



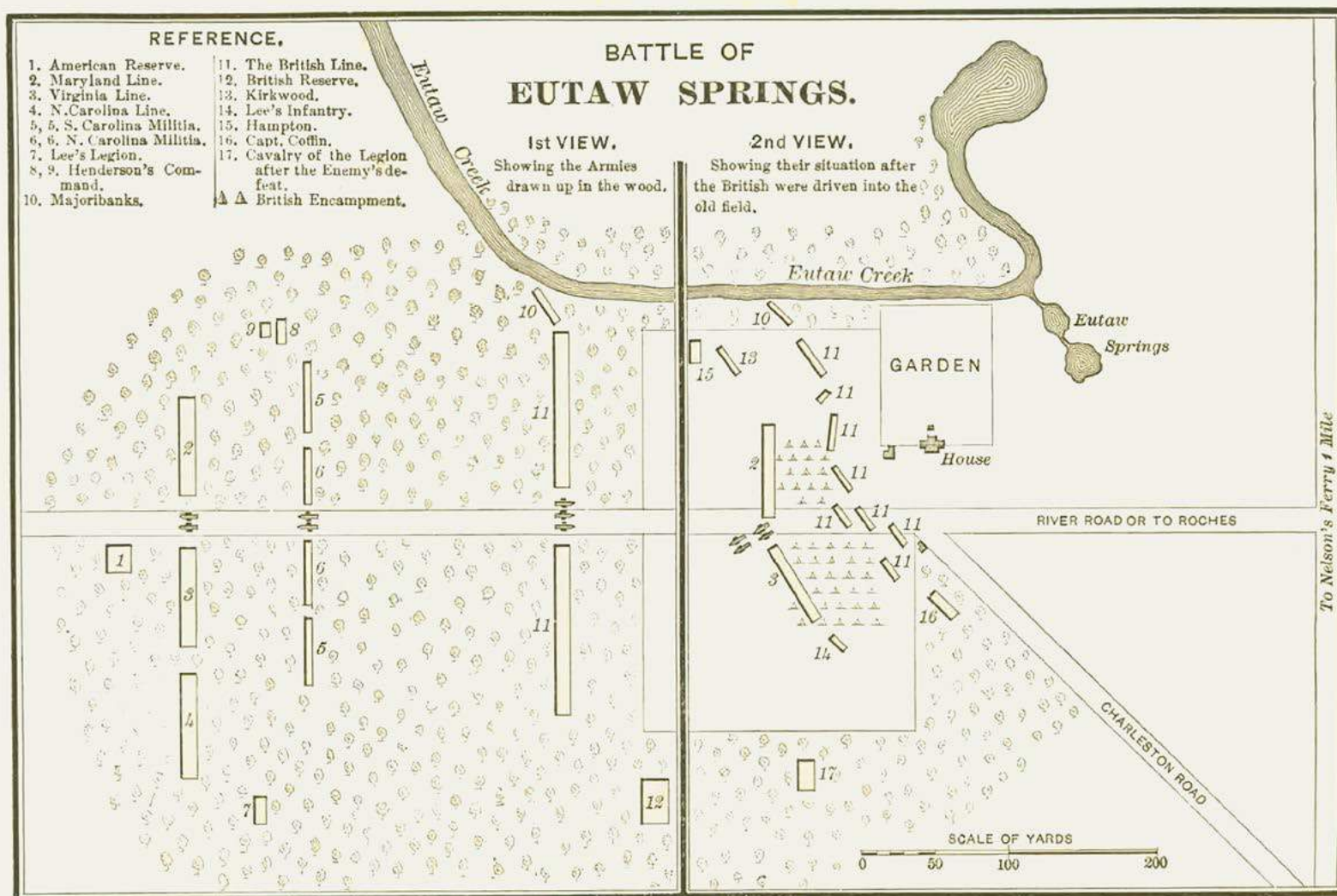
Revolutionary
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1770-1783



Battlefield Guide with Driving Tour

The Battle of Eutaw Springs



From Johnson's Life of Greene

Jim Piecuch, Ph.D.

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Introduction

Jim Piecuch, Ph.D.

On September 8, 1781, the American and British armies met at Eutaw Springs, South Carolina, in the last major open-field battle of the Revolutionary War. After about four hours of intense fighting in scorching heat, the Americans withdrew, leaving the British holding the field. The British army, however, had suffered so many casualties that it withdrew toward Charleston on September 9. Both sides insisted that they had won this important battle, which determined the future course of the war in South Carolina.

The Military Situation in South Carolina – August 1781

In mid-August of 1781, there was a temporary lull in military operations as both the American and British armies recuperated from months of intensive campaigning. Major operations had begun in April when Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene led his Continental Army into South Carolina. Greene had fought a hard battle against Lt. Gen. Charles, Lord Cornwallis's British force at Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina, on March 15. Although the British forced Greene to withdraw, their losses had been so heavy that Cornwallis retreated to Wilmington to rest and refit. In a daring maneuver, Greene chose to ignore Cornwallis's battered army and march southward. Rather than pursue Greene, Cornwallis decided to march to Virginia and unite with another British detachment there, a move that would result in the British army's surrender at Yorktown in October.

After entering South Carolina, Greene immediately targeted the important British post at Camden. He also dispatched Lt. Col. Henry Lee and his Legion to join with Brig. Gen. Francis Marion's partisans and attack British posts protecting the supply line between Charleston and Camden. Lee and Marion moved against Fort Watson on April 15 and forced the garrison to surrender on April 23. Two days later, on April 25, the British commander at Camden, Lt. Col. Francis, Lord Rawdon, attacked and defeated Greene's army at Hobkirk's Hill. Greene, however, managed to retreat with his army largely intact, and the loss of Fort Watson left Rawdon no choice but to abandon his post at Camden on the night of May 9. Another British post, Fort Motte, surrendered to Lee and Marion on May 12, and Lee captured Fort Granby on May 15.

With Rawdon's troops marching toward Charleston, Greene moved against the only major British post remaining in the interior of South Carolina, Ninety Six. The Continental Army arrived on May 22 and began a siege against the stubborn Loyalist garrison. Fortunately for the British, a reinforcement of three regular army regiments arrived in Charleston in early June. With some of these troops and his own veteran soldiers, Rawdon marched to relieve Ninety Six. Greene launched an attack on the post on June 18, hoping to capture it before Rawdon arrived, but the assault failed, and Greene withdrew. Rawdon followed, hoping to engage Greene's army, but the Americans fell back out of reach. The British evacuated Ninety Six and fell back to Orangeburg, while Greene took his army to the High

Hills of Santee, an area known for cooler temperatures and a healthy environment, away from the swamps where disease-carrying mosquitoes flourished, where his men could rest from their exertions.

Rawdon, who had been very ill even while he led the relief force to Ninety Six, sailed to Britain to recover his health, leaving Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart in command of the British field army. Stewart had arrived with the reinforcements in June, and on August 13, he marched from Orangeburg to Thompson's Plantation, south of the Congaree River, where he occupied a strong position from which he could guard the important crossing at McCord's Ferry on the Congaree, just upstream from where the Congaree and Wateree rivers meet to form the Santee River. Stewart hoped that his maneuvers would intimidate supporters of the Revolution, keep the American forces far from the main British base at Charleston, and enable his army to protect shipments of supplies bound for Charleston from areas farther inland.

Greene dispatched Lee with the Legion cavalry to monitor Stewart's movements. On August 10, Lee, who had united with Lt. Col. William Henderson's South Carolina State Troops, reported from the north side of the Congaree River near Howell's Ferry that the British, who were still at Orangeburg, were distant from any possible support and therefore vulnerable to attack. Greene replied two days later, agreeing that the British were in an exposed position but declaring that his army was too weak to risk an attack. Lee expressed his concern to Greene on August 13 that the army's weakness would cost Greene an outstanding opportunity to destroy Stewart's force, which Lee estimated at 1,600 men. In his response on August 14, Greene told Lee that intelligence confirmed Lee's report of British strength and that while he believed his Continentals were strong enough to defeat the British, the cost in casualties would be too high. Lee again urged Greene to attack Stewart in letters dated August 17 and 20, asserting that with sufficient troops, Greene could easily destroy the British army. At last, Greene was convinced that Lee's advice was correct and that he could achieve his goal of confining the British within the narrowest possible limits. On August 21, he informed his subordinate that he would march the next day, proceeding to Camden, where the army would cross the Wateree River, and that he expected Henderson's State Troops and Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens's militia to reinforce the Continentals. The Eutaw Springs campaign was about to begin.

Preliminary Maneuvers

Greene marched from his camp at the High Hills of Santee on August 23, one day later than he had originally planned, reaching Swift Creek that night and Camden on August 24. The next day, still at Camden, where he had been joined by some North Carolina militia, Greene expressed his worry to Lee that he might not receive all the reinforcements he had been expecting, and that he was gloomy about his prospects if he engaged the British. The army finally completed its crossing of the Wateree by August 27, and reached Howell's Ferry on August 30, where the troops rested before crossing on September 1. That same day, Lee informed Greene that the British had taken a new position. Having learned of Greene's approach, Stewart left his camp near McCord's Ferry on August 27, moved southward by a series of short marches, and halted at Eutaw Springs on the night of August 31. Lee added that he had received information from a spy in Charleston that 600 British troops with five pieces of artillery had left the town headed for Fairlawn Plantation, where they expected to rendezvous with Stewart.

On September 5, Greene, who had been advancing toward Eutaw Springs, learned that Pickens and his South Carolina militia and Henderson with the State Troops were on their way. Marion wrote the next day to report that he was 20 miles from Eutaw Springs and would await Greene's orders; he joined the Continentals on September 7. That night, Greene camped at Burdell's Tavern, only 7 miles from the British position. Stewart had no idea that the Americans were within striking distance. He had not been able to learn anything about Greene's recent movements and believed that he was safe from any attack. Because his troops were short of provisions, early on the morning of September 8, he sent more than 300 men from his camp to gather sweet potatoes from the plantations along the Santee River, west of the British position and in the direction of Greene's camp. The troops in these rooting parties were issued only four rounds of ammunition each, since no one believed an encounter with the Americans was likely to occur.

The Battlefield

The Eutaw Springs battlefield covers an extensive area. In the broadest terms, it encompasses the American camp at Burdell's Tavern eastward three miles along the River (or Congaree) Road, where the first shots were exchanged. The terrain along the road consisted mainly of open woodlands, with large trees and little underbrush; on the north side of the road, this gave way to open fields belonging to plantations that bordered the Santee River. Skirmishing continued between the American advance guard and parties of British light infantry for approximately three and a half additional miles until the Americans deployed for battle several hundred yards west of where the British had formed their line. Both sides were positioned in open forest. About one-third of a mile behind the British troops, where the River Road divided with the right fork known as the Charleston Road, was a large area of cleared ground. At its eastern end, close to the springs, stood a large, two-story brick house with an attic, owned by the McKelvie family. North of the house, the ground was enclosed to form a palisaded garden. Eutaw Creek, a tributary of the Santee River, ran in an east–west direction at the northern end of the British position, passing just north of the springs. The British army had made its camp in the open fields south and east of the house, on both sides of the Charleston Road, and the area was clogged with tents, supporting ropes and stakes, fire sites, and various items of camp equipment.

Although the Santee River was dammed in 1941 to create Lake Marion, only a small portion of the battlefield was flooded. This includes Eutaw Creek and the springs. However, numerous buildings and streets have been constructed over much of the battle site.

Order of Battle

American Army

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene

Continental Units

Maryland Brigade – Col. Otho Holland Williams

1st Maryland Regiment – Lt. Col. John Eager Howard

2nd Maryland Regiment – Maj. Henry Hardman

North Carolina Brigade – Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner

1st North Carolina Regiment – Lt. Col. John Ashe

2nd North Carolina Regiment – Maj. Reading Blount

3rd North Carolina Regiment – Lt. Col. Henry Dixon

Virginia Brigade – Lt. Col. Richard Campbell

1st Virginia Regiment – Maj. Smith Snead

2nd Virginia Regiment – Capt. Thomas Edmunds

Delaware Continentals, two companies – Capt. Robert Kirkwood

Lee's Legion – Lt. Col. Henry Lee

Continental Light Dragoons – Lt. Col. William Washington

Continental Artillery Detachment – Capt. William Brown and Capt. Lt. William Gaines

State Troops

South Carolina State Troops – Lt. Col. William Henderson

1st South Carolina State Dragoons – Lt. Col. Wade Hampton

2nd South Carolina State Dragoons – Col. Charles Middleton

State Infantry – commander not identified

Militia

North Carolina Militia – Col. François de Malmédy

South Carolina Brigade – Brig. Gen. Francis Marion

South Carolina Brigade – Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens

South Carolina Militia – Lt. Col. Samuel Hammond (attached to Lee's Legion)

South Carolina Militia – Lt. Col. Peter Horry

South Carolina Militia – Col. Edward Lacey (infantry)

South Carolina Militia – Lt. Col. William Polk (attached to Hampton's SC State Dragoons)

South Carolina Militia – Col. Thomas Taylor

Several additional militia units from both North and South Carolina were present, but the number of men in each unit was very small.

British Army

Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart

British Units

Flank Battalion – Maj. John Marjoribanks

3rd Regiment – Maj. Thomas Dawson

63rd Regiment – Maj. Charles Stuart

64th Regiment – Capt. Dennis Kelly

84th Regiment – Capt. Ranald MacKinnon (or Robert Campbell)

Provincial Units

1st Battalion, De Lancey's Brigade – Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger

3rd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers – Lt. Col. Isaac Allen

New York Volunteers – Maj. Henry Sheridan

Provincial Light Infantry – Maj. Thomas Barclay

Dragoons – Maj. John Coffin

Militia

South Carolina Loyalist Militia – Col. William Fortune

Strength of the Opposing Forces

American Army Continental Units

Table 1. Infantry—Maryland Continentals, Return, Aug. 1, 1781;
Other Continental Units, July 26, 1781 (only those listed as present and fit for duty are included)

Unit	Line Officers	Staff Officers	Enlisted Men	Total
Maryland Brigade	23	8	423	454
Virginia Brigade	17	8	386	411
North Carolina Brigade	20	2	389	411
Delaware Battalion	4	2	89	95
Lee's Legion Infantry	3	1	89	93
Total	67	21	1,376	1,464

Table 2. Cavalry, July 26, 1781 (only those listed as present and fit for duty are included)

Unit	Line Officers	Staff Officers	Non-Commissioned Officers	Rank and File	Total
Lee's Legion	9	2	9	100	120
Washington's Dragoons	On detached duty			Estimated	70
Total					170

Table 3. Artillery, July 26, 1781 (only those listed as present and fit for duty are included)

Line Officers	Staff Officers	Enlisted Men	Total
7	1	87	95

Table 4. Total Continental Troops

Line Officers	Staff Officers	Enlisted Men	Total
83	24	1,642	1,749

To reconcile the American and British reports regarding troops available for battle, deducting the staff officers leaves a total of 1,725 Continental troops.

South Carolina State Troops

On August 25, Lt. Col. William Henderson, commanding the state troops, informed General Greene that his force numbered 370 men, of whom one-third were unarmed, indicating that the figure probably refers only to rank and file soldiers—privates carrying muskets. If so, adding officers, staff, and drummers would put Henderson's strength at about 500. However, since there is no documentary evidence to support such a figure, the number of state troops engaged in the battle can be estimated at a minimum of 247, or two-thirds of Henderson's reported total, assuming none of the unarmed men were issued weapons in the two weeks before the battle.

A total of eight American cavalry regiments were present at the battle. Two, Lee's Legion cavalry and William Washington's dragoons, were Continental units, and two were State Troops. At least one militia cavalry regiment, commanded by Lt. Col. William Polk, was attached to the State Troops. Another, under Lt. Col. Samuel Hammond, was attached to Lee's Legion. At least one unidentified regiment was attached to William Washington's cavalry. The whereabouts of the eighth are unknown, though it was likely employed to guard British prisoners taken early in the battle.

Militia

Table 5. Malmédy's North Carolina Militia, Return, Aug. 25, 1781 (all present and fit for duty)

Line Officers	Staff Officers	Non-Commissioned Officers	Rank & File	Total
11	2	19	172	204

Although some South Carolina militia commanders submitted returns, these either no longer exist or their location is unknown. William Johnson may have had access to these documents, as in his 1822 biography of Greene he provided specific figures for the strengths of Marion's and Pickens's brigades. It is not known if Johnson's militia figures included the troops under Cols. Polk, Lacey, and Taylor, and Lt. Col. Peter Horry, though it is likely that Horry's men were included in the number for Marion's brigade, as Horry served under Marion.

