



**The American Revolution from the
Perspective of the Rank and File: The
Militia Service of James Wilson and
William Hogan in Fairfield, Richland and
Kershaw County, South Carolina**

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Figure 0-1:
 "X" marks the spot on the above map of the Bear Creek, Twenty-Five Mile Creek homsteads of James Wilson and William Hogan during the Revolutionary War. With Winnsboro, S.C. located 16 miles to the northwest, Camden, S.C. 30 miles to the east and Columbia 20 miles south, the Wilsons and the Hogans were in the middle of many military operations. The map is from John Pancake, *This Destructive War: The British Campaign in the Carolinas, 1780-1782* (Tuscaloosa, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1985).

Chapter 1: Introduction

The purpose of this essay is to describe the Revolutionary War from the perspective of James Wilson (1752-August 4, 1836), William Hogan (1760-1836) and their Winnsboro-Fairfield, South Carolina militia and to show how they fit into the broader picture. Wilson lived out his life in the Bear and Sawney Creek neighborhood of Twenty-Five-Mile Creek, a tributary to the Wateree River.¹ Hogan was born near Chucaw Hill on the Pee Dee River in South Carolina.² By the start of the Revolution he was a friend and neighbor of the Wilsons. His son Sanders Samuel "Sam" Hogan (1802-1858) in 1837 married Margaret Jane Crankfield (1818-1860), a granddaughter of James Wilson.³

¹The Twenty-Five Mile Creek area was settled by Europeans beginning in the 1750s. The first documentation of the Wilsons in the area is a 1770 royal land grant on Sawney Creek to John Wilson I (1700-1774) and his 1774 probate records. John was the grandfather of James Wilson and in 1774 James inherited his grandfather's farm, which he had already been helping to run. Settling with John Wilson I was his son, John Wilson II (1730-1799), his daughter-in-law Rebecca Wilson (1745-1835), and their eleven children, including James. See David Eugene Wilson, "Wilson Family History Notes" (manuscript, 2005), in possession of Toby Terrar; "Craven County Royal Land Deed of 100 Acres to John Wilson," (manuscript: Columbia: South Carolina Archives, recorded November 27, 1770); "Probate Records of John Wilson I, 1774" (manuscript, Columbia: South Carolina Archives); "Will of John Wilson II (1730-1799)," Apt. 7, file 233 (Winnsboro, South Carolina: Courthouse, 1799).

²The handwriting is difficult to read in William Hogan's pension application where he describes the location of his birth. It appears to be Chucaw Hill, but no such location appears on maps of the period. He may have been referring to Cheraw Hill. See William Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application," (Washington, D.C.: "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files," National Archives Microseries M804, #20848), (March 2, 1832 [1965]). A transcription of William Hogan's entire pension application is available from the family history web page, Anonymous, "Hogan Family History in Blythewood/Doko (Richland/Fairfield, Counties), South Carolina 1800s-2000s," (Silver Spring, Maryland: CWP Electronic Publication, 2005), at <http://www.angelfire.com/un/hoganhistory>.

³For information on the Hogan family see Anonymous, "Hogan Family History in Blythewood/Doko," for the Wilson family see Anonymous, "Crankfield Family History in Blythewood/Doko," (Silver Springs, Maryland: CWP Electronic Publication, 2005), at <http://www.angelfire.com/un/crank/>.

Bear Creek was in the southeast corner of what in 1798 became Fairfield County. In the early 20th century, the Wilson and Hogan homestead border area was re-drawn and became the northeast corner of Richland County and the western boundary of Kershaw County. At the time of the Revolution this area was all part of the old Camden District, which also included present-day Fairfield, Richland, York, Chester, Lancaster and Kershaw Counties. On May 4-7, 1781 when Continental General Nathaniel Greene and his army were stalking the British at Camden, which was 30 miles distant from Bear Creek, they made their camp near the Wilsons and Hogans along Twenty-Five-Mile and Sawney Creeks.⁴ In the early twentieth century the county boundaries were changed.

Winnsboro, which became incorporated in 1785 and which became the Fairfield County seat in 1798 was sixteen miles to the north of Bear Creek and midway between the Broad and Wateree Rivers.⁵ When the British army under General Charles Cornwallis was stationed at Winnsboro for several months in the fall and winter of 1780-1781, it contained twenty houses.⁶ This included those of brothers John (1732-1814), Richard (1750-1818) and William Winn, for which family the town was named.

⁴General Greene at the time wanted Thomas Sumter's militias in which William Hogan was then serving to join him. But the militias generally worked independently of the professional military. Typically, Greene was both negative toward the militias and wanting their help when he wrote Sumter on May 4, 1781 from Twenty-Five-Mile Creek, as quoted in Robert Bass, *Gamecock: The Life and Campaigns of General Thomas Sumter* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Company, 1961), p. 165:

I am glad to hear the people are joining you, but am afraid it is a force little to be depended on as they will fall off from the first change of circumstances. I should be glad to know what force you have and what Genl. Marion can join with us. We shall halt on 25 Mile Creek until I hear from you, Lt. Col. Lee and Lord Cornwallis.

Some days later Greene was still waiting at Twenty-Five-Mile Creek, as Bass, *ibid.*, p. 170, summarizes:

Restless and glum, during the afternoon of May 7 Greene waited in his marquee beside Twenty-five Mile Creek. As soon as he was positive that Watson had reached Camden, he decamped and retreated to Sawney's Creek. Still dissatisfied, he withdrew farther up the Wateree

⁵The rivers of South Carolina bear an important part in Revolutionary War history. The Catawba River, after its entrance from North into South Carolina, is called the Wateree. Parallel to it, about thirty to forty miles westward, flows the Broad River, which after receiving many tributaries from the northwest joins the Saluda at Columbia. The united stream is called the Congaree, and it in turn joins the Wateree thirty miles below Columbia, and then becomes the Santee.

⁶John Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse: the American Revolution in the Carolinas* (New York: Wiley, 1997), pp. 242, 251.

The Wilsons, Hogans and their neighbors were largely subsistence farmers, as contrasted with the slave-dominant, lowcountry rice cultivators. They raised staples such as potatoes, corn and wheat by their own labor and for their own consumption.⁷ Cash crops in the upcountry included hogs and cattle. In 1774 at the time he died, John Wilson I (1700-1774) and his wife, the grandparents of James Wilson, owned 42 head of cattle worth £395 and 29 head of hogs valued at £60, along with three horses valued at £110.⁸ They also raised cotton and flax, which they made right on the farm into “homespun” cotton and linen cloth.⁹ However, it was not until the 1790s and the coming of the cotton gin that cotton and the slave system gained significance in the upcountry.¹⁰ John Wilson I’s estate was valued at £971, which was less than half the value of the average Charleston estate, which was £2337.¹¹

It was John Wilson I’s 150 acres that the 22-year old James Wilson inherited and was farming at the time of the Revolutionary War. Narrow roads connected it with distant villages, taverns and churches. The topography varied from plateau to heavily-wooded rolling hills with many streams and rivers.¹² Much of the Wilson’s initial 150-acre homestead was non-arable, hilly, pine-covered forest.¹³ Upcountry farms generally had greater acreage than lowcountry farms because the land was not as productive. In the early nineteenth century, twenty percent of Fairfield farms were five hundred acres or more.¹⁴

⁷The “Inventory of John Wilson I’s (1700-1774) Estate” in Probate Records (manuscript, Columbia: South Carolina State Archives), included potatoes, corn and wheat.

⁸*Ibid.*

⁹*Ibid.* Included in the estate inventory of John Wilson were smoothing irons, hackles, a flax wheel, cards, seed cotton, cotton cloth and linen.

¹⁰Walter Edgar, *Partisans and Redcoats: the southern conflict that turned the tide of the American Revolution* (New York: Morrow, 2001), p. 21.

¹¹Richard Middleton, *Colonial America: A History, 1565-1776* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), p. 220; Alice Hanson Jones, *Wealth of Nations: The American Colonies on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980). The average Philadelphia estate was worth £312.

¹²Lewis Bellardo, “A Social and Economic History of Fairfield County, South Carolina, 1865-1871,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1979), p. xv.

¹³Sam Bowers Hilliard, *Hog Meat and Hoecake: Food Supply in the Old South, 1840-1860* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1972), pp. 71-72.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 23.

The Militias. The militia was a tradition which the settlers brought with them to South Carolina. During peacetime, the men met semi-annually at the Winnsboro muster field. In some areas such as Camden a district-wide muster was held annually.¹⁵ Starting in 1775 as the contention between Loyalist and Revolutionary forces increased, some parts of the Wateree-Camden district started to hold musters after church on the first and third Sundays of the month.¹⁶

In 1776 there were 1520 whites along with a lesser number of blacks and Indians living in what became Fairfield County. By the time of the first federal census in 1790, there were 6,000 whites and 1,600 blacks. When the Revolution started, there were about 300 in the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia.¹⁷ A militia company consisted of 25 privates, headed by a captain, lieutenant and sergeant.¹⁸ Five companies with 125 privates made a regiment, which was commanded by a lieutenant colonel and major.¹⁹ A brigade headed by a general consisted of two or more regiments.²⁰ In the entire province at the start of the Revolution, there were 13,000 thousand militiamen on paper.

During the war, only part of the militia in a district went out on tour at any one time. Tours were sometimes voluntary, sometimes obligatory; sometimes paid, sometimes not, or at least not until years later. Taking turns allowed both for more outings and for the farmers to have time to attend their crops. William Hogan commented about taking turns in describing one of his tours, "It was

¹⁵Holton, *Forced Founders*, p. 105; John Shy, "A New Look at Colonial Militia," *The William and Mary Quarterly* (April 1963), vol. 20, p. 181. The "First Charter of South Carolina," (1663), as recorded in Thomas Cooper and D.J. McCord, eds., *Statutes at Large of South Carolina* (Columbia: 1836-1841), vol. 1, p. 29, mandated the establishment of militias "to muster and train all sorts of men, of what condition or wheresoever born." Initially blacks were part of the militias, but after 1740 the militias' main function was to control the blacks. In the upcountry with few blacks, the militias were neglected.

¹⁶Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 26.

¹⁷Fitz Hugh McMaster, *History of Fairfield County South Carolina from "Before the White Man Came" to 1942* (Columbia, South Carolina: The State Commercial Printing Company, [1946], 1980), pp. 26-27. European Fairfield was first settled in the 1750s by the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania and Virginia, especially after Braddock's defeat in 1753 left the western frontier of the northern states exposed to Indian incursion. This forced southward those seeking to establish new farms.

¹⁸The standard British infantry regiment had ten companies including one company of grenadiers and one company of light infantry. There would be 35 officers, 30 sergeants and 520 rank and file.

¹⁹Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 112. Regiments in practice had as few as 80 privates.

²⁰Bass, *Gamecock*, pp. 143-144; Robert Wells, *Wells's register: together with an almanack* (twelfth ed., Charleston: Gould & Morgan, 1774).

deponents turn to go, with a part of the company.”²¹ Similar was fellow-militiaman George Summers, who also mentioned that he was paid for his service by indents:

This applicant first volunteered, but afterward, took his turn, a part of the men in each company only being sent into service at the same time, and when they returned, another part went in their place. This was the practice in that part of the country where he resided, when they joined the main body of the army. On scouting parties, more went at the same time. . . He obtained what was called the indents and while in the service in Charleston, he ___ an order for thirty dollars for his pay, which he was compelled to give to a physician for his bill.²²

Even when drafted the militiamen retained their option to quit when necessary. Promoters of professional militarism then and now look on this as an aberration, despite the fact that such “Indian style” fighting won as many battles and saved more lives than the imperial tactics. One military historian of the mercenary school comments negatively on the independence of the militiamen:

American soldiers, particularly volunteers and militiamen, demonstrated their “personal liberty” in their irregular and unsteady performance on the battlefield and their general indiscipline. Battle was dangerous; when electing to fight or to run, the soldier exercised his personal liberty, his freedom to govern his life as he saw fit. The decision to fight or flee was, in the words of Robert Middlekauff, one of the “classic problems free men face: choosing between rival claims of public responsibility and private wishes, or in eighteenth-century terms choosing between virtue—devotion to public trust—and personal liberty.” Warfare and military service, in general, necessitated that “men give up their liberties and perhaps even their lives for others.”

It would seem then that some militiamen and volunteers could decide whether to fight or flee without much mental reservation since both choices fell within the construct of self-governance. Surprisingly, permanent shame was only infrequently attached to their behavior; the man who would not think for himself was not fit for American society. Often the soldier who ran in an act of self-preservation returned to his fellows soon thereafter. It may be that a tacit recognition existed among some

²¹Hogan, “Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application,” 4th section.

²²George Summers, “Revolutionary War Pension Application,” (Washington, D.C.: “Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files,” National Archives Microseries M804, Roll 2322, #S22001, 1965), reproduced on line by Heritage Quest.

soldiers that men who ran but later returned had reached a breaking point. Their return signaled to others that they were ready to resume their duties and thus redeem themselves.²³

In his frequent calls for a larger regular force, George Washington recognized American soldiers' independence when he wrote that "Men who have been free and subject to no control cannot be reduced to order in an instant, and the privileges and exemptions they claim will influence the conduct of others."²⁴

The militiamen whether drafted or voluntary, retained their independence in dress as well as in spirit. They did not dress in uniforms, but wore common clothes or hunting shirts, which were loose fitting, long-sleeved inexpensive homespun, belted at the waist. They carried a knapsack, blanket, soap and wooden canteen.²⁵ They were used to going barefooted but also knew how to fashion moccasins from hides even in the field.²⁶ They traveled long distances on foot and had their own remedies for blisters, including soaking, salves, balms and ointments.

The militia troops supplied their own weapons. While they would bring their best weapon, sometimes this would only be a hatchet. They preferred the "firelock," which was a shoulder gun with a smooth bore. These took longer to load than a musket, but in the hands of a hunter accustomed to it when carefully-loaded with a tightly-fitted, medium-sized bullet they would shoot much better at 100 yards than the Brown Bess with its small bullet in the hands of an Irishman in the British army at 35 yards.²⁷ Nevertheless, the standard Brown Bess was also used by militiamen because they were common before the war and large quantities fell into Revolutionary hands by capture or desertion of Tories recently

²³Ricardo Herrera, "Self-Governance and the American Citizen Soldier, 1775-1861," *The Journal of Military History* (January, 2001), vol. 65, p. 32. See also, Robert Middlekauff, "Why Men Fought in the American Revolution," *Huntington Library Quarterly* (Spring 1980), vol. 43, pp. 143-144, 148.

²⁴George Washington to John Hancock (September 2, 1776), *The Papers of George Washington*, ed. Dorothy Twohig, Revolutionary War Series, *August-October, 1776*, vol. 6, ed. Frank Grizzard (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1994), pp. 199-200.

²⁵Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, pp. 114, 133.

²⁶Martha Searcy, "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution, 1776, 1777 and 1778," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Tulane University, 1979), p. 409.

²⁷Jac Weller, "Irregular But Effective: Partisan Weapon Tactics in the American Revolution, Southern Theatre," *Military Affairs* (1957), vol. 21, p. 122.

supplied with them. James Wilson's grandfather, John Wilson I, in 1774 owned a musket and shot pouch worth £11.²⁸

When on the move, militiamen ate quickly and were asleep by nightfall. Their food included rice, cornmeal, wheat and salt beef cooked in kettles that served ten men each. When low on provisions they would forge for roasting ears, apples, green peaches or what ever else was in-season.²⁹ When stationary, they swam and bathed in creeks during the warm months and laundered their clothes. Around the campfire they played cards, fiddled, read the bible and talked about farming and family. When they had them, they slept up to ten men per tent. Otherwise they slept in the open or in barns.³⁰ Food, cooking utensils, ammunition, tents and other supplies were hauled in wagons. One of the Winnsboro-Fairfield wagon masters was John Wilson II (1730-1799), father of James Wilson. He was 46 years-old when the Revolution commenced.³¹ On foraging expeditions they took along their wagons to bring back their accumulations.

Militiamen brought their own horses or walked. An auditor's accounting signed by General Richard Winn documents that William Hogan rode as a "horseman" for 20 days in General Sumter's brigade in the May 1781 campaign to take Fort Granby.³² His horse, a black mare with the brand "WS" worth £70 was lost. In 1787 he was finally compensated by the South Carolina government for the horse and time served.³³ He received 20 shillings per day, which came to a total of £15. Two months later in July 1781 when he was out for twenty-five days on the Biggin Church campaign, he was a "footman," having not been able to

²⁸The "Inventory of John Wilson I's (1700-1774) Estate" in Probate Records (manuscript, Columbia: South Carolina State Archives).

²⁹Richard Winn "General Richard Winn's Notes—1780," ed. Samuel C. Williams, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (vol. 43, October 1942), p. 209.

³⁰Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 245; Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 44.

³¹John Wilson, II served as a wagon master first for Colonel Robert Goodwyn's Regiment and then for Colonel Richard Winn's Regiment. See Annette Stewart, *Stewart and Allied Families of South Carolina and Georgia, 1690-1990* (Thomasville, Georgia: Hyacinth Press, 1990), p. 254.

³²William Hogan, "Auditor's Record # A 3663 (April 20, 1787)," "Revolutionary War File of William Hogan," (Columbia: South Carolina Archives). A transcription of this file is available from the family history web page at Anonymous, "Hogan Family History in Blythewood/Doko" (<http://www.angelfire.com/un/hoganhistory>).

³³*Ibid.* According to Jac Weller, "Irregular But Effective," p. 123, upcountry horses were usually neither powerful nor fleet. They were too light for shock cavalry tactics but capable of carrying a militiaman for long distances through the summer heat or winter mud.

replace his horse. Footmen were compensated at half the rate of horsemen. He eventually received 10 shillings per day.

