocrypha with Notes Explanatory and Practical Carefully Selected from the Commentary of the Rev. Matthew Henry. By Matthew Henry (1642-1714) a Non-conformist minister and commentator; born at Broad Oak, Flintshire, Wales; died at Nantwich, Cheshire. His reputation was largely based on this work which was first printed in London in 5 volumes in 1708-1710.]


5. **1 Holyork's (sic, Holyoke) do (Dictionary)** [A large dictionary in three parts I. The English before the Latin, containing above ten thousand words more than any dictionary yet extant. II. The Latin before the English, with correct and plentiful etymological derivations, philological observations, and phraseological explications. III. The proper names of persons, places and other things necessary to the understanding of historians and poets in the whole comprehending whatsoever is material in any author upon this subject, together with very considerable and ample additions, carried on by a diligent search into and perusal of very many authors both ancient and modern, whereby this work is rendered the most complete and useful of any that was ever yet extant in this kind performed by the great pains and many years study of Thomas Holyoke. By Francis Holyoake (1567-1653) was rector in Southam (Warwickshire), England. Francis began the Dictionary, but died before its completion. Likewise, Francis’ son, Thomas Holyoke (1616-1675), an English clergyman, worked on the Dictionary, but it was Thomas’ son, Charles Holyoke (dates unknown) who finally published the first edition of the Dictionary in 1676.]

6. **1 Jacob's do (Dictionary) Law** [A New Law-Dictionary: Containing, The Interpretation and Definition of Words and Terms used in the Law; and Also the Whole Law, and the Practice Thereof, Under All the Heads and Titles of the Same. Together With Such Informations Relating Thereto, as Explain the History and Antiquity of the Law; and Our Manners, Customs, and Original Government. Collected and Abstracted From All Dictionaries, Abridgments, Institutes, Reports, Year-Books, Charters, Registers, Chronicles, and Histories. Published to This Time. And Fitted for the Use of Barristers, Students, and Practitioners of the Law, Members of Parliament, and Other Gentlemen, Justices of Peace, Clergymen, &c. By Giles Jacob (1686-1744) English legal lexicographer.]

7. **2 Vol. Johnson's Dictionary** [A Dictionary of the English Language: In Which The Words are deduced from their Originals, And Illustrated in their Different Significations By Examples from the best Writers. To Which Are Prefixed, A History of the Language, And An English Grammar. By Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) the premier lexicographer of the English language, poet and critic. This dictionary was not printed in the United States until 1818, so the edition in Williams' library would have been one of the editions known to have been printed either in London or Dublin prior to 1780.]

8. **2 Old dictionary's English Latin** [Since no author or compiler is listed, it is impossible to say definitively which of a number of works these might be, but, based on the seminal work done by Professor Walter Edgar, it appears likely that at least one of these dictionaries was Adam Littleton's Linguae Latinae Liber dictionarium. According to Edgar that title appeared in 12 other colonial era libraries of South Carolinians.]

9. **1 Macknight’s Harmony** [A Harmony of the Four Gospels in which the natural order of each is preserved with a Paraphrase and Notes. By James Macknight (1721-1800) Presbyterian minister, moderator of the Kirk of Scotland, author of religious treatises.]


12. **3 Vol. Erskine’s (sic, Erskine) Sermons** [Either Sermons Upon The Most Important And Interesting Subjects by Ebenezer Erskine (1680-1754) or The Sermons and Other Practical Works by the Late Rev. Ralph Erskine. By Ralph Erskine (1685-1752). Ebenezer and Ralph were brothers. Ebenezer was a chief founder of, and both were ministers in, the Secession Church (form of dissenters from the Kirk of Scotland) which, long after their deaths, united with other Presbyterian denominations to form the United Presbyterian Church.]

13. **6 Vol. Watson’s Horace** [The Odes, Epodes, and Carmen Seculare of Horace, translated into English prose, as near as the two languages will admit. Together with the original Latin from the best editions. Wherein the words of the Latin text are put in their grammatical order ... with notes ... The whole adapted to the capacities of youth at school, as well as of private gentlemen. By David Watson, M. A. (1710-1756)]

14. **2 Vol. Cooke’s Terence** [Terence’s Comedies Translated into English, with Critical and explanatory Notes. To which is prefixed a dissertation on the Life and Writings of Terence, containing An Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of dramatic Poetry in Greece and Rome, with Remarks on the comic Measure. Translated by Thomas Cooke (1703-1756)]

15. **1 Fitz Gerald’s Terence** [no reference to such an edition was found at either the Library of Congress or the British Library. Searches under “Fitzgerald” and “Fitz Gerald” yielded no results.]

16. **1 Anderson’s Remonst. (sic, Remonstrance)** [A Remonstrance against Lord Viscount Bolingbroke’s Philosophical Religion, addressed to David Mallet Esq., the publisher. By the Reverend George Anderson (1676-1756), Minister of the Tron Church, Edinburgh.]

17. **1 Boston’s Fourfold State** [Human Nature in Its Fourfold State of Primitive Integrity, Entire Depravity, Began Recovery and Consummate Happiness or Misery. By Thomas Boston (1676-1732), a Presbyterian minister much influenced by the Rev. Henry Erskine, the father of Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine.]

18. **1 Vol. Attorney’s Pocket Book** [probably, The attorney's compleat pocket-book. Containing above four hundred of such choice and approved precedents, in law, equity, and conveyancing, as an attorney may have occasion for ... By the author of the Attorney's Practice Epitomized. Author unknown. The British Library has in its catalogue an edition printed in 1764 with the above title.]


20. **1 Book Sed (sic, second ?) Vol. Human Understanding** [probably either the work by that name written by John Locke (1632-1704) or David Hume (1711-1776); most likely the former since it was a popular title in colonial era libraries. A search of the British Library’s catalogue, however, reveals that there were a number of other works available in the 18th Century in which the words “Human Understanding” appear in the title.]

21. **1 Vol. Melmoth’s Letters** [one of the following: The Letters of Marcus Tullius CiceroTo Several of His Friends with remarks by William Melmoth: or The Letters Of Pliny The Consul: With Occasional Remarks. By William Melmoth, Esq: or The Letters of Sir Thomas Fitzosborne, on several Subjects. By William Melmoth (‘Fitzosborne’ was the pseudonym of William Melmoth the Younger (1710-99), English Classical Scholar.)

22. **1 Book Confessions of Faith**

23. **Bennet’s Oratory, 2 Vols** [The Christian Oratory: or the Devotion of the Closet in two volumes. By Benjamin Bennet (1674-1726).]

24. **1 Horn Book**


26. **1 Sermon Book**

27. **1 Sermon Book, Lectures of Selected Subjects**

28. **1 Book Disenting (sic, Dissenting) Gentleman’s Letters** [A Dissent from the Church of England Fully justified: And Proved the Genuine and Just Consequence of the Allegiance Due to Christ. The dissenting gentleman's answer to the Reverend Mr. White's three letters; in which a separation from the Establishment is fully justified, the charge of schism is rejected and retorted. The dissenting gentleman's second letter to the Reverend Mr. White, in answer to his three letters, in which his various misrepresentation of the Dissenters are corrected. The dissenting gentleman's third and last letter to the Reverend Mr. White. The dissenting gentleman's postscript to his three letters to Mr. White. By The Dissenting Gentleman (Rev. Micaiah Towgood). Micajah Towgood (1700-1792), a Dissenting minister. (John Wesley wrote of Towgood’s book: “I think the most saucy and virulent satire on the Church of England that ever my eyes beheld.”)]

29. **1 Book the young man’s Companion** [Either The newest Young man’s companion, containing a compendious English grammar, instructions to write variety of hands, with copies both in prose and verse; Letters on compliment, business, and several other occasions. Forms of indenture, wills, testaments, letters of attorney, bills, receipts, releases, acquittances, &c. Arithmetic and book-keeping, in an easier way than any yet published. A compendium of geography, describing all the empires, kingdoms and dominions of the whole world. To which is added a description of the several counties of England and Scotland, their produce, market-towns and market-days. The management of horses, being directions to cure and prevent most distempers which are incident to horses. The art of painting in oil. By Thomas Wise (?), (no information except the name and the description "accountant" could be found for this author in the catalogues of both the British Library and the Library of Congress) or The instructor; or, Young man's best companion. Containing spelling, reading, writing, and arithmetic, in an easier way than any yet published. Instructions to write variety of hands, with copies. How to write letters on business or friendship; forms of indenture, bonds, bills of sale, receipts, wills, leases, releases, &c. Merchants accounts, and a short and easy method of shop and book-keeping; with a description of the product, counties, and market-towns in England and Wales, and a list of fairs according to the new style. The method of measuring carpenters, joiners, sawyers, bricklayers, plasterers, plumbers, masons, glaziers, and painters work. How to undertake each work, and at what price; the rates...
of each commodity, and the common wages of journeymen, with the description of Gunter's Line, and Coggeshall's Sliding-rule. The Practical Guager made easy: the art of Dialling, and how to erect and fix dials, with instructions for dying, colouring, and making colours; and some general observations for gardening every month in the year. By George Fisher (?) See LC Karpinski, 'The Elusive George Fisher, "Accomptant" - writer or editor of three popular arithmetics' in Scripta Mathematica (N.Y., 1953) in which Karpinski speculates as to the identity of George Fisher.

30. 1 Book Pilgrim's Progress [this is probably John Bunyan's masterpiece by that name of which there were numerous copies offered for sale by the Charleston booksellers in the 18th Century, but it might be The New Pilgrim's Progress: Or, the Pious Indian Convert, Containing a faithful account of Hattain Gelashmin, ... who was baptis'd into the Christian Faith by the name of George James ... Together with a narrative of his ... travels among the savage Indians for their conversion, etc. By James Walcot, in which he gave a detailed account of South Carolina in 1740. Walcot was an Oxford graduate who traveled in Jamaica and South Carolina.]

31. 1 Book of Merchant (sic, merchant) Accompts (sic, Accounts) [Since James Williams was a merchant and miller in the Carolina backcountry, this may be a reference to his own book of accounts. However, given the way in which the word "accounts" is spelled, it seems more likely that the book referred to is Book-keeping Methodiz'd: Or, A Methodical Treatise Of Merchant-Accompts, According to the Italian Form...To which is added...I. Descriptions and Specimens of the Subsidiary Books...II. Monies and Exchanges...III. Precedents of Merchants Writings...IV. The Commission, Duty, and Power of Factors. V. A short History of Trading Companies...VI. The Produce and Commerce of the Tobacco Colonies. VII. A Dictionary...By John Mair (1702/3-1769)]

32. 1 do (Book) Mair's Sallust [Sallust. C. Crispi Sallustii Bellum Catalanianum et Jugurthinum, ex optima atque accuratissima Gottlieb Cortii editione expressum. Or, Sallust's history of Catiline's conspiracy and the war of the Jugurtha, according to the excellent and accurate edition of Gottlieb Cortius. With an English translation as literal as possible and large explanatory notes... By John Mair. By John Mair (also known as John Major) (1469-1550) Scottish theologian and historian, Professor of Theology at the University of Paris, Principal at the University of Glasgow and later Provost of St. Andrews University in Scotland. John Knox was one of his students and said of Mair that he was "...held as an oracle on matters of religion."]

