South Carolina
Revolutionary Era Biographies

Tony Small

by
Robert R. Black

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American Revolution

TONY SMALL

Robert R. Black

On upper King Street throughout the 1940s and 50s in Charleston, South Carolina, the Black manager at the Belk-Robinson Department Store routinely gave free clothing to the poor. Marion Alexander Stroble, father of deputy U.S. marshal Fred Stroble, was among those who collected the clothes from the department store for distribution on behalf of Morris Brown A.M.E. Church and Mother Emanuel A.M.E. Church. The manager was known by the name "Lord Fitzgerald." How he got the name, whether it came from nowhere or was preserved by the Black community in the Lowcountry as a remnant of distant events surrounding the great Irish patriot Lord Edward Fitzgerald and the Black man who saved his life in the Revolutionary War, is lost to history. Lord Edward arrived in Charleston with the 19th Regiment of Foot on June 3, 1781. A Black man named Tony Small who may have lived on the McKelvey Plantation at Eutaw Springs saved his life after Lord Edward was wounded at the Battle of Eutaw Springs on September 8, 1781. From there, master and servant, friend and confidant, retired to British headquarters in Charleston. On May 5, 1782, after eleven months and at least twelve military actions during the Southern Campaign of the Revolutionary War, Lieutenant Lord Edward Fitzgerald sailed from Charleston harbor with Tony Small. Small's friendship with Lord Edward lasted for seventeen years during which time Lord Edward served with the British army in South Carolina, St. Lucia in the West Indies, Canada, Ireland, England, France, and the continent. Lord Edward eventually returned to Ireland with Tony. Inspired in part by Tony's accounts of African Americans in South Carolina in their struggle for freedom, Lord Edward renounced his peerage and commission in the British Army to lead the unsuccessful United Irishmen rebellion of 1796–1798 against British rule in Ireland. After Lord Edward's arrest and death in a British jail in 1798, Tony died in London about six years later. With roots grounded in the Lowcountry of South Carolina, and through his influence on Lord Edward, Tony Small helped further an existing spirit of liberty in Ireland.

The revolutionary mind which Lord Edward Fitzgerald (1763–1798) brought to the United Irishmen makes little sense without an account of his experiences in the American Revolutionary War. Lord Edward, head of the Military Committee, was the only leader of the uprising in 1796–98 with combat experience in a large campaign. He witnessed the successful effects of partisans in guerrilla warfare conducted by Marion, Sumter, and Lee and knew the devastation of civil war waged in the backcountry by American Tories and Whigs. As aide-de-camp to Lord Rawdon, a senior British field

officer in the Southern Campaign, Lord Edward was exposed to strategic as well as tactical military operations. Most significantly, however, he tasted a new birth of freedom for his own native land, in part through Tony Small.

Tony himself no doubt saw many of the three hundred and fifty Blacks fighting at Eutaw Springs under the command of Brigadier General Jethro Sumner's North Carolina Brigade. Nearly half of Sumner's North Carolina Continentals, by far the most of any unit, died in the battle. In Armstrong's Regiment, Donoho's Company, Drury Chavers was killed in action. Benjamin Reed was wounded. The men in Ashe's Regiment, Sharpe's Company, suffered heavier casualties than most. Twenty-nine of Ashe's men were killed in action. Elijah Bass, substitute for Ebenezer Riggan, was killed in action. While Crispus Attucks is remembered as a Black who died at the Boston Massacre in 1770, the names of Blacks who died at Eutaw Springs eleven years later are all but forgotten.

Draper Manuscript

Tony Small is virtually unknown to history. His name does not appear in any major historical publications and rarely appears in on-line references. He is seldom if ever discussed by amateur or academic historians. There is no evidence that he was either enslaved or free. The only historical primary source for Tony's identity as an African American who rescues British Lieutenant Lord Edward Fitzgerald, 90th Regiment of Foot, from the battlefield at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, is the Thomas Sumter Papers, Lyman C. Draper Manuscript Collection, 6VV321, State Historical Society of Wisconsin:

> *So close, indeed, and desperate was the encounter, that every officer engaged is said to have had personally, and hand to hand, an opportunity of distinguishing himself, and Lord Edward, who we may take for granted, was among the foremost in the strife, received a severe wound in the thigh, which left him insensible on the field. In this helpless situation he was found by a poor negro, who carried him off on his back to his hut, and there nursed him most tenderly till he was well enough of his wound to bear removing to Charleston. This negro was no other than the 'faithful Tony,' whom, in gratitude for the honest creature's kindness, he now took into his service, and who continued devotedly attached to his noble master to the end of his career.*

From this brief reference to his brave and risky action as a civilian on the battlefield and, mainly, through his influence on Lord Edward as seen in Lord Edward's letters to his mother and others, Tony Small emerges in his own right as a principal humanitarian figure in South Carolina during the Revolutionary War, and later during the Irish Uprising of 1796-1798. Small is a major minor figure in eighteenth-century American and Irish history.

"Tony, Negro [SC]" appears on page 327, identified in Appendix I as [L327], in a list of two thousand eight hundred African Americans in Moss and Scoggins' *African-American Loyalists in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution*. A list of eight hundred African Americans appears in their *African-American Patriots in the Southern Campaign of the American Revolution*. "The scope of African American service during the Revolutionary War is nothing short of amazing," they write in the introductions. Lord Edward Fitzgerald's name does not appear in biographical notes regarding Blacks in either volume of Moss and Scoggins.