The cavalry of Lt. Cols. Henry Lee and William Washington were reinforced with a significant number of mounted militia, but again, the numbers are not stated, and it is uncertain whether they were included in the figures for Marion and Pickens.

Marion's Brigade:	240
Pickens's Brigade:	307
Total South Carolina militia (minimum):	547
Total North and South Carolina militia (minimum):	751
Grand Total of American Forces:	2,723

General Greene reported that he left 200 troops at his camp to guard the army's baggage, leaving 2,523 men available for battle.

British Army

Table 6. Return of the Army under Lt. Col. Stewart, Sept. 8, 1781 (troops listed as prisoners of war, sick in the hospital, and on detached duty, and therefore not present at the battle, are not included in the table)

Corps	Officers	Staff	Sergeants	Drummers	Privates Fit for Duty	Sick in Camp	Total
Flank Battalion	18	3	11	12	296	11	351
3rd Regt.	15	2	16	11	428	19	491
63rd Regt.	8	2	13	8	111	22	164
64th Regt.	9	1	15	11	296	10	342
84th Regt.	2	1	8	2	88	5	106
NY Vols.	2	1	8	4	63	11	89
NJ Vols.	8	3	14	0	90	4	119
1st Battn. De Lanc-ey's	7	2	11	4	59	15	98
Prov. Lt. Inf.	8	2	6	4	86	9	115
Cavalry	9	1	11	3	52	0	76
Artillery			2		18		20
Total	86	18	115	59	1,587	106	1,971

Deducting the number of sick leaves a total of 1,865 men of all ranks fit for duty.

Table 7. Return of a Rooting Party Sent Out before the Action

Corps	Subalterns	Sergeants	Drummers	Rank and File
Flank Battalion	1			62
3rd Regiment	1	1	4	78
63rd Regiment		1		29
64th Regiment	1	1	1	60
84th Regiment			1	8
New York Volunteers		3		17
New Jersey Volunteers	1	4		36
Total	4	10	6	290

Total Number of Troops in Rooting Party: 310. Deducting this number from the 1,865 available British troops leaves 1,555 men of all ranks fit for duty. Stewart did not include the staff officers in his return of troops available for combat on September 8; removing these 18 men (adjutants, quartermasters, surgeons, and surgeon's mates) provides a figure of 1,537 soldiers.

Table 8. Return of Troops in the Action of Sept. 8, 1781

Corps	Lt. Cols.	Majs.	Cpts.	Subalterns	Sgts.	Drummers	Rank and File
Cavalry		1	3	5	11	3	47
Flank Battn.		2	5	11	12	12	239
3rd Regt.		1	3	10	16	4	306
63rd Regt.			2	5	10		79
64th Regt.			2	6	13	8	151
84th Regt.			1	2	8	2	69
NY Vols.		1		2	4	4	36
NJ Vols.	1		2	4	9		50
1st Battn. De Lancey's	1		3	2	9	3	55
Prov. Lt. Inf.			3	7	5	3	90
Artillery (including men detailed from the infantry)					6		47
Total	2	5	24	54	103	39	1,169

The total number of troops amounts to 1,396 of all ranks. A note on the full return above states that the difference between the totals provided there and the return giving the number of troops in the battle resulted from deductions for the rooting party, baggage guard, and officers' servants. Although no return was prepared for the latter two categories, the number of men assigned to such duties was 141.

No report or estimate of the Loyalist militia's strength has been found. The senior militia officer, William Fortune of Camden District, stated that he commanded all but 25 of the militiamen present at the battle, indicating that their numbers must have been substantial. Most were likely Loyalist refugees from Camden District. Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart claimed that none of these militiamen took part in the battle. However, Fortune was rewarded for his service at Eutaw Springs with a promotion, so it is possible some of the Loyalist militia participated in the action.

The Commanders

Continental Army, American State Troops, American Militia

Continental Army

Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene (1742–1786)



Nathanael Greene. *Charles Willson Peale.*

A Rhode Islander, Greene was born into a Quaker family but later rejected that denomination's religious beliefs. He managed his family's business and served in the colonial legislature before the Revolution. In 1775, the legislature appointed him commander of Rhode Island's brigade of troops, and Greene led the unit during the siege of Boston, where General George Washington recognized his military abilities. Greene fought at Harlem Heights in September 1776, but his desire to defend Fort Mifflin in New York resulted in a costly defeat in November. He led troops at the battles of Trenton (December 1776), Princeton (January 1777), and in the Pennsylvania campaign in the fall of 1777. Greene later accepted, with great reluctance, the position of quartermaster for Washington's army.

In December 1780, he took command of the Continental Army in the South and, after escaping the pursuing British army, assumed the strategic offensive. Despite a tactical defeat at Guilford Courthouse, North Carolina, in March 1781, Greene led his army to South Carolina. Although he was again defeated at Hobkirk's Hill (April 1781) and Ninety Six (May–June 1781), his army held the attention of the main British force, allowing American partisans, with Continental support, to capture numerous small British posts. Together, these operations inflicted significant and irreplaceable losses on the British, as well as cutting the supply line between Charleston and the South Carolina interior, forcing the British to withdraw toward the coast. His attack on the British at Eutaw Springs further weakened the opposing army, and largely confined the enemy to Charleston until the British evacuated the city in December 1782. When the war ended, Greene settled on a plantation awarded to him by the state of Georgia, but died, probably of sunstroke, on June 19, 1786.

Brig. Gen. Jethro Sumner (1733–1785)

A Virginia-born veteran of the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Sumner moved to North Carolina about 1764 and prospered as a planter and tavernkeeper. He was commissioned a major of militia in 1775 and took his troops northward late in the year to assist the Virginia militia in opposing the force commanded by royal governor Lord Dunmore. When that task was completed, Sumner returned home and was appointed colonel of the 3rd North Carolina Continental regiment in April

1776. He led these troops to South Carolina and assisted in defending Charleston from a British attack in June. In the spring of 1777, Sumner and his regiment joined George Washington's army and fought in the battles of Brandywine (September) and Germantown (October). Sumner returned home in spring 1778 to recuperate from a serious illness. Upon his recovery, he was promoted to brigadier general in January 1779. He fought at Stono Ferry in June of that year but again became too ill to continue in command. In early 1781, at the request of Nathanael Greene, Sumner recruited a new brigade of North Carolina Continentals and led them at Eutaw Springs. Shortly afterward, he was assigned to command Continental forces in North Carolina. He died in 1785.



Otho Holland Williams of the Maryland Line. Charles Willson Peale.

Col. Otho Holland Williams (1749–1794)

A native of Maryland, Williams joined a company of riflemen in 1775 with the rank of lieutenant and marched to Massachusetts, where they participated in the siege of Boston. He was promoted to captain in January 1776 and to major in June, when the Virginia and Maryland riflemen were organized into a rifle regiment. In November 1776, Williams was wounded and captured when the British seized Fort Washington. During his imprisonment, he was promoted to colonel of the 6th Maryland Continental regiment. He was exchanged in January 1778 and fought at the Battle of Monmouth in June. He led his regiment to the South in 1780. Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates appointed Williams to the staff post of deputy

adjutant general. Williams took part in the Battle of Camden in August and assumed command of the single Maryland Continental regiment that had been consolidated from the seven Maryland regiments that had been almost destroyed at Camden. When Nathanael Greene replaced Gates, he appointed Williams adjutant general of the southern army, but assigned him command of the rear guard during Greene's retreat across North Carolina in February 1781. Williams performed his duties with great skill. He subsequently commanded the Maryland troops at Guilford Courthouse, Hobkirk's Hill, Ninety Six, and Eutaw Springs. He returned to Maryland in 1782 and was promoted to brigadier general in May. Williams resigned from the army in January 1783 and began a successful career as a merchant in Baltimore. He was active in politics until his death in 1794.

Lt. Col. Richard Campbell (ca. 1730–1781)

Campbell, a Virginian, began his service in the 8th Virginia Continental regiment in 1776. He was at Charleston when the British attacked in June, but his unit did not see action. Campbell was promoted to major in August. The 8th Virginia joined George Washington's army in April 1777, and after fighting at Germantown in October, Campbell and his troops spent the ensuing winter at Valley Forge. Transferred to the 13th Virginia in 1778, Campbell was stationed at Fort McIntosh on

the Pennsylvania frontier and participated in at least one expedition against British-allied Indians in 1779. He returned to Virginia in late 1780 and, having been promoted to lieutenant colonel, led two newly formed Virginia Continental regiments southward in February 1781. He fought at Guilford Courthouse in March, Hobkirk's Hill in April, and at Ninety Six in May–June. Campbell commanded the two Virginia regiments at Eutaw Springs in 1781, where he was mortally wounded.

Lt. Col. Henry Dixon (ca. 1750–1782)

Dixon entered Continental service in September 1775 at the rank of captain, and by May 1778, he had been promoted to lieutenant colonel. Shortly afterward, he was appointed Inspector General of Militia and returned to North Carolina. He fought at the Battle of Stono Ferry in June 1779. At the Battle of Camden in August 1780, his regiment was the only militia unit to stand its ground when their counterparts fled the field. Dixon saw action at Guilford Courthouse in March 1781. Wounded at Eutaw Springs, he never recovered and died on July 17, 1782.

Lt. Col. John Eager Howard (1752–1827)

Born in Maryland, Howard served with the troops of that state's "Flying Camp" in 1776 before being commissioned a major in the 4th Maryland Continental Regiment. His leadership at the Battle of Germantown in October 1777 led to his eventual promotion to lieutenant colonel and command of the 2nd Maryland Regiment in 1779. He fought at the Battle of Camden in August 1780 and was awarded a silver medal by Congress for his outstanding performance at the Battle of Cowpens in January 1781. He gained further distinction at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in March 1781 and fought at Hobkirk's Hill (April 1781) and Eutaw Springs, where he was badly wounded. Greene considered Howard the best regimental commander in the Continental Army. Howard was elected governor of Maryland after the war and also served in the US Senate.



Lighthorse Harry. Via Wikimedia Commons.

Lt. Col. Henry Lee (1756–1818)

Virginia born "Light-Horse Harry" Lee began his military service in 1776 as a captain in the state's cavalry regiment. The unit joined George Washington's army in 1777 and was redesignated the 1st Continental Light Dragoons. Lee remained with the unit until April 1778, when he was given command of the 2nd Partisan Corps, a Continental unit of cavalry and infantry commonly known as "Lee's Legion." He fought several successful actions in the North before being promoted to lieutenant colonel and sent to reinforce Greene's southern army in late 1780. Lee formed part of the rearguard that protected Greene's army as it retreated across North Carolina in February 1781, and he fought at Guilford Courthouse the following month. Greene assigned him to collaborate with Francis Marion in South Carolina, and their combined force captured Fort Watson and Fort Motte in

April and May. Lee then separated from Marion, captured Fort Granby, and participated in the siege and capture of Augusta, Georgia, in late May and early June. Afterwards, he reinforced Greene in the unsuccessful siege of Ninety Six, and scouted the British army and fought several engagements with British cavalry before taking part in the Battle of Eutaw Springs. He resigned from the army in February 1782, served in the Virginia legislature and as governor, and helped suppress the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1794. His financial affairs, including speculating in western lands, bankrupted him. He was imprisoned for debt, beaten by a Baltimore mob in 1812 because he opposed the war with Britain, and went to the West Indies in 1813 to recover his health. He was put ashore at Greene's Georgia plantation on his return to the United States in 1818 and died there soon afterwards.

Lt. Col. William Washington (1752–1810)

Born in Virginia and a second cousin to George Washington, William Washington began his military service in 1775 as a captain in a militia unit that was absorbed into the 3rd Virginia Continental regiment the next year. He fought at Harlem Heights in October 1776 and at Trenton in December, as well as at Princeton in January 1777. That same month, he was promoted to major and assigned to a new cavalry regiment, the 4th Continental Light Dragoons. When another cavalry regiment, the 3rd Continental Light Dragoons, was decimated by a British attack in September 1778, Washington was transferred to that unit, promoted to lieutenant colonel, and instructed to rebuild the regiment. He and the 3rd Light Dragoons were sent to South Carolina in November 1779, but in 1780, were badly beaten at Moncks



William Washington. Rembrandt Peale.

Corner (April) and Lenud's Ferry (May) during the British operations against Charleston. Washington and the survivors were sent to North Carolina to recruit and refit, and did not return to action until late in the year, winning victories at Rugeley's Mill and Hammond's Store in December. In January 1781, Washington and his cavalry performed brilliantly at the Battle of Cowpens, for which he was awarded a silver medal by Congress. He also fought well as part of the Continental Army's rearguard during Nathanael Greene's retreat across North Carolina, and at Guilford Courthouse in March. He did less well at Hobkirk's Hill in April. At Eutaw Springs, Greene ordered Washington's cavalry to attack the British, but the assault failed, and Washington was wounded and captured. He settled in South Carolina after the war, served in the state legislature, and managed his plantation until his death in 1810.

Maj. Reading Blount (1757–1807)

Blount was commissioned a captain in the 3rd North Carolina Continental Regiment in April 1776 and was promoted to major in May 1778. In June, he was transferred to the 5th North Carolina. He distinguished himself at the Battle of Guilford Courthouse in March 1781. After the war, he went into business in partnership with his brothers.

Maj. Henry Hardman (Heinrich Hartmann, ca. 1748–1794 or 1798)

The son of German immigrants who settled near Frederick, Maryland, Hardman served as a lieutenant in a rifle company in 1776 before enlisting 88 men for Maryland's "Flying Camp" in July 1776. The militia unit fought in the New York and New Jersey campaigns; Hardman was captured at Fort Washington that November. He was later exchanged and served as a captain and then major in the Maryland Continentals. Details of his career are sparse, but he may have served throughout the southern campaigns.

Maj. Smith Snead (unknown)

Snead's military service began in 1776, and by 1777, he was a captain in the 9th Virginia Continental Regiment. Captured at the Battle of Germantown in October 1777, he was later exchanged in time to see action at Guilford Courthouse in March 1781.

Capt. Robert Kirkwood (1730–1791)

A Delaware farmer before the war, Kirkwood received a lieutenant's commission in the state's single Continental regiment in 1775. He fought in the battles of Long Island, White Plains, and Trenton in 1776 and at Princeton in 1777. Kirkwood earned promotion to captain and was highly regarded by his superiors, but he could not advance farther in rank because all of the higher positions in the regiment were held by other officers. The Delaware Regiment suffered such heavy losses at the Battle of Camden in August 1780 that the survivors were consolidated into a single company, with Kirkwood in command. He led Delaware's troops in every subsequent major battle in the South until the end of the war. Kirkwood returned to military service as part of General Arthur St. Clair's expedition against an alliance of Indian nations in 1791 and was killed on November 4 when the Natives routed St. Clair's force.

American State Troops

Lt. Col. William Henderson (1748–1788)

Henderson was born in North Carolina and moved to South Carolina sometime before the start of the Revolution. In February 1776, he was commissioned a major in Col. Thomas Sumter's 6th South Carolina Continental regiment, and took command of the unit in September 1778 with the rank of lieutenant colonel after Sumter's resignation. Henderson commanded the 6th South Carolina until February 1780, when the regiment was dissolved because its numbers were badly depleted. He then transferred to the 3rd South Carolina and was captured when Charleston's garrison surrendered to the British in May. That November, Henderson was exchanged and returned to service under Sumter. When Sumter declined to exercise command following criticism of his leadership in the July 1781 action at Shubrick's Plantation, Henderson took charge of the unit, which had been designated State Troops, and led them at Eutaw Springs, where he was wounded. He was promoted to colonel after the battle and to brigadier general in January 1782. He died in 1788.

Lt. Col. Wade Hampton (1754–1835)

A native of Virginia, Hampton settled in the South Carolina backcountry in the 1770s. He served as a Continental officer from 1777 to early 1780, and after the British captured Charleston, Hampton took the oath of allegiance to Britain. He secretly provided intelligence to the Revolutionaries and, in 1781, joined Thomas Sumter as a regimental commander. After the war, he was elected to two terms in the US House of Representatives.