33. 1 do (Book) a Treatise Concerning the Lord's day [A Treatise Concerning the Sanctification of the Lord's Day Wherein the Morality of the Sabbath, ... is Maintained ... Containing Also Many Special Directions and Advices ... Proper for Families. by J. W. Minister of the Gospel in Dundee. By John Willison (1680-1750), minister of the Church of Scotland, Dundee, Scotland. Willison was a staunch defender of the Church of Scotland and preached ardently against the schisms that fragmented the church into Baptists, Methodists, Reformed Presbyterian, etc.]

34. 1 Book Richard Aesop’s [No edition with someone named Richard or Richards is listed in either the British Library or the Library of Congress. There is an edition listed in the British Library as having been edited and contributed to by Samuel Richardson, the novelist. That edition is entitled Æsop's Fables. With instructive morals and reflections [by Samuel Richardson] ... And the life of Æsop prefixed, by Mr. Richardson.]

35. 1 do (Book) Tatler Sed (sic, second?) Vol [Possibly, The Tatler or Lucubrations of Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq. In 4 Volumes. By Sir Richard Steele. Joseph Addison, & Jonathan Swift were among the contributors to this periodical. Bound editions of the periodical began to appear in 1711 and some are still in print today. Sir Richard Steele was the publisher of the periodical and he used the pseudonym of Isaac Bickerstaff. Steele revealed his identity in the last issue of the periodical published in 1711. Steele assumed the voice of Isaac Bickerstaff, a fictitious character created by Swift. The noted author, Walter Scott, said of the Tatler that it was “…the first of that long series of periodical works which have enriched our literature with so many effusions of genius, humor, wit, and learning.”]

36. 1 Book The Mariners New Calendar [The Mariner's New Calendar. Containing The Principles of Arithmetick and Practical Geometry: with the Extraction of the Square and Cube Roots: Also Rules for finding the Prime, Équat, Moon's Age, Time of High-Water, with tables for the same. Together With Exact Tables of the Sun's Place, Declination, and Right Ascension: Of the Right Ascension and Declination of the Principal Fixed Stars: Of the Latitude and Longitude of Places; A large Table of Difference of Latitude and Departure, for the exact Working a Traverse. The Description and Use of the Sea-Quadrant, Forestaff and Nocturnal; The Problems of Plain Sailing and Astronomy, wrought by the Logarithms, and by Gunter's Scale; A Rutter for the Coasts of England, Scotland, Iceland, France, &c.: And the Soundings coming into the Channel: With Directions for Sailing into some Principal Harbors. By Nath. Colson, Student in the Mathematicks. By Nathaniel Colson (fl 1674).]

37. 17 Books, Containing Latton (sic, Latin) & greek (sic, Greek)

Before trying to draw conclusions from the inclusion in Williams' library of the above-listed titles, however, the question should be asked if these books were Williams' personal library or, since he was a backcountry merchant, were they inventory for his mercantile business. Since Williams made a number of visits to Charleston in his capacity as a representative to the First and Second Provincial Assemblies in 1775 and 1776, his repeated presence in the city on official business gave him ample time to frequent the shops of that city's several established booksellers. In addition, it is highly probable that he made other trips to Charleston to obtain goods to sell to his neighbors. He may have seen that having volumes for sale in his business might appeal to some of his backcountry customers who did not have his same opportunity to visit the city to make their own purchases.

Although possible, it seems unlikely that the books were part of Williams' mercantile inventory. There is not the duplication of titles that one would expect in a merchant's inventory. Even in colonial times, commercial success in selling books would have required Williams to anticipate the needs and desires of his customers and to stock multiple copies of the volumes he thought would be popular. With the exception of the two different editions of Terence's Comedies, no two texts are the same. Absence of duplicates strongly suggests careful selection of the texts based on personal criteria; not commercial considerations. Also, the relative scarcity of books on the practical skills that most frontier residents needed such as agricultural practices, bookkeeping, surveying and mathematics indicates a personal rather than a commercial reason for the collection. In addition, books were very expensive luxury items unlikely to appeal to many of Williams' backcountry customers to whom, based on what little can be gleaned from his
family correspondence about business matters, Williams sold salt, staple goods and spirits. 7 For a businessman such as Williams to tie up any substantial portion of his capital in speculating on the success of bookselling in the backcountry seems improbable. 8

Assuming the collection to be Williams' personal library, an observation that jumps out of this listing is the heavy emphasis on Greek and Latin texts. This is reflective of the then prevailing view that a classical education required at least some proficiency in both of these languages. Indeed, the criteria for admission to the few American colleges and universities that existed in the mid to late 18th Century required command of Latin and sufficient proficiency in Greek to be able to interpret the Testaments. 9 The presence of so many such texts and dictionaries in Williams' library indicates that he probably harbored the hope that one or more of his sons might one day attend an institution of higher learning. At the very minimum, he equipped his family with the tools necessary to provide the fundamentals of a classical education by the standards of that era.

As noted above, the library contained few books conveying practical knowledge and skills, but there were several such titles in Williams' library. Texts such as The Mariners New Calendar, Bookkeeping Methodiz'd and The Young Man's Companion offered instruction in the more practical skills of mathematics, letter writing, surveying and bookkeeping. All of these skills would have been highly valued by Williams as a merchant, miller, land owner and father of 5 young sons. 10 No doubt, he would have been anxious that his sons learn at least these rudimentary skills in order for them to be of maximum use to him as a merchant and miller. In addition, the more practical skills such as command of mathematics were becoming important in the curricula of some of America's colleges influenced by the trend in Scottish universities to emphasize mathematics and the sciences, in addition to the classical languages. Again, Williams was equipping himself and his family with the tools necessary for at least a basic education.

Predictably, the library includes a large number of religious treatises, some written by dissenters from the established Church of England. Three of the works, Henry's Commentaries, Boston's Fourfold State and Erskine's Sermons, appear on the list of 20 recommended works expounded by the great 18th Century evangelist, George Whitefield. 11 As a devout Presbyterian, all of the religious titles in Williams' library would have been essential tools for maintaining the spiritual wellbeing of himself and his family. It is interesting to note that several of the books included daily guides for bible study and devotions. Indeed, Burkitt's Expository Notes is still available in print and on CD-Rom today and being touted as instructive in the spiritual life of today's Christians even though Burkitt died in 1703. 12

The total absence from the library of what would have been the "popular literature" of the day such as the works of Henry Fielding, Jonathan Swift, Samuel Richardson, John Milton, and others also is informative. Although as Professor Edgar noted in his dissertation many residents of Charleston and environs had copies of such works in their libraries, backcountry residents would have had no time for reading purely for entertainment. 13 Also missing from Williams' library were most of the classic literature of the age such as Shakespeare, Milton and Chaucer. These works were available and offered for sell by the Charleston booksellers. 14

It is also interesting that 17 titles of the 30 identifiable books listed in Williams' library are not among the titles listed in Professor Edgar's dissertation as being in at least 5 of the privately held libraries in South Carolina in the period prior to 1776. Surprisingly, that number includes Samuel Johnson's famous Dictionary of which Williams had a copy. 15 It is more surprising that Johnson's work is missing from the other South Carolina libraries than that it was included in Williams' library. Although the first collected edition of the dictionary was not published until 1755, it was immediately recognized as a work of genius and almost universally acclaimed as the benchmark against which all other dictionaries of the English language would be judged. Ten of these 17 "unique" titles are religious works; five fall into the category Edgar labels as "practical" works (i.e., dictionaries and practical skills works); and two (Muris's translation of Sallust and Melmoth's translation of Cicero's letters) fall under Edgar's "classical" label.

Conclusion

Possession of these volumes does not mean that Williams or anyone else in his family read them or, having read them, assimilated much of their content. Given that Williams valued the books enough, however, to include them with his other valuable moveable personal property taken to his brother's home in North Carolina for safekeeping after the fall of Charleston in May 1780 and the occupation immediately thereafter of his home in the Carolina backcountry, it is highly probable that he and his family did read them. At least as to the numerous volumes of religious instruction, it is safe to assume that the life of the Williams family was informed and guided by the precepts set forth therein. Certainly, as a merchant and miller, the volumes that included instruction in such skills as bookkeeping, surveying, mathematics and handwriting would have been essential not only for Williams' children but also for Williams himself. His possession of this library helps to flesh out and give fuller appreciation for the life of Carolina backcountry residents in the period just prior to the Revolution.

1 James Williams, 1740-1780, was a merchant, miller, planter and militia officer who resided on an approximately 3,500-acre plantation that straddled what is today Laurens and Newberry Counties, SC on the Little River. See William T. Graves, James Williams: An American Patriot in the Carolina Backcountry, Writers Club Press, San Jose, 2002. (Hereafter cited as Graves, Williams.)

2 As it turns out, Williams' choice of Caswell County was not as safe as he hoped. Although none of his property appears to have been compromised, in February 1781, foraging parties from Cornwallis' force raided the storehouse of Williams' uncle, John Williams, in Caswell and made off with an unspecified amount of grain belonging to the public for which the elder Williams was called upon to account. Maybelle Delamar, Legislative Papers Relating to Revolutionary Service [Legislative Papers – pp. 80-83 and 206], North Carolina Archives, Raleigh, North Carolina.

3 The inventory of Williams' estate can be found in the North Carolina Archives under "Caswell County Estates, N.C., CR.020.508.102, James Williams 1780."

4 Note that there are relatively few corrections. This is probably due to Henry Williams' having taken the inventory with the actual books in front of him from which he could copy the spelling of the author's name and one or two words from the book's title. His using fairly unorthodox spelling for words such as "volumes," "Latin" and "Greek" in those instances in which he was left to his own devices (see, i.e., entries 2 and 37 from the inventory) underscores the high probability of his having copied the author's name and book title in making the other entries in the inventory.


7 In a letter dated June 12, 1779, addressed to his eldest son, Daniel, Williams tells him how to price the whiskey they sell. In a letter dated September 30, 1779, to his wife, Williams instructs her regarding milling and selling salt. These letters appear in Gibbes, Documentary History of the American Revolution, Vol. 2, pp. 115 and 122, respectively, as well as in Graves, Williams, at appendices 2 and 4, respectively.

8 It is interesting to speculate about Williams possibly having the books as part of a lending library. Professor Edgar cites instances of
have been willing to loan his valuable books to his customers. Apparently, the patrons of such private libraries were notorious for not returning books resulting in checkout deposits sometimes equaling one or two times the cost of the volume borrowed. Edgar, Libraries, pp. 70-94. See, also, Cohen, Gazette, p. 130 for an advertisement dated December 15, 1737, taken out by James Bulloch asking for the return to him of some 14 or 15 titles "...borrowed ...and never returned....most of which Books have been out for several Years." It seems very unlikely Williams would have been willing to loan his valuable books to his customers.

The Williams family also included 3 young daughters, but the library contained none of the few then available books that offered instruction on domestic skills such as Eliza Smith's The Compleat Housewife: or, accomplish'd gentlewoman's companion: being a collection of upwards of five hundred of the most approved receipts in cookery, pastry, confectionary, preserving, pickles, cakes, creams, jellies, made wines, cordials also bills of fare for every month To which is added, a collection of above two hundred receipts of medicines; viz. drinks, syrups, salves, ointments The sixth edition, with very large additions: near fifty receipts being communicated just before the author's death. This book was frequently reprinted after first appearing in 1727. Edgar found copies of this book in six of the estate inventories he reviewed. Edgar, Libraries, pp. 235.