After several 19th and early 20th century biographies of Lord Edward, Tony Small was again brought to the attention of readers in 1997. Stella Tillyard's biography, *Citizen Lord: The Life of Edward Fitzgerald, Irish Revolutionary* is indispensable, but it gives only four pages to Tony in South Carolina. Shortly after its publication, a British officer, Roger Chapman, director of the Green Howards Museum in Yorkshire, encouraged Robert Black to use primary sources found only in South Carolina to write *Tony Small and Lord Edward Fitzgerald: Creative nonfiction of black and white brotherhood in struggles for freedom during the American Revolutionary War and Irish Uprising of 1796-1798*. The book first appeared as *Fortune's Bond* in 2019 but was revised with corrections and additions in 2020. For the front cover, Joseph Winkelman, PPRE Hon RWS, created the original watercolor of Tony carrying Lord Edward from the battlefield. The19th Regiment of Foot, Lieutenant Lord Edward Fitzgerald's first regiment, later became the Green Howards. (Accreditations for this article can be found in Black's book.)

The following year Tony caught the imagination of Irish writers Neil Jordan, *The Ballad of Lord Edward and Citizen Small*, and Laura McKenna, *Words to Shape My Name*. Jordan's novel describes Tony's identity with Lord Edward ("He was a runaway, as I had once been. His forests and swamps weren't the bayous of Carolina, they were the Liberties, the Coombe, the barges on the muddy banks around Usher's Island… .") In her novel McKenna imagines a collection of long-lost papers, a "True Narrative," left by Tony to his daughter Harriet to recount his close relationship with Lord Edward.

The Memoirs of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a biography by Thomas Moore, was published in 1831. Moore mentions Tony about fifteen times. Moore was a close friend of Lord Edward's uncle and aunt, Lord and Lady Holland, whose personal accounts of their nephew are given almost entirely to the Irish lord's political and social life, not his military activity, in Ireland and England. Letters by Lord Edward as well as letters about him, many of which are printed in Moore's cleaned-up Whig biography, revised by Martin MacDermott in 1897, give Tony the family name of Small which today in the Lowcountry is often indistinguishable from Smalls.

Letters

Personal correspondence from Lord Edward provides another historical primary source regarding Tony Small. Tillyard identifies seven collections of letters from Lord Edward to his mother and from his mother to her son in archives at the National Library of Ireland and the British Library. Other correspondence between mother and son runs about eight hundred items from the 1770s to the 1830s and is in the National Library of Ireland. Released as late as 2012 after the publication of Tillyard's book, the most controversial collection of letters includes the capture of Lord Edward on May 19, 1798, in Dublin by the British during the Irish Uprising of 1796-98. There are one hundred and fifty items from 1798 alone, the year Lord Edward died — some say murdered — in Newgate goal in Dublin. Like the Draper Manuscript, the letters are primary sources regarding Small's life.

The letters mention Tony's insistence that Lord Edward punctually write to his mother who quickly realized Tony was the necessary instrument needed to prod her son to write home. Tony warns Lord Edward not to spend too much money on ordinary matters: "There has not passed a day yet," Lord Edward writes from Canada where he was assigned to the 54th Regiment of Foot after leaving the 19th Regiment, "without his telling me that I had best write now, or I should go out and forget it." In another letter from Canada, Lord Edward shares how closely their bond of friendship has become since Eutaw Springs: "His black face is the only thing that I yet feel attached to." And in another he signs off with a good-hearted swipe at Tony of the kind that only good friends share: "Goodbye. I have nothing more to say, except that the faithful Tony inquires after you all, and seems as glad when I get a letter as if it was to him; he always puts me in mind to write. I have found he has one fault; he is avaricious; he begins already to count the money both he and I are to save." And in yet another, "Good-bye again. The faithful Tony talks of you a great deal: he and I have long conversations about you all every morning."

Lord Edward thinks of Tony as a necessary companion who cannot be spared: "I was going to send Tony to London to learn to dress hair, but when he was to go, I found I could not do without his friendly face to look at and one that I found to love me a little."

Tony endures the same hard times alongside his good friend in Canada. Lord Edward writes to his mother about the harsh wilderness of Canada after leaving the hellish heat of South Carolina with the 90th Regiment of Foot and trekking through Canada while stationed with the 54th Regiment:

> *I am to set out in two days [through] Canada; it is a journey of one hundred and seventy-five miles, and I go straight through the woods. There is an officer of the regiment who goes with me. We make altogether a party of five, Tony, two woodsmen, the officer, and myself. We take all our provisions with us on tabargins. It will appear strange to you, or any people*

> *in England, to think of starting in February, with four feet snow on the ground, to march through a desert wood of one hundred and seventy-five miles; but it is nothing… .*

Lord Edward's assignment to the 54th Regiment further influences his republican sympathies seen in his letters regarding Tony's influence. The frontier of Canada was an antidote to civilities in South Carolina, although Lord Edward probably did enjoy conversations with William Washington while the latter was imprisoned in Charleston after the Battle of Eutaw Springs. "The equality of everybody and of their manner of life," he writes about the people in Canada, "I like very much. There are no gentlemen. Everybody is on a footing, provided he works and wants nothing. Everybody is exactly what he can make himself or has made himself by industry." In this totally unique environment from anything Lord Edward had ever seen, Lord Edward writes that Tony practically serves as master sergeant to his role as lieutenant — managing this and that detail, seeing to it that Lord Edward performs his duties in good order, yet doing so with humor.