During the war, there were attempts with more or less success both to coordinate the local militias on a province-wide level and to create a state army. In June 1775 the First Provincial Congress of South Carolina passed legislation which established a state army with two regiments of foot and one of rangers or cavalry.³⁴ In November 1775 a state regiment of artillery was added and in February 1776 two state regiments of riflemen were added. Through resolutions of June 18 and July 24, 1776 passed by the Continental Congress and through a resolution passed by the General Assembly of South Carolina on September 20, 1776 these six state regiments were taken into the Continental Line as South Carolina's quota.³⁵ Eventually the regiment of rangers was converted into infantrymen and was thereafter called the Third Regiment.³⁶

Militias such as that at Winnsboro-Fairfield remained independent from the state and Continental armies. However, some individuals, such as Richard Winn, served for a time in the state army and then in the militia or vice versa. In 1779 as revolutionary resistance increased in reaction to the British invasion of the upcountry, a series of regimental militia districts were established or re-established.³⁷ The aim was that the militias in each district would coordinate with each other. One account of the system summarizes:

³⁴Among the Fairfield area members of the Rangers was Charnel Durham. He was born in 1753 on the Rappahannock River in Virginia's Northern Neck. By the beginning of the Revolutionary War he was living near Winnsboro. He enlisted in Captain Thomas Woodward's company at, in his words "\$25 per month in July 1775 for six months and for three years if called for." This was part of Colonel William Thompson's Third Regiment, South Carolina Rangers. At the end of six months, Colonel Woodward resigned and Lieutenant Richard Winn of the same company took the command as captain. Durham then enlisted for the remaining two years and six months. See Charnel Durham, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application," (Washington, D.C.: "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files," National Archives Microseries M804, # W9418c, [1965]).

³⁵Bobby Gilmer Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1983), pp. xii-xiii.

³⁶On February 11, 1780 while the British lay before Charleston, the five infantry regiments were consolidated into three by order of General Lincoln. This action led to some confusion in the minds of the old veterans. They sometimes put the name of their commanding officer with the wrong unit. See *ibid.*

³⁷Lynn Montross, *The Story of the Continental Army, 1775-1783* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1952), p. 334. In February 1779 the South Carolina Provincial Congress passed a law giving land bounties to militia recruits and imposing penalties on those who did not report.

The nucleus of each of the militia regiments was the regimental district of 1779, and so they were called regiments, and their officers lieutenant-colonels. They seldom, however, numbered more in action than from one hundred to two hundred men each, and were changing and fluctuating body, the men of the district or neighborhood coming and going as the occasion demanded and their necessities allowed or their caprice suggested, and generally expecting to be relieved at the end of two months, the limit of services required by the old militia law. The commandant when commissioned was a lieutenant-colonel.³⁸

Toward the end of the war in 1781 the province-wide organization of the militias can be summarized in the following table of regimental companies:

	<u>Thomas Sumter's Brigade</u>	
State Troops:	1) Henry Hampton's.	3) Charles Mydeton's (Myddelton).
	2) Wade Hampton's.	
Militia (colonels)	1) William Bratton's	4) Thomas Taylor's
	2) Edward Lacey's	5) John Postell's afterward
	3) Richard Winn's	Kimball's.
		6) William Hill's
	<u>Francis Marion's Brigade</u>	
State Troops	1) Peter Horry's	2) Hezekiah Maham's
Militia (colonels)	1) Hugh Horry's	5) Irwin's
	2) Baxter's	6) Benton's, formerly Abel Kolb's
	3) McDonald's	7) Vanderhorst's, formerly
	4) Richard Richardson's	Maybank's
	<u>Andrew Picken's Brigade</u>	
Militia (colonels)	1) William Harden's, formerly of	5) John Anderson's
Marion's		6) Joseph Hayes's
	2) Benjamin	7) Wilkinson's
Roebuck's		8) Samuel Hammond's
	3) Thomas	9) LeRoy Hammond's ³⁹
Brandon's		
	4) John Thomas's	

During the period represented in the above chart the Winnsboro-Fairfield troops served largely in the regiments commanded by Richard Winn and Thomas Taylor. These regiments campaigned in combination with the regiments

³⁸Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969 [1902]), vol. 2, pp. 512-513.

³⁹*Ibid.*, vol. 2, p. 513.

commanded by William Bratton, Edward Lacey, and William Hill. At various times they were under the command of Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion.

Little Initial Revolutionary Support. Like his father, siblings and neighbors, James Wilson belonged to the militia.⁴⁰ He was the oldest of the eleven children of John Wilson II and Rebecca Wilson (1745-1835). At the time the Revolution commenced in 1776 he was twenty-three years old, newly married and working his recently-deceased grandfather's farm. The farm bordered the farm of his parents. William B. Hogan was sixteen and what one historian calls a "farm boy."⁴¹ Four years into the war in 1779 he married Jemima Sanders and they had the first of their five children the following year. In later times they lived near and were members of the Smyrna Methodist Church which bordered the present-day Fairfield-Kershaw County-line.

Wilson, Hogan and their neighbors had only a minor part in the war for its first several years.⁴² Historians have noted the upcountry's initial indifference.⁴³ It was not until the British troops engaged in oppressive activities that they took up arms. Typically, when the Charleston Presbyterian cleric and Revolutionary leader, William Tennent made a circuit in August 1775 to the Camden District he found few who would sign an endorsement of the Association, which was the Revolutionary organization that the South Carolina Provincial Congress had just established.⁴⁴

Tennent recorded in his diary that the people believed "that no man from Charleston can speak the truth, and that all the papers [newspapers] are full of

⁴⁰One of the younger brothers of James Wilson was Theophilus Wilson. In the pension application file of James Wilson is a supporting affidavit by Theophilus. This affidavit stated "that deponent's father John Wilson, deponent's brothers James Wilson, Jesse Wilson & William Wilson were all in the American service." See Theophilus Wilson in James Wilson's "Revolutionary War Pension Application of James Wilson to the South Carolina State Senate," (Columbia: South Carolina State Archives, 1831, manuscript).

⁴¹Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 95.

⁴²Wilson's first documented Revolutionary activity was in 1778. See Hogan, "Revolutionary War Pension Application."

⁴³Louis Wright, *South Carolina: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1976), p. 147; Woody Holton, *Forced Founders: Indians, Debtors, Slaves and the Making of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 10, 45, 47. For several decades South Carolina's militias had been negative about the efforts of Charleston's land speculators to send militia companies outside their neighborhoods to make the western frontier safe for investment. The beginning of the Revolutionary War was no different.

⁴⁴Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 97.

lies.”⁴⁵ To the Council of Safety in Charleston he described the “unchangeable malignity of their minds and . . . bitterness against the ‘gentlemen’ as they are called.”⁴⁶ The upcountry did not so much want independence from the far-off British government in London which did not interfere in their lives, but from the Charleston land speculators and the government which they dominated. The “gentlemen” drove up land prices and refused to establish decent roads, bridges, ferries, near-by courthouses, schools and inexpensive legal fees. As late as June 1780 the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia led by Colonel William Bratton, Major Richard Winn and Captain John McClure were dispersing Loyalist gatherings as at a Baptist meeting house only a few miles southwest of Winnsboro.⁴⁷

The following summarizes the change toward active involvement that took place after the British occupied the upcountry:

The people of the section in which most of these battles had taken place, and in which it now was most ruthlessly waged, had been opposed to the Revolution. But the victorious British army in the year 1780 had converted to the cause of America thousands who would not follow the leaders in the Revolution. The people who stood listless and indifferent to the appeals of Tennent in 1775, had left their fair fields in the Waxhaws on the Catawba and on the Broad and were now following Sumter. Those who had resented Drayton's proclamation, were now coming out under Pickens.⁴⁸

The initial agrarian indifference to the Revolution was not unlike that experienced by working in Boston and the other seaports. Paul Revere and the mechanics of Boston took up arms in 1775 only after the British soldiers began to menace them.⁴⁹

The Revolution began not because those like Wilson and Hogan were dissatisfied, but because American merchants were hurt by imperial policies such as the Navigation Acts, Quebec Act of 1764, Stamp Act (taxation) and Indian

⁴⁵William Tennent quoted in *ibid.*, p. 95.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*

⁴⁷Terry Lipscomb, *Battles, Skirmishes and Actions of the American Revolution in South Carolina* (Columbia, S.C.: Department of Archives and History, 1991), p. 8.

⁴⁸Edward McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969 [1901]), vol. 1, p. 856.

⁴⁹Alfred Young, *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party: Memory and the American Revolution* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), p. 130.

treaties (Hard Labor Treaty of 1763).⁵⁰ For the land speculators, western real estate investments were worthless as long as the British set foreign policy. In the early 1770s the British took the Indian side against land speculators. This was because the British did not want to fund another Indian war, for which the speculators refused to fight or pay taxes.

Farming people like the Wilsons and Hogans grew and made what they needed. They had little participation in the market, little in titheable property and paid little in taxes, especially to London. The “official” patriotism of the “gentlemen” meant little. It was Charleston which in coordination with its counterparts at the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, that established the Continental Army and divided the colonies into military departments.⁵¹ The same element in the South Carolina Provincial Congress that authorized ten Continental regiments to operate in South Carolina and Georgia.⁵² Because of low funding, idleness, disease and desertion, these regiments were or soon became skeletons.⁵³ The “gentlemen” wanted a revolution, but they did not want to pay for it. The upcountry agrarians were not inclined to fight someone else’s war.

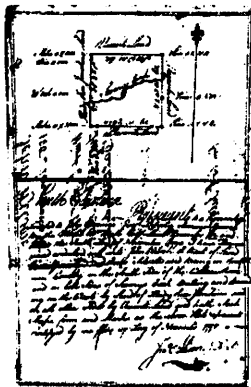


Figure 1-1
The 1770 plat that resulted from the survey of the land grant on Sawney Creek made by William Bull, South Carolina’s Lieutenant Governor to John Wilson I. This is the earliest documentation of the Wilsons in the area. The original is in the State Archives in Columbia.

⁵⁰Oliver Dickerson, *The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution* (New York: A.S. Barnes, 1951). Martha Searcy in “The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution,” p. 26, maintains that the subsistence farmers were barely affected by the Townsend duties.

⁵¹George Washington normally commanded in the central division only. Officers such as Philip Schuyler and Horatio Gates operated independently of him in the Northern department, chiefly in upper New York. Similarly, Generals Charles Lee, Robert Howe (1778), Benjamin Lincoln (1779-May 1780), and Horatio Gates (Summer 1780) were successively responsible to Congress for the Continental defense of the South. All of these soldiers were subordinate in rank to Washington as commander in chief and were required to obey his orders when he was present.

⁵²Sixty percent of the South Carolina population lived in the backcountry in the 1770s, but at the first South Carolina Provincial Congress in 1775 they had only thirty percent of the representatives, that is, 55 out of 187 seats. See Edgar, *Partisans and Redcoats*, p. 28.

⁵³John Richard Alden, *A History of the South, III: The South in the Revolution, 1763-1789* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1957), p. 227.

Chapter 2: Rank and File Militia Control

While they were not initially enthusiastic about the Revolution, it was in large measure the upcountry militia and secondarily the professional Continental Army, that brought victory in South Carolina. As the war progressed, the funding for the Continentals became steadily worse and their size became smaller. Because the Continental forces were so poorly supported, the militias operated in larger units and on a more important scale and had a greater role in South Carolina than in the North.¹ Unlike the Continentals and the out-of-state militias, the South Carolina militias supplied themselves from their own farming and were used to going barefoot. They also looked out for themselves by capturing ammunition and goods from the enemy and confiscating or impressing the horses and produce of the lowland magnates.²

Along with having little initial enthusiasm for the war, but in playing such a decisive role in it, the upcountry consistently repelled the attempts of the "gentlemen" to gain control of their militias. For example, on September 20, 1776 Thomas Sumter's Second Regiment of Militia Riflemen was transformed into the Sixth Regiment of the South Carolina Continental Line.³ Sumter eventually resigned from this unit because his neighbors would not join it.

¹Charles Bolton, *The Private Soldier under Washington* (New York: Kennikat Press, [1903] 1964), p. 67.

²Wright, *South Carolina*, p. 140; Robert Bass, *The Swamp Fox: The Life and Campaigns of General Francis Marion* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1959), pp. 4, 137; Rachael Klein, "Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Plantation Class in the South Carolina Back Country: 1760-1808," (unpublished PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1979), p. 126.

³Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 40.

Militiamen had no desire for professional soldiering. They viewed it as akin to slavery, which was also how Charleston saw it. They were patriotic in defending their neighborhood and property, but this did not mean subordinating themselves to the merchants. They served on militia outings for periods of 60 days but were home for planting and harvesting.⁴ Continental units required year-long commitments and service in distant locations. In May 1781 when Continental General Nathaniel Greene asked militia leader Thomas Sumter to march his troops to Virginia to help in the fight there, his reply voiced the thinking of the farmers. They would defend their homes but not go out of state:

It is hard to say what number I could join you with, provided they had to march out of the State, as by that means the whole state would again devolve to the British. Since the men would have to leave their families under a hostile government, few would be willing to take the field. For these and other reasons it is much to be wished that the enemy could be met with here, where there is the greater plenty of provisions than to move out of the state.⁵

Militiamen such as William Hogan expressed a curiosity about the Continentals but this did not extend to joining them. Hogan recollected such curiosity when he encountered them on one of his militia tours:

There were some regular troops encamped below on the St. Mary's. Deponent was led by curiosity to go and see the place of encampment, half mile from the place of militia encampment.⁶

At musters the militiamen traditionally engaged in political debates and periodically chose their officers but gave them no extra pay or provisions.⁷ In

⁴*Ibid.*, pp. 144, 261.

⁵Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 170.

⁶Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

⁷Holton, *Forced Founders*, p. 168. Rank and file control was especially evident after the British invasion. Robert Bass in *Gamecock*, pp. 55-56, describes the 1780 election of officers in one of the upcountry communities:

Before marching to join Rutherford, the officers and men at Hagler's decided to select a commander in chief. Since South Carolina had no chief executive, legislature or judiciary to guide them, they met in a simple democratic convention. . . With backwoods informality the members of the convention cast their ballots and on June 15, 1780, elected Thomas Sumter their leader. "It was then moved and seconded that Colonel Thomas Sumter should be appointed a Brigadier General," said Colonel Winn in his *Notes*, "and that the President be directed to make out a commission to that effect and sign the same in due form."

The members of the convention then agreed to continue in a body and to serve under Sumter's command until the end of the war. They further agreed to furnish their own food, clothing, arms

order to obtain cooperation from the ranks, officers had to give a clear picture of battle plans and other activities.⁸ Illustrative of rank and file control was an incident in October 1780 when Governor John Rutledge attempted to designate James Williams as commander over all the South Carolina militias. As one witness put it, the troops "refused to have anything to do with him or his commission and if he had not immediately left the camp he would have been stoned out of it."⁹

A South Carolina constitution was adopted on March 26, 1776 without the ratification of the upcountry. It stated that the militias were under the command of the governor. There were also laws governing the militias. But the agrarians were often a law unto themselves, especially after Charleston fell in May 1780. In his account of the militias, Edward McCrady describes the role played by the troops:

Since the fall of Charleston there had been really no militia in the state, though the partisan bands were usually so called; for a militia, as we have had occasion to observe before, implies the existence of a government under which the citizens are enrolled and required to do duty. But since his excellency's departure from the state there had been no government except that of the British authorities under the protection of the Royal army. During the four months of June, July, August and September 1780, in which so much had been done by the partisan bands under Sumter, Marion, Clarke and Shelby, there had not been even a militia commission in the hands of these leaders. Davie, who was so brilliantly acting with them, had, it was true, a commission as major from North Carolina, and Marion, as an officer in the Continental line, had also one in that service; but these commissions as such were ignored, and their authority in those operations were derived only from their followers. These bands were thus purely volunteers fighting from patriotism only, and without pay or reward.¹⁰

and horses. As Robert Wilson, elected lieutenant during the convention, afterward wrote and as quoted in *ibid.*, "This was the first organization of the militia after the fall of Charleston."

⁸Buchanan in *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 107, describes the militia psychology:

No matter what a militia officer's rank, he could not give an order to other officers, especially from other regiments and counties, and expect unquestioned obedience. They were citizen soldiers, and they brought to war their civilian ways of doing things. Consultation, persuasion, and agreement were absolutely necessary.

⁹Colonel William Hill (1740-1816), *Col. William Hill's Memoirs of the Revolution*, ed. Alexander Salley (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1921), quoted in Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 89.

¹⁰McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1780-1783*, vol. 2, p. 511.

When the militias chose Thomas Sumter as their general in 1780, Governor John Rutledge was obliged to accept their decision.¹¹ Sumter was popular for several reasons. First, he fought Indian style, as the farmers insisted. Indian-style fighting meant taking cover, moving silently, shooting accurately, effecting surprises and ambushes and developing the loose teamwork necessary in irregular fighting.¹² Militiamen had not use for bayonets, swords and sabers and the close-order discipline necessary for their use.

Sumter was also popular because he was sympathetic to the rank-and-file demand for plunder.¹³ Continental General Nathaniel Greene, who himself was no stranger to war-profiteering, complained to Sumter about the leveling tendencies of the rank and file:

Plunder and depredation prevails so in every quarter I am not a little apprehensive all this country will be laid waste. Most people appear to be in pursuit of private gain or personal glory.¹⁴

Sumter, reflecting the agrarian view, was enraged at Greene's position on leveling and consistently refused to coordinate his troops with those of the Continentals.¹⁵ Because of the question of plunder, the militias sometimes viewed the Continental army in the same light it saw the British. An example of this was the battle for Fort Granby in May 1781, at which William Hogan and the Winnsboro-Fairfield militiamen played a role. The fort was under siege for several weeks by five hundred or more militia troops under Generals Sumter and Colonel Thomas Taylor. When Sumter temporarily split off 250 troops to capture Orangeburg, the Continentals under Greene and Lee moved in and demanded that Colonel Taylor subordinate the siege to them. Then the Continentals basically surrendered. The British and Loyalists in the fort were "paroled" and allowed to rejoin their comrades in Charleston. Most importantly, they were allowed to keep the plunder they had stolen from the upcountry.

For the militias that had assembled at Granby, a significant motivation was the recapture of their belongings. The Wilsons had cattle plundered by the

¹¹Bass, *Gamecock*, pp. 120, 144.

¹²Weller, "Irregular But Effective," p. 120.

¹³*Ibid.*, pp. 120, 143.

¹⁴General Nathaniel Greene, quoted in Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 120.

¹⁵Buchanan in *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 259.