American Militia

Brig. Gen. Francis Marion (1732–1795)

A South Carolina native, Marion participated in the Cherokee War (1759–1761) and was appointed a captain in the Revolutionary forces in 1775. On June 28, 1776, he helped defend the fort on Sullivan's Island against a British naval attack, earning praise for his valor and a promotion to lieutenant colonel of the 2nd South Carolina Continental regiment. Marion fought in numerous engagements, including the failed Franco-American attack on Savannah, Georgia, in October 1779. During the British siege of Charleston, he avoided capture as the result of a broken ankle that caused him to be sent home before the garrison surrendered in May 1780. In August, Marion formed a partisan force that operated successfully against Loyalist militia units and British detachments for many months and was promoted to brigadier

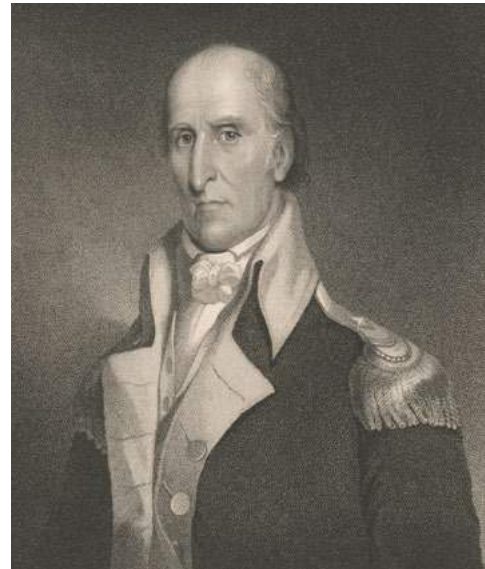


Engraved by T.B. Welch, from a drawing by J.B. Longacre, after the Portrait in a Painting by T. Stothard R.A. of the battle at Eutaw.

general of militia. He cooperated with Lt. Col. Henry Lee in the capture of British Fort Watson (April 1781) and Fort Motte (May 1781). Marion soundly defeated a British and Loyalist force at Parker's Ferry in August before joining Greene and fighting at Eutaw Springs. He continued his partisan operations after the battle; his mastery of hit-and-run and ambush tactics earned him the nickname "Swamp Fox." Marion served in the South Carolina state senate from 1781 to 1791. He died in 1795.

Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens (1739–1817)

Born in Pennsylvania, Pickens moved with his parents to South Carolina in 1752. He served in the Cherokee War (1759–1761) and later became a planter and trader. Pickens returned to militia service in 1775, fighting against Loyalists, and participated in the 1776 campaign against the British-allied Cherokees with the rank of major. Promoted to colonel in 1779, he led a South Carolina militia contingent that, in company with Georgia militia, dispersed a Loyalist force at Kettle Creek, Georgia, in February. Later in 1779 and in early 1780, he took part in several minor actions. When Charleston surrendered in May 1780 and British troops occupied the backcountry, Pickens was paroled. He remained at home until December when he again took up arms after being harassed by Loyalists. He led his militia at the Battle of



Andrew Pickens. *New York Public Library.*

Cowpens in January 1781, and in the siege and capture of Augusta, Georgia (May–June 1781). After participating in the Battle of Eutaw Springs, he led additional expeditions against the Cherokees in 1782. Pickens held several political offices after the war, was involved in treaty negotiations with the Indian nations, and continued his militia service, rising to the rank of major general. He died in 1817.

Col. Edward Lacey (1742–1813)

In 1755, only 13 years old and living in Pennsylvania, Lacey volunteered for service in the French and Indian War and did duty as a packhorseman. He ran away from home in 1758, settled in South Carolina, and apprenticed as a bricklayer. Lacey served in the militia in 1776 and became a colonel in 1780, serving mainly under Thomas Sumter. He fought in numerous battles, including Williamson's Plantation (July 1780), Rocky Mount and Hanging Rock (August 1780), King's Mountain (October 1780), and Cowpens (January 1781). Lacey served as a judge and in the South Carolina legislature after the war.

Col. Thomas Taylor (1743–1833)

Virginia-born Taylor accompanied his family to South Carolina in about 1750. He was a delegate to the South Carolina provincial congresses in 1775 and 1776 and served in the militia in 1779. Taylor joined Thomas Sumter as a captain in the summer of 1780, and was wounded and captured at the Battle of Fishing Creek that August. He escaped, rejoined Sumter, and was promoted to colonel in

December 1780. After the war, Taylor held various state offices and won election to the US House of Representatives.

Lt. Col. Samuel Hammond (1757–1842)

A native of Virginia, Hammond fought against the Indians in Lord Dunmore's War (1774), and later joined the Revolutionary militia, seeing action at the Battle of Great Bridge (December 1775). In 1777 and 1778, he served as a captain on the Pennsylvania frontier under Brig. Gen. Edward Hand. Hammond moved to South Carolina in January 1779 and reported to Maj. Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, under whom he served at the Battle of Stono Ferry in June and the siege of Savannah in September–October. After the surrender of Charleston in May 1780, Hammond continued to resist the British, fighting at Musgrove's Mill (August), King's Mountain (October), Blackstock's (November), and Cowpens (January 1781). He also fought in the siege of Augusta (May–June 1781) and at Eutaw Springs. Hammond settled in Georgia after the war, was elected to Congress, and in 1805 was appointed governor of Upper Louisiana (present-day Missouri). When he left that position in 1824, he returned to South Carolina, where he resided until his death in 1842.

Lt. Col. Peter Horry (1743–1793)

A successful planter who lived near Georgetown, Horry began his military service in June 1775 as a captain. In 1776, he was an officer in the 2nd South Carolina Continental Regiment under Francis Marion and took part in the defense of Sullivan's Island that June. Promoted to major after the battle and to lieutenant colonel in 1779, he took command of the 5th South Carolina Continental Regiment in January 1780, only to be sent home shortly afterward when South Carolina's Continental units were consolidated and surplus officers were left without commands. After Charleston's surrender, Horry returned to service under Marion's command and fought in numerous partisan actions. He held several offices in state government after the war.

Lt. Col. William Polk (1758–1834)

Polk, a North Carolinian, joined South Carolina militia forces as a lieutenant in 1775 and participated in operations against backcountry Loyalists. Wounded in December, he returned to service in November 1776 as a major in the North Carolina Continentals. Polk served under George Washington at the battles of Brandywine (September 1777) and Germantown (October 1777), where he was badly wounded. Upon recovering, he returned to North Carolina to recruit. He was back in action at Guilford Courthouse in March 1781, then took command of a regiment under Thomas Sumter with the rank of lieutenant colonel. Polk served in the North Carolina legislature after the war.

British and Loyalist Commanders

Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart (ca. 1739–1794)

Stewart was born in Scotland and entered the army in 1755 as an ensign in the 37th Regiment. He saw action with British forces in Germany during the Seven Years' War, and he rose rapidly in rank, being promoted to lieutenant colonel of the 3rd Regiment in 1775. He accompanied his regiment to America in 1781, arriving at Charleston in June. The following month, Stewart assumed field command of the British army in South Carolina when Lt. Col. Francis, Lord Rawdon, returned to Britain. Stewart's maneuvers in the interior of South Carolina led to the Battle of Eutaw Springs on September 8. He retreated to the environs of Charleston, was promoted to brigadier general in December, but saw no further action. He was assigned to Jamaica in 1782 and later returned to Britain, where he was elected to Parliament and sat from 1786–94. Promoted to major general in 1790, he served in Belgium in 1793–1794 during the French Revolutionary Wars and died after returning to Britain.

Lt. Col. Isaac Allen (1741–1806)

Before the war, Allen practiced law in Trenton, New Jersey. He joined the British in December 1776 and was commissioned lieutenant colonel in the 6th Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers. By 1779, he had assumed command of the 3rd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers, and had accompanied his regiment to the South. Allen fought in numerous engagements, including the defense of Savannah in 1779 and the siege of Ninety Six in 1781. When the New Jersey Volunteers returned to New York at the end of 1782, Allen took command of the 2nd Battalion. He settled at St. John, New Brunswick, in 1783, resumed the practice of law, and later became a judge and member of the provincial council.



John Harris Cruger. Nat'l Park Svc

Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger (1737–1807)

Cruger, a prosperous New York merchant, held several government positions before the war. He joined the British army on Long Island in 1776 and was appointed lieutenant colonel, commanding the 1st Battalion of Gen. Oliver De Lancey's Loyalist brigade. He served in New York until November 1778, when his battalion joined Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell's expedition to Georgia. Cruger participated in several engagements in the southern campaigns and earned distinction for his valiant defense of Ninety Six in May–June 1781. He settled in England after the war.

Maj. Thomas Barclay (1753–1830)

Born in New York, Barclay had just embarked on a career as a lawyer when the Revolution began. He joined the British upon their occupation of New York in 1776 and was commissioned a captain in the Loyal American Regiment. The following year, he was promoted to major. He accompanied the Provincial Light Infantry, first to Virginia and then to South Carolina, in 1780. Barclay participated

in operations against Francis Marion's partisans in early 1781. He settled in Nova Scotia after the war, where he held various political offices.

Maj. John Coffin (ca. 1751–1838)

A native of Boston, Massachusetts, Coffin distinguished himself while serving as a volunteer with British forces at the Battle of Bunker Hill in June 1775. In 1777, he was commissioned a captain in the Orange Rangers and served with the British army in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania before transferring to the New York Volunteers in 1778. He participated in the capture of Savannah, Georgia, in December 1778 and later commanded the cavalry at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill in April 1781. He moved to Canada after the war.

Maj. Thomas Dawson (unknown)

Dawson and the 3rd Regiment arrived in Charleston in June 1781, having not seen action previously during the war. In March 1782, he was given permission to go to New York because of ill health. He served in the West Indies after the war.

Maj. John Marjoribanks (ca. 1732–1781)

Born in Scotland, Marjoribanks (pronounced *Marsh-banks*) entered the army in 1749 as an ensign. He saw extensive service in Europe during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), rising to the rank of captain. Afterward, he performed garrison duty with the 19th Regiment in England, Scotland, and Ireland. Marjoribanks was promoted to major in November 1780. He sailed with the 3rd, 19th, and 30th regiments from Cork, Ireland, in March 1781, arriving in Charleston on June 3. Upon debarking, the light infantry company and grenadier company of each regiment were grouped into a flank battalion, with Marjoribanks in command. He led the battalion on the march to relieve the besieged garrison at Ninety Six in June and at Eutaw Springs in September. He fell ill shortly after the battle and died on October 22.

Maj. Henry Sheridan (ca. 1751–1802)

Sheridan was born in Ireland and began his military service in 1765 as an ensign in the British army. He served as a lieutenant in the 61st Regiment and then the 31st Regiment before taking a position as aide-de-camp to Gen. John Vaughan in October 1777. In August 1778, Sheridan entered provincial service as a major in the New York Volunteers. He saw action with the regiment throughout the southern campaigns. He is believed to have settled in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia after the war.

Maj. Charles Stuart (unknown)

When the Revolution began, Stuart was a captain in the 63rd Regiment; he was promoted to major in 1777. He served in several campaigns and saw action in battles in both the northern and southern theaters.

Lt. Lord Edward Fitzgerald (1763–1798)

The son of the Duke of Leinster, Fitzgerald was born near Dublin, Ireland. He entered the British army in 1779 as a lieutenant in the 19th Regiment. Fitzgerald accompanied his unit to America, arriving at Charleston in June 1781. Severely wounded at Eutaw Springs, his life was saved by Tony Small, an enslaved man. In gratitude, Fitzgerald freed Small and provided him employment. After the war, Fitzgerald returned to Ireland, served in the Irish Parliament, and also continued his military career as a major in the 54th Regiment, spending time in Canada. In the 1790s, Fitzgerald embraced the cause of the Irish radicals who sought liberation from British rule. He was dismissed from the army in 1792 for supporting the French Revolution. When British authorities sought to arrest him in 1798 for his role in a planned Irish uprising, Fitzgerald stabbed two of the officials, killing one. He was wounded in the struggle, denied medical care, and died soon afterward.

Loyalist Militia

Col. William Fortune (1748?–1822)

A native of Ireland, Fortune immigrated to South Carolina about 1766 and became a successful farmer in Camden District. A staunch Loyalist, Fortune was imprisoned eight times by the Revolutionaries before he decided to conceal himself in the woods, surviving on food his wife brought him. When the British occupied Camden, Fortune joined them and was appointed a militia captain. He fought at the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill in April 1781. Although he acted as a colonel at Eutaw Springs, he was not formally promoted until after the battle. He settled in Canada at the end of the war and, in 1788, he received a commission as a surveyor in Quebec along with a land grant of 1,000 acres on the Ottawa River as a reward for his military service.

Units

American

1st Maryland Continental Regiment

In the spring of 1780, George Washington dispatched all his Maryland Continentals—seven regiments—to reinforce the Southern Army. The troops were in North Carolina when the Charleston garrison surrendered. Under the leadership of Maj. Gen. Horatio Gates, the Marylanders marched to South Carolina, where they suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of Gen. Charles, Earl Cornwallis's British and Loyalist army at the Battle of Camden on August 16. The survivors assembled at Charlotte, North Carolina, where they were consolidated into a single regiment designated the 1st Maryland. The unit fought with distinction at Cowpens (January 1781) and Guilford Courthouse (March 1781) but performed poorly at Hobkirk's Hill in April. They regained their effectiveness and reputation for valor at Ninety Six and Eutaw Springs, and remained in South Carolina until 1783, when the men returned home and were discharged.

2nd Maryland Continental Regiment

The 2nd Maryland was created after the Battle of Camden to increase the number of troops the state fielded. It joined Greene's army in time to participate in the Battle of Guilford Courthouse (March 1781), where most of the regiment fled when attacked by the British. The unit performed much better at Hobkirk's Hill (April), Ninety Six (May–June), and Eutaw Springs.

Delaware Continentals (2 companies)

Delaware, with its small population, provided only one regiment to the Continental Army. This unit was sent southward in 1780 and decimated at the Battle of Camden in August. The survivors were reorganized into a company. In 1781, a second company was recruited and sent to reinforce Greene's army.

North Carolina Continentals (3 regiments)

All of North Carolina's Continental infantry regiments had been committed to the defense of Charleston in 1780 and were captured when the garrison surrendered in May. The state government organized three new regiments in 1781, and they joined Greene's army in time for the Battle of Eutaw Springs.

Virginia Continentals (2 regiments)

Like the North Carolina Continentals, Virginia's regiments were sent to aid in the defense of Charleston, and the men were taken prisoner when the British captured the city in May 1780. An additional provisional regiment of recruits to reinforce the existing Continental units arrived in South Carolina too late to reinforce Charleston, and while retreating, it was attacked and nearly annihilated at the Waxhaws on May 29. State officials formed two new Continental regiments, and they joined

Greene after he retreated to Virginia in February 1781. The following month, the Virginians fought at Guilford Courthouse, then at Hobkirk's Hill in April, Ninety Six in May–June, and at Eutaw Springs.

Lee's Legion

Officially designated the 2nd Partisan Corps when it was created in 1779, Lee's Legion was a combined force of cavalry and light infantry. The Legion's August attack on the British post at Paulus Hook, New Jersey, was only a partial success, and the succeeding months were spent gathering forage for the army and conducting reconnaissance. In late 1780, the Legion was ordered to reinforce the southern army. Lee and Francis Marion collaborated in an unsuccessful attack on Georgetown, South Carolina, in January 1781, before the Legion was recalled to cover the retreat of Nathanael Greene's army in North Carolina. In February, the Legion was involved in a violent attack on Loyalists near the Haw River, known as "Pyle's Massacre." The Legion fought at Guilford Courthouse in March and was then detached to cooperate with Marion in capturing Fort Watson (April) and Fort Motte (May). The Legion captured Fort Granby in May before reinforcing the militia forces besieging Augusta, Georgia, which surrendered on June 5. Lee then marched to Ninety Six to assist in the unsuccessful siege of that post. Following the lifting of the siege in June, the Legion scouted for the army and fought several small engagements with British detachments. Information gathered by the Legion was essential in convincing Greene to attack the British at Eutaw Springs, where the unit was involved in heavy fighting.

Continental Light Dragoons

Following their defeats and heavy losses at the hands of the British in April and May 1780 during the Charleston campaign, the 3rd and 4th Regiments of Continental Light Dragoons were sent to North Carolina to refit. Late in the year, they returned to action as a single regiment, designated the 1st and 3rd Legionary Corps under Lt. Col. William Washington. They saw action at Rugeley's Fort and Hammond's Store in December, Cowpens in January 1781, Greene's retreat across North Carolina in February, Guilford Courthouse in March, and Hobkirk's Hill in April. Their successes came to an end at Eutaw Springs, where the unit suffered heavy casualties.

Continental Artillery

The Continental artillery contingent at Eutaw Springs consisted of two six-pounder guns and two three-pounders. The six-pounders had joined Greene's army sometime between the Battle of Guilford Courthouse, on March 15, 1781, where Greene's artillery had been captured by the British, and the Battle of Hobkirk's Hill on April 25, where the two fieldpieces were in action and narrowly escaped capture. The three-pounders arrived afterwards, though exactly when is uncertain. Specialized knowledge was required to operate artillery effectively, and the officers and gunners at Eutaw Springs were clearly experienced artillerymen. Many of the men in the gun crews were likely also veterans, though it was common to draw men from the infantry to haul gunpowder, shot, and perform other tasks that did not require particular skills.