Opportunities for further research are presented by Col. James Williams. It appears that he became a major backcountry landowner in South Carolina in a few years, had the capital to establish a mill, purchase slaves and a major library. It is speculated that he fought in the Cherokee War (French and Indian War) from Virginia and may have received Royal land grants for his service. There are other neighbors from Virginia who received large land grants in this area. Williams was also very prominent to be such a new arrival, as he was elected a militia company captain and to the Provincial Congress. The interesting controversy between Gen. Thomas Sumter and Williams is not elucidated in Gen. Richard Winn’s Notes; he merely states Sumter was in present in Hillsboro where “Gov. Rutledge confirmed the General in his command”. Research on Williams’ alleged competing brigadier’s commission would help evaluate Col. William Hill’s criticisms of Col. Williams.
Touring Laurens County, South Carolina’s Revolutionary War Sites with Joe Goldsmith

You asked, "Just how did all this get started, anyway?"

Once upon a time, actually for the third time in England, there was a King named George. He signed an act requiring tax stamps for all sorts of things including blank paper and tea. What's that? Not "that" beginning? Ohhh. Almost fifty years ago, a Scout patrol (back then it was politically OK to call them Boy Scouts - and, by the way, they were proud to be called just that) of no more than a dozen or so youngsters (yours truly included) camped at the site of the Hayes’ Station Massacre, and heard with rapt attention the gory details of the last Revolutionary action "in these parts". We took turns with flashlight and pocket knife, sitting upright in our sleeping bags to bravely defend our buddies against "Bloody Bill" Cunningham and his evil minions.

Fast forward to May of 2004. This author invited Judge Wayne Copeland to offer a commemoration prayer at Hayes' Station . . . The place name seemed familiar to him but when he saw a snapshot of the stone marker, he exclaimed, without hesitation: "Bloody Bill Cunningham!!!" For him it has been more than fifty years as well.

The Cadets of the Clinton High School Jr. R.O.T.C. paid serious attention when Lt. Col. Joel E. Rexford (USA Ret.) told on site of the Revolutionary War battles in Laurens County as preparation for us today, as it had been for the Patriots for the victories at Cowpens and King's Mountain. Under Rexford's good direction the cadets have developed a deep affinity for the youths their very same ages that fought and died in the American Revolution as members of the Little River Regiment. Using latest technology, these fine young people have taken the initiative to locate the battlefield at Hammond's Store (see below), the Williams family plantation, clean the Williams family cemetery, and have greatly narrowed the search for the sites of the Battle of Fort Williams and the subsequent Battle of Mudlick Creek. (Both battles said to have been fought within mere feet of one another.) They plan to conduct a detailed search during the current school year to determine that exact location. Keep watch here for further developments.

Our Cambridge Chapter of the SC Society of the Sons of the American Revolution copied Rexford's technique and added a few stops until it became the still evolving Laurens County Revolutionary War sites tour, pretty much as we provided on Saturday, August 21, 2004, in conjunction with the Henry Laurens Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution for 75 Saturday, August 21, 2004, in conjunction with the Henry Laurens Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Our Cambridge Chapter of the SC Society of the Sons of the American Revolution copied Rexford’s technique and added a few spots until it became the still evolving Laurens County Revolutionary War sites tour, pretty much as we provided on Saturday, August 21, 2004, in conjunction with the Henry Laurens Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. We were prepared a CD with slides, charts, portraits and maps and distributed a copy to every junior high school (eighth grade curriculum includes South Carolina history), high school with JROTC, college, library, military park (Ninety-Six and Musgrove's Mill) in our service area. Extra copies may be obtained through the Cambridge Chapter SAR.

This tour and description are the results of probably twenty presentations of the slide show and as many trips of the tour. The Laurens County Revolutionary War site tour is available at no cost, personally led with advance reservations, for any group whose actions and purpose are compatible with those of the SAR. Contact the editor of this journal who will forward your requests and questions. It's never quite the same twice. Enjoy!

Hayes' Station (Not recommended during hunting season!) where the last of the Little River Regiment [Patriot] stood against their Tory neighbors and after surrender, were cruelly butchered. Please see the paper in this journal by Dr. Frank Wyman for details.

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

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

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


To Antrim House: (From Hayes' Station) Exit from Williams Road and turn right onto Old Milton Road (S-30-46). Just across the creek (Simmon's Creek) look across the recently timbered land to the top of Little Mountain (not related to the one in Newberry County) which is claimed by some to be the site of the Mudlick Creek fight and shown on the Land Grant Map as the north boundary of Col.

DAR Monument at site of Hayes’ Massacre at Edghill Station
William's four-and-one-half square mile grant. At the top of the hill, turn left onto Jefferson Davis Road (S-30-38).

Local Legend: states that down by the Little River near the Northwest corner (of Jefferson Davis and Old Milton Roads) are the remains of Col. James Williams' mill. Please notice how closely this is situated to the roadbed from the Old Ninety-Six to Buncombe Road. And that Milton Store, smythe, harness maker, and lumberyard were clustered about it. Hence the term this village has long held: Mill-Town or Milton.

On Jefferson Davis Road continue 1.6 miles to its intersection with Mountville Road (S-30-30). Directly ahead is the double avenue of oaks for the Antrim or the Williams-Griffin House. This nicely restored Second Empire style house (circa 1815) was built by "Big Joe" Griffin, father of "Little Joe" from the Battle at Hayes Station. He had been in the Liberty Spring or Antrim Company of the Little River Regiment of Patriot South Carolina Militia, and so named the house. "Big Joe" married James Williams' widow (also became one of the Trustees, (not executor) of his will) and built her this house, which was used in 1865 for the fleeing Confederate President Jefferson Davis, who made a speech from the balcony here. This too is a private residence. Continue southeast on Mountville Road for .6 mile. At the stop sign, turn right onto SC Highway 560 and drive west on SC Highway 560 into Cross Hill, SC. Cross the railroad tracks and turn onto SC Highway 39 past the Confederate Monument and after about two blocks turn left into the yard at Liberty Spring Presbyterian Church. Numerous sources describe weekly meetings there of the Sons of Liberty, at the spring including one with Gen. Richard Richardson. Hence the name.

Only after the war, did they realized that they were numerous enough to form their own church did they do so. The juvenile White Oak growing from the top of the spring is clearly a descendant of the original there from 230 some years ago. The land has been recently (since late July 2004) harvested for timber, and the landscape much altered.

Exit the parking lot of Liberty Springs Church and retrace your route through Cross Hill onto SC Highway 560 East about eight miles, just before you cross the Little River Bridge (very small river) look uphill to your right (south), you will spot a purple iron farm gate.

Through (or around) this gate, follow the farm road to the crest of the hill and then turn hard left (you may see some brick shards and fragments of a brick stairway - where the house or some major building deserving a brick entrance) and walk toward the unharvested small group of tall pines. In those are the thirty to fifty-some graves inside the hand wrought-iron fence. Some with simple unpolished and un-engraved faces are probably for slaves. Col. Williams himself is not buried here as he is buried on the grounds of the Gaffney, South Carolina Public Library. However his wife, several of his children and their families are buried here.

This is the center axis of the old Williams Plantation, called Mount Pleasant. The gate is to limit trespassers from the hunting club. As long as you do not block the gate, wear plenty of bright red, and do not do anything really stupid, walk to the cemetery. I always tell folks I'm a friend of any Revolutionary Soldier and I want to go say a prayer for him. Who is to argue?

To Belfast House, continue east about two miles on SC Highway 560 east to a right turn onto SC Highway 56. The old Ninety-Six Road parallels and intertwines this original Island Ford Road from the north shore of Lake Greenwood for it's entire length through Silverstreet, Chappels, Crossroads, and Belfast, and throughout it's length in Laurens County and on into Union and Spartanburg Counties, and Polk, Henderson and Buncombe Counties of North Carolina. About one half mile on the right is a pristine white brick old Carolina single house, lavishly restored by Champion International Paper Company. (Alas, not available for use or tour by non-employees.) Belfast Plantation house was originally built fronting that Ninety-Six Road of local lumber by the Regulator Captain John Hunter. (Later to be elected U.S. Senator, for whom Hunter Township, our local jurisdiction was named.) Belfast House was burned by Tories and after the war it was rebuilt of bricks that were painted white.

A very short drive to the crest of the hill into Newberry County is the new (post WWII) Little River - Dominick Presbyterian Church. Col. James Williams, according to church records, was a founding elder. The original church-house site and cemetery can be found about 200 yards down the unpaved road running perpendicular to the highway, through the abandoned peach orchard. The state has placed a double culvert in that ditch directly across SC Highway 56 from the sign downhill from the church. While not suitable for low clearance vehicles, one once (three years ago?) could maneuver an SUV or mid-sized pickup right up to the site.

Fort Williams or Fort Williamson? Maps and authors often confused and confusing.

Gen. Andrew Williamson (SC Patriot Militia) born in Scotland 1730 – died March 21, 1786. (SCP # 999) Perhaps due to similarity of family name in the same chain of command, he is often confused with Col. James Williams and the battle of Fort Williams is confused all too often as Fort Williamson. Yet they remain two distinctly different men, two different forts, two different engagements. Gen. Williamson ordered the construction of the fort around the barn at Ninety-Six (also called Cambridge by early writers and the SC General Assembly). It was often referred to as Fort Williamson, to distinguish it among those that had been built there from the earthen “Star Fort” built later by the British.

Col. James Williams (SC Patriot Militia) 1740 - 1780 Patriot commander at Musgrove's Mill and hero of King's Mountain (who served under Williamson early in the Revolutionary War) built a "Fort" of palisades and abatis on his plantation, near the Old Ninety-Six Road. (A plantation is a piece of land, not a building.) Since he built it, supplied it with powder, fodder, and provisions, and manned it, it was called Fort Williams. It was located on the James Williams Plantation which is in both modern Newberry and Laurens Counties, along SC Highways 560 and 56 from the confluence of the Little River (one of five rivers so named in South Carolina) with Mud Lick Creek, just north of Chappells, SC, to where the Little River cuts into Little Mountain (the Laurens County one - there are three of those in SC as well). Author Will Graves, Esq., totaled the parcels of the plantation apportioned in William's Last Will and Testament, discovering that the tract is over 3500 acres, more than three-and-one-half square miles!

Joe Goldsmith

Cross Keys House (SC Highway 49 and James Ford Road (S-44-22) and Old Buncombe Roads) by following SC Highway 56 Northeast, across Interstate 26 and about .25 mile bear about 30 degrees right past the truck stops onto Barrel Stave Road (S-30-98), drive through the Thomas Sumter National Forest, cross Duncan Creek and the Enoree River into Union County. In about two miles one will be met with the image of old slave-made brick and marble. Please note that the road name has changed to Buncombe Road; different county but same basic roadway. The French born, Huguenot Patriot Tilmann Bobo (originally spelled Beau Ribaute and several other ways) noticed after having fought in the sieges of
Charleston and Savannah, how much money the local planters were willing to pay for bricks, some of which were even brought over in ships from England, as ballast. Remembering the Carolina red clay he had ploughed here, Bobo decided that bricks might make a good venture. And so they did. This house is a fine example of late Georgian, with styling about the chimneys, dormers, and rafter plates. This remains one of the last actual plantations that has former slave cabins still standing.

**To Blackstock’s Plantation:** From the Cross Key’s House turn left (west) on SC Highway 49 towards Cross Anchor, SC. In about two and one-half miles, turn right beside the Blackstock’s historical marker onto Blackstock Road (S-44-51) for about .9 mile and turn right onto Monument Road. This road will divide. Take the left fork to the monument and cul-de-sac on the battlefield. Recommend driving past the bulletin board and park beside the monument in the cul-de-sac, where you can read the monument in the shade and best see the battlefield.