British. Because of troop agitation over the incident, Sumter handed in his resignation. As one account puts it:

When Taylor's militia heard the terms and saw Lee's handsome troops parading in captured uniforms, they almost mutinied. They threatened to overpower the guards and kill the prisoners. They accused Lee of contumely toward the militia. They swore that he had hurried the negotiations only to cheat Sumter. . . After galloping hard, on the morning of May 16 Sumter reached Granby. There he learned that Maxwell had surrendered. He heard the indulgent terms. He saw his angry troops. Raging both inwardly and outwardly contumacious, he resigned from the militia.¹⁶

General Greene and those like him who came from and represented the merchant class were reluctant to conduct leveling warfare against the property of Loyalist landlords and merchants. Greene, whose biographer describes as being from a family of commercial Quakers, whose Revolutionary conviction stemmed from "the desire for dollars," mingled capitalist ventures with public business. For example, when he learned from George Washington that the Continental Army would be around Albany, New York in the winter of 1778-1779, he secretly wrote his relatives to send a supply of liquor there to sell to the soldiers.¹⁷

Greene complained against plundering, but had a double standard when it came to leveling the rank and file. In need of horses for mounting scouts, foragers, and Colonel Washington's dragoons, he became obsessed with confiscating militia horses. He pelted Sumter, Marion and Pickens with requests, "Do not fail to get us all the good Dragoon horses that you can, for we are in the utmost distress for want of them. . . It is a pity that good horses should be given into the hands of people [the militiamen] who are engaged for no limited time."¹⁸ Continental colonel Light Horse Harry Lee, his own dragoons well mounted on thoroughbreds from Virginia, had seen the Chickasaw Reds that the militias had rustled from the Tories in the limestone region around Eutaw Springs. In his

¹⁶Bass, *Gamecock*, pp. 173-174. Sumter resigned but there was no "official" to accept his resignation. By September 1781 he was back out leading William Hogan on a campaign to Orangeburg.

¹⁷John Alden, *A History of the South*, p. 251. Historian Theodore Thayer in *Nathaniel Greene*, pp. 414-417.

¹⁸Quoted in Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 166.

correspondence with Greene, he said that Marion could spare a number of blooded chargers.¹⁹

Historian Robert Bass in discussion Greene's attempt to confiscate militia horses comments:

A Continental, relying upon his disciplined Continentals, Greene had little respect for the militia. He did not understand that the Carolinians, serving without pay, furnishing their own equipment, and providing their own transportation, felt justified in taking thoroughbreds from the Tories.²⁰

Militia leader Marion, under whom Wilson and Hogan sometimes served, told Greene that if he attempted to confiscate the militias' horses, "we will never get their service in future," and that they would merely slip bridles and saddles on the horses and abscond.²¹ Hogan was compensated £70 for his black mare branded "WS" which was "lost in 1781 in the service of the state on an expedition against the enemy at the Congaree."²² Hogan does not say if the horse was lost by accident or in combat or, given Greene's attitude, through Continental confiscation.²³

The 1,500 troops that Greene had in South Carolina from Virginia during the winter of 1780-1781 were half-starved, nearly naked and lived in make-shift huts because there were no tents. Many deserted and even their officers, including Major General John Peter Muhlenberg (1746-1807) and George Weedon, went on "furloughs" back to Virginia because they were not paid. This was because neither the Continental Congress in Philadelphia nor Governor Thomas Jefferson in Virginia would tax the merchant class that had instigated the war. They thought the militias and professional soldiers would fight merely for to fight for patriotism, as "officially" defined by the gentlemen.²⁴

¹⁹*Ibid.* p. 166.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*

²²William Hogan, "Auditor's Record # A 3663 (April 20, 1787)," "Revolutionary War File of William Hogan," (Columbia: South Carolina Archives).

²³*Ibid.*

²⁴On his way South after his appointment as leader of the Southern Continentals in October 1780, Nathaniel Greene went through Philadelphia, where he asked the Continental Congress to fund a "flying camp" of 800 light horse and 1000 infantry. The Congress did not respond. See Elswyth Thane, *The Fighting Quaker: Nathaniel Greene* (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1972), p. 177; Theodore Thayer, *Nathaniel Greene: Strategist of the American Revolution* (New York: Twayne Publishing Co., 1960), pp. 251, 288, 295.

But just as the merchants saw no inconsistency between profit and patriotism, so the rank and file such as William Hogan expected pay or plunder when he served. In his recollections he described without apology the taking of plunder from the Tories in his June 1778 tour:

Company rendezvoused at Winnsborough (now Fairfield Court house) marched to Captain Tunmen in the fork between Saluda and Broad River called the Dutch Fork; went there after a body of Tories said to be embodied there. They disbanded on hearing of this enterprise, and some plunder was retaken.²⁵

²⁵Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

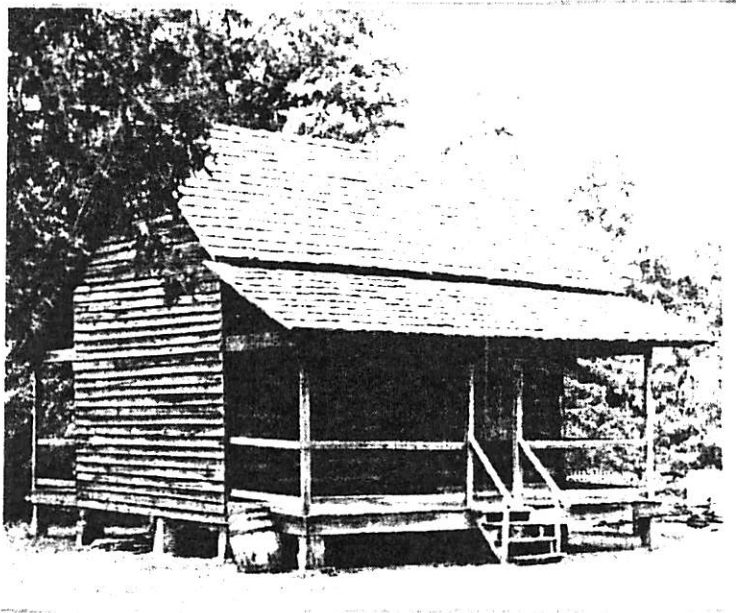


Figure 2-1:

The home of a subsistent upcountry farmer. Built in 1771, it is illustrative of the dwellings in which the Wilsons and Hogans raised their families and lived out their lives. It is a level above the initial upcountry European dwellings, which were made of logs with their interstices filled up with moss, straw and clay. The picture is borrowed from Walter Edgar, *Partisans and Redcoats*, p. 108.

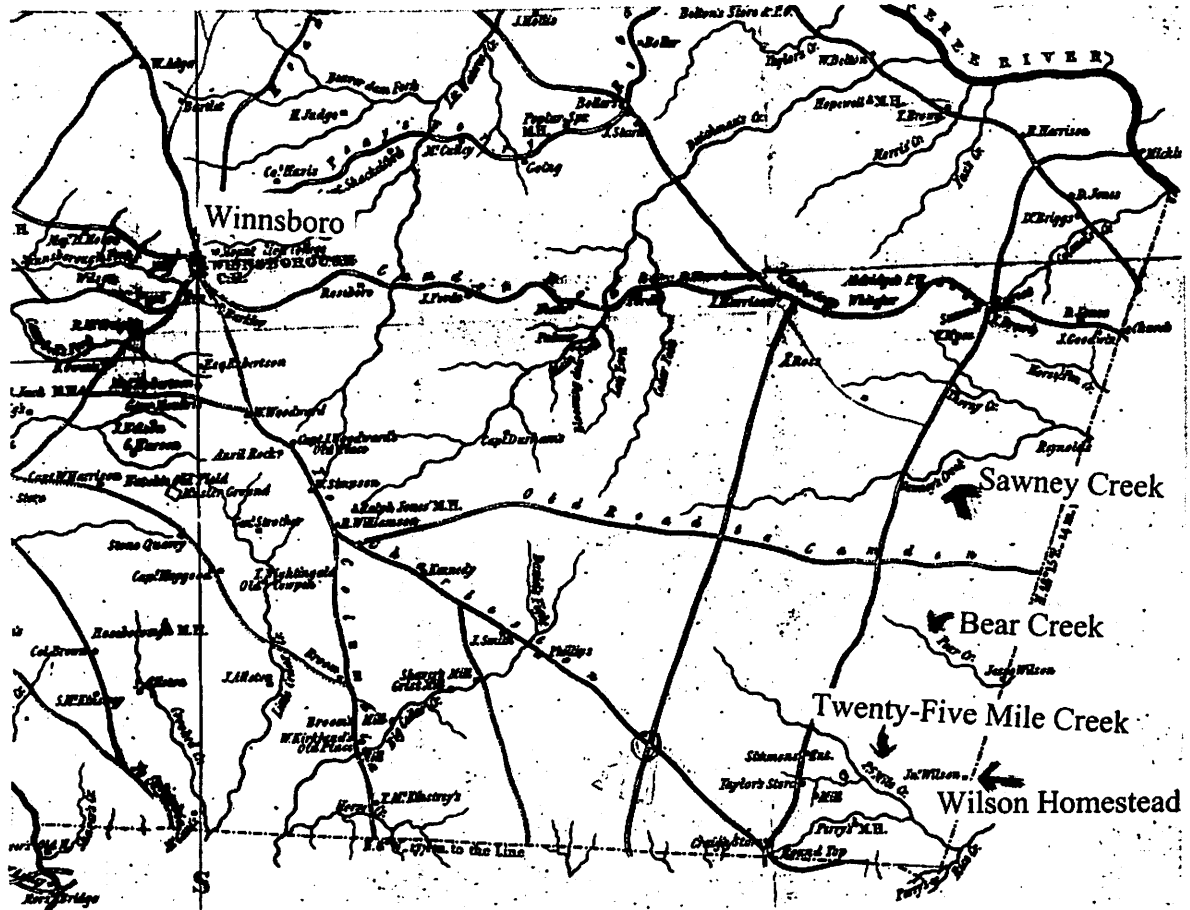


Figure 2-2:
The Bear (Pear) Creek and Twenty-Five Mile Creek neighborhood of the Wilsons and Hogans. This is from the southeast section of the Fairfield County map by Robert Mills in *Mills Atlas* (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press [1825], 1980). Several of the Wilson homesteads on the lower right are pinpointed on it. At the upper left is Winnsboro.

Chapter 3: Revolutionary Activities

The South Carolina farmers conquered an imperialist army that was larger, better trained, experienced, equipped, and that had enormous economic resources. It took them 213 battles and skirmishes, most of which were small, unheralded encounters with the details known only to those like James Wilson and William Hogan who fought in them.¹ The standard accounts, starting with David Ramsay in 1789, are copied from the memoirs and letters of the generals. Glorifying the “gentlemen,” they are silent or negative about the rank and file who attended to the real business of the war.²

As a result, the main sources for information about the militias and individual soldiers are the military pension records. While containing much information, they were written fifty years after the event and are frequently mistaken about dates, places and persons. As one scholar notes:

Many of these testimonies were recorded by the ex-servicemen years after the events, some as much as sixty years, therefore one must realize that age had dimmed their memory. Therefore, the petitioner sometimes forgot the names of officers in certain battles, or sometimes, they confused the officers they served under and put the wrong officer with the wrong encounter. Furthermore, as a result of the passing of the years, the petitioners almost always listed the battles and skirmishes in which they fought out of order.³

¹Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 105, notes that unlike non-combat soldiers, those who have been involved in the real business of war seldom glorify it. Their desire is to put the horror behind them. As a result, they do not tell their stories and military historians have the difficult task of trying to put the pieces together.

²David Ramsay, *The History of the American Revolution* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1968 [1779]).

³Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution*, p. xii.

Even accounts by the generals written soon after the events were not accurate. Typically, three leaders at the Battle of Hanging Rock on August 6, 1780 left written descriptions. These were William Dobein James, William R. Davie and Richard Winn.⁴ Each named a different set of commanders and their accounts were irreconcilable. Nevertheless, historians have constructed a description of the battle. Similarly, a more or less reliable picture of the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia and its members like James Wilson and William Hogan is possible.

There were three military tours in which Wilson and Hogan are documented as having participated. These were the:

- 1) Dutch Fork (May 1778) with Captains John Woodward, John Winn, Hancock, Tunman and First Lieutenant John Milling.
- 2) Third Florida expedition (June-August, 1778) with General Andrew Williamson, Colonel John Winn, Major Robert Goodwyn, Captains John Woodward and John Graves.
- 3) Congaree (post-May 1780) with Major Ananar [James] Lyles.

There were also four other tours in which Hogan participated as part of the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia. Wilson was not documented as having participated. However, as a member of this militia, he likely took part in some of these tours. They were:

- 4) Battle of Fort Congaree-Granby (May 1781) with General Thomas Sumter, Captains John Miles, Cook, Thomas Taylor.
- 5) Salkahatchie, S.C. Tour (June 1781) with General Francis Marion, Colonels Richard Richardson and William Thomson.
- 6) Moncks Corner and Biggin Bridge Campaign (July 17, 1781) with General Francis Marion, Colonels William Thomson, Robert Goodwyn, Captains John Woodward, Jacob Bethany and Cook.
- 7) Orangeburg, S.C. tour (post-September 1781), Colonel William Thomson and General Thomas Sumter.

⁴William Dobein James' account of the Hanging Rock battle is in Lyman Draper, *South Carolina in the Revolution Miscellanea* (Chicago: University of Chicago Library, Department of Photographic Reproductions, 1960), Draper, 5 VV 115 (from the Draper Manuscript Collection at the Wisconsin State Historical Society microfilm). The account by William R. Davie (1756-1820) is in *The Revolutionary War Sketches of William R. Davie*, ed. Blackwell Robinson (North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, 1976) and in John H. Wheeler's *Historical Sketches of North Carolina* (New York: 1925). The battle's account by Richard Winn is in Samuel C. Williams (ed.), "General Richard Winn's Notes—1780," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* (vol. 43, October 1942), pp. 201-212, (vol. 44, January 1943), pp. 1-10. See also Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 265.

Revolution's Beginning at the Battle of Fort Sullivan (1776). The main event for South Carolina in the early years of the war occurred even before the Declaration of Independence. Some 500 troops representing the South Carolina Provincial Congress dug themselves in behind a sand and palmetto log fort on Sullivan's Island in the Charleston harbor.⁵ On June 28-29, 1776 at the Battle of Fort Sullivan they defeated a British fleet and the 2000 troops that were attempting to land and establish a military base.⁶

While the upcountry was not enthusiastic for the war, there were Winnboro-Fairfield troops helping to defend Charleston in 1776. These included Charnel Durham and Jasper Faust, the latter of whom was a friend of James Wilson and William Hogan.⁷ In his pension file, Faust described his service under General Charles Lee in the regular army for a month and one-half as a private in 1776 at Charleston. He mentioned Colonel William Thinforce as in command of the troops on Sullivan Island and Colonel William Moultrie as in command of those in the fort.⁸

James Wilson in his 1831 pension application to the South Carolina State Senate stated that he served "early" in the war in Robert Goodwyn's Regiment:

To the Honorable the Senate of the State aforesaid. The petition of the undersigned James Wilson (stateth) to your Honorable Body that he your petitioner volunteered early in the Revolutionary war which was commenced and carried on between Great Britain & America in the days of 1776. That he your petitioner volunteered as a militiaman in the Continental services in Col. Robert Goodwyn's Regiment and as a member in Captain William Simmons Company during the time of said service.⁹

⁵These troops included a volunteer company from Virginia under the command of Harry Lee. See Lenora Sweeney, *Amherst County in the Revolution* (Greenville, S.C.: Southern Historical Press, 1998), p. 8.

⁶Louis Wright, *South Carolina: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton, 1976), p. 134.

⁷Jasper Faust gave testimony which is preserved in Hogan's pension application and which helped Hogan obtain a federal pension. Charnel Durham, a resident of the Fairfield area served three months in 1775 in Thomas Woodward's company, which was part of Colonel William Thompson's Third Regiment, South Carolina Rangers. See Durham, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application," # W9418c.

⁸Jasper Faust, "Revolutionary War Pension Application," (Washington, D.C.: "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files," National Archives Microseries M804, Application # W3469, 1965), p. 9, reproduced on line by Heritage Quest.

⁹James Wilson, "Revolutionary War Pension Application of James Wilson to the South Carolina State Senate," (Columbia: South Carolina State Archives, 1831, manuscript). Wilson's petition went on to state:

Wilson did not give a specific date, but by "early" he meant 1778, not 1776. This can be deduced from the records of William Hogan, who served with Wilson and specifically refers to his service at several points.

As a result of his defeat in 1776 at Fort Sullivan, British General Henry Clinton retreated by sail to New York and for the next several years there was little military activity in the South. This lack of southern military activity changed after England's defeat at Saratoga on October 7-17, 1777. British General William Howe, who had been in command, was replaced by Henry Clinton, who retreated from Philadelphia to New York. He was cautious. He did not make a determined effort to drive Washington's troops away from the New York area but sought instead to wear down Revolutionary resistance by ruining the shipping of the Americans, ravaging their shores, bribing their leaders and enlisting the services of the Loyalists. Most importantly for James Wilson and the Fairfield militia, Clinton's strategy included occupying important points along the coast. In 1778 Clinton sent Lieutenant Colonel Archibald Campbell with 3,500 redcoats, Hessians, and New York Tories, to Georgia. Campbell was eventually joined by troops under General Augustine Prevost from St. Augustine, Florida.

Dutch Fork Tour (June 1778). It was in the context of Britain's strategic change and renewed military activity in the South that James Wilson and William Hogan participated in two documented tours in 1778. These were after the spring planting season and a year before the widespread resistance that followed the British capture of Charleston and invasion of the upcountry in May 1780. For

Your petitioner also states that [he] served for the regular time for which he volunteered in a faithful manner & returned home after having received his regular discharge. Your petitioner further states that he is now upward of eighty years of age and has never received one cent as a compensation for the above rendered services in the cause of liberty & freedom. For the evidences of the above mentioned or stated facts your petitioner will refer your Honorable Body to the testimony or affidavits of William Wilson herewith accompanying this petition, and your petitioner prays your Honorable Body to take his case into consideration & grant such pay or pension to your petitioner for the above mentioned services as may seem meet unto you. (signed)/ James [his X mark] Wilson.

A literate relative, neighbor or lawyer did the writing for James Wilson. The application in the South Carolina Archives is a handwritten 1835 copy of the 1831 petition. The copy does not include the report of the South Carolina State Senate Committee that handled the petition. Some research indicates that the petition was rejected by the Senate. It should be noted that the 1831 petition was filed fifty years after the events it described. Petitions were rejected if they did not give sufficient details, including places, times, leaders and battles. James Wilson's petition provides few details. If the petition was rejected this was probably the reason.

Wilson and Hogan, if not for others, the Revolution was not dormant in South Carolina prior to 1780.