South Carolina State Troops

Units of state troops, organized in 1781, were intended to provide a more reliable force than militia without the demands of long-term service in Continental regiments. State troops enlisted for a period of several months, were at least in theory better trained than militia, and had the opportunity to gain more combat experience and develop stronger unit cohesion than the part-time militia soldiers. Brig. Gen. Thomas Sumter, first commander of the South Carolina state troops, instituted a policy called “Sumter’s Law” that rewarded recruits with a bounty in the form of slaves taken from Loyalist owners. A controversial figure, Sumter did not command the state troops at Eutaw Springs; Lt. Col. William Henderson took charge of the units, which included both infantry and cavalry.

North and South Carolina Militia

Militia units were made up of men who served for short terms, often near their homes. Militiamen tended to resent harsh discipline and frequently arrived in camp or departed when they wished, regardless of their terms of service. Most had little formal military training, though by 1781 the majority had considerable combat experience, and some were veterans of Continental service. South Carolina brigadier generals Francis Marion and Andrew Pickens were highly skilled commanders who had seen extensive service, and most of their men were veterans of numerous battles. The same was true of the North Carolina militiamen, and their commander, Col. Francois Lellorquis, Marquis de Malmédy, was a Continental officer who had served in the French army before the war, in Rhode Island, 1776–77, and had fought at Monmouth (June 1778) and Stono Ferry (June 1779).

British Units

Flank Battalion

Each British infantry regiment consisted of ten companies: eight “line” companies of regular infantry, one company of light infantry, and one company of grenadiers. When the entire regiment was formed in line, the light infantry company occupied one end, or “flank,” and the grenadiers the opposite end; hence, these two specialized companies were often called “flank” companies. For certain operations, British commanders drew the flank companies from several regiments and combined them into a “flank battalion.” When three infantry regiments—the 3rd, 19th, and 30th—arrived in Charleston in June 1781, Lord Rawdon took their six flank companies and combined them in a special flank battalion under Maj. John Marjoribanks that joined other units in marching to relieve the besieged garrison at Ninety Six. After Rawdon’s departure from South Carolina, his successor in field command, Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart, left the flank battalion intact, and it fought with distinction at Eutaw Springs.

3rd Regiment

Popularly known as the “Buffs” for the buff-colored (a brownish yellow somewhat lighter than tan) facings of their uniform coats, the 3rd Regiment of Foot was one of the oldest units in the British army. Created by Queen Elizabeth I in 1572 to fight alongside Protestants in Holland’s religious wars, the regiment fought in Europe during the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763) and later formed part of the Irish garrison until it was ordered to America in 1781.

63rd Regiment

This unit was created in 1756 as the 2nd Battalion of the 8th Regiment, and was made a separate formation in 1758, designated the 63rd Regiment. The 63rd fought in the West Indies during the Seven Years’ War, formed part of the garrison of Ireland from 1763 to 1775, and was then ordered to Boston. The regiment fought at Bunker Hill in June 1775, Long Island in August 1776, Brandywine in September 1777, Germantown in October 1777, and Monmouth in June 1778. In 1780, the 63rd took part in the siege of Charleston and remained in the South, fighting in numerous actions.

64th Regiment

Originally organized in 1756 as the 2nd Battalion of the 11th Regiment of Foot, in 1758 the unit was separated from the 11th and designated the 64th Regiment. During the Seven Years’ War, it served in the West Indies, garrisoned Ireland from 1763 to 1768, and was then sent to America, arriving in Boston in January 1769 to quell protests against British taxation. The 64th fought in the New York campaign of 1776 and the Philadelphia campaign of 1777, and in 1780 was part of the force besieging Charleston. It remained in the South after Charleston surrendered, seeing extensive action.

84th Regiment

The 84th Regiment, or Royal Highland Emigrants, was organized in 1775 by Lt. Col. Allan McLean for the defense of Canada. It consisted of two battalions, and most of the recruits were

Scottish veterans of the French and Indian/Seven Years' War. The 1st Battalion served primarily in Quebec, while the 2nd Battalion under Maj. John Small initially was posted in Nova Scotia, and several of its companies later served in Rhode Island (1776–78) and in various British operations along the Atlantic coast. Five companies went to South Carolina with Gen. Alexander Leslie's reinforcement in 1780 and fought at Eutaw Springs.

1st Battalion, De Lancey's Brigade

De Lancey's Brigade was created in September 1776 to enlist Loyalists for the defense of Long Island, New York. The 1st Battalion, under Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger, remained there until the fall of 1778, when they joined Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell's expedition to Georgia. They participated in the capture of Savannah in December 1778 and in the defense of the town against a Franco-American siege in September–October 1779. In July 1780, they were ordered to march from Savannah and take post as part of the British garrison at Ninety Six, South Carolina. That September, they marched with Cruger to relieve Augusta, Georgia, which was besieged by the Americans. The unit successfully defended Ninety Six when the Americans laid siege to the town in May–June 1781, then withdrew when the post was evacuated. They later formed part of Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart's force at Eutaw Springs.

3rd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers

The formation of the New Jersey Volunteers was authorized in November 1776, and six battalions of Loyalists were recruited. Most of the men in the 3rd Battalion were from Essex County. The unit was based on Staten Island, and most of its activities involved raids and foraging. In August 1777, Maj. Gen. John Sullivan attacked Staten Island with 2,000 Continental and militia soldiers, and the 3rd Battalion performed particularly well in holding its position. The 3rd later absorbed the men of the 6th Battalion, and Lt. Col. Isaac Allen took command; in September 1778, the two companies of West Jersey Volunteers were incorporated into the battalion. Soon after, they joined Lt. Col. Archibald Campbell's force and sailed to Georgia, where the 3rd Battalion participated in the capture of Savannah in December 1778 and the defense of the town against a French and American force in September–October 1779. In the summer of 1780, the unit was assigned to garrison Ninety Six, and took part in the relief of Augusta that September. In May–June 1781, the 3rd Battalion successfully defended Ninety Six when Nathanael Greene's army besieged the town. When the troops were withdrawn from Ninety Six, Allen's battalion marched to the Charleston area and, in September, fought at Eutaw Springs.

New York Volunteers

In 1775, Royal Navy ships took aboard a number of refugees near New York City and brought them to Nova Scotia, where they were organized as two "New York Companies" in January 1776. They accompanied the British to New York and, in August, participated in the Battle of Long Island. Once back in their home area, the unit grew to six line companies and a rifle company and was designated the New York Volunteers, with Lt. Col. George Turnbull commanding. The regiment fought in Gen. Henry Clinton's campaign against the Hudson River forts in 1777, and in 1778 it was ordered to Georgia (except for the rifle company) and took part in the capture of Savannah in December. The

New Yorkers defended Savannah against a Franco-American siege in September–October 1779 and served in the siege of Charleston (April–May 1780). They successfully defended Rocky Mount, South Carolina that August and fought at Hobkirk’s Hill in April 1781 and at Eutaw Springs.

Provincial Light Infantry

This unit was created in New York in August 1780 by drawing the light infantry company from each of six existing provincial regiments—the 1st, 2nd, and 4th Battalions of the New Jersey Volunteers, the 3rd Battalion of De Lancey’s Brigade, the King’s American Regiment, and the Loyal American Regiment—and combining them. The Provincial Light Infantry, commanded by Lt. Col. John Watson of the Guards, joined Gen. Alexander Leslie’s expedition to Virginia in 1780, and from there was ordered to South Carolina. Under Watson’s command, the unit operated principally against the partisans commanded by Thomas Sumter and Francis Marion from early 1781 until the British evacuated the interior of the state. The Provincial Light Infantry accompanied Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart on his foray that resulted in the Battle of Eutaw Springs.

Provincial Dragoons

This unit had originally been created by mounting some troops from the New York Volunteers in late 1780 and early 1781 and probably still included some of these men, along with volunteers from other regiments and others recruited locally. Under Capt. John Coffin, the unit had seen extensive action, mostly in skirmishes with opposing cavalry where they were repeatedly bested by American mounted troops, including after the Battle of Hobkirk’s Hill in April 1781.

Royal Artillery

Most sources state that the British had five artillery pieces at Eutaw Springs: two six-pounders, one four-pounder, and two three-pounders. These were manned by a small group of trained artillerymen, supplemented with crews drawn from the infantry. Some accounts report that the British also had one or more swivel guns, small pieces of artillery (about three feet long) with a forked mount that could be positioned in windows and on wagons, logs, or other convenient wooden bases. Swivel guns fired iron balls about one to one and a half inches in diameter, and could also fire grapeshot.

Loyalist Militia

An unknown number of Loyalist militia, probably refugees from the South Carolina interior and the Camden District in particular, accompanied the British army at Eutaw Springs. They were commanded by Col. William Fortune. According to Lt. Col. Stewart, the militia took no part in the battle.

Weapons and Uniforms

Artillery

Artillery pieces in the American Revolution were cast from bronze, brass, or iron, and were muzzle-loading, smoothbore weapons with an effective range of about 700 yards. The gun tube was mounted on a wheeled wooden carriage, but because of its weight, it had limited mobility and a slow rate of fire. Cannon were classified by the weight of the projectile they fired; the most commonly used in the field were six-pounders, which fired a solid iron ball of that weight. Three-pounders were also common, and four-pounders were less so. These guns could also fire grapeshot. Heavier guns were used almost exclusively in fortifications or siege operations. Artillery crews were considered specialist troops and received higher pay than infantrymen. The complex firing procedure required a number of tools. After firing, a wet sponge was plunged down the barrel to extinguish any sparks. A metal tool similar to a corkscrew was inserted and withdrawn to remove any debris remaining in the gun. Then a prepared charge of gunpowder was rammed down the barrel, followed by wadding, and then the solid ball or container of grapeshot. The gun was next aimed and, if necessary, elevated with handspikes and a wedge, or in pieces of more recent manufacture, an elevating screw. When the gun was ready for firing, a crewman inserted a metal priming wire through the vent hole at the rear of the gun to pierce the powder bag, poured more gunpowder into the hole, and lit it with a match. The crew stepped away from the carriage, which would be driven back by recoil, and then repositioned for the next shot. A six-pounder required a crew of 10–12 men to perform the nine-step firing procedure and was capable of firing 1–2 aimed rounds per minute.

Solid shot (cannonballs) were effective against wooden fortifications and, to a lesser extent, against stone or brick, depending on the thickness of the walls. The iron balls could inflict significant losses on tightly massed infantry, but were less damaging to infantry deployed in the typical open order. Grapeshot, a canvas bag containing small iron balls, was used at medium ranges (200-plus yards) and was especially dangerous to infantry. When fired, the bag disintegrated and the balls spread out as they cleared the cannon muzzle, in the same manner as a shotgun. Canister or case shot, a version of grapeshot firing smaller iron balls packed into a metal can with a wooden bottom, was used at the shortest ranges with similar effect.

Bayonets

In the British army, the bayonet, a long blade attached to the end of a musket barrel using a socket, was considered an essential weapon to achieve success when attacking. The Continental Army copied the practice, and by 1781, Continental soldiers had become proficient in using bayonets. The militia, however, were not always issued bayonets and were often intimidated when facing an enemy charging with bayonets, causing them to flee. Bayonets could not be attached to rifles, so troops equipped with these weapons were at a disadvantage in close combat. Bayonets were approximately 17 inches long and could be devastating, inflicting severe wounds.

Muskets

The standard firearm of troops in both armies, as well as the militia, was the flintlock musket. It was a muzzle-loading smoothbore weapon that fired a round lead ball and was notoriously inaccurate; it had a maximum effective range of about 80 yards. The term “flintlock” referred to the firing mechanism, a flint mounted on a hammer that moved forward when the trigger was pulled, striking a piece of steel (frizzen) to create sparks that ignited gunpowder in a pan, the flame spreading through a touch hole to ignite the main charge of gunpowder at the rear of the musket barrel, causing an explosion that propelled the ball forward. Loading a flintlock musket required several steps. First, the hammer was pulled backward to the “half-cocked” position, then the soldier opened a paper cartridge containing gunpowder (often by tearing the paper with his teeth) and poured a small amount of powder into the pan. Next, the soldier rammed the cartridge, including the paper container, and a musket ball down the barrel of the musket. The hammer was then pulled back to the fully cocked position, and the soldier raised the weapon, aimed it, and fired when ordered to do so. A skilled soldier could fire three or four shots per minute.

The standard British musket was called the “Brown Bess.” It had been in use since 1720 and fired a musket ball of .75 caliber, or three-quarter-inch diameter. The entire weapon was just over five feet long and weighed almost nine pounds. Most Continental units were equipped with the French-manufactured Charleville musket, designed in 1768. It was five feet long, weighed nine and a half pounds, and fired a .69 caliber ball. American militia units were equipped with whatever firearms were available, generally a variety of muskets owned by individuals or provided by state governments, and included the Brown Bess, Charleville, Spanish muskets, and older weapons of various manufacture. American soldiers, both Continentals and militia, often loaded a few pieces of buckshot with the musket ball, a combination called “buck and ball” that increased the probability of injuring enemy troops at short ranges.

The inaccuracy of musket fire determined the tactics used on Revolutionary War battlefields. Units generally formed in “line of battle,” a row of men two (sometimes three) ranks deep, with each man one to three feet from the next. In Europe, where there was more open ground, troops usually stood shoulder-to-shoulder, but the wooded terrain in America required more spacing, or “open order,” to allow the soldiers to move. When engaging an enemy in the fields or woodlands, the attacking force would advance to within effective musket range of the defender and open fire. Volleys were fired, usually by one platoon or company after another in succession, with the goal being to weaken the enemy with the volume of musket fire. After the opponents exchanged several volleys, the attackers would fix bayonets and charge in an effort to overwhelm or drive back the opponent. In most cases, either the defenders retreated or the attackers withdrew after failing to break the enemy line. Sometimes, however, the troops engaged in close combat, fighting hand-to-hand with bayonets and using muskets as clubs.

Swords

Although not as important as muskets, swords were still valuable weapons during the War for Independence. Most swords were manufactured in Europe by a process that involved running steel bars through a rolling mill to compress them. The piece of steel was then ground on stone wheels to produce the blade, which was tempered, tested for strength, and polished. Some swords had a single edge, while others were double-edged. After the blade was polished, it was sold, and the purchaser added the hilt (handle and guard). Swords were generally carried in a leather scabbard.

Officers of all armies usually carried smaller swords that served more as a sign of rank than as a weapon; artillerymen also carried small swords for defense in the event the enemy attacked their guns. Large swords were the primary weapons of cavalrymen. Their blades could be curved or straight and were usually single-edged and designed for slashing and thrusting at an enemy. The size of cavalry swords varied, though most were about three feet long and weighed about three pounds. Some American cavalry units were equipped with makeshift swords produced by local blacksmiths and of inconsistent quality.

Rifles

Some of the militia soldiers at Eutaw Springs were probably armed with rifles. Although rifles and muskets were similar in outward appearance, rifles had spiral grooves known as “rifling” engraved on the inside of the barrel. When the rifle was fired, the round lead ball expanded slightly into the grooves, which caused the ball to spin, resulting in more accurate shooting and longer effective ranges. Rifles could be fired accurately at ranges of 200 to 300 yards. The rifle’s advantages, however, were offset by the longer loading time—a rifle could be fired about once per minute, compared to three or four shots per minute for a musket—and rifles had no means of attaching a bayonet, leaving riflemen vulnerable to bayonet-wielding opponents. Rifles, individually manufactured by skilled gunsmiths, were more expensive and more difficult to obtain than muskets.

Continental Army Uniforms

In theory, the Continental infantrymen at Eutaw Springs should have been uniformed in blue coats with red facings, and white breeches. The reality was different: supply shortages combined with hard wear in the field took a toll on the uniforms the Maryland and Delaware troops had worn when they marched south more than a year before. While many of these men, as well as the Virginia and North Carolina troops, still wore the blue coats, others wore brown coats with red trim imported from France, while some Virginians had been issued short jackets in place of full-length coats. Large numbers of troops had received long, light-colored linen hunting shirts, and these were probably worn by men without coats, or by soldiers who chose not to wear coats in the intense early September heat. Trousers types also varied greatly, with some men still clothed in the official white breeches, others in leather breeches, and some in white or blue-striped overalls. The tricornered hat was standard wear.