A largely under-emphasized battle, this is where Gen. Thomas Sumter’s aptitudes a successful militia commander became apparent to all. Many local Patriot militia units participated, including the Lower Fair Forest Regiment, the Spartan regiment, and the Little River Regiment. Some Virginia Continentals were across the ridge guarding the ford in the Tyger River. Sufficient it to say, Tarleton got whumped, had his horses, supplies, and all three canons (grasshoppers) liberated! In spite of what Tarleton wrote to Cornwallis, his men’s morale was not very bright - horse soldiers do not like to march long distances - especially in knee-boots.

Captain and Mrs. Blackstock are buried within a few feet of the DAR Monument on the battlefield although the markers are now gone.

From here retrace your drive and return to SC Highway 49 and turned right (west) until reaching “downtown” Cross Anchor, SC (one blinking yellow light).

From the Cross Anchor intersection towards the North is the route of the Battle of Cedar Springs, another “running battle” between two mounted militia groups. This marathon chase began through the Cedar Springs community, the town of Duncan, past Inman and Lake Bowen to modern Inman and Gowensville (site of Gowen’s old fort) across I-26 at Exit # 1 to the gate, and onto the pasture of the now “Four Columns Inn” Bed and Breakfast, then known as Earl’s Ford (also known as Earl’s Fort). This is often mistakenly treated as four separate actions but is in fact a continuum, of forty-some miles over fifty some hours. Many of the core fighters were the same . . . others came and went as the action moved in and out of one’s neighborhood. The best description I have seen of the final face-off battle is on the roadside historical marker in front of Brannon’s Café. (Where the indoor dining room is in NC and the SC dining porch is in SC) This action appears to have been a bloody draw. But they had stamina! In spades.

**Battle of Musgroves Mill:** At the intersection in Cross Anchor, turn left, onto SC Highway 56 south, back toward Clinton, for about four and one-half miles. Pull off the road onto the shoulder where Horse Shoe Falls Road forks to the right off from SC Highway 56. Disembark across the highway from the tiny Carolina “I” house that had belonged to the elderly Sampson Bobo family, parents of the Patriot builder of the brick Cross Keys house. Sampson’s wife was sister of Capt. Edward Musgrove, the miller of Musgrove Mills. During the night of August 16/17th, 1780 Patriots converged on the Bobo house at Cross Keys. The enlisted men and horses were fed, watered and slept in the barn and pastures; the officers dined, planned and were served by the elderly couple, both French speakers. During the wee tiny hours, their servant advised them of the arrival of red-coats in dresses (71st Regiment of Foot, Frazier Highlanders) at which point they sent the most junior officer present, Lt. Joseph Gilreath Robinson, to summon more troops if any could be found from the Little River area and then from then south at Congaree or Long Canes.

In an instances can military historians trace an original stratagem, and the time and place and person who voiced it, at that planning table, Capt. Shadrack Inman suggested that the Patriots "bait the trap" they had planned and volunteered to take a dozen of his men at sunrise and to do just that to the SC Loyalist and British regulars camped at Musgroves Mill.

Local Tories burned Sampson Bobo’s house the afternoon of August 18th, 1780 as well as the barns, corncrib, smoke house, cookhouse, and hay shed. The well was filled with boulders. After the war in circa 1785, the grateful Patriot neighbors rebuilt the house and outbuildings on the same foundations and chimneys as the originals for the by-then Widow Bobo. They also dug and lined her a new well.

Next Stop: On the branch road called Horse Shoe Falls Road, proceed south about 1.5 miles, and just across the steel-truss and girder bridge, park on the left where provided. Walk down the path about 200 feet to the top of Horse Shoe Falls of the Cedar Shoals Creek. Lt. Robinson had gotten “lost” during his late-night errand, but had “remembered” that miller Musgrove had a beautiful daughter named Mary. He climbed the hill, sneaked to the back and tapped on the window. She led him to the falls, where he hid under a cleft behind the curtain of water as the Tories dashed off looking for him. Ever since it has been called Horse-shoe Falls and he has been called “Horseshoe” Robinson. Few people remember his Christian name any more.

Back up to the top of the hill and turn right (south) onto SC Highway 56, about one mile or halfway to the bottom of the hill (just barely a few feet into Spartanburg County) will be a little-used roadway connection. This is the Musgroves Mill battlefield. Near the gate are the gravesites for Capt. Shadrach Inman and his five or six Patriot volunteers who agreed to be “bait for then trap.” To quote Gen. Robert E. Lee: “May God rest their brave souls.” Buried about fifty feet from them are seventy-some fallen redcoats from that same day. The wooded area through which the roadway led the chase – makes obvious that the breast works could easily have been built “impromptu,” quickly and without many tools, by dragging one end of a deadfall logs to positions parallel to the roadbed, and lying in wait in the prone up-hill position, a very secure entrenchment with little or no digging or noisy chopping.

They buried them where they fell. This area is called Indian Fields on the diorama in the Musgrove Mill Welcome Center. Drive almost to the modern bridge over the Enoree River and park in the pull-off beside the DAR Monument to the battle. Beside this monument is also a covered bulletin board with descriptive text and a map, allowing one a panoramic view of the battlefield centers of activity. The new welcome and interpretive center at Musgrove Mills State Historic Site invites you to a diorama of the action.

Although the modern SC Highway 56 has replaced, even re-routed much of the old Ninety-Six Road, three major sections of the original roadbed are still clearly discernable on the main park property, and another crosses Duncan Creek within yards of Horse-Shoe Falls.

**Lower Fair Forest Meeting House (Baptist),** no longer extant, has a state roadside historical marker along the north shoulder of SC Highway 49 between the Cross Keys House and the Fair Forest Creek, just west of Union, SC, about one quarter mile southwest of
the current Lower Fair Forest Baptist Church. The site of the church is on Gun Range Road (S-44-44) about one-quarter mile southeast and in a field on the north side of that street. Numerous gravestones can be seen there and the church was in the midst of them. This was truly a "house divided" as Maj. Patrick Ferguson is said to have had a home and numerous Tory recruits from this area, which also provided a Regiment of SC Patriot militia. From an encampment near here, the Continental cavalry and SC militia with Col. William Washington began the approach towards Hammond's Store.

Duncan Creek Presbyterian Church provided an entire company of officers and men for the SC Patriot militia's Little River Regiment. It was here during the deep night, along the old Ninety-Six Road to Buncombe, NC that Col. William Washington's Continentals met with SC Patriot militia Maj. McCall, and the men and their horses were fed and refreshed. They joined forces to pursue the Tories camped at Hurricane meeting house. (You may park at the right of the gate, which remains locked except at church times, but one can easily walk over, to the church and graveyard. Many Patriot veterans are buried there.)

Directions: To retrace the route of the Hammond's Store cavalry chase, ambush and Patriot victory, begin at Duncan Creek Presbyterian Church and drive south on Duncan Creek Road (S-30-34), cross I-26 and pass modern Hurricane Baptist Church, carefully cross a railroad track, merge with Young Road (S-30-99) and continue south to the dead end at SC Highway 56 where you can see the old road continue into the woods, now a private driveway called Capricorn Drive. The old road, still evident through the woods, crossed the Bush River and emerged onto modern Green Plain Road at Hammond's Store. See map on page 20.

Hurricane Baptist Church is claimed by current members to have only been founded in the 1840's, but a group calling themselves the Hurricane (sic) Baptist Meeting was given that land as a Crown grant for school, lodges, social groups and other forms of Christian Worship as may be needed from time to time. During the night before the Hammond's Store action, the Tories were encamped to drill and receive their pay - a shilling and a pint of rum. This location is also shown on Mills' Atlas of Laurens District as Hurricane, circa 1825.

The Battle of Hammond's Store: The Battle of Hammond's Store was a "running battle" between two mounted forces - it began when Col. William Washington's men left Fair Forest Creek (near, but this side of the Tyger River) and rode to Duncan Creek Presbyterian Church where they and their beasts were "refreshed" and joined by a contingent of last minute South Carolina Patriot militia volunteers under Capt. William Young. The Patriots charged into the Tory encampment, and after exchanging insults and throwing foul smelling debris on the Loyalist camped at Hurricane (sic) Meeting House, the chase begins along the road over what is now Young Drive, onto Capricorn Drive (a private road) across the Bush River and onto the hill which now has a private home at the crest, the site of Hammond's Store. Here the Patriots lay in ambush for the Loyalist troops following Washington's cavalry.

This chase to ambuscade took place over a distance of more than 5 miles after a night and a day ride, and continued on to Williams' Fort for more of same. That is a lot of hard riding and swinging of swords and loading/shooting rifles (.70 caliber) or muskets (.75 caliber) – (Anti-aircraft guns in WWII were .50 cal.) then jump on the horse and go somewhere else and do it all again. Wow. Hammond's Store was the name of the closest landmark - it could as easily have been named the Battle of Patrick Cunningham's North 40 acres (also true - yes one of those Cunninghams)! So the fighting and killing took place over dozens of acres - not in not in front of, nor behind some little store. Dozens of acres - all soldiers had their horses with them.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.) A small granite marker with the words "Battle of Hammond's Store" was last seen at the same time.
the only traffic light, on your left, turn into Crestmont Road past Mount Zion AME Church and along the left of their cemetery to the farm gate (locked). Across the pasture along this gravel road and into the woods maybe 100 feet one will clearly see the remains of the old roadbed. Beyond that is Fort Branch (old maps list it as Pennington's Branch) of Indian Creek (see map below). Little remains, due to the moisture and years of decline but the flat area on the high bank and a few burned ends of palisade logs might still be visible. Many amateur historians confuse this with Fort William Henry Lyttleton, on the same creek just south of Whitmire, South Carolina, close to the Enoree River, where the settlers of that town escaped during a Cherokee siege in 1760. The similarity of names Carolina, close to the Enoree River, where the settlers of that town escaped during a Cherokee siege in 1760. The similarity of names and the same creek (different branches) contribute to the confusion.

Liberty Hill (one of at least three locations of that name in South Carolina - one north of Camden and another north of Aiken across the Savannah River from Fort Augusta) This is where Gen. Richard Richardson and Presbyterian Minister William Tennant rendezvoused with most of the men in the eastern Ninety Six District for a three night camp meeting. Their wives thought this camp meeting was like the others, an evangelical revival. In fact it was political rallies and organizational meetings for Sons of Liberty chapters and companies of Rangers for the Regulators who later became the ready-made organizational core for the Patriot Little River Regiment and others.

Directions to Liberty Hill: From Joanna on US Highway 76, turn east (toward and cross over Interstate 26) on SC Highway 66 toward Whitmire. Just barely feet into Newberry County, turn left past a large dark brick early Victorian (circa 1835) house largely obscure by decades old untrimmed red-tips. Turn left beside this onto Stamps Roads (S-30-276). You will be in the Sumter National Forrest. About one-half mile you will see a street-type sign marking the dirt road "Garlington Road." Visually project Garlington Road across the pavement to a farm-road. Walk up this road to the top of the hill (approximately 200 yards). This hill is where the encampment and sign-ups and speeches took place. A small flat granite marker is said to have once marked the spot.