Wilson's and Hogan's first documented tour of militia duty was a short one of two weeks duration in May to Dutch Forks. This was an area 31 miles or an easy day's journey on horseback from Wilson's home in Bear Creek. It is in what is now Lexington, Richland and Newbury counties where the Saluda and Broad River join to form the Congaree River. Present-day Columbia is in this area. Wilson's participation is recounted in William Hogan's pension application. The Winnsboro-Fairfield militia was normally led by Captain John Woodward but he did not go on this tour. In his place were Captain John Winn and First Lieutenants John Milling and Philip Redford.¹⁰ They coordinated with companies led by Captain Hancock and Tunman. The specific date of the tour was not given by Hogan. But he stated that it took place immediately before the Florida expedition, which began in late June of 1778.

Of the Dutch Fork tour and Wilson's participation, Hogan remembered:

1st. In the first tour of military duty performed by deponent he volunteered in Captain [John] Woodward's company, believes Philip Redford was first Lieutenant and John Milling commanded as Captain Woodward did not go and believes John Winn commanded the regiment and was along. Company rendezvoused at Winnsborough (now Fairfield Court house) marched to Captain Tunmen in the fork between Saluda and Broad River called the Dutch Fork; went there after a body of Tories said to be embodied there. They disbanded on hearing of this enterprise, and some plunder was retaken. Captain Hancock was along and company. The greater part of this body of militia were drafted. Thinks **James Wilson** who deponent has understood has applied for a pension was along. Were out two weeks on this tour. This tour immediately preceding the next tour to Florida. But a few days at home in the interval which was spent in preparation.¹¹

¹⁰Another Winnsboro-Fairfield militiaman, Charnel Durham stated that Captain Philip Redford (Raiford) and his militia company went on a tour to Augusta Georgia in a regiment commanded by Colonel John Pearson. On Durham's cap was a place with the motto inscribed, "Liberty or Death." See Durham, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application," # W9418c.

¹¹Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application." Another Camden District militiaman in his pension application also described the Dutch Fork tour. This was John Bird, "Revolutionary War Pension Application," (Washington, D.C.: "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files," National Archives Microseries M804, Roll 243, 1965), US Pension #S10372 (October 4, 1832). A typed transcription of this record is reproduced on line by Heritage Quest. Bird wrote:

The above mentioned "John Winn" (1732-1814) was a brother of Richard Winn (1750-1818) and William Winn. The Winns were born in Fauquier County, Virginia and moved to what became Winnsboro in 1765.¹² John and Richard were militia officers. John initially out-ranked his brother, Richard. This can be seen from details provided in the pension file of Wilson's fellow Winnsboro-Fairfield militiaman, Needham Busby, who stated:

1778, at Dunkin's Creek station, as a militiaman, drafted under Captain Richard Winn, in Colonel John Winn's regiment. Volunteered and turned out under Captain Woodward, scouting.¹³

The Fairfield County property ownership map published by Robert Mills in 1825 listed "Capt. J. Woodward's old place" just south of Winnsboro. Nearby was a "W. Woodward." There was also a Thomas Woodward (d. 1779) who lived in the Little River and Cedar Creek area of Fairfield south of Winnsboro. He was a leader in the Regulator movement in the 1760s and later a Revolutionary.

After the Dutch Fork tour John Winn and John Milling were captured by the British and released after giving their word that they would no longer fight.¹⁴

He volunteered in the service of the United States under the command of Captain John Graves, Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Kirkland and General Andrew Williamson. I was then living in the state of South Carolina, Camden District when I volunteered under the above named officers. I was marched from the above named district to a place called the Dutch Fork [in June 1778], between Broad and Saluda, and rendezvoused at a Dutchman's house, whose name was Ramsower [Ramsour?]. At this place we joined General Williamson, then Williamson marched us down the river to a place against Governor Wright's plantation, and while we was stationed here, the sun was totally eclipsed.

¹²Robert Mills, *Mills Atlas: Atlas of the State of South Carolina, 1825* (Easley, S.C.: Southern Historical Press [1825], 1980); Richard Brown, "Backcountry Rebellions and the Homestead Ethic in America, 1740-1799," *Tradition, Conflict and Modernization: Perspectives in the American Revolution*, ed. Richard Brown (New York: Academic Press, 1977), p. 89.

¹³Needham Busby, "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files" (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microseries series M804, Roll 431, 1965), Application # S9114 (a digital copy of this pension file is available on line from Heritage Quest). Busby had these further memories about his service in the period around 1778:

He went into the service in Fairfield District where he then resided. Was drafted under Captain Richard Winn, afterwards General Richard Winn, marched after Tories. Served two or three months. The next tour was under Captain Thomas Woodward after the Tories. Again this time in service was one or two months. The next service was under Captain Joseph Kirkland after the Tories that went to [St.] Augustine [FL]. The command General Williamson after the Tories and British, three months and three days. The next duty was under Captain James Turner under the command of Colonel Glenn.

¹⁴According to Robert Bass in *Gamecock*, p. 42, Captains Richard Winn and William Thomson and those under them were captured by the British following a battle from February 16 to 18, 1777 at Fort McIntosh on the Satilla River near the Georgia-Florida border. The

The penalty was death for one who broke his parole, took up arms and was recaptured. Unfortunately for John Winn in December 1780 he was accused of breaking his parole and taken prisoner at Winnsboro by the British who were then occupying it. He was condemned to death after a summary trial characterized by perjured testimony. He was saved, however, by his brother Richard, who was by then a ranking militia leader and who threatened to execute the next one hundred British officers and soldiers he captured, if John died.¹⁵

Richard Winn in his account of the incident wrote:

The following took place in December, 1780: was informed that his brother, Colo. John Winn, was under sentence of death at Winnsboro, the British headquarters. Colo. Winn enquired into the cause and was informed that a certain Spencer Tyler, one of Colo. Rich'd Winn's men, had left camp and went to see his family who lived in the neighborhood of J. Winn. This man on getting down was informed by some person that at such a house was two British soldiers. Tyler and another man that was with him made prisoners of the two soldiers. After tying them with intention the next day to bring them to me, it now being night; the other man left Tyler with the soldiers. By some means or other they untied themselves and ties Tyler and carried him before Cornwallis.

Tyler, as he had before taken protection, finding his life was to pay for his conduct, places Colo. John Winn between himself and the gallows by giving evidence that this Colo. Winn informed him of the soldiers and advised him to go and take them. The Colo. Winn knew nothing of the business, and Tyler knowing that a trifling character would not save him, pitched on Colo. Winn, who was immediately secured, tried and convicted by a false witness, and a day appointed for him to be hung.¹⁶

Revolutionaries led by Winn and Thompson surrendered the fort to Lieutenant Colonel Lewis Valentine Fuser of the 60th Regiment of Foot (the Royal Americans). Also involved in this battle was British Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Brown of the East Florida Rangers and Indians.

¹⁵Richard Winn's activities with the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia included, in June 1780 serving as a captain when he led a successful attack on Tories at Gibson's Meeting House which was close to Winnsboro. In accomplishing his attack, he marched his troops past Mobley's settlement on Little River. The following month on July 30, 1780 he served as a colonel under General Thomas Sumter at the battle of Turnbull's Camp on Rocky Mount near the Catawba River. In the fall of 1780 he was again serving under Sumter when British General Cornwallis was wintering at Winnsboro and American General Horatio Gates requested Sumter's troops to campaign in the area. See Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 249; Bass, *Gamecock*, pp. 54, 65, 263.

¹⁶Winn "General Richard Winn's Notes—1780," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, (January 1943), vol. 44, p. 8.

Richard Winn went on to relate that on obtaining full information of the facts he sent word to Lord Cornwallis that if he hung John Winn, then he, Richard, would hang the first 100 British officers and soldiers that fell into his hands, and at that time he had several. When the day came that Winn was to be hung, Captain John Milling, who as well as John Winn had taken parole, went to Winnsboro to see the last of his friend and neighbor. On seeing several officers at headquarters, he went near them as he had often done before and heard one of the officers say, "We have a right to believe that this Winn will carry his threat into execution and that it would be better to save the life of this man than to cause the death of a hundred of ours."¹⁷ So John Winn was pardoned under the gallows.

¹⁷*Ibid.* Richard Winn in referring to the same incident, also remembered:

In December 1780: In a few days after, I received a letter from John Winn by a man by the name of Tisdale, a Tory who lives on the border of the New Acquisition, saying that he was pardoned and that he was instructed by Lt. Cornwallis that if I would give up and come in, my property should all be restored and my losses paid and many other things should be done for me, not particularly pointed out, and that my life and property should be protected. Answer was: I dam'd him and his protection too, and as to my property, it went in the manner I expected.

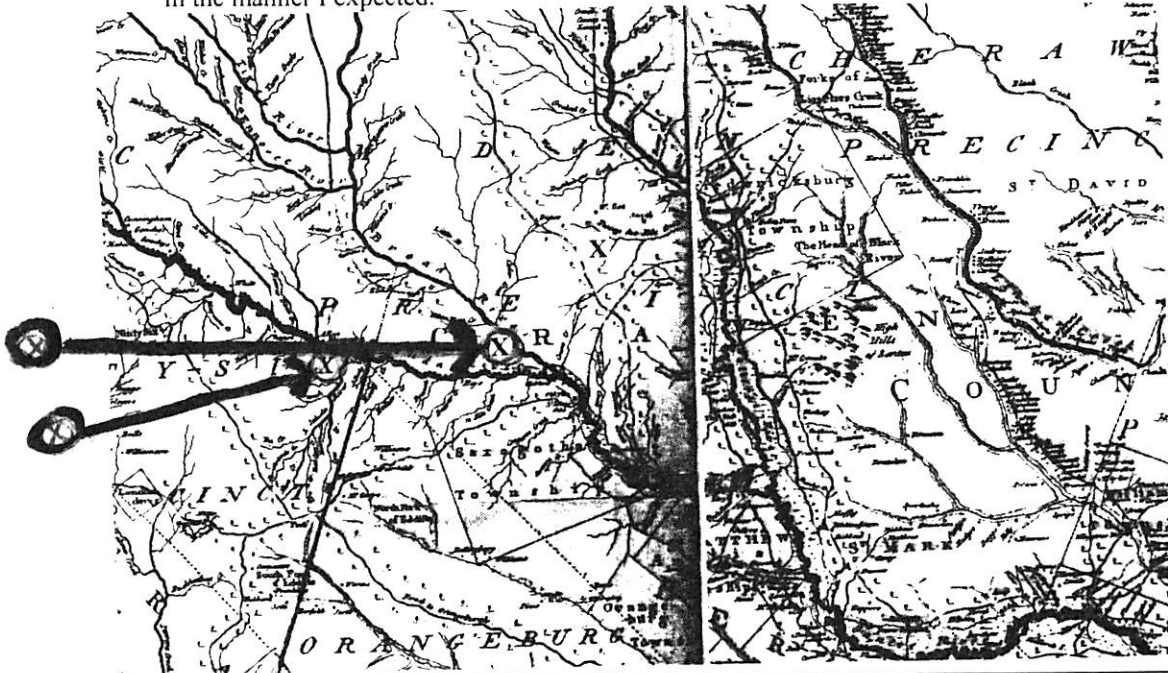


Figure 3-1

An "X" marks the Dutch Fork area near where the Broad River and Saluda River join at what is now Columbia to form the Congaree River. Another "X" to the north marks the Twenty-Five Mile Creek homesteads of the Wilsons and Hogans. The map is from James Cook's *A map of the province of South Carolina with all the rivers* (London: H. Parker, 1773).

Chapter 4: Florida Expedition (May-August, 1778).

The second documented campaign in which James Wilson and William Hogan participated in 1778 was the third Florida expedition. When British General Henry Clinton retreated to the North after being defeated in 1776 at the Battle of Fort Sullivan in Charleston's Harbor, the only remaining southern British garrison was at St. Augustine on Florida's east coast.¹ The Revolutionaries made three unsuccessful attempts over the course of three years between 1776 and 1778 to oust the British at St. Augustine.² Both Hogan and

¹Alden, *A History of the South, III*, p. 227. The British had been at St. Augustine since 1763 when they sent a royal governor there after taking it from the Spanish as a result of the French and Indian War. There were few Europeans in Florida, with the Creek Indians being the main inhabitants. Initially the St. Augustine garrison, with 500 British regulars was too weak and remote to take the offensive except along the Georgia frontier. Because the war in the early years was mainly in the North, most of the Continental troops that South Carolina raised were sent northward. Among the southern officers who helped Washington was South Carolina's John Laurens.

²The first Florida expedition was between mid-August 1776 and December 1776. It consisted of the Continental Army based at Savannah under General Charles Lee and the Georgia militia. This expedition, which followed the royal road between Savannah and St. Augustine, took several months to reach the Florida border, then turned back because it ran out of supplies and lacked transport.

After the first expedition Charles Lee was replaced by General Robert Howe as head of the Southern Continental Army. The second Florida campaign was composed of 600 to 800 regular and militia troops. It was launched in April 1777. The Americans again took the royal road and were met in early May at the St. Mary's River by a combined force of 400 British regulars, Florida rangers and Creek Indians. The rangers were similar to the militia. They consisted of Georgia and South Carolina Tories who had been driven south by the Revolutionaries. The St. Mary's River formed the border between Florida and Georgia. After several small battles in the border area, the Americans decided they were in no condition to fight and withdrew on May 25, 1777. They arrived back at Savannah on June 15, 1777.

Mahalah Lee Wilson, who was a sister-in-law to James Wilson, stated in their pension applications that James Wilson was part of the third Florida campaign.³

Hogan did not state on which of the three Florida expeditions he took part. But the third expedition can be established by the presence of General Andrew Williamson (1730-1786), whom Hogan described as leading the tour.⁴ Of the three Florida expeditions, Williamson only went on the third. Hogan wrote in his pension application of the tour and James Wilson's participation:

2nd. The next time went to Florida. Does not recall the year. Went as a volunteer. Some were drafted. Capt. John Woodward commanded the company. **James Wilson** above was in the same company and he and Captain Woodward went. _____ was in that expedition under Captain John Graves. But John Winn was along and commanded the regiment. The company met Major [Richard] Goodwyn and men near Grealy [Granby?] and some other troops. All marched through Augusta

³Mahalah Lee Wilson's federal pension application, submitted on the basis of her husband, William Wilson's service is in the "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files" (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microfilm Publications, 1965), series M805, Roll 879, Image 460, File R11688. A digital copy of this pension file was obtained by Glynis McHargue Patterson from Heritage Quest. See also, Moss, *Roster of South Carolina Patriots in the American Revolution*, p. 1004, which has a summary of William Wilson's Revolutionary service.

⁴Dumas Malone (ed.), "Biography of Andrew Williamson," *Dictionary of American biography, published under the auspices of American council of learned societies* (New York, C. Scribner's Sons, 1943-1973). Williamson's biography describes him as being "a popular officer, attentive to the comfort of his men. He was promoted to brigadier-general in 1778 and commanded the South Carolina militia in Robert Howe's Florida expedition, sharing the blame for its failure." After the fall of Charleston in May 1780, Williamson joined the British side, but still later supplied valuable information to the Revolutionaries through John Lauren. In 1783 General Greene intervened to save Williamson's estates from confiscation. Williamson's biography also observes that he started fighting the British in 1775, but not in the Florida campaigns. The biography states:

When the Revolution began, Williamson, a fine looking major of militia, was so influential in the back country and so sound a Whig, that he was elected to the first provincial congress and was awarded a contract to supply the troops. Appointed to enforce the Association in his district, he was summoned with the militia to support W. H. Drayton against the Loyalists, and for the capture of Robert Cunningham he received the thanks of the provincial congress. Besieged by the Loyalists in Ninety Six, he signed the treaty with them on Nov. 21, 1775 but was in the "Snow Campaign" of December which continued the civil war.

In 1776 he led the panic-stricken militia on his second Cherokee expedition, and when he was ambushed at Essenecca his horse was shot under him. Promoted to colonel, he commanded 2,000 South Carolina troops in the devastating campaign which subdued the Cherokee. He received the unanimous thanks of the Assembly and on May 20, 1777, signed the treaty which took from the Indians a large land cession.

and on to the St. Mary River. Fell in with General Williamson and men before they got to the St. Mary. . .

Col. Winn and 500 men were sent on to the St. John's River but were prevented by the bridges being taken away by the enemy. . . The object of the expedition was to take Augustine as deponent had understood. Encamped some time on the St. Mary's. . . When the army returned each Captain took charge of his company. Was three months and six days on this tour.⁵

The Florida outing like the earlier Dutch Fork tour coincided with Britain's enlarged southern activities in the spring and summer of 1778. The Savannah merchants, fearing an imminent attack by the British, obtained from the Georgia legislature on January 29, 1778 an order for the Continentals to prepare an offensive. The expedition included 600 Continentals from the First, Third and Seventh South Carolina Regiments led by Colonel Charles Pinckney (1731-1782) and by General Robert Howe, who had earlier been appointed by the Continental Congress. Also on the tour were 400 Georgia militia led by Governor John Houstoun and 800 to 1 000 South Carolina militia, including William Hogan, led by Colonel Williamson.⁶ As indicated in the above passage quoted from Hogan, the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia was led by Captains John Woodward and John Graves, Major Robert Goodwyn (1741-post 1785) and Colonel John Winn.⁷

Those who were part of the expedition remembered it as among their earliest, longest and most difficult. From Bear Creek to St. Augustine, Florida

⁵Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

⁶Later Charles Pinckney in 1780 fled Charleston with Revolutionary Governor John Rutledge before the surrender of the city to the British. Rutledge went on to head on a government in exile in North Carolina. Colonel Pinckney however returned to Charleston and swore loyalty to British authority, which allowed him to keep his property. In February 1782, the South Carolina legislature voted a twelve percent amercement of Colonel Pinckney's property to punish his switch of allegiance.

⁷Searcy, "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution," p. 400. The pension application of William Goodwyn stated that Robert Goodwyn was his son. They lived in what is now Richland County, which neighbors what is now Fairfield County. See William Goodwyn, "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files" (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microseries series M805, 1965), W8861 (a digital copy of this pension file is available on line from Heritage Quest).