The exception to this motley assortment of clothing was Lee’s Legion. These troops were well-attired in short green jackets and tan trousers; the Legion cavalry wore black plumed helmets. The official uniform of Washington’s Continental Light Dragoons was a white jacket with light blue facings, white

breeches, and a cavalry helmet, though it is unlikely that all of these men wore such items as, like the infantry, they had to make do with whatever was available.

British Army Uniforms

All the British troops at Eutaw Springs wore the traditional red uniform coat with white breeches. The coats of most provincial units had blue trim, and although the official uniform for the Scots in the 84th Regiment substituted a kilt for trousers, the soldiers of the 84th, like their counterparts, wore breeches, as kilts were impractical to wear when campaigning. British regular army regiments had distinctive facing colors for their coats: buff for the 3rd Regiment, dark green for the 63rd, and black for the 64th. Standard headgear was the tricornered hat, though officially light infantry wore a cap with a visor and grenadiers wore the tall, brimless bearskin hat. This latter headgear was rarely seen in the field at this stage of the war.

Royal artillery soldiers were uniformed differently. They wore blue coats with red facings, with strips of yellow where the lapel and cuff buttons were located. Their tricornered hats were trimmed in yellow. In the field, artillerists often wore simple gray smocks instead of their uniform coats.

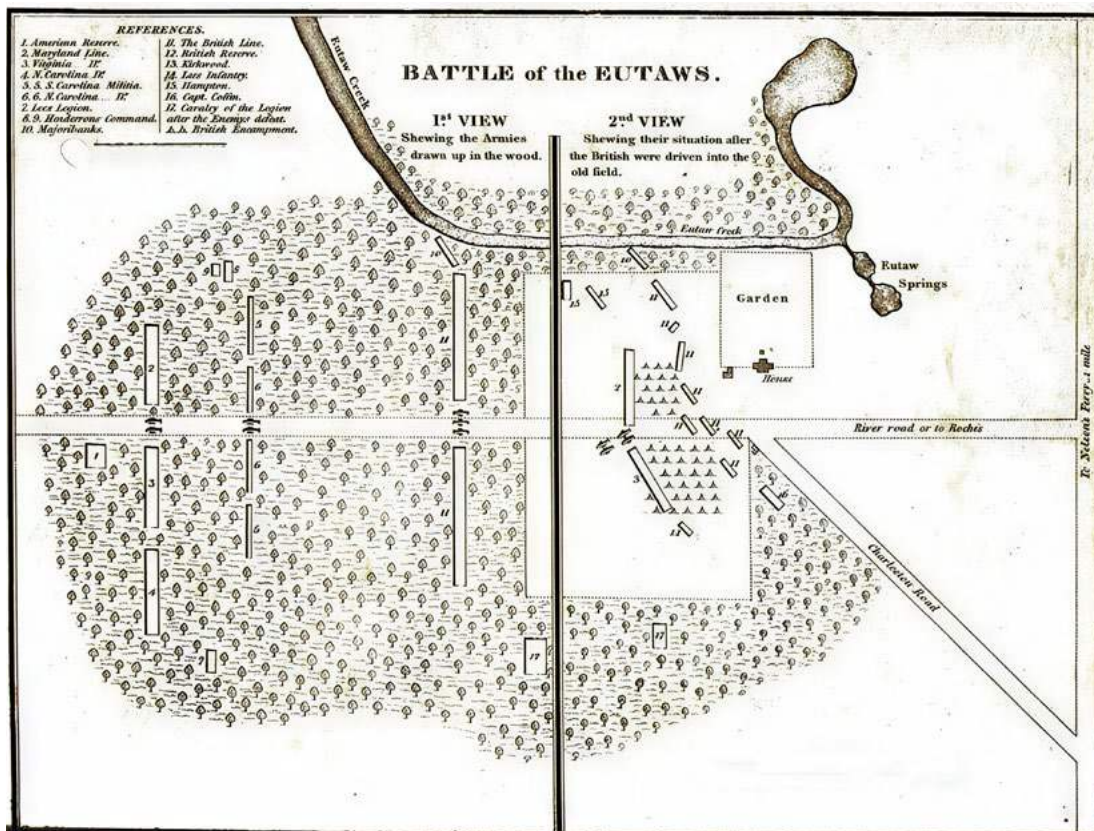
Militia

Militiamen were citizen-soldiers who generally served for short periods of time. Although state governments (for American militia units) and British officers (for Loyalist militia units) often provided equipment, including muskets for those who did not own firearms, along with ammunition, tents, and other camp supplies, members of the militia wore their own civilian clothing, sometimes putting pieces of paper, pine twigs, or similar items in their hatbands to indicate their status as soldiers and their allegiance.

A Sampling of Paintings, Engravings, and Maps of Eutaw Springs through the Years

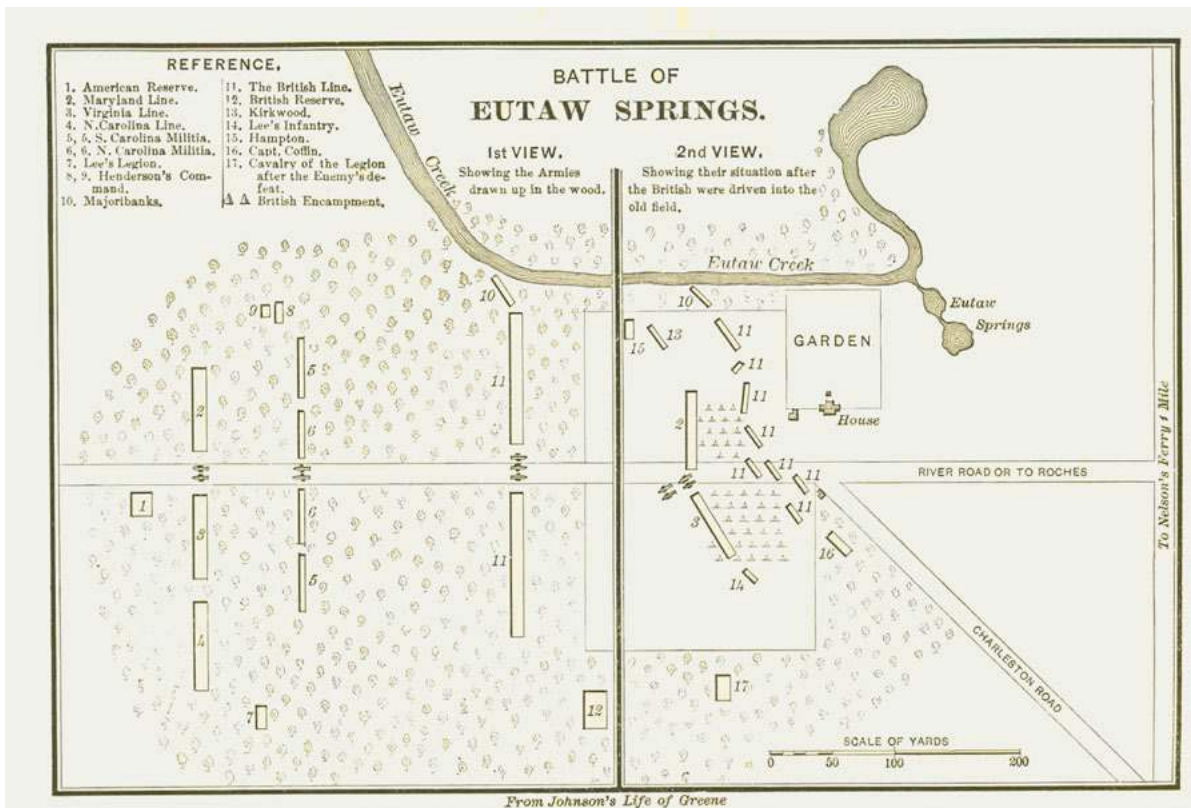


Battle of Eutaw Springs. Robert Hinshelwood. NYPL.





Battle of Eutaw Springs. Frederick Yohn. NYPL.



Cover Map
Eutaw Springs. From *Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene* (1822).
William Johnson. US Army.



Battle of Eutaw Springs. Colorized version of engraving after Alonzo Chappel painting.



The evening before the battle of Eutaw Springs, Major General Nathanael Greene conferred with some of his seasoned officers at Burdell's Tavern. Dale Watson.

A Driving Tour Recounting the Course of the Eutaw Springs Battle



From Interstate 95, take Exit 98 and turn onto South Carolina Highway 6 (Old Number 6 Highway) toward Eutawville. After driving approximately 5 miles from the exit, you will pass the intersection of Route 210 on the right. Drive a short distance farther to the third road on the left, which leads to the site of Burdell's Plantation, where the American army camped.

When touring the battle area, please keep in mind that much of the former battlefield is now on private property. **BE SURE NOT TO TRESPASS.**

Phase 1/Stop 1: Burdell's Plantation

At Burdell's Plantation on September 7, Marion and his militia joined Greene, completing the concentration of the American forces. Greene had succeeded in assembling a force superior to that of the British, and placing his army within striking distance of the enemy without Stewart's knowledge, giving him an excellent opportunity to achieve tactical surprise. In devising his plan for the approach march, Greene arranged for the units to march in the order they would deploy on the battlefield. Greene intended to employ the tactics used with great success by Brig. Gen. Daniel Morgan at the Battle of Cowpens in January, and by Greene himself with less success at Guilford Courthouse in March. The American army would deploy in two lines, with the militia in front; however, whereas this formation had been used for defense at Cowpens and Guilford Courthouse, here Greene adapted it for attack. Greene's plan dictated that the militia should lead his marching column, but given the uncertainty of

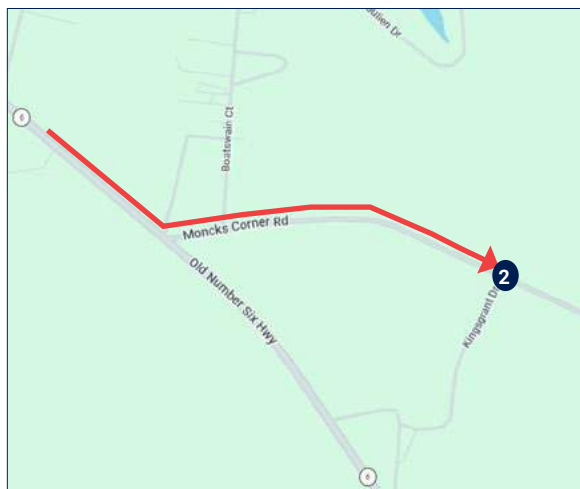
how they might react if they encountered British troops, Greene assigned the more experienced South Carolina State Troops under Henderson and the battle-tested veterans of Lee's Legion to lead the advance. They were followed by the North Carolina militia, South Carolina militia, North Carolina Continentals, two three-pounder artillery pieces, the Virginia Continentals, two six-pounder artillery pieces, and the Maryland Continentals, with the Delaware Continentals and Washington's cavalry in the rear. The army began its march at 4 a.m.

Stewart, unaware of Greene's presence so close to his camp, dispatched a foraging party of 310 officers and men early in the morning of September 8. The foragers were to gather sweet potatoes from the plantations west of the British camp along the Santee River, as Stewart's army was short of provisions. Not anticipating an encounter with the enemy, the troops in the foraging party carried only four rounds of ammunition each. When they had marched a few miles to the west, they dispersed to collect foodstuffs.

At 6 a.m., two hours after Greene's army had begun its march, two American deserters reached the British camp. They informed Stewart that Greene was only seven miles away with four pieces of artillery and a force they estimated at 4,000 men. Stewart was skeptical at first; both sides occasionally sent soldiers pretending to be deserters into the enemy camp to provide false information. After considering the deserters' report, Stewart opted to exercise caution and ordered Coffin to take his 50 cavalry and 140 men from the Provincial Light Infantry to scout the road to Burdell's Plantation and recall the foragers if any danger was detected. The stage was set for the initial confrontation.

Phase 2/Stop 2: Engagements on the Road

From the Burdell's Plantation site, return to SC 6 and turn left to follow the American army's route of march on the morning of September 8.



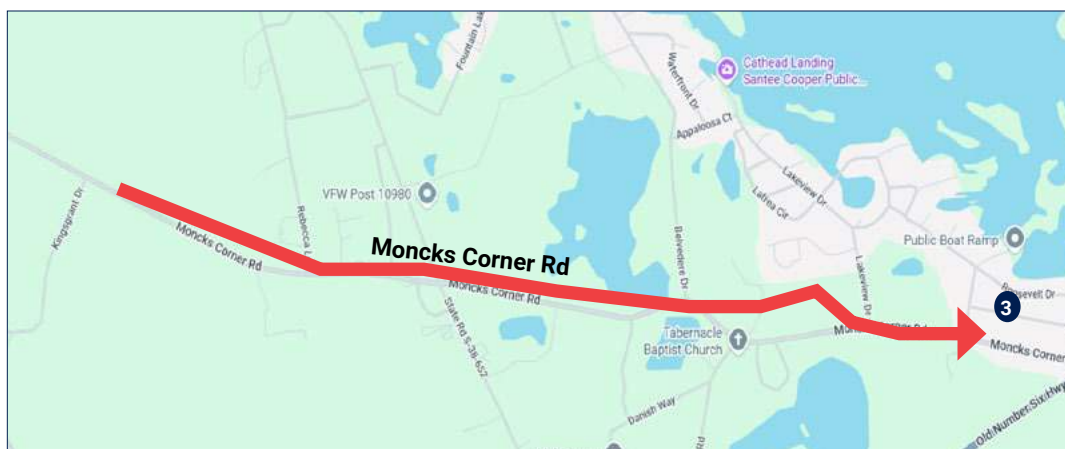
Drive approximately 3 miles to the intersection of Moncks Corner Road, also called the River Road in 1781. Turn left onto Moncks Corner Road and proceed about three-quarters of a mile to the intersection of Kingsgrant Road on the right. This is the approximate location where the British scouting party first encountered the advance guard of the American column.

By 8 a.m., Coffin had advanced three miles down the road and sighted the head of the American column, which had advanced only three miles. While some of the American troops were in the road, others moved along either side as flank guards. Believing that the Americans were only a party of militia, Coffin ordered his dragoons to charge them. The British horsemen rode into a heavy fire from the State Troops and Legion infantry that struck them from the front and both flanks. Coffin's dragoons quickly reversed direction and fled, eluding the Legion cavalry that Lee had dispatched in an effort to encircle the British. The Legion cavalry engaged some of the Provincial Light Infantry that was

following the British dragoons and inflicted some casualties. Coffin hurried back to camp to inform Stewart of the encounter, leaving parties of the Light Infantry behind to delay the American advance. These groups concealed themselves when opportunity offered, firing and retreating.

While the Americans continued their march, the British foragers, having heard the musket fire, hurried to the road to investigate. They stumbled directly into Greene's column at several places. Some of the British, realizing that they had encountered the enemy, attempted to resist. A few were killed and wounded when the Americans returned fire, though the vast majority recognized their predicament and surrendered. Only a handful of soldiers from the British foraging party eventually managed to make their way back to camp. Although the encounter with Coffin's detachment had cost Greene the advantage of surprise, the capture of the foraging parties had deprived Stewart of nearly one-fifth of his force, at almost no cost to the Americans.

Phase 3/Stop 3: Initial Deployments and Skirmishing



Continue on Moncks Corner Road. The area to your left was where the British rooting parties were foraging for food. After 2 miles, you will reach Lakeview Road on the left. This is the approximate area where the American troops began deploying for battle, harassed by parties of the Provincial Light Infantry before that unit was moved to the opposite end of the British line.

When Coffin returned and informed Stewart that the Americans were advancing in force, the British commander prepared for battle. Stewart placed his troops in a position several hundred yards west of the British camp and formed them to receive the enemy. On the right, where Eutaw Creek flowed through a defile, Marjoribanks positioned his Flank Battalion facing to the southward. The bank of the creek served as a natural trench, and the ground before it was covered with thick scrub brush that provided further protection. The British line then angled almost 90 degrees, facing west (the actual point where the line bent, the “elbow,” was discovered by historian David P. Reuwer). The 3rd Regiment occupied the northernmost position of the main line, its right flank adjacent to the Flank Battalion. To the 3rd Regiment's south was the 63rd Regiment, then the 64th Regiment, the 1st Battalion of De Lancey's Brigade, and on the far left flank, the Provincial Light Infantry. Stewart

held the New York Volunteers, the New Jersey Volunteers, the detachment of the 84th Regiment, and the cavalry in reserve. The two six-pounder artillery pieces were positioned in or near the road, and the two three-pounders farther south to support the left of the line. Stewart assigned Lt. Col. John Harris Cruger to command the front line. Although British officers often distrusted their Loyalist counterparts, Cruger had proven himself in numerous actions, earning the respect of Cornwallis, Rawdon, and apparently Stewart as well.