Fort Lindley/Fort Lindler (spelled both ways in various pension applications and service accounts - Dr. Lindler of Legare Street in Charleston is a descendant of the builder and first planter there – they have always spelled it Lindler - even pre-1750's documents) was like Fort Williams, Fort Pennington, Fort Allison, and others built as a refuge for settlers in the Cherokee and Catawba territories. (The fact that the settlers were claiming land that by treaty belonged to the Cherokees did not seem to cause too much concern, but they wanted a safe place to escape to in any case). The first action in the backcountry occurred here in July of 1776 - The patriots retreated here with their families while Cherokees and Creeks, plus Tories "...naked and painted like Cherokees..." attacked. One hero of this action was a young Jonathan Downs who became a major in the Little River Regiment and escaped with his life from the massacre at Hayes' Station.

On July 15, 1776 at about 1:00 am, eighty-eight Indians and 102 Loyalist, painted up as Indians attacked Patriots at Lindley’s Fort. They were lead by Loyalist Capt. David Fanning. Capt. William Downs who was on the way to join Maj. Andrew Williamson’s Patriot Army commanded the fort. The battle raged until Fanning learned of the approach of Williamson. When the Tories withdrew, they left “several dead, including two of their Chief Warriors” and the Patriots captured 13 Loyalist.

* Fort Lindley – from Laurens, SC take US Highway 76 north and turn left onto US Highway 252 west. Drive approximately 2.5 miles and turn left onto Fort Lindley Road (S-30-398). Just over a mile on the left is the roadside historic marker for Fort Lindley. It is not located on the actual site. Continue to the south on Fort Lindley Road for about 2000 feet and turn left into Old Fort Road; it is an unpaved private road. About 1000 feet on your right will be a hillside meadow, which is the unmarked actual location of the old colonial fort. An extant old roadbed is in the tree line.

Your tour guide, Joseph Caldwell McCall Goldsmith, semi-retired plastics engineer, tenth generation South Carolinian, currently Chapter Vice President and Chair of the Revolutionary Sites, Graves and Commemorations Committee of the Cambridge Chapter, SC Society, Sons of the American Revolution. Joe, approved by Admiral Hyman Rickover, spent 21 years "in government service" propelled by fissile atoms, submerged in his work of ferreting the true intentions of our foes. Joe is also active in the All Saints Episcopal Church and the Clinton Rotary Club. He lives and works from his home in Clinton, SC, which would have been the school system and a local phone call away for fourteen of the seventeen stops on "the tour" described in this issue. He also is writing a book about the Little River Regiment, under Colonels James Williams, Joseph Hayes and Levi Casey, still many months in the future. Joe is a graduate of the University of South Carolina, Case-Western Reserve University, and Cornell.  joeg5950@yahoo.com
The Battle of Hammond’s Store

1. Old road to Musgrove’s Mill on the Enoree River and Blackstock’s ford of the Tyger River.

2. Duncan Creek Presbyterian Church – extant beautiful 1843 stone church.

3. Route of Patriot Lt. Col. William Washington’s cavalry advance along Duncan Creek Road (S-30-34) towards Hurrican (sic) Meeting House.


5. Route of Loyalist’s chase to Patriot’s ambush along Hurricane Church Road (S-30-34).

6. Location of Hammond’s Store – Northeast side of (1244) Green Plain Road, site of Patriot ambush and Loyalist defeat.

7. Green Plain Road (S-30-50).

Clinton, SC is located on I-26 approximately 55 miles northwest of Columbia.

Map excerpted from Laurens County highway map, published by the South Carolina Department of Transportation and as annotated and amended by your editor.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>American Patriot Forces</strong></th>
<th><strong>Lt. Col. William Washington</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Continentals</td>
<td>- 3d Regiment Continental Light Dragoons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Captains William Parsons and William Barrett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- 1st Regiment Continental Light Dragoons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>South Carolina State Troops (mounted)</th>
<th><strong>Maj. James McCall</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loyalist Forces</th>
<th><strong>Col. Thomas Waters (of Georgia)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loyalist Militia-Savannah Militia</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Order of Battle from *Nothing but Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, Vol. Two 1780*, by Patrick O’Kelley
Revolutionary Patriot wounded, with forty prisoners. The whole party of Tories amounted to something over 200, so that but few escaped. They were commanded by a

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Dr. J. B. O. Landrum does not indicate whom he was quoting in his Colonial and Revolutionary History of Upper South Carolina, pp. 267-268 (Greenville, SC: Shannon & Co., 1897).
Williams’ Fort, Plantation “Mount Pleasant” and Mudlick Creek Battle

2. Area of the site of Williams’ Fort.
3. Area of the site of Battle of Mudlick Creek.
4. Site of Milton (Mill Town).
5. Belfast Plantation house-extant 1785 structure.
6. Site of Hayes’ Massacre (Williams Road) monument at Edgehill Station.
7. Location of historic Little River Presbyterian Church and extant cemetery, about 250 yards east of the modern Little River – Dominick Presbyterian Church.

Battle Of Williams’ Fort December 31, 1780 Order of Battle*

American Patriot Forces
Col. Joseph Hayes (will be murdered at Hayes Station in 1781)
Continents - 1st Regiment Continental Light Dragoons (detachment) Coronet James Simons 10
South Carolina Militia Little River Regiment 40

Loyalist Forces
Brig. Gen. Robert Cunningham
Loyalist Militia-South Carolina Loyalist Militia Maj. Patrick Cunningham 150

Dunlap’s Corps of Provincial Cavalry

*Order of Battle from Nothing but Blood and Slaughter: The Revolutionary War in the Carolinas, Vol. Two 1780, by Patrick O’Kelley

Battle of Mudlick Creek March 2, 1781

From Memoirs of Major Joseph McJunkin - Revolutionary Patriot, by Reverend James Hodge Saye (Special thanks again to Phil Norfleet’s website: http://sc_tories.tripod.com/colonel_roebuck_and_the_battle_of_mudlick_creek.htm)

This battle has sometimes been called Roebuck’s Defeat. No history of the country, it is believed, ever alludes to the transaction. It possesses some interest, and hence we transcribe an account of it found in the Magnolia [magazine] for 1842, which, upon the whole, we believe may be relied upon as a correct statement, but not without some mistakes, which we shall point out as far as we can.

"The Battle of Mudlick was fought in the summer of 1781 by the remnant of a regiment of militia under the command of Col. Benjamin Roebuck and a garrison of British soldiers and Tories stationed at Williams’ Fort in Newberry District. The Whigs did not exceed 150 men, while the enemy was greatly superior in point of numbers and had the protection of a strong fortress. In order to deprive them of this advantage the following stratagem was resorted to by Col. Roebuck and Lt. Col. [Henry] White."
"Those of the Whigs who were mounted riflemen were ordered to show themselves in front of the fortress and then retreat to an advantageous position selected by the commanding officer. The enemy no sooner saw the militia retreating than they commenced a hot pursuit, confident of an easy victory. Their first onset was a furious one, but was in some measure checked by Col. White and his riflemen. As soon as the 'green coat cavalry' made their appearance Col. White leveled his rifle at one of the officers in front and felled him to the ground.

"This successful shot was immediately followed by others from the mounted riflemen, which brought the cavalry to a halt until the infantry came up. The engagement then became general and waged with great heat for some time. The fate of the battle seemed uncertain for fifty or sixty minutes. At length the British and Tories were entirely routed, after having sustained considerable loss in proportion to their numbers. The loss of the Whigs was nothing like so great, but they had to lament the loss of several officers and brave soldiers. Among the former was Capt. Robert Thomas. Col. White was badly wounded, but recovered. This engagement was known as the Battle of Mudlick from the creek on which William's Fort stood. It is not mentioned in any history of the American Revolution, though its consequences were of the highest importance to the Whigs of Newberry and adjoining districts. It broke up the enemy's stronghold in that section of country and relieved the people from those marauding bands which infested every part of the state where there was a British station.

"The names of Col. Benjamin Roebuck and Lt. Col. Henry White are not mentioned in our Revolutionary history, and yet there were not two more active or useful partisan officers at the time in the service of their country. Col. Roebuck was the beau ideal of a gallant officer, brave to a fault and as disinterested as he was brave. There never lived a man more devoted, heart, soul and body, to the service of his country than this gentleman. His memory is now cherished by the few surviving soldiers of his regiment with a fondness and enthusiasm bordering on idolatry. He was, as is believed, a native of Spartanburg District, and commanded a regiment of her militia throughout the American Revolution. He had the command of a Colonel in the Battle of Cowpens, and was the first who received the attack of the British in that memorable engagement. He was in many other battles and in all of them displayed the undaunted courage of a hero and the skill of an experienced officer. He was taken prisoner and confined in close custody at Ninety Six. He was several times wounded, and suffered much from his wounds. He died at the close of the war. He was never married.

"Col. White was the intimate friend and companion-in-arms of Col. Roebuck. He, too, was a most active, gallant and useful officer throughout the whole of our struggle for independence. He served at the Siege of Ninety Six, was in the battles of Cowpens and Eutaw under Gen. Greene. After the last named battle he returned home and was actively employed in Spartanburg District in purging the community of those predatory bands of Tories which were the terror and pest of the country. He lived to a good old age and saw his country enjoy peace and prosperity, those blessings for which he had so manfully fought and bled in his younger days."

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Snow Hill [SC] December 2nd 1781

Dear Sir

I make no doubt but 'ere this reaches you, you will be made acquainted by Brigadr General Pickens of the late progress of the Tors under Cunningham and William through a part of the back country. As Gov. Brownson is sending an express to you I have made free to mention some of the melancholy circumstances that marked the progress of those vile miscreants. They first fell in with Capt. Turner with a party of 24 men. Turner having possession of a house bravely defended himself and little party for near two hours against Cunninghams whole force said to be Four hundred but I dare say they were full half that number. At last having six men killed dead in the house and his ammunition expended, he [Turner] was obliged to surrender to the mercy of these base incendiaries. The Capt. and 14 others were most cruelly murdered and mangled. The Captain's head was cut off and one Butler, a man who had been remarkably active was tortured alive and it is said many other cruelties committed on him shameful to repeat. They next fell in with Col. Haze who with his small command shared nearly the same fate. After burning sundry mills, houses, grain &c they went off with impunity. I think their success was in a great measure owing to the want of ammunition in this Regiment. Col. Purvis had a great part of the Regt. embodied at the time of Turner's defeat within 25 miles of the place sent me an account thereof with information that he could not face the Enemy for want of ammunition not having one round a man. I immediately sent to Governor Brownson who sent me 5 powder and 12 doz. musket cartridges. After collecting what men ware near me, I marched all night. Early the next morning I came up with the Col. near Little Saluda. We divided the little supply among the men and then followed on but this delay had given the enemy too much time. They had got out of the way and when we came near Williamses party, they dispersed and took different routes; I suppose previously agreeing on time and place for a rendezvous. I have two scouting parties, the one commanded by Capt. Ryan the other by Capt. Carter which kept the Torsys pretty well employed till sometime in Sept. Capt. Ryan received a dangerous wound in the shoulder in a skirmish with the enemy near Orangeburgh and Captain Carter's company having entirely exhausted their ammunition those fellows gained a little rest in their places of retirement which they have improved by collecting all their scattered forces and returning us a visit. I am happy to hear Genl. Sumpter is stationed at Orangeburgh. If a strong post is continued there and we have a supply of the necessary means of defence I think we can soon hunt those people out of our country. I expect Governor Brownson will give you the news of this quarter which at present I believe is rather barren.