Their trek through Canada included walking through deep snow and using what skills they had to navigate the land, streams, and lakes. They went from Halifax in Nova Scotia to St. John's and St. Anne's in New Brunswick, from there to Quebec, Montreal, Detroit, the Great Lakes and on down the Mississippi to New Orleans and back to London. In a letter home, Lord Edward describes portage as something akin to "post-chaise" and "post-horses": "There is a great convenience in the canoes, they are so light, two men can carry them easily on their shoulders, so that you go from river to river without any trouble; it is the only method of travelling in this country. A canoe here is like a post-chaise at home, and the rivers and lakes your post-horses You would laugh to see the faithful Tony and I carrying one. Good-bye, dearest mother."

Tony Small does not simply tag along in the wake of strong personalities. From Lord Edward's own account, he begins to play an early and influential role as Lord Edward returns to London and Dublin and begins to get embroiled in English and Irish politics. Lord Edward writes,

> *I am sorry to hear dear Harry has got into a little kind of a scrape with Uncle Richmond about canvassing — I own I think it was natural for him to do so; but in the particular situation of things I wish he had not taken a part, as Charles Fox himself was not concerned. I am glad I was away, for I certainly would not have canvassed for Hood. Tony says, if Lord Robert goes on in the way he is doing, he will soon be a major. I believe Henry and I are the only two honest ones in the family.*

"Tony says"! Why is the political opinion of a young man from South Carolina, a man who only gradually began to learn to read and write, worth quoting regarding the complex revolutionary issues of late 18th century England? And within no less than the structures of two of the most prestigious families in England and Ireland, the Lennoxes and Fitzgeralds? Lord Edward's mother

Emily Lennox was the daughter of Charles Lennox, 2nd of Richmond, making Lord Edward the great-great-grandson of King Charles II through the illegitimate Lennox line. In the passage above, "Uncle Richmond" is Charles, 3rd Duke of Richmond; "Charles Fox," is the great Whig statesman, Lord Edward's first cousin twenty years his senior; "Henry" is Lord Edward's older brother; and "Lord Robert" is his younger brother. Their mother Emily had twenty-four pregnancies and eighteen children by James Fitzgerald, 20th Earl of Kildare.

A life entwined with Lord Edward's also puts Tony in the middle of domestic and political affairs of the FitzGeralds, the 12th century Anglo-Norman Geraldines, and the Leinster and Kildare noble titles in Ireland. Lord Edward's grandfather was Robert Fitzgerald, 19th Earl of Kildare, and his father James was the 20th, later 1st Duke of Leinster. Lord Edward was born in Leinster House, what is now the presidential palace in Dublin. Yet Lord Edward's fervor for Irish freedom from British rule would later lead him to renounce his title and commission in the British army and assume the role of a commoner, an ordinary citizen of Ireland.

Tony Small must have been a man of great discretion and extraordinary native diplomatic skills. Even before the death of Lord Edward in 1798, Tony and his Irish wife Julie were confidants of Lord Edward's wife Pamela through whom Tony is associated with another great family, not an Anglo-Irish family but a French one. Pamela was the illegitimate daughter of Louis XVI's cousin, Louis-Philippe-Joseph, duc de Chartres, later duc d'Orléans. Philippe Egalité, as he was known for his own republican sympathies, was guillotined on November 6, 1793, during the French Revolution; as a result Pamela lost her annuity. From her mother Madame de Genlis, La Belle Pamela, the most beautiful woman in Paris, inherited a noble character, a character which like that of her husband insisted on keeping Tony Small an equal integral part of her family for as long as possible.

Two months after Lord Edward's death at the on June 4, 1798, only days after the May Uprising, and after an Act of Attainder left Pamela a homeless and impoverished widow, Tony and Julie, along with their young daughter Moirico, also known as Harriet, helped Pamela and her daughter Little Pam escape to Hamburg. Tony no doubt helped Pamela struggle with having to leave Lord Edward and Pamela's two other children, Little Eddy and Lucy, in London with members of the Fitzgerald family. Not until Pamela married again does the Small family embark for London. Throughout all the chaos of the American and Irish wars and the domestic turmoil within the several titled families, a Black man from South Carolina maintained a steady hand in the service of his noble friends. Few Americans, Black or white, played a larger role, albeit it an oblique one, on so large a stage — one in the age of reason, romance, and revolution.

Lord Edward admired the many qualities of Tony Small, but the two men would not have remained such fast friends if both were not exceptionally good men. Thirty-three years after Lord Edward's death, Moore describes Lord Edward's egalitarian nature, which Tony certainly admired:

> *By his servants he was idolized: 'there was not one of us (said an honest old groom of his to me) that would not gladly have laid down life for him.' Poor Tony, of whose fate the reader must be desirous to know something, never held up his head after his noble master's death, and very soon followed him. Besides that charm which the most perfect good nature threw round all that he said and did, he had likewise in his conversation a vein of natural pleasantry, which was the more amusing from its making no pretensions to amuse, and which, from his great power of self-possession, he was able to preserve in situations where few people could afford to be playful.*

When Lord Edward was arrested by the British, Tony's courage in defense of his friend was shown at the risk of losing his own life. The British were determined to catch the military commander of the Uprising. Moore and MacDermott write,

"On the issuing of the separate warrant against him, they lost no time, as we see, in putting it into execution, and were actually in Leinster House, making their search, when, having hastened home, hearing of the arrests, [Lord Edward] was on the point of entering it. His faithful Tony, however, being on the lookout for him, [Lord Edward] received notice of what was going on in time to escape." Tony and Julie promptly escorted Lady Fitzgerald and Little Pam to safety at another house on Denzil Street in Dublin.