Greene had responded to the encounter with Coffin by ordering his troops to hasten their march. Lee's Legion and Henderson's State Troops remained at the front of the column, and they engaged the screen of pickets that Stewart and Cruger had deployed in advance of their main line. The pickets withdrew, and as the Legion and State Troops pushed forward, they came under fire from the Flank Battalion along the creek to their left and the 3rd Regiment and artillery in their front. Lee sent Greene a request for artillery support and was quickly reinforced by Capt. William Gaines and his two three-pounders, which opened fire on the British. Col. Otho Holland Williams arrived at the same time to assess the situation.

While Lee, Henderson, and Gaines drew the attention of the British, Greene formed the rest of his army, facing eastward. To the right of the State Troops were Pickens's South Carolina militia, followed by Malmédy's North Carolina militia and Marion's South Carolinians. Lee's Legion disengaged at the northern end of the line, and its infantry took post on the right, with its cavalry, augmented by mounted militia, in reserve. Behind these units, Greene deployed his Continental troops in a second line, with the Maryland Brigade on the left, the Virginia Brigade in the center, and the North Carolina Brigade on the right. The Delaware companies and Washington's dragoons, reinforced with mounted militia, were held in reserve.

As Greene completed positioning his force, Stewart saw that the American right flank greatly overlapped his own left, making it vulnerable. Stewart therefore ordered the rest of his infantry—the New York and New Jersey Volunteers and the detachment of the 84th Regiment—into the front line, leaving Coffin's cavalry as his only reserve.

Except for the British Flank Battalion in its sheltered location, both of the opposing armies were deployed in open woodland. In the traditional practice of the eighteenth century, the troops stood side-by-side in two ranks. However, while in Europe soldiers stood almost shoulder-to-shoulder, in America, where the terrain was often wooded or broken by fences, stone walls, and other obstacles, the armies formed in what was called "open order," with the men two to three feet apart to enable them to move more easily. Battle tactics remained the same: when the attacker had advanced to within effective musket range of the defending force, the opponents exchanged volleys until the attacker believed the defender had been sufficiently weakened to be overwhelmed by troops charging with fixed bayonets. Yet, on some occasions, it was the defender who inflicted the most damage and made the bayonet charge. An infantry line could also be broken if one side succeeded in placing its infantry on the adversary's flank, where they could concentrate their musket fire on troops facing away at an angle of about 90 degrees and who could not easily reposition themselves to meet the threat, especially if they also faced opposing troops in their front. Once the enemy line was broken, the cavalry was expected to pursue the fleeing enemy, cutting down those who resisted and capturing those who did not. There

were also instances when both the Americans and British used cavalry to attack infantry deployed in line of battle. A successful cavalry charge could devastate opposing infantry, but if the charge failed, the mounted troops were likely to suffer heavy casualties.

Greene and Stewart had deployed their troops effectively. While the Americans had the advantage of superior numbers, this was partly offset by the strong position of the British Flank Battalion, in a location where it outflanked the left of the American line. The American commander, Greene, also benefited from having led troops in the field since the beginning of the war. Even if he had failed to win clear victories since coming to the South, Greene was still a seasoned leader, whereas Stewart, who had gained combat experience in Europe during the Seven Years' War, had not seen action for nearly two decades and had never commanded an army in battle. He was fortunate to have Cruger and other experienced officers to assist him in the test that was about to come.

Phase 4/Stops 4 and 5:

The Main Battle, Part I, Open-Field Engagement and Fighting on the Flank

From Stop 3, continue about three-fourths of a mile to the junction with Old Number 6 Highway/ SC 45 on the right. This is the area where the two armies battled in the open field, with the American first line eventually retreating, and the advancing British being checked in turn and driven back. While the bulk of the forces were engaged here, the British flank battalion waged an almost separate fight against the South Carolina State Troops along Eutaw Creek. To reach that location, Stop 5 on the tour, continue on SC 6/45, and take the first left at Roosevelt Road. At the fork, turn right and proceed to the T-junction with Conner Road. Turn left and drive to the end of the road to see the approximate location of the battle on the American left flank.

Satisfied with the position of his troops, Greene opened his attack by ordering the militia to advance. When they came within range of the British line, they were met with heavy volleys of musket fire. The militia officers halted their men and returned the fire. The battle raged with neither side able to gain an advantage, and afterward, Greene praised the performance of the militia in standing firmly against regular troops. Malmédy's North Carolinians, however, eventually began to waver and fall back under the hail of musket balls. Seeing this, and concerned that if a gap opened in his line, the British would be able to outflank Marion and Pickens, Greene ordered the North Carolina Continentals to advance from their position in the second line and replace Malmédy's militia. The American line was restored, and the fighting continued. On Greene's left, the State Troops were standing fast despite being subjected to a withering fire from the Flank Battalion. Henderson asked Greene for permission to charge, hoping to dislodge the British, but Greene refused, because such a move might expose Marion's left flank. Shortly afterward, Henderson was seriously wounded, and his troops were briefly thrown into disorder until other officers steadied them.

None of the participants recalled exactly how long the fighting lasted in this area, but eventually, Sumner's Continentals in the American center could no longer withstand the British fire. Some individuals dropped back at first, then small groups began to follow, and finally the whole line gave way. This movement exposed Marion's right flank and Pickens's left flank, and the two brigades began to withdraw as well. Seeing the American line crumbling, the British and Loyalist troops believed

victory was at hand and surged forward without orders in pursuit of their retreating enemy.

Although his front line had collapsed, Greene remained calm. As the British troops advanced, their ranks, already thinned by casualties, became disordered, rendering them unable to respond effectively to any serious resistance. Recognizing his opportunity, Greene ordered his veteran Maryland and Virginia Continentals to charge. They responded promptly, advancing with fixed bayonets, ignoring the scattered musket fire aimed at them by the disorganized British soldiers. Seeing their predicament, the British troops turned and fled toward their camp. On the American right, Lee and his Legion infantry moved to outflank the retreating British, charging in a northeasterly direction across the front of the Marylanders and Virginians. Victory appeared to be at hand for the Americans, with the destruction of Stewart's army all but assured.



Phase 5/Stop 6: The Main Battle, Part II, the Struggle Near the Brick House

From Stop 5, retrace your route until you reach Old Number Six Highway SC 6/45, and turn left. Drive about one-third of a mile, where you will see Eutaw Springs Battlefield Park. This small area was the site of the original springs, the McKelvie House—the brick building where the British made a desperate stand—the adjoining palisaded garden, and the creek bed where the British flank battalion continued its obstinate resistance to Greene's troops and checked Lt. Col. William Washington's cavalry charge. The British camp lay to the south and southwest, and beyond the camp was where Stewart and Cruger worked to reorganize their forces. Almost directly to the south, where the road to Roche's Plantation was located, the cavalry of Lee's Legion made a final, unsuccessful effort to advance beyond the British camp and strike Stewart's army. The park contains a monument placed by the Daughters

of the American Revolution, historical markers, the grave of a militiaman who lived nearby and died long after he had fought in the battle, and the grave of British major John Marjoribanks, moved from its original location when the Santee River was dammed.

As Stewart's troops raced to stay ahead of the pursuing Americans, a series of events—one planned by Stewart, one improvised by Marjoribanks, and one wholly unintended—came to the rescue of the British. Shortly before the battle began, Stewart had instructed Maj. Henry Sheridan of the New York Volunteers that if some disaster should occur, Sheridan should place his troops in the large brick house behind the British right. Sheridan managed to do so, though it was a close contest as Lt. Laurence Manning of Lee's Legion reached the door of the house at about the same time as a British officer. Manning, seeing the door closing in front of him, and realizing that he was the only American in the area among the scattered British soldiers, grabbed the officer and placed the man's body between himself and the British to use as a shield. The British officer protested loudly, announcing that he was Capt. Henry Barry, an important staff officer. Manning replied that he had no intention of harming Barry but that he only intended to use him to screen his escape, and then he would see that Barry was properly treated.

Meanwhile, Marjoribanks saw that the retreat of the rest of the army had left his Flank Battalion isolated. He ordered his troops to fall back, sheltered by the banks of the creek, until the battalion was able to reach the area adjacent to the brick house. There, Marjoribanks placed some of his men in the palisaded garden, where many soldiers of the 3rd Regiment had taken post, while the rest of the Flank Battalion occupied a position along the south side of the creek that allowed them to fire into the American left flank from the protection of the creek bank and the brush in front of it.

Greene first attempted to drive the British from the brick house. The Maryland Continentals barraged the building with musket fire. A Loyalist officer who had assigned men to defend the various windows, on checking to ensure that his men were uninjured and returning the fire, found one window empty and a musket on the floor. Searching the room, he found the soldier posted at that window hiding in a closet; the man, always reliable in the past, had panicked in the face of the heavy American fire but returned to his post. Because the musketry had no effect, Greene decided to bombard the house with artillery. His two three-pounders had been disabled earlier, so he ordered up his two six-pounders along with two captured six-pounders that the British had positioned near the fork in the road and had been abandoned when Stewart's line broke. The fire from the four guns, however, had little effect on the stout brick walls. The American gunners wheeled their pieces closer to the house in hopes that firing from a shorter range would be more successful. Instead, the artillery crews suffered several casualties from the troops in the house, garden, and creek bed and were driven off. Some of the British troops then sallied out of their positions, seized the guns, and dragged them close to the brick house where the Americans could not recover them.

Beyond the brick house and the open field where the British camp lay, Stewart, who had been wounded, and Cruger were rallying their troops. Although some had fled down the Charleston Road and did not return, most of them, having had a chance to recover both physically and emotionally from the hard fighting and unexpected reverse, reorganized around their regimental flags and prepared to renew the battle. Coffin's cavalry remained on the field to the south, and despite their small numbers,

they could still be of use. Greene knew he had to act before Stewart's troops reforming to the east returned to action, and decided to make an effort to dislodge Marjoribanks. He ordered Washington's cavalry, with the State Troops cavalry under Col. Wade Hampton and Kirkwood's two companies of Delaware Continentals, to attack the Flank Battalion. Washington chose not to wait for Hampton and Kirkwood and charged the British, but was unable to penetrate the thick brush. After futilely firing their pistols, the dragoons rode back and forth along the front of the Flank Battalion, vainly seeking an opening they could penetrate. Washington was wounded, his horse was shot and fell on him, and British soldiers emerged from their natural fortification, captured Washington, and drove off the remnant of his cavalry.

Having been thwarted in the effort to clear his left flank, Greene was determined to bypass the house, palisaded garden, and creek bed and drive off or destroy Stewart's force to the east before the British were fully prepared to rejoin the battle. Once that had been accomplished, the stubborn defenders of the position on his left would be cut off and forced to surrender. Greene therefore redirected the Delaware troops to the camp and sent some of the Virginia Continentals as well. They joined many Maryland Continentals who were already among the tents. The camp proved to be an unexpected obstacle. Troops attempting to advance had to pick their way among the tents, ropes, stakes, and other obstacles, making it impossible to maintain proper military formation. While in the camp, the tents sheltered the soldiers from the view of British marksmen in the brick house, but when they emerged, trickling through in single file, they were easy targets. Col. Otho Holland Williams noted that several Maryland officers who stepped beyond the tents and urged their men to move forward were promptly shot down. Williams and other officers, along with Loyalist newspapers in Charleston, later claimed that many of the Americans forgot their duty and instead pillaged the British camp, gorging on delicacies and getting drunk on rum they found, though there is little evidence to support such claims, and an army that had been forced to forage for sweet potatoes and that strictly rationed supplies of rum was not likely to have had an abundance of food and alcoholic beverages sufficient to entertain several hundred men. In any case, the camp proved to be an insurmountable obstacle to a further American advance.

Greene had one option left. The cavalry of Lee's Legion remained on his right, ready for action, though Lee himself was not with them, having accompanied his infantry to the vicinity of the brick house. Greene ordered Maj. Joseph Eggleston to charge with the cavalry through the clear area south of the camp and drive away Coffin's dragoons, a maneuver that could provide an opening for the infantry to follow. Eggleston charged, and though outnumbered, Coffin's cavalry stood firm and repulsed the Legion's mounted troops. Observing the Legion horsemen withdrawing, and only scattered parties of American infantry moving about, Coffin charged. Stewart, whose men were now ready for action, saw Coffin advance and ordered his own troops forward. With no good tactical options remaining, his men exhausted after hours of fighting on an extremely hot day, and his ability to control the army hampered by the heavy losses in officers that his army had suffered, Greene ordered a withdrawal to Burdell's Plantation. The Americans carried off a captured British three-pounder, but left behind their two six-pounders along with many wounded men. The British army held the field, yet their losses had been devastating.

Casualties - American Army

Table 9. Continental Troops from a Return Prepared on Sept. 25, 1781.

Unit	Officers Killd.	Officers Wnded.	Officers Missg.	Enlisted Killd.	Enlisted Wnded.	Enlisted Missg.	Total Killd.	Total Wnded.	Total Missg.
NC Bde.	4	6	0	44	90	10	48	96	10
MD Bde.	4	7	0	22	71	9	26	78	9
VA Bde.	3	4	0	14	28	4	17	32	4
DE Cos.	0	0	0	2	6	2	2	6	2
Leg. Inf.	0	1	0	4	11	1	4	12	1
Leg. Cav.	0	1	0	5	10	1	5	11	1
Ctl. Cav.	0	6	0	11	9	3	11	15	3
Arty.	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	11	25	0	102	225	30	113	250	30

There are some mathematical errors in the return; for example, the 11 North Carolina sergeants who are listed as killed and wounded are not included in the total casualties suffered by that state's Continental troops. Such errors have been corrected in the table. Per this return, total Continental casualties in the battle were 393. This amounts to 22.5 percent of Greene's Continental troops, and the actual percentage was somewhat higher since the return's report of no artillery casualties is contradicted by other sources.

Table 10. State Troops and Militia, from the Return of Sept. 25, 1781

Unit	Officers Killd.	Officers Wnded.	Officers Missg.	Enlisted Killd.	Enlisted Wnded.	Enlisted Missg.	Total Killd.	Total Wnded.	Total Missg.
SC State Trps.	3	10	0	10	33	0	13	43	0
SC Mlta.	2	4	0	4	34	8	6	38	8
NC Mlta.	0	0	0	6	35	0	6	35	0
Total	5	14	0	20	102	8	25	116	8

Per the table shown above, total casualties among the state troops and militia totaled 149. This amounts to 1 percent of the state troops and militia known to be present. Since the actual number of such men was probably higher, the percentage of losses would have been lower.

The grand total of Continental, state troops, and militia casualties is 138 killed, 366 wounded, and 38 missing, or a combined 542. One source gives a figure of 12 wounded and 3 missing for the Continental artillery, which would raise the total losses to 557.

Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing

The number of American officers killed and wounded at Eutaw Springs was extremely high—and almost certainly influenced Greene’s decision to break off the engagement and withdraw to Burdell’s Plantation. It would have been difficult for Greene to exercise proper command and control of his forces with so many officers out of action.

*Continental*s

Maryland Brigade

Capt. Edward Edgerly, Capt. Henry Dobson, Lt. Isaac Duvall, Lt. James Gould, killed.
Lt. Col. John Eager Howard, Capt. Jonathan Gibson, Capt.-Lt. Thomas Hugon, Lt. James Ewing, Lt. John Lynn, Lt. William Woolford, Ensign Moore, wounded

North Carolina Brigade

Capt. Christopher Goodin, Capt. William Goodman, Capt. Dennis Porterfield, Lt. James Dillon, killed.
Lt. Col. Henry Dixon, Capt. Charles Dixon, Capt. Joshua Hadley, Lt. Richard Andrews, Lt. Thomas Dudley, Lt. James Moore, Ensign Abner Lamb, wounded.

Virginia Brigade

Lt. Col. Richard Campbell, Capt. Conway Oldham, Lt. John Willson, killed.
Capt. Simon Morgan, Capt. Thomas Edmonds, Capt. John Watts, Lt. Charles Erskine, Lt. Robert Jouett, Lt. Thomas Miller, wounded.

Lee’s Legion

Lt. Laurence Manning, Cornet Clement Carrington, wounded.

Washington’s Dragoons

Cornet George William Carlyle, killed. Sometimes referred to as a “volunteer” or cadet, Carlyle was a resident of Alexandria, Virginia, and only 15 years old at the time of the battle. He apparently joined Washington’s dragoons sometime in the spring or summer of 1781.
Lt. Col. William Washington, wounded and captured.
Capt. John Watts, Lt. Ambrose Gordon, Lt. Howard, Lt. King, Cornet James Simons, wounded.