I have the honor to be with much Esteem & regard

Dear Sir your

LeRoy Hammond

---

1 Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, SC patriot militia officer.
2 Maj. William "Bloody Bill" Cunningham, a notorious SC loyalist militia officer.
It is not exhaustive, but is representative of source documents if interest to period scholars available at the Caroliniana. Jim Piecuch assisted Sam Fore compiled this detailed list of Revolutionary War collections in the Manuscript Division of the Caroliniana Library while employed there. An ALS is an autographed letter signed, ADS is an autograph document signed (as opposed to a DS which is not signed), a MSS is simply a manuscript, MP is a manuscript printed and the T or P in parentheses indicates it's a reproduction or a typescript. To access these documents at the Caroliniana, locate the call letters for the collection in either the on-line catalog or the card catalog and request them that way.

South Caroliniana Library – Revolutionary War Collections

Samuel K. Fore

On the University of South Carolina's historic horseshoe is the majestic South Caroliniana Library (http://www.sc.edu/library/socar) a repository for manuscripts and published materials documenting South Carolina's social, political, literary and cultural heritage. The library is located at the intersection of Sumter and College Streets in Columbia, South Carolina and is open to the public without charge. Regular Hours: open from 8:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. Monday through Friday. The Published Materials (Books) Division remains open from 8:30 a.m. until 8:00 p.m. on Tuesday and Thursday from 9:00 a.m. until 1:00 p.m. on Saturday. Check ahead as the library may be closed during University holidays. For more information call 803-777-3131 or email sclref@gwm.sc.edu with questions regarding the South Caroliniana Library and its holdings.

Sam Fore compiled this detailed list of Revolutionary War collections in the Manuscript Division of the Caroliniana Library while employed there. It is not exhaustive, but is representative of source documents if interest to period scholars available at the Caroliniana. Jim Piecuch assisted Sam in this research. An ALS is an autographed letter signed, ADS is an autograph document signed (as opposed to a DS which is not signed), a MSS is simply a manuscript, MP is a manuscript printed and the T or P in parentheses indicates it's a reproduction or a typescript. To access these documents at the Caroliniana, locate the call letters for the collection in either the on-line catalog or the card catalog and request them that way.


2. Joseph Allison Papers – ADS, 19 December 1775, Deposition stating “that when he was at the Camp at Liberty Springs” and “heard Joseph Parson Say that if Ever Cap’, Richard Pearis was Set at Liberty he would be killed before he arrived home.”

3. William Allston, Jr. Letter – ALS, 29 June 1779, Waccamaw; informing Plowden Weston of his interest in purchasing a house in Charleston “…provided there be any tolerable chance of Town escaping falling into the hands of the Enemy” and mentioning his indigo crop.

4. William Ancrum Account and Letter book, 1757-1780 – Contains mercantile and cash accounts, 1757-1782; and 169 of Ancrum’s letters, 1 March 1776 - 14 May 1780, chiefly to overseers Marlow Poyir and Parker Quince at Red Bank and Good Hope plantations near Camden, and to Camden merchants Joseph Kershaw and John Chesnut, discussing plantation operations, slave affairs, the transportation of crops and supplies between Charleston and Camden, and the economic implications of the American Revolution.

5. John Andre Papers – 3 MSS (R), 1780, Charleston; intelligence reports. (Copies from the originals in the William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan)

6. Nisbet Balfour Papers – 2 ALsS, 4 December 1781 and 21 January 1782[2], Charleston; to Alexander Ross; reporting that Lord Cornwallis’ baggage, including an extensive collection of wines, had been sent off to him, but had been captured. Also reports on the financial situation regarding loyalist refugees and militia; and, Charleston, to Lt. McPherson; commending him on “the very proper measures” taken against the enemy. Urges him to keep watch in his sector and to expel any families “who have joined the enemy” from their plantations.

7. Ball Family Papers – 5 MSS, 19 September and 13 November 1775, 17 April, 26 May and 4 June 1779; all letters of John Ball to an unidentified brother, commenting on Captain Adam McDonald’s infiltration of Royal Governor William Campbell’s inner circle during the opening months of the American Revolution (19 Sept. 1775), and two letters written in the Summer of 1779 while John Ball’s militia regiment supported Pulaski’s Legion and a roster of the company grade officers of the regiment. Letter of 13 Nov. 1775, an early photocopy; very illegible.

8. John Barnwell Letter – ALS, 5 January 1782, Camp Heyward, to Major General Nathanael Greene; has interrogated an “intelligent deserter” who tells of enemy reinforcements and intentions, and reports on his militia command.


10. Thomas Bee Papers – 6 MSS, 25 March 1779-9 December 1782; Reports and inquiries to General Benjamin Lincoln, Colonel ? Tennent, and Governor John Mathewes. (some transcribed)

11. Jesse Blocker – ALS, 9 July 1821, Edgefield Court House, to Messrs. Latham & Leonard, “Chillicotha,” Ohio; Proposing joint representation of two Revolutionary War veterans who served in the Virginia Continental Line and emigrated to South Carolina, comments that “there is yet many others”.

3 Captain Hezekiah Williams, a SC loyalist militia officer. He was not related to Col. James Williams, as far as is known.
4 Governor Nathan Brownson, governor of Georgia.
5 Captain Sterling Turner, a SC patriot militia officer.
6 This battle description refers to the Cloud’s Creek Massacre in Edgefield District on Nov. 17, 1781.
7 Col. Joseph Hayes, the SC patriot militia officer who assumed command of the Little River Regiment following the death of Col. James Williams from wounds suffered at King's Mountain.
8 Lt. Col. John Purvis, a SC patriot militia officer.
9 Captain James Ryan, a SC patriot militia officer.
10 Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter, a SC patriot militia officer (an officer in the Continental Line during the early phases of the Revolution).
12. Samuel Boykin – MS, 29 April 1790, attests that he “received information of a party of Villians being harboured at [the residence of a] Rob' Lewis”. (No direct mention of military activity.)

13. John Brand – MS, 6 April – 30 November 1781, Port Royal, to Richard Young, Quarter Master [General’s Office, (Fredericksburg, Virginia?)]; a bill of supplies for Captain Edmund Reid’s troop of Virginia Cavalry, the French Legion, and Major Rudolph with note explaining loss of the order.

14. Andrew Breeden – ADS, 4 August 1777, Charleston; bond of Andrew Breeden, Merchant of Charleston, and Paul Allen of Providence, Rhode Island, to Joseph Clarke, Treasurer of Rhode Island, to insure the Master of the Woodcock “shall in all things

15. John Brown - ADS, 12 June 1787, Aberdeen, Scotland; Petition to the crown for a reward for his twenty years of service in the British Army. Served with the 64th Regiment in “the last War, he was soon after the Siege of Charlestown appointed Deputy-Commissioner of Prisoners” and later acted as Town Adjutant. He also assisted Lord Charles Montague in recruiting prisoners for a corps to serve in the West Indies.

16. Jonathan Bryan – ALS, 16 August 1781, Charleston, to Major General Nathanael Greene; has been ill, “regret I spend my time in so useless a way at a time when the public call upon us for Every Exertion.” Wishes to attend the election of representatives in Georgia, requests an escort of horse to accompany him and Col. Mackintosh to Augusta, “as I am told there is Some Danger in passing the Country.”

17. John Bull Letter – AL, 23 March, 1779, to the Executive Council; Discussing repairs made and to be made to the banks at Mud Island, and suggesting “some proper person to be appointed… to Draw Money to pay the men and other just demands.”

18. Aedanus Burke Papers

19. Ichabod Burnet Papers - ALS, 23 January 1781, “Camp on Pedee” to unknown (perhaps an aide de camp of Baron von Steuben?), opinion of Benedict Arnold’s campaign in Virginia “… the Baron [von Steuben]’s influence will now be very great”, supply problems, “… have heard nothing from [Daniel] Morgan” pursued by the British for “twelve days – but no fighting”, Lee & Green[e] have arrived”, trouble with nearby Tories, and opinion of problems with South Carolina militia.

20. Burr, Aaron – ALS, 16 June 1802, Charleston, to General James Jackson; enclosing a part of William Moultrie’s Memoirs with the request that he read and “give a concise narration of the events in which you were personally concerned – a fair occasion now offers for correcting some errors & falsehoods which have been published,” adding Moultrie intends to take the work to New York for publication about the first of July.

21. Samuel Carne Papers - Consisting of original letter, 12 October 1780, Charles Town, from Loyalist Samuel Carne to Chr[istophe]r Rolleston, regarding business conditions, the prevalence of Scottish merchants, and presence of British troops “Our good Kings officers are now performing their duty with a Spirit, which had it been exerted in [the] beginning would have nipped the Rebellion in the Bud.” Also including copys of 2 letters, 3 January and 12 July 1782, Charles Town, to James Blair, ”Merchant, St. Thomas,” relaying his plans to remain in Charleston to recover debts, fearing property confiscation, leaving for England, and expecting to suffer “the same Fate with Loyalists of Savannah.”

22. James Cassels Petition – ADS, ca. 1783. Petition to John Lloyd, President of the Senate and S.C. Senators, from “certain Inhabitants of the District of Georgetown,” requesting relief from the penalties of the Confiscation Act for “James Cassels who held a Commission of Colonel in this District under the British General Lord Cornwallis,” testifying to his “moderation towards the Inhabitants, and in frequent instances afforded them protection from the violence and plundering of the British Officers and Soldiery”, Signed by Paul Frazier and Samuel Smith, Jr.

23. Chappell Family


25. John Chesnut

26. Margaret Colleton Papers

27. Charles Connors Diary – 15 November 1779-28 March 1780; Diary entries and accounts kept during Connors's voyage aboard the sloop Family Trader, which left from Charleston, on 21 November 1779 for Guadeloupe, loaded with rice and butter, joining a fleet including a French frigate, with which the sloop sailed in convoy until the 1st of December, arrived a few days later to exchange the rice and butter for salt, rum, and sundry provisions. Returned to Charleston, with a stop at Georgetown in late January. Later entries describe trading merchandise secured in Guadeloupe and provide detailed accounts of Connors' transactions, and descriptions of weather, sea conditions, fish seen and caught, and meals served during the voyage. (No mention of military activity.)

28. Conrad Coon Pension Application – 5 MSS(R), Robertson County, Tennessee; pension application and supporting documentation of a South Carolina militiaman.

29. John Crossland, Sr.

30. Johann de Kalb Letter – ALS, 10 July 1780, Camp Deep River, Wilcox’s Iron Works, to Major General Richard Caswell; forwards a copy (not enclosed) of a letter from Brigadier General Griffith Rutherford, conveys that a council of officers opined that the army move towards “Coxe’s instead of Cole’s until provisions can be better provided than has been hitherto.” Requests intelligence and relays that he has sent Francis Marion with a band of South Carolina volunteers to Cole’s bridge to gather intelligence and supplies.

31. William Dickson vol.

32. John Drayton
33. Stephen Drayton Papers

34. William Henry Drayton Collection – 7 MSS, 30 August 1775 – 16 November 1778 and MP vol. bd., 1778; chiefly warrants and subpoenas, with the exception of the letter dated 30 August 1775, to the Council of Safety, during the Drayton-Tennent-Hart mission to the upcountry. Lastly, is Drayton’s copy of Pulteney’s Thoughts on America.

35. Francis Dundas Letter – ALS(R), 23 April 1781 Wilmington North Carolina, to his brother, Robert, in Edinburgh; informing of the events of the past few months under Lord Cornwallis in the Carolinas, including the Battle of Guilford Courthouse. Copy from the original manuscript in the Laing Collection, University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

36. Thomas Durant Petition – ADS, 12 November 1825, Horry District; regarding his military service as a member of “Governor Rutledge’s Life Guard, commanded by Capt. John Alston” in 1775 and later under Colonel Daniel Horry and General Francis Marion. Saw action at “Parker’s Ferry near Charleston and the other at Waccamaw”.