Lord Edward was shot during his arrest and several days later died of his purposefully untreated wounds. During his imprisonment at Newgate gaol, he was reminded of his wounds at Eutaw Springs in service to the Crown as Lieutenant Lord Fitzgerald: "Ah! I was wounded then in a very different cause; that was in fighting against liberty—this in fighting *for* it."

During the time Lord Edward was imprisoned, Small tried unsuccessfully to see him, but "his unfortunate black face prevented him from going to see his dear master," according to Moore. The British knew that a visit from Tony would cheer up their arch enemy.

Ten days after Lord Edward died on June 4, 1789, a new Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was named. Charles, formerly Earl Cornwallis, now 1st Marquess Cornwallis, suppressed the Uprising three months later. Although some historians may disagree, the twentieth century "troubles" and the 1969–2001 Irish Republican Army (IRA) activities share the same issues in the public imagination as those in the Irish Uprising of 1796–98.

Without Tony Small, Lord Edward Fitzgerald would still be one of the two or three most beloved men in modern Irish history; however, it is not a stretch to recognize that a compelling force toward Lord Edward's determination to free the British yoke from the neck of Ireland lay in the exemplary figure of his Black friend. An Irish scholar, Kevin Whelan, identifies "faithful Tony" as Lord Edward's "constant companion and symbolic talisman of the universal brotherhood of man."

Lord Edward's life is without parallel in an age when individuals played great roles on the world stage, and Tony Small is at the center of it, both before and after Lord Edward's marriage to Pamela. The young Black man who was about the same age as the young nobleman embodied for him the philosophical ideas of Jean-Jacques Rousseau whose writings, under his mother's supervision, made up most of the early education of Lord Edward. Lord Edward was a great romantic in the age of great romantics. He saw in Small the very political and philosophical ideals he chased all his life. He was firmly devoted to leveling all social places and degrees. Lord Edward wanted Ireland to have what America promised to accomplish. For him Small was the very incarnation of a conviction that all men are created equal, yet Small was not just a simple reminder to him. Small helped Lord Edward to understand how good and pleasant it is when different kinds of people live peacefully side by side.

Their friendship is not dreamy nonsense. Although extant letters do not record direct conversations between the two men, it is clear from other letters that Lord Edward relied on Tony's good sense, his level-headedness, as well as the spirit of American ideals which Small brought to Ireland: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, words then resounding in France as well. They would have been abstractions to Lord Edward if he were not able to see Tony's black face day after day. For Lord Edward, Tony was an Irish Lafayette.

Their friendship is a remarkable one with remarkable effects. Significantly, the minds and hearts of both men never left that sweet adversity, the Lowcountry of South Carolina where democracy so ironically began amid guns and slavery.

Tony Small in London

After the Small family left Pamela on the continent, they settled in London where Julie set up a seamstress shop near Piccadilly and Tony began to look for work. Lack of money was a constant problem. Tony's health declined. Lord Edward's stepfather William Ogilvie ignored his requests for arrears due to him for service to Lord Edward. To figure out how exactly to broach the subject of asking for money, Tony may have gotten in touch with a servant of Arthur O'Connor, a principal figure among the United Irishmen. Jerry O'Leary was a well-known figure in London with prosperous friends. If any Black knew how to get about in the city, it was Jerry O'Leary. Encouraged, Tony wrote

to Sophia Fitzgerald, Lord Edward's sister who kept Lord Edward and Pamela's young daughter Lucy after Pamela left England for Hamburg.

Signing his letter as Anthony, sometime in 1803 Tony wrote,

> *My Lady,*
>
> *I hope you will pardon the Liberty I take in writing, but having a great favour to aske and knowing your Ladyships goodness, makes me take this freedom. I am at present in a very bade state of health and not able to do anything to support myself or family. I apply'd to Mr. Oglovie some time ago for what is owning to me by Lawler and he told me as soon as the Estates in Ireland would affort it he would let me have a hundred pounds, now being so ill and having no money I am drove to the greatest distress, for what little money I have been spent Docktors. the Favour I have to aske of your Ladyship is if you could make intress for me in the Family to make up a sum of money for me so that I might be able to keep our business for my wife and children which is my greatest trouble or if it was in your Ladyship's power to advance me some, I make no doubt but Mr. Oglovie will pass his word for it for realy if I was not in the way as I am I would not trouble your Ladyship on any account or the family — I am at present under the Hands of Surgeon Heavisides George St Hanover Square. He gives me every hopes of recovery he desires me to take all the nourishing food possible and take but little Exericse — I hope your Ladyship is well and Miss Lucy.*
>
> *I remain your Ladyship's faithfull servant*
>
> *Anthony Small*
>
> *PS My directions are No. 10 Air Street Piccadilly*

Months passed with only a slight sum sent by Lord Edward's favorite sister Lady Lucy Fitzgerald. Nothing was ever forwarded from Lawler or Ogilvie.

Identity of Tony Small

Tony was probably born free since he was free to travel, specifically to wander about on the battlefield after the Battle of Eutaw Springs, as he did according to the Draper Manuscript. Also, Tony was probably free since Lord Edward's letters do not mention any difficulty in getting Tony out of Charleston with him on May 5, 1782. After he replaced Clinton as commander-in-chief, Sir Guy Carlton ordered Leslie to make a list of Blacks who were expressly taken, rather than freed, by the British army. The list by Leslie accounts only for Black loyalists who belonged to patriots whose

estates were stripped by the British. Carlton's order to Leslie makes no mention of Black loyalists who joined the army by proclamation and whose continued freedom was not guaranteed.