Artillery

Capt.-Lt. John Finn, Lt. John Carson, killed.
Lt. John Drew, wounded.
Lt. Matthew McGuire, wounded and captured.
Note that the official return of Sept. 26, 1781, reported no casualties in the artillery.

South Carolina State Troops

Maj. James Rutherford, Lt. Thomas Polk, Lt. William Polk, Adjutant Lusk (or Lush), killed.
Lt. Col. William Henderson, Lt. Col. Hugh Middleton, Capt. George Cowan, Capt. James Giles, Capt. Nathaniel Martin, Capt. Francis Moore, Lt. Culpepper, Lt. Eakins, Lt. Samuel Hammond,
Lt. Spragins, wounded.

North Carolina Militia

Lt. Charles Stewart, killed.

Capt. William Buford, wounded.

South Carolina Militia

Capt. Thomas Watts, Lt. John Gordon, Lt. Hardy Holmes, Lt. Elijah King, killed.

Brig. Gen. Andrew Pickens, Lt. Col. Hugh Horry (some sources name Peter Horry, but a casualty return for Marion's brigade lists "Lt. Col. H. Horry"), Capt. Charles Gee, Capt. Cladius Pegues, Lt. Boon, wounded.

Casualties - British Army

Table 11. Return of Killed, Wounded, and Missing in the Action at Eutaw Springs

Corps	Killed	Wounded	Missing	Total
Cavalry	2	10	18	30
Flank Battn.	13	90	3	106
3rd Regt.	30	78	74	182
63rd Regt.	8	37	22	67
64th Regt.	12	52	56	120
84th Regt.	6	23	2	31
NY Vols.	0	3	7	10
NJ Vols.	2	26	3	31
1st Bttn. De Lancey's	5	9	35	49
Prov. Lt. Inf.	3	19	26	48
Artillery and Attd. Troops	3	4	11	18
Totals	84	351	257	692

This is a loss of just over 35 percent of Stewart's force, and after deducting the number of sick, a loss of more than 37 percent of the British troops. Such losses left the British army barely fit for action.

Officers Killed, Wounded, and Missing

Army Commander Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart, wounded.

Cavalry: Cornet Van Horne, wounded.

Flank Battalion: Lt. Robert Hickman, 19th Regt., killed; Lt. Lord Edward Fitzgerald, 19th Regt., Lt. Ankettle, 30th Regt., wounded.

3rd Regiment: Lt. Malby Beckwith, killed; Maj. John Leslie, wounded; Lt. Douglas Hamilton, captured; Lts. Edward Sylvester and George Billingham, wounded and captured.

63rd Regiment: Lts. Campbell and Owen Lloyd, Ensign Murray, wounded; Capt. Hayes St. Leger, wounded and captured; Lt. Ambrose Beacroft, captured.

64th Regiment: Lts. Graham and Coswell, wounded; Ensign George Latan, captured, died of wounds; Capt. John Kennedy Strong, captured.

84th Regiment: Capt. Robert Campbell, wounded.

New Jersey Volunteers: Capt. John Barberie, wounded; Lt. John Troup, died of wounds.

1st Battalion De Lancey's: Lt. Cunningham, captured.

Provincial Light Infantry: Capt. James Shaw, died of wounds; Capt. Jacob Van Buskirk, Lt. George Cox, Ensign William Montgomery, wounded; Lt. Evans, Ensigns John Reed and Blair, Adjutant Murray, captured.

Staff: Capt. Henry Barry, Deputy Adjutant General, wounded and captured. This was the officer captured at the door of the brick house by Lt. Laurence Manning of Lee's Legion.

The Aftermath of the Battle

The British army held their position on the battlefield for the remainder of September 8, resting and tending to the numerous wounded. According to Stewart, Greene sent a message later in the day, requesting a cease-fire so the Americans could gather and treat the wounded soldiers they had left on the field and bury their dead. Stewart refused to grant a truce, and in any case, it was customary for the army that occupied the battlefield to care for the wounded of both sides. William Washington was permitted to send a message to Greene, in which he described his injuries, stated that he had been promised a release on parole, and asked that his clothing be sent to him.

On the morning of September 9, Greene sent Marion's mounted troops and Lee with the Legion dragoons to swing east of Stewart's position and prevent the British army from being reinforced. The British troops loaded most of their wounded aboard wagons and sent them toward Moncks Corner. They also destroyed about 1,000 muskets that lay on the field, belonging to their dead and wounded and to some of the American troops who had been killed near the camp and brick house. Stewart's men also rid themselves of a vast quantity of rum, pouring between 20 and 30 puncheons of the beverage into the springs (a puncheon could be any amount from 70 to 120 gallons). Before leaving the field, Stewart sent a letter to Greene, stating that he was leaving 54 wounded men behind along with a surgeon to tend them under the protection of a flag of truce. The British then withdrew to Ferguson's Swamp, where they met Maj. Archibald McArthur at the head of 300 reinforcements. Marion and Lee, slowed by rain that turned the dirt roads into muddy quagmires, managed to capture 28 prisoners who strayed too far from the main force, but Marion informed Greene that they had been unable to prevent Stewart and McArthur from making a junction and that Marion's troops could do nothing further, as their horses were exhausted.

Greene, his own troops still tired from their exertions, set off in pursuit of the British when he learned Stewart had retreated. The march was slow, and on September 11, Greene arrived at Martin's Tavern near Ferguson's Swamp. Stewart, meanwhile, had withdrawn to Fair Lawn Plantation near Moncks Corner. Col. Paston Gould arrived on September 12 with additional reinforcements and assumed command of the army, while Stewart traveled to Charleston to recuperate from his wound. That same day, realizing that he could not accomplish anything more of substance, Greene called off the pursuit. He stopped briefly at the battlefield on his return march to ensure that the wounded had been brought away where they could be sheltered and treated, and then returned to his camp at the High Hills of Santee, arriving on September 16. The campaign was over.

Consequences of the Battle of Eutaw Springs

Even though both sides claimed victory at Eutaw Springs, and Stewart could describe the result as a tactical success because he held the field at the end of the action, the strategic results of the battle benefited Greene and the Americans. British losses had been so severe that they could no longer risk large-scale offensive operations. For the remaining 15 months of the war in South Carolina, the British army remained close to its base at Charleston. Although their cavalry launched occasional raids, and larger forces carried out foraging expeditions to supply the garrison and civilian population in and

around Charleston, the British never again attempted to regain control of the South Carolina interior. Their largely passive occupation soon became official government policy in early 1782, after news of George Washington's victory at Yorktown the previous October caused Parliament to suspend offensive operations in America.

Greene was content to restrict British forces to their small coastal enclave. Acutely aware of political issues, he moved his army close to Charleston and encouraged South Carolina governor John Rutledge to convene a legislature and establish civilian government in the state. This, Greene knew, would undercut any attempt by British diplomats to claim control of South Carolina during future peace negotiations. For all practical purposes, the Battle of Eutaw Springs ensured that the southern states would remain part of an independent United States of America rather than return to their earlier status as colonies of the British Empire.

Supporting Documents

American Commander's Account

**Maj. Gen. Nathanael Greene to Thomas McKean, President of the Continental Congress.
Martin's Tavern near Ferguson's Swamp. Sept. 11, 1781**

“In my dispatch of the 25th of August I informed your Excellency that we were on our march for Frydays Ferry to form a junction with the State Troops, and a Body of Militia collecting at that place, with an intention to make an attack upon the British Army laying at Colo Thompsons near McCords Ferry. On the 27th on our arrival near Frydays Ferry I got intelligence that the enemy were retiring.

“We crossed the River at Howells Ferry, and took post at Mottes plantation. Here I got intelligence that the Enemy had halted at the Eutaw Springs about forty miles below us; and that they had a reinforcement, and were making preparations to establish a permanent post there. To prevent this I was determined rather to hazard an Action, notwithstanding our numbers were greatly inferior to theirs. On the 5th we began our march, our Baggage and Stores having been ordered to Howells Ferry under a proper Guard. We moved by slow and easy marches; as well to disguise our real intention, as to give General Marion an opportunity to join us, who had been detached for the support of Colo Harding, a report of which I transmitted in my Letter of the 5th dated at Maybricks Creek. General Marion joined us on the evening of the 7th at Burdells plantation, 7 miles from the Enemies Camp.

“We made the following disposition, and marched at 4 oClock the next Morning to attack the Enemy. Our front line was composed of four small Battalions of Militia, two of North, and two of South Carolinians; one of the South Carolinians was under the immediate command of Gen Marion, and was posted on the right, who also commanded the front line; the two North Carolina Battalions under the command of Colo Malmedy was posted in the center, and the other South Carolina Battalion under the command of General Pickens was posted on the left. Our second Line consisted of three small Brigades of Continental Troops, one from North Carolina, one from Virginia, and one from Maryland. The North Carolinians were formed into three Battalions under the command of Lieutt Colo Ash, Majors Armstrong and Blount, the whole commanded by General Sumner, and posted upon the right. The Virginians consisted of two Battalions commanded by Major Snead and Captain Edmonds, and the whole by Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, and posted in the center. The Marylanders also consisted to two Battalions, commanded Lt Colonel Howard, and Major Hardman, and the Brigade by Colo Williams Dy Adjutant General to the Army; and were posted upon the left. Lieutt Colo Lee with his Legion covered our right

flank, and Lieutt Colo Henderson with the State Troops commanded by Lieutenant Colonels Hampton, Middleton, and Polk, our left. Lieutenant Colo Washington with his Horse, and the Delaware Troops under Captain Kirkwood formed a Corps de reserve. Two three Pounders under Captain Lieutenant Gaines advanced with the front Line, and two sixes under Captain Browne with the second.

“The Legion and State Troops formed our advance, and were to retire upon the flanks upon the Enemy’s forming. In this order we moved onto the attack, the Legion and State Troops fell in with a party of the Enemy’s Horse and foot about four Miles from their Camp, who mistaking our People for a party of Militia charged them briskly, but were soon convinced of their mistake by the reception they met with, the Infantry of the State Troops kept up a heavy fire, and the Legion in front under Captain Rudolph charged them with fixed Bayonets, they fled on all sides leaving four or five dead on the ground and several more wounded. As this was supposed to be the advance of the British Army our front Line was ordered to form and move on briskly in Line the Legion and state Troops to take their position upon the Flanks. All the Country is covered with Timber from the place the Action began to the Eutaw Springs. The firing began again between two and three miles from the British Camp. The Militia were ordered to keep advancing as they fired. The Enemies advanced parties were soon driven in, and a most tremendous fire began on both sides from right to left, and the Legion and State Troops were closely engaged. General Marion, Colo Malmady and General Pickens conducted the Troops with great gallantry and good conduct, and the Militia fought with a degree of spirit and firmness that reflects the highest honor upon this class of Soldiers. But the Enemies fire being greatly superior to ours, and continuing to advance the Militia began to give ground. The North Carolina Brigade under General Sumner was ordered up to their support. These were all new Levies, and had been under discipline but little more than a month, notwithstanding which they fought with a degree of obstinacy that would do honor to the best of veterans; and I could hardly tell which to admire most the gallantry of their Officers or the bravery of the Troops. They kept up a heavy and well directed fire, and the Enemy returned it with equal spirit, for they really fought worthy of a better cause, and great execution was done on both sides. In this stage of the Action the Virginians under Lieutt Colo Campbell, and the Maryland Troops under Colo Williams were led on to a brisk charge with trailed Arms, through a heavy cannonade, and a shower of Musquet Balls. Nothing could exceed the gallantry and firmness of both Officers and Soldiers upon this occasion. They preserved their order, and pressed on with such unshaken resolution that they bore down all before them. The Enemy were routed in all quarters. Lt Colo Lee had with great address, gallantry and good conduct, turned the Enemy’s left flank, and was charging them in rear at the same time the Virginia and Maryland Troops were charging them in front. A most valuable Officer Lieutt Colo Henderson got wounded early in the Action, and Lieutenant Colo Hampton who commanded the State Cavalry, and who fortunately

succeeded Lt Colo Henderson in command, charged a party of the Enemy and took upwards of 100 Prisoners. Lieutt Colo Washington brought up the Corps de reserve up on the left, where the Enemy seemed disposed to make farther resistance, and charged them so briskly with the Cavalry and Captain Kirkwoods Infantry as gave them no time to rally or form. Lieutenant Colonels Polk and Middleton who commanded the State Infantry, were no less conspicuous for their good conduct than their intrepidity; and the Troops under their command gave a specimen of what may be expected from Men naturally brave, when improved by proper discipline. Captain Lieutenant Gaines who commanded the three Pounders with the front Line did great execution, untill his pieces were dismantled. We kept close at the Enemy's heels after they broke, untill we got into their Camp, and a great number of Prisoners were continually falling into our hands, and some hundreds of the Fugitives run off towards Charles Town. But a party threw themselves into a large three story brick House which stands near the Spring, and others took post in a picquetted Garden, while others were lodged in an impenetrable thicket, consisting of a cragged shrub called a black Jack. Thus secured in front, and upon the right by the House, and a deep Ravine upon the left by the Picquetted Garden, and in impenetrable Shrubbs, and the rear also being secured by the Springs and deep hollow ways, the Enemy renewed the Action. Every exertion was made to dislodge them, Lt Colo Washington made most astonishing efforts to get through the Thicket to charge the Enemy in the Rear, but found it impracticable, had his Horse shot under him, and was wounded and taken Prisoner. Four six Pounders were ordered up before the House, two of our own, and two of the Enemys, which they had abandoned, and they were pushed on so much unde the command of the fire from the House, and the party in the Thickett as rendered it impracticable to bring them off again when the Troops were ordered to retire. Never were pieces better served, most of the Men and Officers were either killed or Wounded. Washington failing in his charge on the left, and the Legion baffled in an attempt upon the right, and finding our Infantry galled by the fire of the Enemy, and our Ammunition mostly consumed, tho' both Officers and Men continued to exhibit uncommon acts of heroism, I thought proper to retire out of the fire of the House and draw up the Troops at a little distance in the Woods, not thinking it adviseable to push our advantages farther; being persuaded the enemy could not hold the Post many Hours, and that our chance to attack them on the retreat was better than a second attempt to dislodge them, which, if we succeeded, it must be attended with considerable loss.

"We collected all our Wounded, except such as were under the command of the fire of the House, and retired to the ground from which we marched in the morning, there being no Water nearer, and the Troops ready to faint with the heat, and want of refreshment, the Action having continued near four Hours. I left on the field of Action a strong Picquett, and early in the Morning detached General Marion, and Lt Colonel Lee with the Legion Horse between Eutaw and Charles Town, to prevent any

reinforcements from coming to the relief of the Enemy, and also to retard their march should they attempt to retire, and give time for the Army to fall upon their Rear, and put a finishing stroke to our successes. We left two pieces of our Artillery in the hands of the Enemy, and brought off one of theirs. On the Evening of the 9th the Enemy retired, leaving upwards of 70 of their Wounded behind them, and not less than 1000 stands of Arms that were picked up on the field, and found boke and concealed in the Eutaw Springs. They stove between 20 and 30 puncheons of Rum, and destroyed a great variety of other Stores which they had not carriages to carry off. We pursued them the moment we got intelligence of their retiring. But they formed a junction with Major McArthur at this place, General Marion and Lieutt Colo Lee not having a force sufficient to prevent it. But on our approach they retired to the neighbourhood of Charles Town. We have taken 500 Prisoners, including the Wounded the Enemy left behind; and I think they cannot have suffered less than 600 more in killed and Wounded. The Fugitives that fled from the field of Battle spread such an alarm that the Enemy burnt their Stores at Dorchester and abandoned the Post at Fair Lawn, and a great number of Negroes and others were employed in falling Trees across the Road for some Miles without the Gates of Charles Town. Nothing but the brick House, and the peculiar strength of the position at Eutaw saved the remains of the British Army from being all made Prisoners.

“We pursued them as far as this place but not being able to overtake them we shall halt a Day or two to refresh; and then take our old position on the High Hills of Santee. I think myself principally indebted for the victory we obtained to the free use of the Bayonet made by the Virginians and Marylanders, the Infantry of the Legion, and Captain Kirkwood’s Light Infantry, and tho’ few Armies ever exhibited equal bravery with ours in general, yet the conduct and intrepidity of the Corps were peculiarly conspicuous. Lt Colo Campbell fell as he was leading his Troops to the charge, and tho’ he fell with distinguished marks of honor, yet his loss is much to be regretted. He was the great Soldier and the firm patriot.