37. Edisto Island Volunteers Roster

38. Evan Edwards Letter – ALS, 8 February 1782, Camp Osburns(?), to Major General Charles Lee, Berkeley County, Virginia; A friendly letter giving Lee the latest news from the southern theater, including public opinion of General Greene, recent elections from the Jacksonborough Assembly and the position of British forces near Charleston.

39. Joseph Eggleston Letter – ALS, 7 December 1782, [Bacon Bridge?], to Brigadier General Anthony Wayne; informing Wayne that the Legion will move to Bacon’s Bridge due to lack of forage and to facilitate reaction time to support his forces.

40. Ellis Family – ALS (R), 30 January 1782, Rich[ar]d Ellis, Provost Charleston, to General Nathanael Greene; acquainting him of Ellis’ confinement “after being captured December the thirteenth” to a “Dismal cell, where I have been Threaten’d at a most strange rate.” Resists interrogation, refers all of their questions to “Col’ Leigh” and Greene and asks for a “Speedy Enlargement, as I well [kno[w] it is in your power.” Mentions a few of Marion’s Militia incarcerated with him there.


42. Richard Furman Papers

43. Christopher Gadsden

44. John Lewis Gervais Papers – 4 MSS, March 1777 – 27 September 1782; Mostly trade and economic matters, but ALS of 27 September 1782, giving news and details of JLG’s activities since the summer of 1781.

45. Robert Wilson Gibbes Autograph Book

46. Mordecai Gist

47. James Glen Papers

48. Adam Gordon Letter and Statement - 1 March 1793, Whitehall, England; an application for government protection and encloses a short statement concerning “my Father’s case by which you will find that I have some family claims to the protection of Government.” Enclosed statement explains financial losses suffered by John Gordon, “who… for many years had resided in South Carolina”, from the purchase of “several hundred thousand acres” from Spanish Proprietors in East Florida in 1763, attempts to secure a settlement, and loss of business in South Carolina and Georgia. War left his “commercial and other concerns in America irretrievably deranged,” requests payment of claim.

49. Robert Goudey Deposition – ADS, 10 July 1775; Sworn before James Mayson and John Caldwell, “Two of his Majestys Justices”; Goudey states under oath “That this Day a Certain Cherokee Indian named the Man Killer of Keowee” informed him “That Some Few Days ago, a Certain John Vann Told the Indians in the Cherokee Nation that they must fall upon the White people on This Side Savannah River and kill them (Meaning the people of South Carolina) That the Other Side Savannah they must let alone, and Further Says That Mr. Alexander Cammerson Sent to the over Hill Warriours and That on their Comeing he gave them presents of Rum and That they Returned home with it, and That this talk of Vans was Delivered in Seneca Town House, That the Indians Told Vann they Could not go to War, that they had no Ammunition.”

50. Charles Grant Letter – ALS (R), 18 December 1780, [Corporal, 71st Regt] Winnsborough, S.C., to "Dear and loving parents" [in Glasgow]; informing of the British capture of Charleston and of the “vickorys Battle of the Sixteen of August”, mentioning Capt. Campbell and other companions serving with him; includes account of a backcountry military skirmish, 16 December 1780, in which outnumbered British soldiers “put the Ragged Crew to the Rout". (From the original in the Scottish Record Office)

51. Nathanael Greene Papers


53. Mr. Haliday Letter – ALS(T), 2 June 1782, Belfast, to James Charlemont; Requesting aid for his brother “who served as collector at Charleston and was banished from South Carolina” as a Loyalist’.

54. LeRoy Hammond Papers – 4 MSS, 19 September 1778-[ca. 1781]; Letters from camp concerning military scouting missions in Georgia and a receipt of payment for the delivery of deerskins.

55. Hampton Family Letter – ALS (R), 6 April 1781, Wade Hampton, Charlotte, to his brother, John, Virginia; request for assistance regarding financial papers.
56. Henry Hampton Letter – ALS, [ca. 1775?], to his brother, John; informing that an “Indian war has absolutely taken place” and the plans of the legislature to fight it, financial matters and the condition of his crops.

57. Jarrell Hampton?

58. Richard Hampton Letter – ALS, 2 April 1781, ”Gen. Sumters” to his brother, Major John Hampton, Henry County, [Virginia], relaying Sumter’s instructions for the delivery of “stores to the Wagon Master”. Includes brown sugar, rum, pistols, and blankets. Urges him “for Heaven’s Sake be active in this business”.

59. Oliver Hart Collection – 54 MSS, 1741-1795: Includes correspondence, diaries, and sermon notes from colonial and Revolutionary Charleston, South Carolina. The collection has been divided into the following series: correspondence and miscellaneous papers; journals and diaries; photographs; publications; and sermons and sermon notes. Each has been arranged chronologically within itself.

While there are some early letters to his father, the bulk of correspondence in the collection is from Oliver Hart to his brother, Col. Joseph Hart of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, relaying news from Charleston during the Revolutionary War. After leaving Charleston in 1780, Hart receives a few letters from his wife describing conditions in the area. Ten volumes of diaries and journals detail diverse events in Hart’s life, including a storm in Charleston harbor in 1761, travels in Virginia and North Carolina, and his tour of the South Carolina upcountry during the initial months of the American Revolution. Throughout his journals, Hart always notes the weather and from the verse he preached a particular sermon. Moreover, among these papers is a listing of sermons notes, verses and dates delivered from October 1754-September 1768.

60. Heriot Family Papers 18 MSS, 2 July 1773- 20 April 1782: See Calendar

61. John Hicks Pension Application – 3 MSS, 11 December 1824-15 November 1825, Barnwell District, S.C. and Screven County Georgia; Petition to the South Carolina Senate regarding Hick’s service as a militiaman in the Battles at Blackstock’s, King’s Mountain, and Cowpens.

62. William Hill -

63. Joel Holmes Affadivit – ADS, 11 October 1775; Stating that “some time ago” he was witness to the sale of “unwholesome” flour to John Louis Gervais “for the use of the Provincial Troops” by Mr. Edward Oates.

64. Daniel Huger Letter – ALS, 16 June [1780], “Good Will” Wateree, to Col[onel] (Elias?) Ball; conveying that he had seen his servant at Georgetown, comments on the depredations of “the Villians of my own Country” and the poor condition of his horse.

65. Isaac Huger Letter – ALS, 14 May 178[1], to unknown (most likely a member of General Greene’s staff); wishing to move his family, asks if there are any wagons to spare.

66. Richard Hutson Letters – MP, 27 June 1926 (5 ALsS (T), 27 May-30 June 1776); letters written to Isaac Hayne concerning the military situation in Charleston during the British attack printed in The State.

67. David Lewis Iner Letter – ALS, 9 June 1775, Charleston, to “Gay”, recounting the tar and feathering of Laughlin Martin “for clapping a sword to a man’s Breast” for refusing to drink to the “damnation to the Delegates & Committe,” and noting the drill of the militia and the raising of companies of Rangers and Dutch fusiliers.

68. William Irvin Papers – Chiefly receipts, bills, and legal papers, Camden and York Districts, S.C. Only two pertinent manuscript items; the first, 21 October 1782, is Irvin’s charge against Jesse Bird and others of driving his sheep “in to British camps,” and includes Bird's denial of ever driving “any Sheep...into Tarlton’s Camp...”; the second is an affadivit by Bird, 25 October 1782, stating that he saw Henry Townsend destroying Irvin’s cornfield in 1780 and heard Townsend say that it was because “...Irvin went away in ye manner he did... meaning Irvin to be a Rebell.”

69. Mathew Irvin Letter – ALS, 17 February? 1779, Philadelphia, to Capt. Nicholas Hyman of the schooner “Count YEstasing,” ordering him to “proceed with the utmost expedition to Charles Town S Carolina where you will deliver your Cargo to the Continental Agent” and receive a cargo of rice, tea, and oranges from Cripps & May. Cautions that there is the “possibility of Charles Town being taken before you arrive...”

70. Ralph Izard Papers


72. Henry Laurens Papers – 24 August 1775 – 30 April 1783 (aside from the Kendall Collection of Henry Laurens Papers)

73. John Laurens Papers –

74. Charles Lee Letterbook – MS vol. bd., 2 July – 27 (?) August 1776; Portion of a letterbook containing copies of letters written from Charleston. “Purisbou”, and Savannah, to various civil and military leaders concerning military operations in Charleston, defense of Port Royal, cooperation of troops, attack on Florida, Indian affairs, and recommendations to Congress on the conduct of the war.


76. John M’Gaw Papers – 5 MSS (R), ca. 1779, Ninety Six District; claims for pay and a horse lost while serving as an officer in the state militia during the war.

77. M’Leod and Bethune Letter - Acknowledging receipt of their invoice for ten pipes of wine, expressing concern about the failure of a sloop to arrive in Madeira, the bad rice's crop for the year and warning of the presence of "Rebel Privateers" near Charleston, S.C. Also discusses military matters, reporting the encampment and impotence of
British troops seven miles from Charleston, despite superior military strength over the Continental forces and expresses hope that a decisive victory by [Baron George Brydges] Rodney will secure public favor in South Carolina and in Great Britain. Condemns the Ministry’s decision to evacuate Savannah, Ga., but hopes for the future of the East Florida territory after resettlement by the Loyalists from Georgia.

78. George M’Michael Commission – DS(R), 10 August 1780; Commission of Major in the Orangeburg Militia, signed by Sir Henry Clinton.

79. Manigault Family Papers

80. Francis Marion Papers – 11 MSS, 26 July 1776 - 13 August 1782: See Calendar.

81. Samuel Mathis Papers – 2 MS volumes: Journal, March 1 – August 4, 1781, Camden District, S.C., covers daily activities, planting, and campaigning with Francis Marion (1-26 July 1781); mentions the Battle of Shubrick’s Bridge; & ALS (R) vol. bd., 26 June 1819, copy of his letter to General William R. Davie detailing the Battle of Hobkirk Hill. (TRANSCRIBED & ANNOTATED)

82. David Maxwell Letter – ALS, 22 May, 1782, “Camp”, to John Mathews; “As Gen’l Marion has moved” requests orders and inquires how to apply for provisions. Has only 60 men in his command, who are from Colonel Hammond’s regiment. A number of the men have contracted small pox and have been “sent out”.

83. Benjamin Mazyck Letter – MP, 28 June 1776, Charles Town, to Capt. Daniel Ravenel; Relating the action at Sullivan’s Island (“… the Contest of our freedom or abject Slavery Commenced this day at 11 o’Clock a.m.”) and post script “Sat’ morning” noting that the fifty gun ship is “all in flames”.

84. Arthur Middleton Papers – 2 MSS(R), 18 June 1775 & 10 July 1776; A statement certifying that “Henry Hughes, Gentleman is a second Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of Foot”, signed by the Council of Safety and a letter from Philadelphia to an unknown recipient commenting generally on British troop movements in the north.

85. Jacob Milligan – MS, 15 March 1784; report of the committee awarding him a one-year gratuity “as allowed Commodore Gillon as Captain in the Naval Department” with a biographical note on Milligan by David Ramsay.

86. James Mitchell Muster Roll – ADS, 15 November 1778, Cat Island; Muster Roll of his company of the 4th South Carolina Continental Regiment (Artillery).

87. Stephen Moore Papers – 32 MSS, 10 May 1775 - 23 June 1781: Lieutenant Colonel North Carolina militia, captured at siege of Charleston and held prisoner; Collection chiefly concerns Moore’s imprisonment in Charleston, S.C.