The list by Leslie has not survived, unlike *The Book of Negroes* which was Carleton's own more famous list of approximately three thousand Blacks who sailed from New York for various British colonies, mainly Nova Scotia. Approximately one thousand two hundred Blacks, ill-treated in Nova Scotia, left ten years later to settle Freetown, Sierra Leone.

The Small family is not listed among the approximately six hundred families in Paul Heinegg, *Free African Americans of North Carolina, Virginia, and South Carolina from the Colonial Period to About 1820*, Vols. I and II, 5th edn.

Of course, Tony could simply have escaped slavery and, after saving Lord Edward, been evacuated with him from Charleston at Gadsden Wharf where the International American African Museum now stands. No record states that Lord Edward paid a price to anyone who owned Tony before Lord Edward was permitted to leave Charleston with him. No one named Tony is listed among the McKelvey family inventory of enslaved people, those who lived near the plantation around which much of the battle was fought. That acreage, later known as Belvidere, is still owned by the Sinkler family. Evidence of remains of the McKelvey plantation on the Eutaw Springs Battlefield is uncertain.

According to Brent Howard Holcomb, a professional genealogist and editor of *The South Carolina Magazine of Ancestral Research*, and many others, little or no evidence exists in public records about African Americans during the time of the Revolutionary War. Such is especially true on the loyalist side. Nearly all South Carolina records are based on ownership of property, and since Tony Small probably owned no property, no public record of him exists.

South Carolina Miscellaneous Records, Main series, turns up no evidence of Tony Small. This series begins in 1729 and continues until 1825. It covers the entire province or state of South Carolina until 1791 at which time the Columbia series begins, covering the upper division of the state. Holcomb found no evidence of Tony Small or of simply Tony in the "S" entries from 1775–1790 (pages 39–95 of the "S" entries) and the "T" entries from 1773–1790 (pages 11–30 of the "T" entries). Holcomb found no entries in the period for anyone named Small, but he did find one entry for a man named Tony in Miscellaneous Records, Volume RR, pages 555-556 (South Carolina Archives microfilm ST374A). In 1777, this Tony paid a certain John Rose of Charles Town £580 for his freedom:

> *To all Christian People to whom these Presents shall come, be seen or made known, I John Rose of Charles Town in South Carolina, Gentleman, send Greeting. Know ye that for & in consideration of the Sum of five hundred & Eighty Pounds lawful current Money of South Carolina to me in hand before the Insealing & delivery of these Presents well & truly paid*

by Tony a Black Man (and at and immediately before the delivery hereof my Slave), the said John Rose have made manumitted, Liberated & set free the said Tony, & for myself and Heirs Executors & Administrators do covenant & grant to & with the said Tony that neither myself, the said John Rose, nor my heirs Executors or Administrators shall or will at any time or times hereafter Claim or Demand any manner or Right or property in the said Black Man Tony, but of and from the same shall be forever barred by these presents. And I do declare and make known by this present Writing that the said Tony is absolutely entitled to all the protection of the Laws and every immunity by the Constitution or Customs of South Carolina granted to free Black Men, Mustizoes or Mulattoes. In Writing whereof I have hereunto set my hand and Seal at Charles Town this fifth day of September in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred & Seventy Seven before Credible Witnesses Testifying the same. John Rose LS.

About a year later, on September 22, 1778, the document is witnessed by Philip Tidyman and Ripley Singleton and proved by oath of Ripley Singleton before William Nisbett, J. P. That the man freed by manumission is Tony Small is, however, unlikely. Tony would probably been only about seventeen years old at the time.

Tony Small, c. 1760–1804, lived and died around the same time as Lord Edward who was born on October 15, 1763, and died on June 4, 1798. Small left no footprints in South Carolina other than those he left on the battlefield at Eutaw Springs. No burial records of family members or anything else exist in state or local records in South Carolina. Apart from military excursions with Lord Edward in the West Indies, Gibraltar, and Canada, Small lived in Ireland, France, Belgium, and London where he is probably buried. No primary records of his life is known to exist outside of Fitzgerald family letters and the Draper manuscript.

Tony is mentioned only once in the Revolutionary War romance novels of William Gilmore Simms. In Simms "the young cavalier of flexible affections," Lord Edward — the same reckless officer he was in fact at Ninety Six —takes on a thoroughly credible role as a lady's man in Charleston society. (After all, Lord Edward was well known to be the father of a child born to the wife of the English playwright Richard Sheridan, a good friend of Banastre Tarlton.) Simms is an historian as well as a good storyteller, especially in *The Forayers and Eutaw. The Forayers: Or, Raid of the Dog Days; Eutaw: A Sequel to the Forayers, Or Raid of the Dog Days; The Partisan: A Romance of Revolution; Mellichampe; and The Scout: Or, The Black Riders of the Congaree* cannot be dismissed out of hand as irrelevant historical documentation. Simms's main source is a Charleston patriot who lived during the Southern Campaign — his grandmother.

Before Tony meets Lord Edward at Eutaw Springs, Simms firmly places Lord Edward at Huger's Bridge and Quinby Bridge in July 17, 1781, opposite the likes of Lighthorse Harry Lee, William Washington, the Swamp Fox, and the Game Cock. Simms's use of Lord Edward may be the only mention of Fitzgerald by name in American sources. Most American historians have never heard of either Lord Edward or Tony Small, both of whom might be called "sleepers," figures who now need to be recognized.