Jasper Faust was one of William Hogan's friends and companions on the Florida tour. In his "Revolutionary War Pension Application of Jasper Faust," p. 9, Faust stated that on the tour he was a private, that it occurred in 1778, that it lasted four months and that Joseph Kirkland was in command.

was 365 miles and took three months round trip.⁸ The many lives lost were less because of the enemy than because of the summer heat, mosquitoes, dysentery and disease. William Hogan put it succinctly, "The troops [were] very sickly and a great many died of the flux."⁹ One participant in the Georgia unit of the Continental Army probably exaggerated in saying that the British killed 250 Americans but that 1,200 died from illness.¹⁰

The various contingents of the expedition set off at different times and arrived at different times at the rendezvous point, which was Fort Howe on the Altamaha River.¹¹ This was 88 miles north of the St. Marys River and of the Florida-Georgia boundary. In turn the St. Marys River was 76 miles north of St. Augustine. The Georgia Continentals started out on April 9, 1778 from Savannah.¹² They had to wait at Fort Howe for eight weeks for the other contingents and because of sickness and lack of food. The South Carolina Continentals started from Charleston on May 3.¹³ The Winnsboro-Fairfield militia did not start until early June 1778. This was because, in their view, putting in crops was more important than saving the Savannah "gentlemen."¹⁴

For the Continentals the expedition followed the old Kings Road that connected Charleston to Savannah and St. Augustine. According to Hogan, however, the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia went via Augusta. This meant they did not go to Charleston or Savannah but took a more direct route from the upcountry, which intersected with the royal road further south than Charleston and Savannah.

While waiting at Fort Howe for the other contingents, the Continentals experienced repeated troop desertions, mutiny, court-martials, lashings, firing

⁸The Americans, however, never actually reached St. Augustine. The closest they came was the St. Johns River at present-day Jacksonville, Florida. This was 40 miles north of St. Augustine.

⁹Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

¹⁰Pierre Colomb, "Memoirs of a Revolutionary Soldier," *The Collector* (November 1950), vol. 63, p. 223; Searcy, "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution," p. 417.

¹¹Searcy, "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution," p. 387. Fort Howe was originally established in the 1730s as Fort Barrington. Its name was changed to honor General Robert Howe, Continental commander of the Southern Department.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 400.

¹⁴Continental General Robert Howe understood the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia psychology. When the Georgia Legislature ordered him on January 29, 1778 to attack the British in Florida, he advised them to delay because it would come when the militia was most needed on the farm. The legislature considered this reply to be disrespectful and reported him for insubordination.

squads and hangings. The troops were desperate because of the sickness, hot weather and low morale. A Continental historian summarized:

On 21 May a Sergeant Tyrrell of the Fourth Georgia Battalion, convicted of mutiny and of trying to inveigle others to desert, was shot; General Howe announced that he had resolved "never to pardon any future desertions." A whole group of men deserted the next day. Some returned voluntarily, and others were captured. Gray's Indians brought in the scalp of one, and another was assumed to have died in the woods. James Lister and Cornelius Fitzgerald, First Battalion, were hanged; James Neigle, William Carpenter, Daniel McKay, Claudius Morrison, Joseph Clair, Joseph Powell, Richard Savage, John Royal, and William Conner, all privates of the Fourth Battalion, were shot. Eight Irishmen succeeded in deserting by water on 26 May. They had been sent to reconnoiter in Frederica Sound and to the southward. The lieutenant in command landed first, whereupon the boatmen pulled away from shore. Blunt, a surgeon in the "Fleet," was released and returned to the rebel camp.¹⁵

By June 17, 1778 the Continentals had progressed 40 miles south from Fort Howe to near Woodbine, Georgia on the Satilla River. Once on the road, progress was slow in part because the officers were bringing along both servants and women.¹⁶ The order of march was the Georgia Continental brigade in the vanguard, the South Carolina Continental Brigade sometimes as far behind as the next river, detachments of the Georgia militia and volunteers scattered along behind them and Williamson's South Carolina volunteers even further back.

The enemy troops consisted of the Florida Rangers led by Thomas Browne and the British regulars led by General Augustine Prevost. At the Satilla River on June 17, the Americans surprised Browne's Rangers and their Creek Indian allies, who retreated southward. By June 28 the Americans had progressed 30 miles closer to the St. Marys River.¹⁷ There they had another encounter with Thomas Browne. The following from major John Grimke, one of the American soldiers, summarized the event:

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 404-405.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 406.

¹⁷A year earlier from February 16 to 18, 1777 there had been a battle at Fort McIntosh on the Satilla River, at which Captains Richard Winn and William Thompson surrendered to Lieutenant Colonel Lewis Valentine Fuser of the 60th Regiment of Foot (the Royal Americans). See Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 42.

The Georgia and South Carolina Continentals crossed the St. Marys River on 28 June. Three horsemen reconnoitering the new camp were challenged by a picquet of the First Brigade (Georgia's Continentals). They immediately galloped off, and the sentinel fired upon them. A light-horseman pursued one of the fleeing trio so closely that he was forced to drop his baggage, including his coat, in order to escape into a swamp. The contents of the baggage revealed that the Americans had very nearly captured Lieutenant Colonel Browne himself.¹⁸

After they arrived at the St. Marys River a dispute arose between the American contingents over which was in charge and about what strategy should be taken.¹⁹ Georgia Governor John Houstoun and the Georgia militia wanted to attack General Augustine Prevost's regular troops posted on the St. Augustine highway fifteen miles south of the St. Mary's River. Continental general Howe wanted to use his Continentals to attack Thomas Browne's Rangers at Fort Tonym, which was on the St. Marys River ten miles east down stream from the royal road.²⁰ The South Carolina militia did not enter into the discussion because they had not yet arrived. As one commentator puts it, "No one was sure where General Williamson and the South Carolina militia were—except that they were a long way in the rear."²¹

On the afternoon of June 28, 1778 the Georgia and South Carolina Continentals under Howe marched toward Fort Tonym, which was then abandoned by Browne's Rangers without a fight. A South Carolina soldier described what he considered the lack of plunder in their victory:

We have now with great toil and difficulty, thro' parching lands and uncultivated wilds, frequently in the Meridian heat, marched near 300 miles to this place, and the reward of our trouble has been to find a half demolished stockade fort, a few devils clothes, blankets, and trifling necessaries buried under ground or thrown into the river, and to have the soul soothing satisfaction of knowing that the fame and terror of our maiden arms have made a

¹⁸John Grimke, "Journal of the campaign in the Southward: May 9 to July 14, 1778," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, vol. 12 (July 1911), p. 132. Major Grimke was General Robert Howe's aid-de-camp. See also, Searcy in "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution," p. 409.

¹⁹As the expedition's historian Martha Searcy puts it in "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution," p. 408, "The leaders, mainly Howe and Houstoun, rarely conferred and usually disagreed when they did."

²⁰*Ibid.*, p. 410.

²¹*Ibid.*, p. 408.

petty partisan, with far inferior numbers, decamp from a post not tenable against field pieces.²²

A number of the Winnsboro-Fairfield veterans, including William Hogan, gave accounts of the retreat of Thomas Browne and his troops. These accounts were second-hand, as the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia did not arrive at St. Mary's until a week later. Hogan in his account of Browne's retreat, mentioned how that Loyalist leader obtained his nickname, "Burnt Foot":

The British believed Burns [Thomas Brown] had burnt his fort on St. Mary and fled before the army arrived. It was said that Burns [Thomas Brown] was tarred and feathered by the Americans for refusing to sign Independence Resolutions and was called burn foot Burns [Brown] from the circumstances that fire had been put to his feathers.²³

Two days after the Continentals took Fort Tonyn, the Georgia militia on June 30 at Alligator Creek Bridge fought the last battle of the Florida tour. Alligator Creek was a tributary of the Nassau and 14 miles south of the St. Marys River. This battle also involved Thomas Browne's Rangers. American Colonel Elijah Clark was wounded and barely escaped capture. Thirteen Americans were killed including one black man. The British lost one soldier. John Bird, a Winnsboro-Fairfield comrade of Wilson and Hogan gave an account of this battle in his pension application: His account combined the British retreat from Fort Tonyn on June 28 and the battle on June 30 at Alligator Creek:

He entered the service of the United States under the following named officers and served as herein stated:

As militia under the command of Captain John Graves in Colonel Robert Gooden's [Goodwin's] regiment, commanded by General Andrew Williamson in the Florida expedition. . . From this place [Governor Wright's plantation] we marched into the state of Georgia to Fort McIntosh [Satilla River] near the seashore. Then we was marched for Augustine and on our march, probably on the third day, we come to Burn-footed Brown's encampment where the said Brown commanded the Tories, Indians, Negroes and British. Here we had a battle and our troops gave ground till we were reinforced, and then we drove the enemy behind their

²²Pinckney to Horry, 1 July 1778, in Jack Cross, ed., "Letters of Thomas Pinckney, 1775-1780," *South Carolina History Magazine*, (July, 1957), vol. 58, p. 156; see also, Searcy, "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution," p. 412.

²³Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

breastworks. General Clark was wounded and lost his Negro and horse. The next morning we was sent to take the breastworks and Brown and his men was gone. This place we called Kettle Creek [per Heitman, February 14, 1779], as there was the largest kettle there I ever saw. Here Williamson ordered us to turn back. On our return we burned our wagons after we passed Fort McIntosh. I served this time four months.²⁴

On July 1 the British retreated from Alligator Creek south. At that point half the Continentals were disabled because of sickness. They were also out of rice, had been without bread for three days, and their horses were dieing from starvation. Nevertheless, Governor Houstoun wanted General Howe to march them further south, but he refused.²⁵

It was on July 10 that Colonel Williamson's South Carolina militia with 1000 troops finally reached the St. Marys River. To some extent they saved the Continentals. They had with them wagonloads of supplies, as the following describes:

Lieutenant Henry Hampton, who served under Thomas Sumter, brought news of the approach of Colonel Williamson and the South Carolina militia. But before Williamson arrived with fresh food and medicine, half of the Carolina Continentals had dropped out from malaria and dysentery. Colonel Sumter came down with the ague and was hospitalized at Sunbury. The command of the riflemen then passed to Lieutenant Colonel Henderson.²⁶

With the arrival of the South Carolina militia another dispute arose over leadership and strategy. Hogan in his pension application commented on this dispute, "General Williamson commanded the Winn army until they crossed the St. Mary. A dispute arose among the officers who was entitled to command seeing they were then out of the states."²⁷ Continental commander Howe wanted to retreat immediately. Georgia militia leader Governor Houstoun, voicing the

²⁴John Bird filed his pension application in 1832 when he was 77 years old and living in Dale County, Alabama. See "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files of John Bird" (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microseries series M804, Roll 243, 1965), Application # S10372 (a digital copy of this pension file is available on line from Heritage Quest).

²⁵Searcy, "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution," p. 416.

²⁶Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 45. Sumter's troops had reached Old Town on the Satilla on June 14, 1778.

²⁷Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

desires of the Savannah merchants, wanted to cross the St. Johns River and attack St. Augustine. South Carolina militia leader Williamson refused to take orders from Howe or Houstoun but was willing to march to the St. Johns River but not cross it.²⁸ The St. Johns River at present-day Jacksonville, Florida was 40 miles north of St. Augustine and 36 miles south of the St. Marys River.

Georgia historian Martha Searcy points out that the refusal of the militia to recognize the authority of the Continentals extended to the rank and file. For example, a party from Williamson's corps out on a search party lost their horses and risked capture because they refused to obey two Continental captains seeking to command them.²⁹

A South Carolina historian gives a slightly different version of the dispute between the various leaders, stating that General Howe only sought to retreat after discovering that the British had retreated.

Governor Houston now brought in his Georgia militia, but he refused to put them under Continental General Howe's command. On July 8 [July 10] South Carolina Colonel Williamson arrived, but he also refused to put his militia under Howe. The campaign then turned into a vindictive squabble between state and Continental troops, and British Colonel Prevost leisurely withdrew to Saint Augustine.

Finally ignoring the contentious militiamen, Howe prepared to advance. As he moved, he sent Captains Hyrne and Taylor to scout the enemy. Soon they returned with a report that the British had felled trees in the roads and burned the bridges. A council of officers then voted that the expedition had achieved its objective in driving the British from Georgia.³⁰

²⁸Searcy, "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution," p. 418.

²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 419.

³⁰Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 45. The same problem about the failure of the military to agree with each other had occurred at the same spot a year earlier. Bass in *ibid.*, pp. 41-42, describes it:

The British were not long quiescent. General Augustine Prevost, commanding the garrison at Saint Augustine, ran short of provisions. In February, 1777 he sent his brother, Colonel Mark Prevost, to collect beeves from the Whigs in southern Georgia. He also ordered an advance guard under Colonel L.V. Fuser to cover the Americans at Sunbury, a village on the coast some twenty-eight miles below Savannah.

To meet Fuser's advance, General Robert Howe, commandant of the Continentals in Charleston, hurried off to Georgia, leaving orders for Colonels Marion and Sumter to bring down their regiments. Francis Marion immediately crowded six hundred men, equipment, ammunition, and provisions into several small vessels and sailed for Tybee. From his camp on Tawcaw Swamp, Sumter

William Hogan's narrative was at variance with the above account. He maintained that the South Carolina militia did not retreat but made good at least on Colonel Williamson's offer to march to the St. Johns River. Some 500 troops under John Winn had a skirmish with the Tory leader Daniel McGirt or McGirth. Along with Robert Cunningham, McGirt led several Tory groups called the Claybites and Scovillites.³¹ His narrow escape at the St. Johns River sounds similar to that of Browne's narrow escape on Alligator Creek. Hogan may have attributed the Browne escape to McGirt. Said Hogan:

Col. Winn in his return to the St. Mary met with McGirt and party of Indians. Took no prisoners. Got [Daniel] McGirt's horse and found by markers in the saddle bags that it was McGirt and party they had destroyed.³²

Arguing for the accuracy of Hogan's memories of an encounter with McGirt is that several other South Carolina soldiers including Joseph McCloskey, John Bird and John Grimke also mention such a skirmish between.³³ Grimke

marched his riflemen down the muddy, wintry road to Purrysburg. There he commandeered all the boats on the river, embarked his regiment, and drifted down to Savannah.

Meanwhile Fuser was moving unhindered through Georgia. But at Ogeechee Ferry, fifteen miles from Savannah, Colonel Samuel Elbert and his Georgians turned him back. After retreating, Fuser demanded that American Colonel Lachlan McIntosh surrender the fort at Sunbury. Replied McIntosh, "As to surrendering the fort, receive this laconic answer: Come and take it!"

Upon the retreat of the British, General Howe's expedition bogged down in a miasma of inefficiency and Georgia politics. Button Gwinnett, president of the Georgia Council, and Lachlan McIntosh, now commanding general of the Continental Line of Georgia, were in a struggle for power. Realizing his inability to accomplish anything without the co-operation of these leaders, Howe ordered Marion to return to Charleston and Sumter to occupy the fort at Sunbury.

³¹Lieutenant Colonel Daniel McGirt of the King's Carolina Rangers was from the Camden area. Prior to 1778 he had been on the American side, but when an officer attempted to confiscate his horse, he knocked the officer flat. He was arrested, flogged and imprisoned. He escaped, joined the Loyalists and gained a reputation for murdering and stealing. After the war he settled in Sumter County, South Carolina to live with his brother-in-law.

³²Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

³³Joseph McCloskey, "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files" (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microseries series M805, Roll 879, 1965), W1449 (a digital copy of this pension file is available on line from Heritage Quest). McCloskey stated in his pension application about the Florida tour:

Immediately after my return from Ninety-Six I was called to march into the State of Georgia. I was then under the command of Captain Weems who was attached to Colonel Picken's Regiment; had a small scrimmage at a place called Kettle Creek; from that place we marched under the command of General Pickens against a certain McGirt at St. Mary's commonly called the Florida

stated that some of McGirt's Rangers and the Americans met on June 30, 1878 and that a British deserter later said that McGirt was slightly wounded during the firing.³⁴ But if the encounter referred to by Hogan was on June 30, then there are still problems with his version, as Winn and the South Carolina militia had not yet arrived in Florida on that date.

On July 14 both the Continentals and the Georgia militia, if not Williamson's corps, decided that they were too weak to gain a victory at St. Augustine. As a result they started back north without further contentions. The South Carolina militia had no choice but to join the retreat. By July 25 at least some units of the South Carolina militia were encamped at Cathead Creek on the Altamaha River, which was near the present-day Darien on the royal road.³⁵ Wilson and Hogan expressed a curiosity about their surroundings. They may not have joined the militia to see the world, but they understood the notion. Cathead swamp was a tidal area where rice farming flourished or soon would flourish amidst 1000 year-old bald cypress, green herons, great egrets, raccoons, river otters and Indians who has been living and fishing there since 300 AD.

The failure of the Americans to oust the British from St. Augustine in June and July 1778 was followed by other defeats, as the British increased their presence in the South. In December 1778 the enemy attacked Savannah. They were again opposed by American General Robert Howe, who had failed in the third Florida expedition. Neither Savannah nor Howe were prepared for a struggle. There were only seven hundred Continental regulars to defend. They were defeated on December 29, 1778. After its fall, Savannah was looted. Clinton then returned North, leaving British General Charles Cornwallis (1738-1805) and a fighting force of 8,000 men.

The forces under Cornwallis moved inland. Augusta fell on January 30, 1779. The Tories of Georgia flocked to join the British commander Augustine Prevost. Others as far away as North Carolina began to stir. About 700 supporters of the British from North Carolina marched into Georgia to fight. But they were routed in battle by the Revolutionary militia led by Andrew Pickens. Only half of

expedition; drove him and his party from that part of the Country—and returned home after an absence of upwards of two months.

³⁴Grimke, "Journal of the campaign in the Southward: May 9 to July 14, 1778," pp. 192; see also, Searcy, "The Georgia-Florida Campaign in the American Revolution," p. 412.

³⁵Andrew Williamson's Orders (July 25, 1778), Robert W. Gibbes, comp., *Documentary History of the American Revolution* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1855-1857), vol. 1, pp. 94-95.

them reached the British army. Five were captured by the Americans and hanged as traitors in South Carolina. This stimulated the conflict and summary justice was frequent in the Carolinas and Georgia.³⁶

³⁶Jasper Faust, who was James Wilson's militia comrade, recollected in his pension application that in 1779 he participated in a tour to Augusta under General Lincoln, Colonel William Goodwyn and Uriah Goodwyn. During much of 1779 and early 1780 the Continentals attempted to retake Savannah. American Major General Benjamin Lincoln (1733-1810) of Massachusetts, who had been appointed on September 25, 1778 to succeed Robert Howe, headed the Continental forces in South Carolina. Among those who also came to South Carolina's aid in the spring of 1779 were John Laurens, once Washington's aide de camp, Francis Marion, later the "Swamp Fox," Isaac Huger, Peter Horry, the Pickney brothers, Thomas and Charles Cotesworth, and Count Casimir Pulaski. Pulaski, a Polish officer, commanded a cavalry detachment in the Continental service. The Revolutionaries numbered 1,350, including Continentals and militia. On October 9, 1779 General Lincoln led the South Carolina Continentals on an unsuccessful attempt to retake Savannah. The Americans lost 244 slain and 584 wounded. See Faust, "Revolutionary War Pension Application."