88. Lewis Morris, Jr. Papers – 2 MSS, 24 and 25 May 1781; Aide-de-camp to Major General Nathaniel Greene, directing N.C. militia officers, Major John Armstrong and Lieutenant [Richard?] Mason, to direct drafts and supplies to Old Nation Ford on the Saluda River, dictating route to be taken.

89. Isaac Motte Letter – ALS, 6 August 1780, Philadelphia to William Drayton, Esq., London; relaying some news of his escape from Charleston and of his family in South Carolina, but mostly concerns Motte’s business requests in London.

90. William Moultrie Papers – No real manuscript material for the war years, but rather some 700 odd land papers and miscellaneous receipts.

91. William Murrell Account Books


93. John Nisbet Pension Claim Papers – 3 MSS, 2, 20 and 27 November 1827; “when I heard of the fall of Charleston and I then retired before the Enemy into North Carolina and Joined General Sumpter at Ramsour’s mill and was one of those who returned with him to this State and commenced an opposition to the Enemy when the country was overrun by them, and men were running and taking parole and protection, giving up all for lost. I was one of those who under Sumpter formed that camp to which the friends of freedom repaired and commenced that opposition with ended in our Independance I fought in different battles. Served my country faithfully to the end of the war;” now 69 years old and infirmed.

94. Ninety Six District 2 MSS(R), 12 September and 19 November 1775; Copies from R. W. Gibbes Collection of Revolutionary War Manuscripts, S. C. Archives & History Center.

95. George Ogilvie Diary – microfilm vol. bd.

96. Charles O’Hara Letters – 6 ALsS (R), 6 – 15 November 1780; Letters written to the Duke of Grafton, reporting on the progress of the War for America. Expressing the opinion that the British possessions in North America are lost, the attitude of the colonists towards the British, mentions of the Arnold-André affair, the battle of King’s Mountain, and naval engagements. (Microfilm, from the originals housed in the Bury St. Edmunds & West Suffolk Record Office) Published in the South Carolina Historical Magazine, July 1964


98. Alexander Parker – MS (TRANSCRIBED), December 1779; copy of “Pay Roll of Cap’l Alexander Parker’s Company of Col’ Parker’s Battalion”. Contains the names, ranks and pay status of 66 soldiers. (Questionable – No Provenance)

South Carolina"; a sight draft ordering payment of $2,400 to Clark & Nightingale as reimbursement for "raising & forwarding a number of Seamen enlisted for the Service" of South Carolina.

100. John Peebles Diary - Contains entries 8 May - 26 June 1780, regarding troop movements, construction of siege works, desertions on both sides, intelligence gained from the city, military engagements, casualties, the opulence of Drayton Hall, contacts with loyalist troops from Orangeburg, the drastic economic decline of Dorchester since the rebellion, and Peebles' arrival in New York. (From the original in the Scottish Record Office).


102. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney – 2 ALsS; 26 March 1779, from Purisburgh, regarding information from a Hessian deserter regarding Prevost's crossing the Savannah, and 11 April 1780, from Fort Moultrie, relaying his compliance with Lincoln's orders concerning guarding an important bridge.

103. Thomas Pinckney Papers – 2 Alss; 30 September 1776, Sullivan's Island, to his Sister, telling of his going to Long Island "to view the Camp and Works of the British", and 17 July 1780 from Elizabeth Pinckney to Mother Pinckney, Mount Joseph, "the fevers have attacked our Children and negroes early... I have not heard from [Thomas] since he left Camden... hope he's safe with [George Washington's] army". Also of significant interest are two letters, 27 and 31 July 1822, written to his son and Judge William Dobein James in reaction to Johnson's Sketches on the Life of Nathanael Greene.

104. Philip Porcher Inventory Books

105. David Ramsay Papers

106. John Reid Letter – ALS 23 October 1780, "Salame" [Salem, N.C.], to Colonel William Campbell, "Old Town"; arrived yesterday to find "Everything Quit differant from what I expected]. The Inhabitants wont Confess they have any Necessarys we want," relates arrangements made with a shoemaker who will supply boots in exchange for hides, and remarking "not one Horse to any Necessarys we want," relates a deserter regarding what I expected[. The Inhabitants wont Confess they have any Necessarys we want," relates arrangements made with a shoemaker who will supply boots in exchange for hides, and remarking "not one Horse to any Necessarys we want," relates an arrangement to send a number of Seamen enlisted for the Service of South Carolina to induce the Tories there to sign an Association not to bear arms against, but for their Country"; entries, 2 August-15 September 1775, discuss meeting Cat... 1780, regarding troop movements, construction of siege works, desertions on both sides, intelligence gained from the city, military engagements, casualties, the opulence of Drayton Hall, contacts with loyalist troops from Orangeburg, the drastic economic decline of Dorchester since the rebellion, and Peebles' arrival in New York. (From the original in the Scottish Record Office).

107. David Rogers

108. Edward Rutledge Papers -

109. Hugh Rutledge Letter – ALS, 29 June 1782; to Major General Nathanael Greene, requesting an escort to attend to the disposal of the cargo of two vessels at Georgetown.

110. John Rutledge Papers – 16 MSS & MSS(R), 11 May 1776 - 28 June 1783;

111. Thomas Rutledge Letters – 2 MSS, ca. 1775 and 14 April 1778; the former is a letter to an unknown recipient telling of family affairs and asking "What is to be done with the flour and how is the money to be distributed...", while the latter is a brief set of instructions to "each deputy Commissary General".


113. Matthew Singleton Papers – MSS, 25 December 1775 - 16 July 1783;

114. Frigate South Carolina Log Book

115. SC Royalist Troops (microfilm)

116. SC Council of Safety – 9 MSS(R), 11 December 1775-12 February 1776; All are from the Committee of Georgetown to the Council of Safety reporting on arrival and departure of vessels, disposition of cargo, and relating request from the Provincial Council of Wilmington, N. C., for a larger amount of gunpowder previously ordered. (Copies from the originals in the New York Public Library, donated by Professor George C. Rogers, Jr. in 1964.)

117. Stone Family Papers – 4 MSS, 22 June 1780 – 1 March 1803; Relating to the Revolutionary War service of William Stone (a.k.a. Stein) of Newberry District, who served the S. C. Royalists. The earliest item is a signed leave of absence for Stone from Lt. Col. Alexander Innes and the later items are a claim and supporting documentation for the loss of property and income suffered by Stone "over a three year period" during the war.

118. Jethro Sumner Letter – 8 December 1778, Camden to an unknown recipient; Arrived the day before from Kingston, North Carolina with a thousand men from Salisbury and Hillsborough Districts. "Gen' [Griffith] Rutherford is with us... shall continue our march to Charles Town, with all convenient speed..."

119. Thomas Sumter Letter – 23 July 1781, Camp at Purce Ponds, to Major General Greene; Acknowledges Nathanael Greene's order to send an inventory of all stores captured "during my late Expedition," but is unable to comply with the request for horses, for a lack of mounts for his command. A postscript refutes the impression that the British have abandoned their post at Orangeburg.

120. William Swayne Letter – 18 December 1782, [on board the] Assurance off Charles Town Bar, to Lieut. Middleton; informing him that he has ordered "every Negro which can be found... except some obnoxious Persons in the King's Ships" on board the schooner Lucy and explaining that stormy weather separated the vessels and prevented an exact return.

121. John Syme: document missing

122. William Tennent Collection – Journal, 1775: copied by J.C. Tennent, "A Fragment of a journal kept by Rev. William Tennent who was sent in conjunction with Mr. Drayton by the Committee of Safety to the Upper Country of South Carolina to induce the Tories there to sign an Association not to bear arms against, but for their Country"; entries, 2 August-15 September 1775, discuss meeting Catawba Indians, frontier travel, visiting militia camps around South Carolina, worrying about committing treason, and securing signatures on the Association; and Volume, 1828, assembled by J.C. Tennent, containing collected writings of...
William Tennent III, including an essay, 1774, "To the Ladies of South Carolina," relaying the evils of drinking tea and the tea controversy; three letters, June-September 1774, to "Mr. Printer" and "To Inhabitants of South Carolina," signed "A Carolinian," regarding the actions of Parliament and colonial administrators, an essay, 17 September 1776, Charleston-town, “Historic Remarks on the Session of Assembly began Tuesday September 17th 1776".


124. Paul Trapier Letter – ALS, ca. 1776; Paul Trapier, Samuel Wragg, Paul Trapier, Jr., and Anthony Bonneau (perhaps a subcommittee of the Committee of Georgetown?) to the Committee of Intelligence, Charleston, acknowledging receipt of letter and promise “... to execute...whatever you have recommended”, sending a letter and newspaper “with momentous Intelligence”.

125. William Vaughan Letters – 5 MSS (R), 5 June 1823-September 1857; Pension papers of a private in Francis Marion’s cavalry.

126. James Wemyss Letter – ALS, 13 November 1782, “Head Quarters” to Maj. [Ichabod] Burnet; reporting on “the disputed Characters in the List of Prisoners” and his claim against Colonel Grimke’s breaking his parole.

127. Eliza Wilkinson

128. Williams-Chesnut-Maning Families Papers, including excerpts from the Joseph Kershaw Diary.

129. James Williams Petition – Manuscript, 3 September 1779, petition of the officers and men of James Williams' Little River Regiment. (See Terry Lipscomb’s splendid write-up at: http://www.sc.edu/library/socar/uscs/1997/will97.html)


131. Wray George – ALS, 15 January 1781, from Peter Traille, Charleston, directing Wray to issue “Mr. Samuel French, Conductor of Stores to the Royal Artillery” certain supplies and equipment, receipted by French for the “Ordnance Ammunition and Stores... for the Expedition under the Command of Major [James] Craig”.

Report on the Battle of Camden Preservation Project George Fields

Recent activities in the Battle of Camden Project have greatly increased the prospects that this premier battlefield will be permanently preserved and interpreted to visitors in a military park.

Archaeological research during the winter and spring discovered new information on how the battle spread across over 1,200 acres of the battlefield and helped locate where various phases of the battle took place. The American Battlefield Protection Program Grant supported the research conducted by the South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology.

A large step toward permanent protection came recently when the South Carolina Heritage Trust Board designated a Heritage Preserve Area consisting of the 1,300 acres in the National Historic Landmark area and also a buffer zone around it. Planning is now in progress on ways to fund the protection of the land in the area.

The projects largest challenge now is the payment of the $325,000 mortgage on the 310 acres purchased in December 2002. Palmetto Conservation Foundation on behalf of the Battle of Camden Advisory Council applied to the South Carolina Conservation Bank for a grant to satisfy the mortgage.

An interpretation park planned for the recently purchased land will be ready for the 225th Anniversary celebration in August 2005: The park will feature a kiosk, hiking trails with interpretation signs, and brochures for visitors to the park.

The Battle of Camden Friends Fund supports these activities, and contributions are urgently needed. Please send a generous tax-deductible gift to this fund with a check payable to Palmetto Conservation Foundation (1314 Lincoln Street, Suite 305, Columbia, SC 29201-3154), which serves as the administrative agent for the project.

Calendar of Upcoming Events

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


2005


April 8-9-10, 2005 Camden, SC - Your editor again co-hosts a symposium featuring South Carolina militia Gen. Thomas Sumter with extensive field trips to Gen. Sumter’s battlegrounds; symposium details to be announced. www.southerncampaign.org


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