As a security precaution, Small never accompanied Lord Edward in Paris while Lord Edward, with O'Connell, was making plans for the French to give aid to the Irish Uprising with an invasion force on the west coast of Ireland. The invasion effort was a disaster due to a violent storm that kept the French fleet from landing; nonetheless, Small was so closely identified with Lord Edward that his black face was a distinct alarm that Lord Edward was in the area making plans for an Irish revolt. Tony was denied the opportunity to go with Lord Edward to visit Thomas Payne. Like those in Paris, Dubliners and Londoners certainly would have taken notice of Tony.

His residence at No. 10 Air Street, Piccadilly, London, between Sackville Street and Piccadilly Circus, is a short distance from St. James Church, Piccadilly. William Blake who wrote "The Little Black Boy" in Songs of Innocence, 1789, lived not too far away on South Molton Street, Mayfair. If Tony were ever in the company of Dr. Johnson's servant Francis Barber, who died shortly before Tony, or in the company of other Blacks in London, there is no known record.

Evidence of Tony's existence in London remains the task of further research, ideally to include DNA samples of Small and Small's family members in London and Eutaw Springs.

Limited research on Ancestry.com by Pamela White, Northampton, Massachusetts, shows an entry in the parish register of St. Mary's Wimbledon, that an Anthony Small, the name Tony used to sign his letter to Lady Sophia, was buried on May 14, 1804; in that case, Tony would have been a year younger than Lord Edward: "Anthony Small, a Black, aged 40, buried."

Surrey History Centre; Woking, Surrey, England; Surrey Church of England Parish Registers; Reference: *P5/1/8*. Wimbledon is about six miles from Air Street, Piccadilly. In the early nineteen century it seems to have been largely rural with some grand estates. Tony Small might have been visiting someone there in search of employment with horses when he died. Without money, he would not have been returned for burial at St. James, Piccadilly.

Tony Small in Eutaw Springs, South Carolina

To find out more about the McKelvey land on which Tony Small may have lived, and on which the Battle of Eutaw Springs was fought, one must look further into the land genealogy of Raphoe Barony. John Bayley, Esq., a Landgrave and Irishman from Tipperary, paid the council of the Lords Proprietors the sum of £100 on 16 August 1698 and received a plat for forty-eight thousand acres along the Santee River near Eutaw Springs. At his death, his landgrave's patent, along with his landgraveship, descended to his son and heir of the same name. He, too, never came to South Carolina to see his property, but instead gave Power of Attorney to Alexander Trench of Charleston to sell it all.

Most old records of such plats prior to 1732 have disappeared. Consequently, titles from John Bayley cannot be traced back to a definite grant from the Lords Proprietors. They simply commence with a deed of conveyance from Trench who bargained off a parcel of land and conveyed the land to the purchasing party. That party necessarily bought land that had not yet been surveyed by Trench. The upshot of all this is that it is unknown when the Raphoe Barony was surveyed out. No grant for it is on record. No record of transfer of the barony exists from John Bayley or anyone claiming under him.

Although some of the Battle of Eutaw Springs occurred within Raphoe Barony, the main battle ground at Eutaw Springs does not lie within lines of Raphoe Barony, but instead lies in adjacent acreage to the west. As in the case of acreage within the barony itself, as determined by John Bailey, no record exists of a conveyance of the adjacent property by the Lords Proprietors to John Strode (aka Stroud). Nonetheless, previous to the laying out of the barony on September 15, 1705, John Strode was issued, by an unrecorded party, three grants of four hundred acres. Each lay to the west of the barony and, like the barony itself, south of the Santee River. Strode's property formed a solid body of land of one thousand two hundred acres in total. In the eastern most grant were at least two springs known as the Eutaw springs, one big and one small. The old plat spells it as "Hutaw." It is the actual land on which Tony Small may have been born and reared some sixty years after John Strode was issued his grants.

Understanding the relation between Barbados and the Lowcountry of South Carolina is crucial to understanding the history of both white and Black families, including Tony's. Some of the first settlers may have spent little time in Barbados en route from Great Britain to South Carolina, or "South Carolana" as it was then called, but their lifestyle quickly adapted to Barbadian customs. Barbados heavily influenced the development of society in South Carolina. The social order in Barbados was based on African slavery. A gentleman from Barbados — if not utterly destroyed by vanity and fashion — was civil, generous, sociable, and well supported on the backs of no fewer than seven or eight hundred enslaved Blacks. Early South Carolina was thoroughly English as traditions

and customs of the mother country continually landed on its shores from Barbados, along with enslaved Blacks brought from Barbados with their masters.

The names of some of the first settlers, if not the very ones who landed at Albermarle Point in 1670, are known. They were sent by the Proprietors from Barbados — men and women named Colleton, Yeamans, Middleton, Gibbes, Foster, Robinson, Elliott, Fenwick, and others, including Strode. (Strode may have descended from the family of "Philosophical Strode," to whom the fourteen-century English poet Geoffrey Chaucer dedicates his long poem *Troilus and Criseyde*.)

No one knows the total number of Barbadians who arrived in the 1670s and 1680s, but by some accounts approximately two or three hundred Barbadians with their hundreds of enslaved Blacks migrated to Carolina between 1670 and 1682. By other accounts, approximately fifty-four percent or seven hundred twenty-five of the one thousand three hundred forty-three white settlers who immigrated to South Carolina between 1670 and 1690 were probably from Barbados. Eighteen members of a family by the name of Small are recorded in Barbados baptismal records between 1637 and 1800. Other Small family members are recorded among wills and administrations and marriages that make no distinction between Blacks and whites.