Figure 4-1:

Map of the Florida expedition in the summer of 1778 on which James Wilson and William Hogan participated. This was the most lengthy of their tours in distance and time.

Chapter 5: Congaree Tours: 1780-1781

Despite the defensive efforts of the militias and Continentals, Charleston fell to the British on May 12, 1780. At the time of the fall General Benjamin Lincoln had in and near Charleston almost 6,000 troops, more than half of which were Continentals; the remainder were lowcountry militia. Resistance to British arms in South Carolina vanished for several months after Charleston's fall.¹ Detachments of cavalry and Tory regiments sent out by Henry Clinton overran the state. British garrisons occupied a chain of posts running from Cheraw to Ninety-Six, and also Georgetown. South Carolina Loyalists came forth by the hundreds to take oaths of allegiance to the crown, and many took up arms.

However, the set-back for the Revolution in South Carolina was only temporary. Historian Lyman Draper concludes that if the farmers had been left

¹In 1778 John Laurens of South Carolina wrote to his father, then President of the Continental Congress, asking that 5,000 black troops be raised to give America superiority over the British in the South. The next year Congress resolved that 3,000 black soldiers should be raised in South Carolina and Georgia and their owners paid \$1,000 per recruit as all were to be freed. South Carolina turned down the proposal declaring that the enemy would follow the example and enlist blacks to the ruin of Southern capitalism. Later, at the time when Greene thought British General John Leslie was to be heavily reinforced he had asked Governor Rutledge to lay before the South Carolina assembly a proposition for raising 2,000 black troops for the Southern Army. When the report of the size of the British reinforcements proved false, Greene did not withdraw his request for black troops as whites everywhere were fearful of service in the deep South during the hot season. Greene said in his letter to Rutledge, as quoted in Thayer, *Nathaniel Greene*, p. 391:

The natural strength of South Carolina appears to consist much more in the blacks, than the whites. Could they be incorporated, and employed for its defense, it would afford you double security. That they would make good soldiers I have not the least doubt, and I am persuaded the State has it not in its power to give sufficient reinforcements without incorporating them. The slaves should be given their freedom and treated in all respects as other Soldiers.

Historian Theodore Thayer finds that sentiment in the army was strong for abolishing slavery. The rank-and-file farmers did not want their labor to be pitted against slave labor. Failing to get black soldiers, Greene asked for and obtained 500 blacks for wagoners, laborers and servants who were paid like regulars.

alone by the British, they would have remained neutral.² But the brutality of the imperialist army against the civilian population made it impossible to be neutral. The well-publicized activities of Banastre Tarleton (1754-1833), who refused quarter to Revolutionaries in the field, especially drove them in desperation to take sides and to bitter resistance.³ Working people had to actively support the South Carolina militia to defend their produce and livestock from confiscation, their homes from arson and their families from murder by the British and their local supporters.⁴ Unable to successfully attack the major British posts or to engage large enemy forces in open battle, the South Carolina militias began an harassing guerrilla warfare, interrupting communications, intercepting British supplies, and smashing Tory detachments.⁵

The Americans also waged a propaganda campaign. For example, in June 1780 British Lieutenant Colonel Francis "Lord" Rawdon in command at Camden, which was about 35 miles from Bear Creek, sent government agents to the countryside to attend church and political meetings. They were empowered to take submissions of the people and give paroles and protections to all that chose to become British subjects. Typically at one meeting in the Fairfield area an agent began reading from Lord Rawdon's Proclamation, which maintained that the Continental Congress had abandoned both Carolinas and that George Washington and the Continental Army had "fled to the mountains."⁶

One of those present, William Hill, interrupted and "took the stand himself." He told the people that these were lies meant to "intimidate and deceive" and reminded them:

We have all taken an oath to defend and maintain the

²The British made military duty compulsory for all South Carolina citizens in 1780. At the same time, they betrayed those who fought on their side by not providing protection to them from the plundering of the Revolutionary militia. See Lyman Draper, *Kings Mountain and Its Heroes* (Cincinnati: Thomson, 1881), pp. 143; McCrady, *The History of the Revolution, 1775-1780*, pp. 533-560.

³The plundering, ravaging, and abuse of civilians by Hessians and Loyalists is described by Lynn Montross in *The Story of the Continental Army, 1775-1783* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1952), pp. 370-373, and Klein, "Unification of a Slave State," pp. 123-126.

⁴McCrady, *The History of South Carolina in the Revolution, 1775-1780*, p. 856.

⁵Before long in South Carolina it was doubtful that the British and Tories controlled ground beyond that upon which they stood. In North Carolina, the Tory threat simultaneously diminished, John Moore's troops being routed and dispersed by Revolutionary militia.

⁶William Hill, *Colonel William Hill's Memoirs of the Revolution*, ed. S. Salley (Columbia: Historical Commission of South Carolina, 1921), as quoted in Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 111.

independence of the State. . . and that if we could not raise a force to meet the foe. . . we could keep in a body, go into North Carolina, meet our friends, and return with them to recover our State.⁷

Hill reported "visible animation in the countenance of the citizens and their former state of despondency visibly reversed" and the agent was required to leave.⁸

⁷*Ibid.*

⁸Hill in his *Memoirs* went on to state that the audience then elected two colonels. The men then chose "all other of their officers to form into companies. We then formed into a camp and erected the American Standard. And as soon as this was known there were men both of the states of Georgia and South Carolina adding daily to our numbers so that we soon became a respectable body."

For a short period beginning on July 25, 1780, the American Continental counterattack in the South was led by General Horatio Gates (1728-1806). Gates had been the victor of Saratoga by stopping the advance of Burgoyne from Canada and forcing him to lay down his arms. The son of an English servant, Gates reached the rank of major in the British regulars. Then, as a settler in the Shenandoah and an adherent to the American cause, he entered Continental service and attained the rank of major general.

Later he was appointed by Congress to succeed the captured Lincoln. He had been cautious in the Saratoga campaign, and there were reasons why he should have been so in his new command. But he was not. His command included the Maryland and Delaware Continentals, a detachment of Continental cavalry under the French Major Armand de la Rouverie, and another of artillery troops, on Deep River in North Carolina. However, neither these troops or his supplies were sufficient to undertake to drive the British from South Carolina. His troops were on short and unreliable rations, the commissariat services of Virginia and North Carolina being inefficient. Yet he believed that he had to move forward, that his own situation and the Revolutionary cause demanded action.

Gates began a rapid march on July 27, 1780 to take the British fort at Camden, S.C. At Rugeley's Mill, north of Camden, he was joined on August 14, 1780 by General Edward Stevens with 700 Virginia militia. With these troops he then had under him 1,100 Continentals and about 2,500 North Carolina and Virginia militia supposedly fit for duty.

The troops led by Gates were defeated on August 16, 1780 at the battle for Camden. The battle began with the Virginia militia going forward in the hope of attacking the British right wing before it was effectively formed. But the Virginians faltered in their advance. The British regulars charged in solid formation, and the Virginians fled, firing only a few shots. Panic-stricken, most of the North Carolina militia also ran without firing. Only the Continentals and a few North Carolinians put up a fight, but they eventually had to retreat. De Kalb's Continentals withstood a first British onslaught and vigorously counterattacked. The Continental reserve came up, formed at his left, and tried to establish a solid line with him. It was unable, however, to close a gap between and was before long so hard pressed in front and flank that it was forced to give way and to flee. De Kalb and the left wing, unaware of the flight of the bulk of the revolutionaries - because of morning haze and gunsmoke - fought on and on. Assailed in front and then on their exposed left, they re-formed, drove the British back, and counterattacked with the bayonet. At length, however, the Continentals were also battered from the rear by Tarleton's British Legion. They could not withstand the entire British army. De Kalb was mortally wounded; and after a desperate resistance, the left wing also broke, its survivors taking to flight.

The American force sustained heavy losses, about 650 of the Continentals being killed, wounded or captured. Gates, making no effort to gather the scattered remains of his army, rode rapidly away toward Hillsboro, North Carolina, where he appeared about three days after the battle, 160 miles from the field. There he was finally joined by 700 of his Continentals and a few

Congaree Tour: Post-May 1780. It was against the British upsurge in the upcountry that James Wilson's third documented campaign took place. This was the one-month long Congaree expedition. It is again from William Hogan's pension file that one finds information about Wilson's involvement. Hogan spoke of the tour as being a series of short outings lasting one or more weeks. He did not specify in which of these outings Wilson participated. What he said was that Wilson could testify about Hogan's service in these tours. This implies that Wilson had first-hand knowledge. Such corroboration was required in pension applications.

On the Congaree tour, or at least one of them, the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia was under the command of Major Anamanes [James] Lyles.⁹ Their encampment was at New Marked (Market?). If there was a New Marked (Market?) on the Congaree River, it does not appear on the maps of the Revolutionary period. The Congaree River was thirty miles from Wilson's Bear Creek neighborhood. As a central part of the South Carolina communications and transportation system, it was much contested. It connected with most of South Carolina's other major rivers. These rivers have been altered since the Revolution by the creation of dams and lakes. But in the eighteenth century the Congaree was at the heart of South Carolina river system. This system changed its name three times as it ran southeast from Georgia to the Atlantic Ocean. From the west to what is now Columbia it was the Saluda. Between Columbia, where it was joined from the north by the Broad River, to where the Wateree joined it thirty miles east, it was the Congaree. At that point it became the Santee until it flowed into the ocean south of Georgetown, South Carolina. At the Congaree's western juncture near Columbia and Saxagotha was Fort Granby. At its eastern juncture with the Wateree was Fort Motte near St. Matthews.

of his militia. He temporarily gave command of the Southern Army to his subordinate, Daniel Morgan (1736-1802). All thought of a major offensive by the Revolutionaries had to be abandoned; and British General Charles Cornwallis (1738-1805) was encouraged to move aggressively toward North Carolina. See Alden, *A History of the South, III*, pp. 245-246; Thane, *The Fighting Quaker*, p. 183.

⁹In May 1781 a Colonel James Lyles commanded a regiment under Thomas Sumter. See Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 179. The handwriting in Hogan's pension concerning the "Lyles" name is not clear. It could be Lyell. Colonel William Goodwyn, who lived in what is now Richland County in his pension application mentioned a Major Robert Lyell who served with him in the militia. Goodwyn's son Robert sometimes served with the Fairfield militia. See William Goodwyn, "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files" (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microseries series M805, Roll 365, 1965), Application # W886 (a digital copy of this pension file is available on line from Heritage Quest).

On his 1780 Congaree tour Hogan was a first lieutenant. In his pension application in March 1832, he included an affidavit from James Wilson and others attesting to Hogan's first lieutenantcy. Wilson and several others stated in that affidavit:

James Wilson knows of his having been first Lieutenant and commanding as such. We believe him to be seventy two years of age. Sworn to therefore the day and year aforesaid in open court.

Jasper Faust, Immanuel Tayler, **James Wilson**¹⁰

Hogan's pension application described the Congaree tour or tours:

7th. Deponent was out another tour which ought to have been mentioned between his third and fourth tour. Was first lieutenant then, was encamped on the Congaree. Major Anamanes [James] Lyles principally commanded. Lay there about three weeks. Was out one month on this tour. Place called New Marked where encamped. Was out on short tours against the Tories frequently during the war. At one time a Tory named James Humphrey was killed by one soldier who placed it to deponents credit. In this tour was out one week. Never received a written discharge. None of the militia ever did. They were discharged verbally by the Captain. **James Wilson** and Canon Cannon are all that deponent now knows living who can testify to any part of deponents service. Immanuel Tayler and Dr. Jasper Faust may.¹¹

As noted in the above description of the Congaree tour, Hogan stated that he may have killed a man, James Humphrey. Historian John Buchanan points out that militiamen who killed also inflicted a wound upon themselves:

Casualties often were few but psychological damage deep. When small numbers are involved, a few deaths have as much impact as hundreds or thousands when armies clash, and the significance is magnified when those involved are friends and neighbors and kin, some on one side, some on the other. This kind of fighting would go on for almost two years, and not all were small fights—some backwoods encounters would involve hundreds of men on each side.¹²

¹⁰James Wilson, et al, in Hogan, "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files." Faust in his pension application also records the Congaree tour. He listed it as his fourth outing, lasting three weeks as a private under Captain Thomas Taylor. They went to Fort Congaree. See Faust, "Revolutionary War Pension Application."

¹¹Hogan, "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files."

¹²Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 105.

Hogan was carrying psychological damage fifty years later.

Other Fairfield Militia Campaigns: Battle of Fort Congaree (May 1781). The documentation of Wilson's militia activity is limited. It was only by chance that three of his tours were documented by his fellow militiaman, William Hogan. The Winnsboro-Fairfield militia went on other tours, four of which besides those already discussed, were documented by Hogan. As a militiaman Wilson likely participated in some of these tours.

Starting in late October 1780, General Nathaniel Greene was in command of the southern Continentals, if not of the South Carolina militia. Even before Greene was appointed to lead, the militia had defeated the British at King's Mountain near Charlotte, North Carolina on October 7, 1780.¹³ As a result British General Charles Cornwallis felt compelled to fall back from Charlotte to prevent an expanded uprising in South Carolina and to await reinforcements. On October 14, 1780 he retreated south sixty-six miles to Winnsboro and made this his winter quarters until early January 1781. This put him fifteen miles from the Wilsons and Hogans on Bear Creek.

Theophilus Wilson, one of James Wilson's younger brothers, in his pension application complained that his father's cattle were run off by the British.¹⁴ Those who had not identified themselves as Loyalists by taking an oath to the crown were treated as Revolutionaries. Those who campaigned against the British or local Tories had their property plundered and their houses burned. This happened as a matter of course to leaders such as Thomas Sumter and Richard Winn. Theophilus Wilson gave no date when the British took his father's cattle, but the occupation of Winnsboro put foraging parties close at hand.¹⁵

Against the British bullying, Wilson, Hogan and their neighbors fought back. They won repeated victories in spite of the failure of the merchant class to adequately fund their resistance. These victories included Kings Mountain, Cowpens on the Catawba River on January 17, 1781, and Guilford Courthouse on

¹³At King's Mountain mounted militia from the hills of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia had trailed Major Patrick Ferguson with his force of 1,000 Loyalists and 100 Regulars to King's Mountain. Here in a savage battle Ferguson was slain and all but 400 of his troops killed, wounded or captured.

¹⁴Theophilus Wilson, "Revolutionary War Pension Application," (Washington, D.C.: "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files," National Archives Microseries M804, 1965).

¹⁵The British also occupied Camden. John Wilson's cattle may have fallen victim to a foraging party coming from that direction.

March 15, 1781. Soon after being defeated at Guilford Courthouse, General Cornwallis sailed for Virginia. He had determined that it would be impossible to achieve a victory without first taking power in the Chesapeake. He left Lieutenant Colonel Francis Rawdon in charge of the British South Carolina army.

Following the victory at Guilford Courthouse American Continental General Nathaniel Greene called in April 1781 upon Thomas Sumter and his militia to join him near Camden, asked Pickens to threaten Ninety-Six, and urged Francis Marion and his militia to join Continental Colonel Henry Lee in an attack upon Fort Watson on the Santee River halfway between Camden and Charleston. Greene's principle immediate objective was Camden, the strongest post of the British outside Charleston.¹⁶

The British forces in the deep South far outnumbered Greene's troops. Yet Francis Rawdon was in an uncomfortable position, because his troops were scattered about in no fewer than ten garrisons, at Charleston, Savannah, and Georgetown on the coast; at Camden, Ninety-Six, Augusta, and Fort Granby on the Congaree River, far in the interior; and at Orangeburg, Fort Watson and Fort Motte, the last near the junction of the Congaree and Wateree rivers, connecting links between Charleston and the more distant British posts. On paper Rawdon had more than 8,000 troops, many of them Tories. He could not immediately bring the bulk of them together, nor could he hope to hold all his stations against both Greene and the Revolutionary partisans in defensive and piecemeal operations. If he could deal effectively with Greene and the militias in pitched battle, most of his various positions would be relatively safe as against the partisans. However, starting at Fort Watson on April 23, 1781 and ending with Eutaw Springs, Greene and the militias gave Rawdon no chance for pitched battle.

The British were beaten at Fort Watson when Francis Marion and Harry Lee, using a high wooden tower, "a Maham Tower," with soldiers using rifles on top to threaten its defenders from above, forced the surrender of the garrison and its 120 soldiers. Two days later at Hobkirk's Hill on April 25, 1781 just north of Camden, Greene lost the battle but it was the British who on May 10, 1781 evacuated Camden.¹⁷ On May 11, 1781 Thomas Sumter, who had

¹⁶Alden, *A History of the South*, p. 261.

¹⁷At the time he abandoned Camden, Rawdon sent out orders for abandoning Ninety-Six and Fort Granby. He did not stop until he reached Moncks Corner.

characteristically failed to join General Greene before Camden, temporarily captured Orangeburg and 85 British troops.

It was in the spring of 1781 as part of the multiple operations along the Congaree River that the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia went on the fourth tour documented by William Hogan. The main event on this outing was what Hogan called the Battle of Fort Congaree. It is not immediately clear to which "Fort Congaree" Hogan was referring. Both Fort Granby and Fort Motte were on the Congaree. Both forts were about 30 miles from the Wilson and Hogan homesteads. Granby was south of Cayce, on the west side of the Congaree across from present-day Columbia. Fort Motte was 30 miles east down the Congaree River where it met with Wateree and became the Santee.