“Our loss in Officers is considerably more from their value than their number, for never did either Men or Officers offer their blood more willingly in the service of their Country. I cannot help acknowledging my obligations to Colo Williams for his great activity on this and many other occasions in forming the Army, and for his uncommon intrepidity in leading on the Maryland Troops to the charge, which exceeded anything I ever saw. I also feel myself greatly indebted to Captains Pierce, and Pendelton, Major Hyrne and Captain Shubrick, my Aids de Camp, for their activity and good conduct throughout the whole of the Action.

“This dispatch will be handed your Excellency by Captain Pierce to whom I beg leave to refer to you for farther particulars.”

Source: Nathanael Greene, *The Papers of General Nathanael Greene*, edited by Dennis M. Conrad, Roger N. Parks, and Martha J. King, vol. 9 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 328–33.

Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart to Lt. Gen. Charles, Earl Cornwallis.

Eutaw. Sept. 9, 1781

“My Lord, with particular satisfaction I have the honour to inform your lordship that on the 8th instant I was attacked by the rebel General Green with all the force he could collect in this province and North Carolina, and after an obstinate engagement which lasted near two hours I totally defeated him and took two six-pounders.

“Soon after I had the honour of writing your lordship from Thompson’s, I received information of Greene’s having moved with the rebel army towards Camden and crossed the Wateree near that place, and from the best intelligence I could collect was on his march to Friday’s Ferry on the Congarees.

“The army under my command being much in want of necessaries, and there being at the same time a convoy with provisions on the march from Charleston which would have necessarily obliged me to make a detachment of at least 400 men (which at that time I could ill afford, the army being much weakened by sickness) to meet the convoy at Martin’s, 57 miles from my camp; the distance being so great, a smaller escort was liable to fall by the enemy’s cavalry which are very numerous.

“I therefore thought it advisable to retire by slow marches to the Eutaws where I might have an opportunity of receiving my supplies and disencumber myself of the sick without risking my escorts or suffer myself to be attacked at a disadvantage should the enemy have crossed the Congarees.

“Notwithstanding every exertion being made to gain intelligence of the enemy’s situation, they rendered it impossible by waylaying the bypaths and passes though the different swamps and even detained different flags of truce which I had sent on public business on both sides.

“About 6 o’clock in the morning I received intelligence by two deserters who left General Green’s camp the preceding evening about 7 miles from this place, and from their report the rebel army consisted of near 4000 men with a numerous body of cavalry and 4 pieces of cannon.

“In the meantime I received information by Major Coffin, whom I had previously detached with 140 infantry and 50 cavalry in order to gain intelligence of the enemy (as none could be collected by spies), that they appeared in force in his front then about 4 miles from my camp.

“Finding the enemy in force so near me, I determined to fight them as from their numerous cavalry a retreat seemed to me to be attended with dangerous consequences. I immediately formed the line of battle with the right of the army to the Eutaw branch and its left crossing the road leading to Roache’s Plantation, leaving a corps on a commanding situation to cover the Charleston road and to act occasionally as a reserve.

“About 9 o’clock the action began on the right and soon after became general.

“Knowing that the enemy were much superior in numbers, and at the same time finding that they attacked with their militia in front, induced me not to alter my position unless I saw a certain advantage to be gained by it, for by moving forward I exposed both flanks of the army to the enemy’s cavalry which I saw ready formed to take that advantage, particularly on the left which obliged me to move the reserve to support it.

“By some unknown mistake the left of the line advanced and drove their militia and North Carolinians before them, but unexpectedly finding the Virginian and Maryland lines ready formed and at the same time receiving a heavy fire occasioned some confusion. It was therefore necessary to retire a little distance to an open field in order to form, which was instantly done under cover of a heavy and well-directed fire from a detachment of New York Volunteers under the command of Major Sheridan whom I had previously ordered to take post in the house to check the enemy should they attempt to pass it.

“The action was renewed with great spirit but I was sorry to find that a 3-pounder posted on the road leading to Roaches had been disabled and could not be brought off when the left of the line retired.

“The right wing of the army being composed of the flank battalion under the command of Major Marjoribanks, having repulsed and drove everything that attacked them, made a rapid move to their left and attacked the enemy in flank, upon which they gave way in all quarters leaving behind them two brass 6-pounders and upwards of 200 killed on the field of action and 60 taken prisoners, amongst which is Colonel Washington, and from every information about 800 wounded although they contrived to carry them off during the action. The enemy retired with great precipitation to a strong situation about 7 miles from the field of action, leaving their cavalry to cover their retreat. The glory of the day would have been more complete had not the want of cavalry prevented me from taking the advantage which the gallantry of my infantry threw in my way.

“I omitted to inform your lordship in its proper place of the army’s having for some time been much in want of bread, there being no old corn or mills near me. I was therefore under the necessity of sending out rooting parties from each corps under an officer to collect potatoes every morning at daybreak, and unfortunately that of the flank battalion and Buffs having gone too far in front fell into the enemy’s hands before the action began, which not only weakened my line but increased their number of prisoners.

“Since the action our time has been employed in taking care of the wounded, and finding that the enemy have no intention to make a second attack, I have determined to cover the wounded as far as Monk’s Corner with the army.

“My particular thanks is due to Lieut.-Colonel Cruger who commanded the front line for his conduct and gallantry during the action, and to Lieut.-Colonel Allen,

Majors Dawson, Stewart, Sheridan, and Coffin, and to Captains Kelly and Campbell, commanding the different corps and detachments, and every other officer and soldier fulfilled the separate duties of their stations with great gallantry; but to Major Marjoribanks and the flank battalion under his command I think the honour of the day is greatly due. My warmest praise is due to Captain Barry, deputy adjutant-general, Major of Brigade Coxon, Lieutenant Ranken, assistant quartermaster-general, and to action Major of Brigade Roorbach for the great assistance they rendered me during the day.

“I hope, my lord, when it is considered such a handful of men attacked by the united force of Generals Greene, Sumpter, Marion, Sumner and Pickens, and the legions of Colonels Lee and Washington, driving them from the field of battle and taking the only 2 six-pounders they had deserve some merit.

“Enclosed is the returns of the killed, wounded and missing of His Majesty’s troops.

“From the number of corps and detachments which appears to have been engaged it may be supposed our force great, but your lordship will please to observe by the enclosed state taken the morning of the action that the army was much reduced by sickness and otherwise. I hope your lordship will excuse any inaccuracy that may be in this letter as I have been a good deal indisposed by a wound which I received in my left elbow, which though slight from its situation is troublesome. It will give me most singular pleasure if my conduct meets with the approbation of His Majesty, that of your lordship and my country.”

Source: K. G. Davies, ed., *Documents of the American Revolution, 1770–1783* (Colonial Office Series), vol. 20 (Dublin: Irish University Press, 1979), 226–29.

Stewart sent Cornwallis a second letter ten days later that he labeled “Private,” and in which he included additional information on the battle.

**Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart to Lt. Gen. Charles, Earl Cornwallis,
Flood’s Plantation, Sept. 19, 1781**

“I wrote to you the 9th, giving you an account of the action of the 8th, since which nothing particular has happen’d. I sent off my wounded, at least as many as I could get convey’d, in waggons the 9th in the morning towards Monk’s Corner and followed with the army that evening to Martines. The 10th in the morning I met Lt Colonel McArthur with a detachment of three hundred men at Ferguson’s Swamp. I remained there that day and forwarded my wounded and sick to the Corner, to which place I came early next morning. I was there joined by General [Paston] Gould, who now commands the army. Green (after having sent off his two remaining three pounders and one he got from me with his amunition waggons by the way of McCord’s Ferry), I afterwards found, moved down as far as Martines, but on hearing that I was reinforced, he immediately went off and is now gone some days across the Santee. He crossed at

Lawrences Plantation and had we every thing in proper order for pursuing him he might be drove out of the province. His loss has chiefly fallen on the Virginia and Maryland lines, and Washington's cavalry is almost all cut to pieces. There are two circumstances in that action which I shall regrate [regret] as long as I live: the one was my not having cavalry to profit of the totall rout of their infantry; the other is my rooting partys being out and not having joined me till the action was over, notwithstanding I sent to them on the first notice of the advance of the enemy, which was three hours before the action began. Had I knowen of the enemy's advancing towards me the evening before the action, the rooting partys would not have been out, but my first information of it was from two deserters that came to me about six o'clock the morning of the action, but you know well how difficult information of the enemy's movements are to be got, particularly when you are in a part of the country where every one is against you, which is the case on the Santee. They are almost all with Marrion and Mayam [Col. Hezekiah Maham]. I assure you the action was bloody and obstinate, and had I not my self rallied the left wing of the army, carried them on, and exposed myself much, the consequences to my little army, I beleave every one allows, might have been fatal. That and the flank battalion unexpectedly coming upon the flank of the column or mob that had forced my left compleated the business and occassioned a totall panick and rout in the enemy. Your Lordship will be so obliging as to transmit home such parts of my publick letter as you think proper, and I'm sure from the friendship you have always shoven me you will use your good offices with the King and His Ministers in my favor if you think I deserve it. And I hope it will appear to your Lordship that I should have some mark of His Majesty's favor for beating Mr Green so compleatly, tho it has cost me a good many men, as you would see by the returns. My prisoners taken from me was owing to the left flank breaking, and their noumerous cavalry profiting of it, and my only having fifty cavalry to cover the forming of my infantry when they were obliged to give way, and Colonel Washington own'd to me after the action that they had above five hundred swords men in the field.

"General [Alexander] Leslie not yet being arrived keeps us all in the dark as to the plan to be pursued for ensuing campaign. I hope your Lordship has order'd me to act as a brigadier. It would be hard on me to have command of an army, as I have had now for near these three months past, and not to have the appointments of a brigadier general. The wound in my arm is not yet well, but I'm averse to quit the field if I can avoid it, as General Gould wishes me with him."

Source: Charles Cornwallis, The Cornwallis Papers: The Campaigns of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Theatre of the American Revolutionary War, edited by Ian Saberton, Vol. 6 (Uckfield, UK: Naval and Military Press, 2010), 166–67.

On September 26, Stewart sent Cornwallis a third letter, also marked "Private."

Lt. Col. Alexander Stewart to Lt. Gen. Charles, Earl Cornwallis, St. Clair's Plantation, September 26, 1781.

"I hope you received both my publick and private letter safe, and I shall be anxious untill I hear that my conduct, and that of the few gallant troops under my command, meets with your Lordship's approbation. I assure you the action was bloody and obstinate and I hope you'll think the troops behaved well to beat so superior a force. Green's army suffer'd much, were certainly amazingly panick struck to run as they did, leaving their two six pounders behind them. I'm sure the consequences of that action must be very favorable to the situation of this province. Washington's dragoons is almost totally annihilated; only one officer escaped being either killed or wounded. I'm informed by a serjeant of one of the Maryland line that deserted to me that the day before the action the regiment he belonged to was 350 strong and the morning after the action they could not find above fifty of them. Their other Continental regiments likewise suffer'd much. Their militia run away from the field of battle and never stoped till they got home. Your Lordship will see by the returns that I suffer'd a good deal, was unfortunate enough to have the rooting partys of the flank battalion and Buffs taken prior to the action, I'm afraid owing to the officers staying to fight instead of making the best of their way to camp. They had arms with them, and each man had four rounds of amunition. Our left likewise gave way, upon which occasion some prisoners were made by Lee's dragoons being ready to fall upon them. My front line consisted of the flank battalion on the right, next them the Buffs, 63rd, 64th, Cruger's battalion and Provincial light infantry. The reserve consisted of Allen's corps, 84th detachment, New York Volontiers and fifty mounted infantry, which was all the mounted I had. As to any militia I had, they did not fire a shot the whole day. When the left of the line was broke, matters were in a very critical situation. I myself got them rallied and put in pretty good order after they had retired about three hundred yards. I told them, if they would follow me, I would insure them success. I instantly charged the rebels in front, and the flank battalion under Major Marjoribanks' attacking them in flank at the same instant, we totally routed them, retook some of our own guns who was in their possession, and took their two six pounders. I should have taken every gun they had, but their two three pounders had been disabled early in the action and had been sent back with the three pounder they got on our left giving way. Your Lordship may perhaps think that I should have retired upon my first getting information of the enemy advancing, as they were so superior in numbers, but that in my opinion would have been a most dangerous and impracticable step, as by the time my army was formed they were within four miles of me. They had a very numerous body of horse. I should have lost all my rooting partys. The waggon and artillery horses were scatter'd about grasing and were not got together untill about half an hour before the action

began. I therefore hope your Lordship will agree with me that a retreat would have been impracticable and impossible. You may perhaps be surprised that my intelligence was so bad as to allow Green's army to get within seven miles of me without knowing it. I do assure you I had five different spys that promised to inform me the moment he came across the Congaree, but not one of them ever came back to me and I'm told some of them joined the rebels, and my first information of him being on this side the Congaree was from two deserters who left him seven mile off[f] the night before the action, and they did not come into me till the morning of the action about 6 o'clock. After the action was over and Green had retired, I was surprised to receive a flag [of truce] from him beging a cessation of arms, which I instantly refused as I did not know what he might do in that time. Had I a body of cavalry any way near their number, I should certainly have destroyed all his infantry. I hope Green will find it difficult to recruit his army. They acknowledge to have had fifty officers killed and wounded. From that you may calculate the number of men they must have lost if in proportion. I hope, my Lord, my conduct will meet your approbation, and when you consider that with not 1,200 fighting men I beat between four and five thousand, they will little blame lay at my door. I stay'd two days on the field of battle, burrying my dead and taking care of my wounded, and then sent off[f] as many of the wounded as I could get carriages to transport them on, and retired to Ferguson's Swamp without Green's daring to fire a shot at me, where I was met by Colonel McArthur with near three hundred men, who had been posted at Monk's Corner for the preservation of the stores for the support of my army. . . . Your Lordship will be so good as to publish such parts of my publick and private letters as you think proper, as I'm sure my character is very safe in your hands, and I'm sure from the friendship you have always honor'd me with, if you think I have any merit in this affair, you will do me every justice with His Majisty and the Ministers in your power and, if I have been of use to my country, that I shall reep some benefit from it."

Source: Cornwallis, *Cornwallis Papers*, 6:168–69.

Field Archaeology and Preservation

The Eutaw Springs battlefield remained largely unaffected by development into the twentieth century. It was not until 1912 that the first effort to commemorate the battle was made, when the Daughters of the American Revolution erected a stone marker near the site of the brick house.

In 1936, the United States Congress authorized the creation of national battlefield sites and instructed the War Department (now the Department of Defense) to study numerous battlefields and make recommendations for which should be made national sites. A War Department Commission evaluated the Eutaw Springs battlefield and recommended it as worthy of preservation; however, no action was taken. Instead, the state of South Carolina acquired and preserved three acres that included the DAR monument.

Before the Santee River was dammed in 1940, the grave of Maj. John Marjoribanks, who had died on October 22, 1781, and been buried at Wantoot Plantation, a site that was to be flooded, was moved to the vicinity of the brick house and monument. In addition to this grave and the monument, the small park contains the grave of militiaman Paul Stroman, a veteran of the battle who was buried in 1844, and some interpretive signs. The site was added to the National Register of Historic Places in 1970.

Two archaeological studies have been undertaken to locate artifacts and identify specific locations where the battle lines were formed and where fighting took place. The first study, in 2001, demonstrated that the vast majority of the battlefield had not been flooded by the waters of Lake Marion. Archaeologists identified the site of the brick McKelvie house, and from there, they were able to determine with reasonable accuracy the locations where other elements of the battle occurred. The discovery of numerous artifacts also helped to assess the geographic extent of the battle.

A second archaeological investigation in 2007 revealed additional information. Part of the area studied was state-owned land, and permission was also obtained to conduct excavations on privately owned property. The tracts were searched using metal detectors, and 122 artifacts were recovered, the majority of them musket balls. Further information was provided by artifact collectors who had previously searched the battlefield. The concentrations of musket balls showed where some of the fighting was concentrated; however, exact troop positions could not be identified.

Efforts to preserve the battlefield continue, with the American Battlefield Trust, South Carolina Battleground Trust, and Eutaw Springs Battleground Association collaborating to acquire portions of the battlefield and provide interpretation. Over the past several years, the American Battlefield Trust has acquired 14 acres at the site, including the defunct Chef's Choice restaurant, where significant fighting occurred.

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About the Author

JIM PIECUCH earned BA and MA degrees in history at the University of New Hampshire and his PhD from the College of William & Mary in Virginia. He is a former history professor and the author of several books on the American Revolution, focusing primarily on the southern campaigns.