The Barbados sugar planters of the seventeenth century introduced Negro slavery to South Carolina. They brought with them a commercial, materialistic, and exploitative mentality. Yet, these Anglican Barbadians — whom Mathew Arnold would have called barbarians — were of a higher sort socially and economically than the families who later came directly from England and Europe. For their boom-or-bust way of life, getting and spending, laying waste their time, living recklessly and dying young, migrants from Barbados created the first real "wild west" in America.

Extant records of the first families from Barbados suggest that their history is nearly as unreliable as that of the families of enslaved Africans they brought with them. In any event, Tony Small's ancestors may have settled in the Lowcountry as enslaved labor brought from Barbados with Hugh or John Strode in 1670 or sometime shortly thereafter. The Small family is, of course, never mentioned by name, and members of the family may not at that time have taken the name of Small or Smalls. None of the names of Blacks in Raphoe Barony at the time of Strode are known. The point is that their numbers were probably quite small — giving them a rather elite status in comparison to other Blacks who arrived later — until rice was introduced from Angola to South Carolina in the early 1690s. Then thousands of enslaved Blacks were imported to work in the labor-intensive industry, and the first Black Americans began to be absorbed into the total Black population.

Tony's ancestors may have arrived as men and women of mixed race, since numerous such people in Barbados indicate widespread miscegenation at that time. Also, South Carolina had a higher incidence of interracial sexual unions than that of other colonies.

At the time of the Battle of Eutaw Springs on September 8, 1781, Tony's family may have been working for over a hundred years on plantations that passed from Strode (to McPherson) to Kinloch to McKelvey/O'Neal/McKelvey. If so, Tony's lineage establishes him among the very first families in America, Black or white. Furthermore, his family's initial association (albeit as master and servant, enslaved or not) with an upper-class Anglican Barbadian family, and with subsequent landowners, might explain how this remarkable Black man (by that time probably free) could retain the friendship and devotion of an Irish lord — and vice-versa. He and Lord Edward, who was at the top of political and social ranking among the Anglican Protestant Ascendency in Ireland and England, shared a cultural affinity. Strode was English, McKelvey was Irish.

Tony was an individual who was smart, ambitious, and possessed a flexible sense of place, as all smart people do, regardless of their station and sense of pride. His family history to some degree may account for his talents. Tony and his family may have had a sense of genealogical superiority over others who arrived later in the Lowcountry, just as Blacks and whites in genealogical societies have today.

A sense of self-confidence and status could easily have been conveyed by Tony's family, even amid the humiliations of slavery, at least for the first few generations after Strode's grant. Also, oral accounts of Tony's family could have been brought from Africa to embellish claims of prestige and power in the new world.

That coherence and claim of elitism within a Black family like Tony's could have continued up to the American Civil War of 1861–1864 when much Black oral history was lost and Black family unity was almost totally destroyed. One current resident of Eutawville whose name is Small acknowledges that her family history begins after the Civil War.

Lord Edward saw nothing superficial or foppish in the African American and, later, in indigenous Canadians and white men and women on the Canadian frontier, those qualities of the white ruling classes in Dublin, London, and Paris that so repulsed Lord Edward. Tony matched Lord Edward as a man with qualities. In short, Tony was more than an ornament, a romantic "noble savage," or a practicum from Rousseau's *Emile*, Lord Edward's primer in his youth at his family's seaside villa, Frescati, on Dublin Bay. The two simply recognized each other as kindred minds and spirits on equal moral grounds.

On December 26, 1749, James Kinloch conveyed two hundred acres, namely the southern half of the eastern most grant of four hundred acres of the original one thousand two hundred Strode acreage, to Margaret McKelvey O'Neal, widow of Charles O'Neal. Those two hundred acres conveyed to Margaret O'Neal included the two Eutaw springs, the big and the small. It is this tract of two

hundred acres in the northeast section of the original Strode grant that is the center of the battle site thirty-one years later.

When in 1753 Margaret McKelvey O'Neal, widow of Charles O'Neal, married her cousin James McKelvey, the combined O'Neal-McKelvey plantations spread out over thousands of acres. Along the Santee and within Raphoe Barony, one O'Neal-McKelvey plantation, Brackey Plantation, was nearest to the original Strode grant. Prior to the Revolutionary War, neighboring plantations running down the southeast edge of the Santee River included Old and New Dorchee owned by Kinloch-Gaillard, Walnut Grove owned by Gabriel Marion, Francis Marion's brother, and Pond Bluff owned by Francis Marion. A plantation owned by Thomas Sumter was among those lying just across the river to the west.

Just off the southeast corner of Raphoe Barony lay Lawson Pond, the grounds of which were conveyed in 1799 and 1800 from Margaret McKelvey's four daughters and joint heirs to Philip Couturier. Lawson Pond remains in the Couturier family today.

While parts of the Raphoe Barony lay vacant, Francis Kinloch on May 4, 1757, conveyed the remaining eight hundred acres of the adjacent Strode grants to Thomas Lynch (probably the second Thomas Lynch of that name, Thomas Lynch, Sr., 1726–76, father of Thomas Lynch, Jr., 1749–79, who married Thomas Shubrick's daughter Elizabeth and who signed the Declaration of Independence). Twelve years later, on April 19, 1769, Thomas Lynch and Isaac Motte (to whom Lynch, married to Hannah Motte, apparently conveyed partial title) conveyed title of all eight hundred acres to brothers Peter and James Sinkler. At some time, the Kinlochs, Lynches, or Sinklers gave the name "Belvidere" to the eight-hundred-acre tract. The Battle of Eutaw Springs was fought on much of Belvidere, including some one hundred thirty-five acres which continue to be owned by descendants of the Sinkler family.