Hogan provided an alternative name for "Fort Congaree" in his pension application, but the handwriting is difficult to interpret.¹⁸ The alternative name he provided could be "Mcaquills" or "Maxwell." Said Hogan in his pension application:

3rd. The next tour was under General Sumter when he took the Congaree fort or Mcaquills [Maxwell] fort as sometimes called as believed. Captain John Woodward had resigned and one John Miles [Hill] whose father had been hung by the British had the command of the company. Thomas Tuyer [Taylor] was in this tour and Captain Cook. This before the Battle of Eutaw [September 7, 1781]. The Fort was taken before the deponent got there; the day before. Lay on the tour sometime after the fort was taken. Out three weeks or more on this tour.¹⁹

In Hogan's 1829 pension application to the South Carolina state government, he also described the Congaree battle, but referred to it as being at Taylars Fort. He wrote:

After he was a private in company commanded by Capt. John Miles during which time the fort on the Congaree called Taylars Fort was taken by the detachment of the army of which his

¹⁸The pension file of Hogan's comrade in the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia, Jeremy Taylor, also described the Fort Congaree tour without being more specific. He stated that the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia marched in a company commanded by Captain James Craig. They went to the Congaree River at Freeman's (Frieson's?) plantation, which was a little below Fort Congaree. They remained there until Fort Congaree under Captain Manfield and Colonel Norm Taylor was surrendered. See Jeremy Taylor, "Revolutionary War Pension Application," (Washington, D.C.: "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files," National Archives Microseries, 1965), reproduced on line by Heritage Quest.

¹⁹Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

company was a part.²⁰

Several factors argue in favor of Fort Granby being the location of Hogan's fourth tour. Most importantly, the British officer in command at Granby was Major Andrew Maxwell.²¹ Forts were sometimes referred to by the name of their commanding officer. Secondly, Hogan's commanding officer on this tour was, as he stated in his pension application, Thomas Sumter. Sumter at this period was laying siege to Fort Granby. His headquarters was at Ancrum's plantation which was across the Congaree River from Fort Granby and near Fridays Ferry. Sumter and his troops were ultimately deprived of the victory and plunder which they expected. But it was at Granby where they spent much of May 1781.

A standard account of the Fort Granby campaign summarizes:

Eager for another campaign against the river posts, on April 30, 1781 the Gamecock [Sumter] led his troops down to the Congaree. After bivouacking on the plantation of Loyalist George Ancrum, [which Sumter called Camp Congaree], he sent Colonel Henry Hampton to dislodge the guard at Fridays Ferry. As soon as Hampton's dragoons had cleared the river, he crossed and threw a blockade around Fort Granby. . . Major Maxwell had three hundred men and two twelve-pounders inside Fort Granby.²²

Sumter had five hundred men at Granby. He expected to have eight hundred by the middle of the first week in May and by the end at least one thousand. But because of general distress among the farmers the number

²⁰William Hogan, "Revolutionary War Pension Application of William Hogan to South Carolina State Government," (November 24, 1829), manuscript, South Carolina State Archives, Columbia, S.C. A transcription of William Hogan's state pension application is available from the family history web page at Anonymous, "Hogan Family History in Blythewood/Doko" (<http://www.angelfire.com/un/hoganhistory>). It should be noted that in his 1829 application "John Miles" is named as the leader, not "John Miles Hill," as in the 1832 federal application. The 1832 application is likely in error. It is also of interest that the road running south from Winnsboro to the lowcountry paralleled at a distance of 20 miles the road from Camden to the lowcountry. The Camden road crossed the Congaree at Fort Motte. The Winnsboro road crossed the Congaree at a ferry midway between Fort Motte to the east and Fort Granby to the west. The 1773 James Cook map of the area listed the Hambbeton farm as the closest location to this crossing, but does not give the name of the ferry. See James Cook, T. Bowen, T. and H. Parker, *A map of the province of South Carolina with all the rivers, creeks, bays, inlets, islands, inland navigation, soundings, time of high water on the sea coast, roads, marshes, ferrys, bridges, swamps, parishes, churches, towns, townships, county, parish, district, and provincial lines* (London: H. Parker, London, 1773).

²¹Andrew Maxwell, a native of Maryland, was sent to establish the post of Fort Granby in January 1781. The post was supplied by Wade Hampton who owned a nearby store. Hampton, aware of the fort's diminishing supplies, informed Sumter of Maxwell's vulnerability.

²²Bass, *Gamecock*, pp. 162.

fluctuated constantly. He was even having to furnish bread to many families while the men were in the field.²³

While laying siege at Granby, Sumter asked General Greene for the loan of a cannon. This was sent, but instead of using it against Granby, Sumter took part of his troops and captured Orangeburg on May 11. He left Colonel Thomas Taylor in charge of the Granby siege.²⁴ As noted earlier in the discussion of the chronic contention between the militia and the Continentals, when Sumter went to Orangeburg, the Continentals moved up to Fort Granby and took control of the siege away from Colonel Taylor. Unfortunately for the rank-and-file, including William Hogan, who was present toward the end of the operations, the Continentals allowed the British to surrender on May 15, 1781 without forcing them to return the plunder they had taken from the upcountry.²⁵ This brought on a near-mutiny and threats to shoot the prisoners.²⁶ It was on the Granby tour that Hogan not only lost his chance for plunder, but his black mare branded "WS." It took six years before he was reimbursed £70 in 1787 for the horse and £15 in wages for fifteen days of service by the South Carolina government.²⁷

In the spring of 1781 others from the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia besides Wilson and Hogan went out on various tours. This included private Hezekiah West. He helped in Sumter's temporary capture of Orangeburg. He wrote about this service in his 1832 pension application:

I was called on by my Captain Frost to perform a tour of duty as a militia footman and was ordered to rendezvous at Winnsboro, which order I promptly obeyed, and was marched under the command of John McCool from Winnsboro across the Congaree River down to Orangeburg on Edisto River where we were

²³Ibid., p. 170

²⁴Ibid., pp. 168-172.

²⁵Ibid., pp. 173-174.

²⁶While Hogan probably helped at the siege of Granby, there is also an argument that he participated in the Fort Motte capture on May 12, 1781. The Motte campaign was simultaneous with the Granby siege. The fort was located 30 miles south of Bear Creek on the road from Camden to lowcountry and Charleston. McCord's ferry was also there. Colonel William Thomson's plantation was a mile distant. The fort was sometimes referred to as Fort McCord. "Mcaquills" may be a corruption of "McCord." The major problem with assuming that Hogan in talking of the Battle of Fort Congaree was referring to Fort Motte is that the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia was under General Sumter. While Sumter was the ultimate militia commander in South Carolina in 1781, Francis Marion and Harry Lee led in the capture of Fort Motte.

²⁷William Hogan, "Auditor's Record # A 3663 (April 20, 1787)," "Revolutionary War File of William Hogan," (Columbia: South Carolina Archives).

stationed for two months, viz, February and March, I think in the year 1780 [1781], but am not sure whether 1780 or 1781. In which time I was called on to guard some public wagons that was going to General Greene's army that was stationed (as I understood) between us at Orangeburg and the British at or near to Charleston in South Carolina.²⁸ I went with these public wagons in company with sundry other soldiers as a guard for the sawmills on Edisto River, where we were discharged from this duty of guarding these wagons and returned back to camp at Orangeburg. I think that about the first of April that year I was relieved by another division of men in Winn's Regiment and returned home.²⁹

²⁸General Nathaniel Greene did not come to South Carolina until October 1780, so that West has to be referring to 1781, not 1780.

²⁹Hezekiah West, "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files" (Washington, D.C.: National Archives Microseries series M804, 1965), (a digital copy of this pension file is available on line from Heritage Quest).

William Hogan

State of South-Carolina
District of Fairfield

On this second day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty two personally appeared in open court

Bnd The next town was under Genl. Sumpter when he took the language first in Mcaqualls first as sometimes called as Salicoid. Col. John Wood = used had signed and me John Wiley his name whose father had been being by the field = He had the command of the company was draft Thomas Leahy was in this town at the time of the battle of the Congaree and last of the year 1780 before the battle of the Congaree. The first

Figure 5-1:

Section from William Hogan's original handwritten 1832 federal pension application. Here he describes the Battle of Fort Congaree. Because of the handwriting, it is difficult to interpret the alternative name he gives for this battle. It may be "Mcaqualls" or "Maxwell."

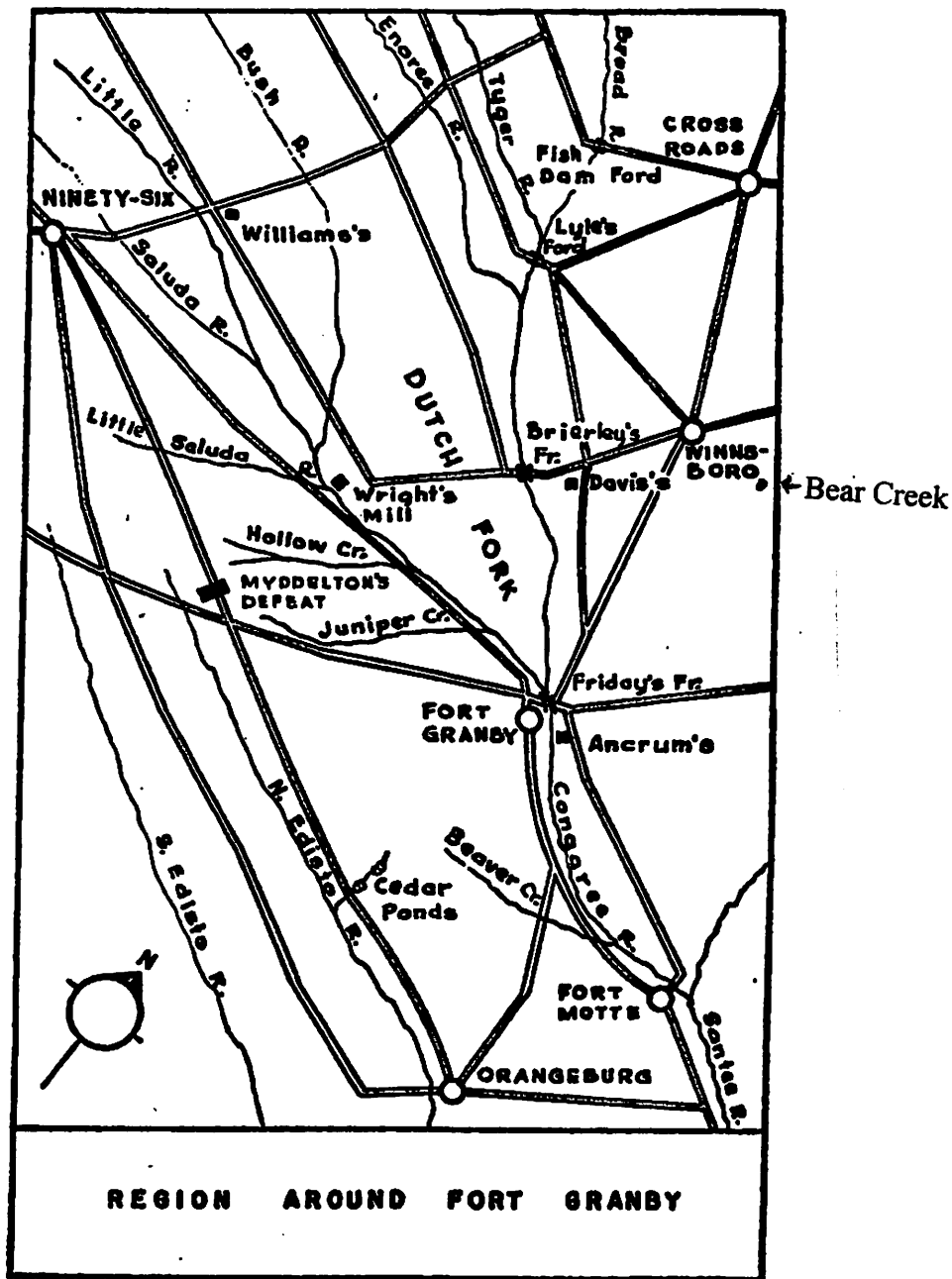


Figure 5-2:
Fort Granby, Fridays Ferry, Ancrums Farm on the Congaree River across from present-day Columbia with Winnsboro and Bear Creek located twenty miles to the north. The map is from Bass, *Gamecock*, p. 169.

Chapter 6: Final Tours: June-November 1781

Salkehatchie, S.C. Tour (June 1781). The fifth military tour in which William Hogan documented the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia as having participated was to the Salkehatchie River area. Leading the Americans in the one-month expedition was General Francis Marion and Colonels Richard Richardson and William Thomson. According to Hogan, the outing occurred after the May 1781 Congaree tour and before the Moncks Corner tour in July 1781. This places it in June 1781.¹

¹The Battle of Salkehatchie had occurred there a year earlier on March 8, 1780. This battle had been a part of the attempt to help Charleston, which was then under siege by the British. A description of this earlier Salkehatchie campaign is contained on the web page "Revolutionary War Raids & Skirmishes in 1780," <http://www.myrevolutionarywar.com/battles/1780s.htm> #800317a. It summarizes:

During the Revolutionary War, British troops occupied the plantation of Isaac McPherson (described as "a great Rebel, a man of property" in contemporary reports) in March, 1780, after unsuccessfully trying to chase down 50 American troops on horseback. During their stay the British engaged in what they thought was a skirmish with the enemy, but mistakenly attacked their own troops. The British left McPherson's Plantation and marched to the crossing of the Saltketcher (now the Salkehatchie) River, where a bridge had stood before the beginning of the war. They were met by 80 American militiamen who tried to prevent their crossing. The British Light Infantry crossed the river below this spot and came up behind the Americans. A captain and 16 privates were bayoneted to death by the British.

On March 17, 1780 a British force, commanded by Capt. Abraham DePeyster, had detected a Patriot reconnaissance patrol, commanded by Col. James Ladson, some 6 miles to the front of their position. The patrol consisted of the Colleton County militia. The militia had been felling trees across the roads leading to the Saltketcher Ferry and destroying all of the boats along the river so that the British could not use them to cross the river. The British were ordered to pursue the militia, which they did.

On March 18 Paterson's army reached the Salkehatchie River, where about eighty Patriot militia under Major Ladson had destroyed the bridge and occupied a tavern on the east bank in order to annoy the enemy advance. The British assigned part of the Legion to return their fire and keep them occupied

At that time Marion and those under him were contesting the Edisto River, Orangeburg and contiguous areas, which included the Salkehatchie River. One of Marion's main concerns was to prevent Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Stewart from moving supplies to Rawdon's force maneuvering in the area between the Edisto and Santee Rivers. To carry out this goal, Marion sent word to the farmers suggesting that his brigade prevent the two enemy forces from making a junction. There were soon some four hundred men coursing up the road from Nelson's Ferry. After receiving news of this, Nathaniel Greene went to Marion at Ancrum's Plantation. To block Stewart he ordered the brigade down to Moncks Corner.

Marion's biographer summarizes:

Riding in a great loop to avoid Rawdon's weary column, Marion drove toward his quarry. Scouts were sent out to hang off the enemy's flanks. Frequent dispatches to Greene reported, "They have no idea of any force being near them." Reporting that the enemy troops were so tired that their march had slowed to a crawl, he suggested that Rawdon's three regiments would mutiny and lay down their arms if they had to march another day. Despite Horry's hundred troopers following his march, picking up stragglers, Rawdon was too tired and too sick to know or care of the proximity of the enemy. But he was not Marion's concern; the immediate objective was Stewart.²

Stewart nevertheless evaded Marion and was able to reinforce Rawdon at Orangeburg.

The Winnsboro-Fairfield militia in June 1781 was part of Marion's activities, but Hogan himself left early. This was because one of his comrades was sick and needed to be escorted home. Hogan in his pension petition summarized the Salkehatchie tour:

5th. The next tour was to the Saltlatcher. General Marion was there, Col. [Richard] Richardson and Col. [William] Thompson. This wasn't long before the Eutaw Battle. And old man William Moore took sick and deponent was allowed to bring him home. Did not know then that the Eutaw [September 8, 1781] or

while the remainder of the advance guard forded the river further down, outflanked Ladson's men, and attacked them from the rear. Several American troops were shot or bayoneted; the rest fled.

²Hugh Rankin, *Francis Marion: The Swamp Fox* (New York: Thomas Crowell, 1973), p.

any other battle was approaching. Out one month on this tour. Was 1st Lieutenant this tour.³

While Hogan left early, his comrades including Hezekiah West were there for an entire month. West described his activities in his pension application:

I think and believe that about the last of May or first of June that same year I was again ordered to rendezvous at Winnsboro and was again marched from Winnsboro under command of Captain Robert Frost and again crossed the Congaree River and was marched to a place called the Four Holes where we joined the militia there under command of a Colonel Bratton, who was, I think, commander in chief of the men at the Four Holes—about 300 men as well as I can remember. General Greene still stationed between us and the British, but I cannot recollect the name of the chief commander while at Orangeburg, but I remember to have seen General Sumter there, but I think he did not stay long.⁴

Moncks Corner and Biggin Bridge Campaign (July 17, 1781). The Winnsboro-Fairfield militia in its sixth documented campaign continued the counterattack against the British. In the month-long Moncks Corner tour William Hogan was again a lieutenant. Also leading were Captains Jacob Bethany and Cook and Colonels William Thomson and Robert Goodwyn.⁵

The Moncks Corner tour occurred only a few months after the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill in the Spring of 1781. The British by then held in South Carolina and Georgia only Charleston and Savannah, their environs, and Ninety-Six. Ninety-Six was their principal interior post along with Camden, which had been abandoned.⁶

³Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

⁴Hezekiah West, "Revolutionary War Pensions and Bounty-Land-Warrant Application Files." It was in this period from May 1780 to July 1781 that William Hogan's friend, Jasper Faust, served as a private in two tours of three months each to Orangeburg. He was under the command of William Goodwyn and Bergone Arnold from Virginia. Arnold was elected a first lieutenant by his men. Faust mentioned that these outings were his fifth tour and were prior to the Biggin Bridge outing in July 1781. Soon after his two Orangeburg outings, Faust went on a three month tour to Four Holes, where he served under First Lieutenant Jacob Myers. See Faust, "Revolutionary War Pension Application."

⁵Colonel William Thomson, called "Old Danger," served at the Battle of Sullivan Island in June 1776 and against the Tories in the upcountry around Ninety-Six soon thereafter. See Buchanan, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 108.