In light of numerous contemporary accounts of the Battle of Eutaw Springs and recent research on land genealogy by Richard Watkins and James Queen, existing foundations within the state park commemorating the battle may be traces of a brick house on a McKelvey Plantation. A central part of the action at the Battle of Eutaw Springs was fought around such a brick house which was situated at the head of the lower of two springs of Eutaw Creek that flowed into the Santee River. The name, if it had one, of the McKelvey Plantation is unknown.

An 1854 map or plan of William H. Sinkler's land shows "Remnants of Old Brick House" near the two spring heads and a pair of cross swords marking "Battle fought 8 September 1781." The Old Brick House was probably Maggie McKelvey's brick house, site of the battle. It was built on McKelvey land rather than on Belvidere.

None of the Sinklers lived in the Eutaw Creek area during the Revolutionary War, but by 1808 William Sinkler's Plantation was up and running. The Sinkler "Negro Houses" could have been in

place near the McKelvey brick house during the time of the battle, but they more likely were built by William Sinkler after the battle.

A map by William Faden and William Gerard DeBrahm in 1780 indicates that a "tavern" once stood near the banks of the Santee not far from Nelson's Ferry. Maps of the area show "Bourdel," Burdell's Tavern, through which the American army passed en route to Eutaw Springs. Tony Small probably watched as troops marched by.

White's Tavern is shown on the map of Charleston District, South Carolina, surveyed by Charles Vignoles and Henry Ravenel in 1820 and improved for Mills' Atlas in 1825. It is located several miles southeast of the battle site. A tavern located near the ferry would have been a good place for passengers to have a drink while waiting to cross the Santee River on their way to and from Charleston and Camden.

A map held in the South Carolina Room, Charleston County Library, shows Eutaw Springs and a Sinkler house, southeast of Eutaw Creek, at a road crossing of the Nelson's Ferry Road. Drawn forty years after the battle, it shows the route possibly used by Lieutenant Colonel Coates as he withdrew from Moncks Corner to Charleston.

The first of two maps or plans, both dated two years earlier on May 20, 1818, shows a tract of land conveyed by Colonel J. B. Richardson to William Sinkler that indicates "Negro Houses" adjacent to Sinkler's house just south of Eutaw Creek. (A second plan dated the same date indicates Mrs. Margaret Sinkler's house that sits farther north between Eutaw Creek and the Santee River, but no Negro houses are indicated.)

In any event, the foundation on the battleground site, which commemorates only a fraction — about eight acres — of the entire area on which the battle was fought, is probably not the foundation of a tavern but those of a brick house — as this article contends, that of Maggie McKelvey+.

According to David Reuwer who has done extensive study of the foundations of the brick edifice on the battle site, whether house or tavern, exact measurements cannot yet be determined. According to Reuwer, it had two stories and a garret and rested on piers. Only one basement brick pier of the edifice has been dug out, and the rest is yet to be excavated.

Charles Fraser's *A Charleston Sketchbook, 1796–1806*, incorrectly identifies the McKelvey brick house as a tavern, although Sinkler family tradition still maintains the structure was, indeed, a tavern.

The gist of all this is that privately owned maps, now donated to the Caroliniana Library by the Sinkler family, support the research of Richard Watkins and James Queen on land genealogy. Watkins and Queen suggest that the battle may have been fought on land owned by Maggie

McKelvey. Maggie, therefore, might have "owned" Tony Small if he were enslaved; or Tony lived as a free Black who worked on the McKelvey plantation. If that is the case, a plausible scenario is that the brick house at the center of the battle was at the time one of several McKelvey plantation houses, probably abandoned by Maggie and most Blacks as Lieutenant Colonel Alexander Stewart's British army approached. The "Negro Houses" shown in 1818, however, are not mentioned in any report of the battle and are not shown on any map of the battle itself. If any existed at the time of the battle, they would have been insignificant compared to the brick house. Negro houses were a prominent feature on maps to indicate the wealth of the plantation owner and usually lined the access road to the plantation house to show visitors how many enslaved workers lived there. They were badges of prestige and clearly visible. In battles and skirmishes such as the one at Shubrick's Plantation Negro houses were a prominent feature. Even so, Tony took Lord Edward to his house to tend to his wound after the battle, and he could not have traveled far from the battlefield with his noble patient on his back.

Finally, Stella Tillyard's biography of Lord Edward includes a painting identified as a portrait of Tony Small by Thomas Roberts (1748–1778). W. A. Hart, however, says that identity is unlikely. Roberts could not have been commissioned to paint the portrait in the 1780s. Instead, Hart claims, the Thomas Roberts painting is one of a nameless East Indian Black man in a portrait shown at the Society of Artists in Ireland in 1772, "Portrait of Bold Sir William (a Barb) [name of the horse], an East Indian Black, and a French dog, in the possession of Gerald Fitzgerald, Esq." Hart also mentions that the painting could be a portrait of a North African visitor to Dublin in 1783, Ahmet Ben Ali, made by an unknown artist. The portrait by Thomas Roberts was among works shown in a special exhibit at the National Gallery of Ireland, 28 March–28 June 2009.