⁶Alden, *A History of the South*, p. 264. General Nathaniel Greene himself, joined by Lee and Pickens, undertook in June 1781 the capture of Ninety-Six, garrisoned by 550 Loyalists under Lieutenant Colonel John Harris Cruger of New York. Cruger had failed to receive orders from Rawdon instructing him to retire toward Charleston. He resisted obstinately within strong

In July 1781 General Nathaniel Greene detached the militias of Sumter and Marion and most of Henry Lee's and William Washington's cavalry with orders to invade the region below Orangeburg and attack the posts at Dorchester, Goose Creek, Moncks Corner, and elsewhere. The thrust into the lowlands, Greene felt, would compel the British to give up Orangeburg as well as any thought of re-establishing posts at Granby and along the Santee.⁷

The principal action occurred on July 17, 1781 when the combined forces, with Thomas Sumter in command, took the British post at the parish church of St. Johns, known locally as Biggin church, a mile from Moncks Corner. This was 32 miles north of Charleston and close to Biggin Bridge, which crossed the Santee River. Lieutenant Colonel John Coates commanded the British garrison at Moncks Corner, which was made up of the Nineteenth Regiment and some mounted of the South Carolina Rangers. The Nineteenth had only arrived in Charleston on June 1, 1781 and its rank and file were "all raw Irishmen."

Realizing that Sumter was attempting to isolate him, Coates, feeling his position at Moncks Corner was weak, had withdrawn a mile and a half to Biggin Creek on July 14. He sought refuge in St. John's Church, the parish church of St. John's Berkeley. The building was sixty-by-forty-foot, practically impregnable with brick walls were three feet thick. On an elevation controlling the approaches to the church he threw up defensive works, and an abatis surrounded the church. After receiving reports of Sumter's maneuverings, and under the impression that Greene's entire army was moving against him, he realized that his position could leave him exposed and cut off from all possible aid. He began preparations to abandon his position and retreat toward Charleston on the east side of the Cooper. About three o'clock on the morning of July 17, 1781 Coates burned his stores and

fortifications. His troops, Northern and Southern Tories, had indulged in devastation, looting, and rape, and they hated and feared the Revolutionaries. They fought with zeal; and neither Maham tower nor fiery arrows on the roofs of their buildings nor formal assault nor capture of their water supply compelled them to abandon the defense. They fought on, thirsty and ferocious, and their fight was rewarded. British reinforcements from Ireland arrived at Charleston, and Lieutenant Colonel Rawdon came forward to their relief at the head of 2,000 troops. Rawdon eluded Sumter, sent to delay him, and moved rapidly upcountry. Greene, not strong enough to meet him in the field, gave up the siege in disappointment on June 20, 1781, and retreated northward. Rawdon followed briefly, but there was little hope of coming up with him, and the summer heat was taking its toll of his own troops, tired from their swift marches. Rawdon ordered the evacuation of Ninety-Six and withdrew to Orangeburg.

⁷The raid succeeded in throwing the enemy into panic. Captain Joseph Eggleston reaped laurels by capturing a large supply train on the way from Charleston to Orangeburg.

the church and started to move to a spot eighteen miles down the Cooper in the direction of Charleston.⁸

As a result of the retreat the Americans found St. Johns Church and the enemy's stores in flames and the British garrison fleeing down the road toward Quinby's Bridge. On reaching the bridge, Coates made a stand with his 500 infantry and 100 horse. Following a battle plan devised by Thomas Sumter, the Americans under the leadership of Harry Lee attempted to dislodge the enemy who had taken cover in a brick house. A little after five in the afternoon, on Sumter's orders, Thomas Taylor led his forty-five men forward in a charge. A countercharge with bayonets sent them reeling back. Marion's infantry, over on the left, seeing Taylor's men falling back, obliqued over and opened up a galling fire upon the enemy formation to cover Taylor's retreat. The brigade held firm in the face of the musketry and howitzer fire, although a number were struck down. A large number of the enemy fell back into the mansion house and began a steady fire from the doors and windows.

After three hours of fierce fighting, the Americans, who had no cannon, were obliged to give up. This was because British Lieutenant Colonel Nisbet Balfour at Charleston had dispatched a relief party of 700 under Lieutenant Colonel Pasten Gould. After the Quinby Bridge Battle, many militiamen were angry at Sumter for not having waited for his canon and for needlessly sacrificing them. The following describes Sumter's poorly devised battle plan and the anger it generated.

It was about three in the afternoon when Marion came up with his men and the legion infantry. They crossed a stream some distance above Quinby Bridge and marched for Shubrick's plantation where the British had taken a stand. He and Lee surveyed the position of the enemy and concluded that it was too strong to attack without artillery. Near five that afternoon Sumter came up with his militia. He had not brought along his field pieces because, he said, he did not wish to be held up by artillery when he pursued the retreating enemy.

Disagreeing with the estimate of the situation by Marion and Lee, and over their protests, Sumter declared he "would go into battle, whether or not, live or die." He wanted an immediate assault upon the enemy and refused to wait until his artillery piece

⁸The above description is from Rankin, *Francis Marion*, pp. 225-226.

could come up.⁹

Sumter's men had been firing from the protection of the outbuildings, and many could not understand why he had not waited to bring up his artillery to give them an even chance. Marion's brigade was livid with rage, for it was obvious that the affair had been badly managed. Flushed with anger because Sumter had not furnished his men with artillery support, and feeling that he had been a "sacrifice," Thomas Taylor walked up to the Gamecock and flatly stated, "I will never more serve under you!"¹⁰

Hogan described from his own perspective the Moncks Corner and Biggin Bridge Battle in his 1832 pension application:

4th. The next tour went to Moncks Corner between Orangeburg and Charleston. Deponent had been elected first lieutenant in Captain John Woodward's old company, then commanded by Captain [Jacob] Bethany and was drafted. It was deponents turn to go, with a part of the company. Was placed under the command of Captain Cook. Marched to Ancuris [Ancrum] place on the Congaree. Joined other companies at Ancurias [Ancrum]. Colonels [William] Thompson and Goodwin were there. Thompson had commanded.

At Biggin Church was met by a party of British horse. [American] Major [Wade] Hampton horse met them and took eleven prisoners. Went on to the big church [St. Johns] near Moncks Corner [July 17, 1781] where a party of British were posted. They all fled before the troops came up, after burning the church, and went to a brick house near, where another party of British were posted. The militia fired on the brick house sometime without driving the enemy and then went into Col. Thompson's plantation. Gen. Marion had joined by this time. Lay at Thompson sometime. Were discharged at Thompsons. Was out on this tour one month. This before the Eutaw Battle [September 8, 1781].¹¹

In his 1829 South Carolina pension application, Hogan also described the Moncks Corner tour:

Afterwards he was a lieutenant in a company commanded by Capt. Jacob Bethany and was present at the retreat of the British at the time the church was burned. He was at Moncks Corner near

⁹Rankin, *Francis Marion*, pp. 228-229.

¹⁰Rankin, *Francis Marion*, pp. 228-229.

¹¹Hogan, "Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application."

Charleston which service was for about 3 months.¹²

Six years after the tour, General Richard Winn, who by then was the South Carolina Auditor, awarded Hogan £12 and 10 shillings or 10 shillings per day for "25 days duty as a footman" in the battle.¹³

Jeremy Taylor was another Fairfield militiaman, besides Hogan, who described the Moncks Corner tour.¹⁴ He stated that they were marched to join General Greene in the Congaree area near Haigo plantation with the object being to attack the troops of Francis Rawdon at Orangeburg. General Greene then gave orders for all to march to Biggin Church. Wade Hampton took thirteen prisoners. The British burnt the church and retreated to Charleston. The Winnsboro-Fairfield militia then returned to Haigo plantation.¹⁵ Jasper Faust was a third Winnsboro-Fairfield militiaman on the Biggin Bridge tour, besides Hogan and Taylor. In his pension application, Faust said he served under Richard Winn and General Thomas Sumter.¹⁶

Tour to Orangeburg, S.C. (post-September, 1781). The last tour documented by Hogan for the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia was a three-month outing led by Colonel William Thompson to Orangeburg, South Carolina. This followed the American victory at Eutaw Springs near Orangeburg.¹⁷ At the Eutaw Spring Battle, the British had sought to hold Orangeburg and set up camp on the south side of the Congaree River. On August 22, 1781, assured that he would have enough troops to face Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Stuart, General Nathaniel Greene moved against him. Forced to march up to Camden in order to cross the flooded Santee and Wateree, he came down upon Stuart from the northwest. Meanwhile, the new British commander had fallen back to Eutaw Springs in order to protect and receive supplies en route to him from Charleston. Greene followed.

At Eutaw Springs Greene had 2,400 troops, of which 1,000 were militia. Francis Marion, Andrew Pickens, Henry Lee, William Washington and Jethro

¹²Hogan, "Revolutionary War Pension Application of William Hogan to South Carolina State Government."

¹³William Hogan, "Auditor's Record # A 3663 (April 20, 1787)," "Revolutionary War File of William Hogan," (Columbia: South Carolina Archives).

¹⁴Taylor, "Revolutionary War Pension Application."

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶Faust, "Revolutionary War Pension Application."

¹⁷Francis Rawdon had sailed for Europe because of ill health. His successor was Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Stuart.

Sumner all had a part. Stuart with 2,000 troops, largely British regulars, was so harassed by Greene's scouting parties that he did not know his opponent was near at hand until the morning of September 8, 1781. The news reached him in a most unpleasant manner; 100 troops he had sent out to gather sweet potatoes were captured, and a covering party was routed by the Americans, coming up in great force. Stuart promptly put the remainder of his force in line, with his left flank protected by Eutaw Creek. He was unable to anchor his right flank, but covered it as best he could by placing the few mounted troops he possessed in its rear. The ground which he occupied was wooded. Cornwallis or Rawdon might have advanced to attack the Revolutionaries; Stuart awaited their onslaught.

But for the Continentals' decision to pillage the British camp, the Americans would have won a total victory.¹⁸ The British had 436 killed and wounded, and more than 400 of their troops were prisoners. Greene's injured and slain reached nearly 500.¹⁹

Some of the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia were present at the Battle of Eutaw Springs, including Wilson's and Hogan's friend, Jeremy Taylor. After his participation in the Biggin Bridge battle in July 1781, Taylor remained on duty at Haigo Plantation. From there they eventually marched to Eutaw Springs. At the battle there Taylor took care of four horses. The entire tour took three months. Later he was out again for three months with the object of guarding the Four Holes Bridge, which was forty miles north of Charleston.²⁰

Fairfield militiaman Jasper Faust, like Taylor, remained on duty after fighting at Biggin Bridge. But he missed the Battle of Eutaw Springs because shortly before it, he was struck by lightning at General Sumter's house on the Santee.²¹

When Hogan went on duty at Orangeburg the area was already in American hands. He commented in his pension application:

6th. Next tour to Orangeburg after the Battle of Eutaw [September 8, 1781]. Col. [William] Thompson there, also Sumter.

¹⁸Some of the redcoats rallied in a brick house under Major Henry Sheridan; Stuart checked the flight of the others. The disorganized Americans gave way, and Greene was compelled to abandon the struggle, which had gone on for three hours. Both sides had suffered extremely heavy losses, and Stuart could not pursue his advantage.

¹⁹Alden, *A History of the South*, p. 266.

²⁰Taylor, "Revolutionary War Pension Application."

²¹Faust, "Revolutionary War Pension Application."

Stayed there three months and until discharged.²²

In 1787 the South Carolina Auditor Richard Winn approved a payment to Hogan of £18 “for 36 days service in 1782 on a tour of duty at Orangeburg at 10 shillings per day.”²³ Hogan had still not re-obtained a horse and served as a footman.

Immediately after Eutaw Springs the British held below the boundary of Virginia only Wilmington, Charleston, and Savannah. General Greene was unable to proceed against any of these three places, even after the British surrender at Yorktown on October 19, 1781. The militia, no longer threatened by the British regulars, went back to their families and farming. Greene's Continentals mutinied because they were not being paid. England could have kept Charleston permanently, but on December 14, 1782 a British fleet carried away the imperial army from the city. About 4,000 Loyalists who preferred exile also went and 5,000 blacks.²⁴

Conclusion. From the agrarian perspective, the Revolution was not their war. When the British forced them to take sides, they fought on their own terms. Militiamen Wilson and Hogan in their seven documented tours came late or left early in half their outings, so as to miss some of the bloodiest encounters.²⁵ They did not endorse suicide in behalf of “official” patriotism promoted by the war’s instigators. But they did more toward gaining the victory than the instigators down in Charleston who failed to tax themselves and spent most of their time compromising with the British occupation in order to protect their property.

Following the war James Wilson and his wife Mary, whom he married during the war in 1778 when he was 26-years old, raised five children in the Bear Creek neighborhood. William Hogan and his wife Jemima Sanders (Hogan),

²²Hogan, “Revolutionary War Federal Pension Application.”

²³William Hogan, “Auditor’s Record # A 3663 (April 20, 1787),” “Revolutionary War File of William Hogan,” (Columbia: South Carolina Archives).

²⁴Montross, *The Story of the Continental Army*, p. 374. British General Cornwallis, following a familiar pattern among capitalist military heroes, devoted the rest of his life to plundering other peoples for the glory of the Empire as viceroy of Ireland and then governor-general India. He seldom varied his old methods. He was praised for personal acts of kindness and never hesitated to send large numbers of rebels to their doom with a blend of ferocity and righteousness.

²⁵The battles at which Wilson and Hogan arrived late or left early were:

Florida Expedition (June-July, 1778) (came late)

Fall of Charleston (May 12, 1780) (came afterward).

Siege of Granby (May 15, 1781) (came day afterward, May 16, 1781).

Battle of Eutaw Springs (September 8, 1781) (left shortly before).

whom he married in the midst of the war in 1779 when he was 19-years old also raised five children in the Twenty-Five-Mile Creek neighborhood. Both patriots died within five months of each other in 1836.

Hogan generally remained a subsistence farmer throughout his life. In 1829 he made an inventory of his belongings in connection with applying to the South Carolina state legislature for a pension. He characterized himself as "a very poor man":

A Schedule of the Estate of William Hogan
 one small horse worth \$35.
 2 hogs \$2.00
 cow & calf \$10.00
 the furniture common to the house of a very poor
 man \$25.00
 weaving apparel \$72.00²⁶

The language about poverty was used in his attempts to obtain a pension. At the same time from the perspective of his Methodist religion, poverty was a virtue, even if the "gentlemen" taught otherwise.²⁷ James Wilson, helped by gifts from his parents, grandparents and in-laws, participated more actively in the capitalist-slave market system. Despite an upcountry economic depression in the last 15 years of his life that bankrupted or caused some of his grandchildren to move west in search of economic opportunity, Wilson had enough property to leave his children that they spent several years fighting over it.²⁸

Historian John Alden remarks that militiamen such as Wilson and Hogan in the years following the war had an accurate idea of their contribution to the American Revolution. The services of George Washington, Nathaniel Greene and the other generals were appreciated by the merchant and landlord class and the legislatures of the various states gave them presents. The rank-and-file believed that these officers received too much acclaim and that the working people in the militia, the regular army and the partisans were valued too slightly. As Alden puts it, a continuing debate sprang up over the question:

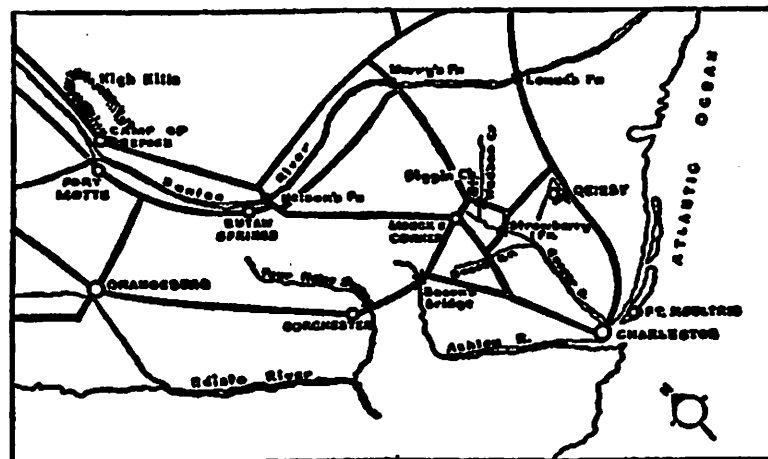
²⁶William Hogan, "Revolutionary War Pension Application of William Hogan to South Carolina State Government," (November 24, 1829).

²⁷In the last five years of his life between 1831 and 1836 Hogan was entitled to receive \$36 per year. It appears from his pension file that this money was not actually approved until after his death, so that it went to his children. See *ibid.*

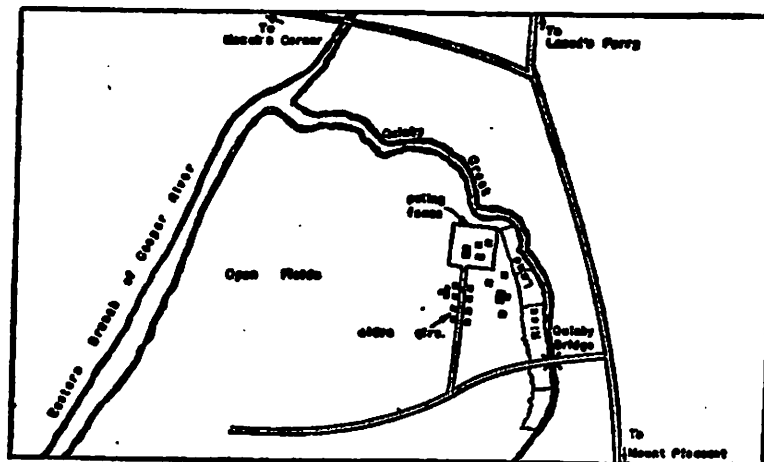
²⁸"James Wilson Estate papers," (manuscript, Winnsboro, S.C.: Courthouse, 1836-1843), *Deed Book H*, pp. 199-200, apt. 70-1069.

Who clipped the lion's wings
And flea'd his rump and pared his claws?²⁹

²⁹Alden, *A History of the South*, p. 267. Not least in helping to achieve the American victory were the French. Their fleet at Yorktown went a long way in making up for the failures of Congress and of the states to support the Revolution which they led. The verse quoted by Alden is from T.S. Eliot's poem, "*Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar.*"



REGION AROUND MONCK'S CORNER



QUINBY PLANTATION

Figure 6-1:

Top map is the region around Moncks Corner where the Winnsboro-Fairfield militia helped confront the British on July 17, 1781. Included in the map is Biggin Church and to the west, Fort Motte, Orangeburg and Eutaw Springs. To the east is Charleston. The bottom map shows the Quinby Plantation where more fighting occurred on July 17, 1781. Both maps are from Bass, *Gamecock*, pp. 196, 199.